



Department of Political Science

Chair of Political Sociology

A Crisis Management Analysis:
The Paris Case

SUPERVISOR:
Michele Sorice

CANDIDATE:
Beatrice Patrizi
079292

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Introduction

Terrorism is one of the most relevant issues of nowadays society, it does not recognize borders and it's a threat that could become realistic anywhere and at any moment .

This statement results even more truthful in the light of the emerging of a new kind of terrorist attacks , as the so called ' lone wolf attack' . This phenomenon of Islamic terrorism is characterized by a person , or more people preparing to do a terrorist action by themselves , without having been given information from any organization or been provided with means or money to put in act any sort of operation.

This new type of terrorist actions even if often motivated or inspired by ideology, is very difficult to prevent since it results almost unpredictable given the counter intuitively of the attackers .¹

Another type of terrorism action that is emerging , is the highly coordinate attack , where the attackers aim to make the most victims and destabilize the responders .

From the attacks of the twin towers of September 11th 2001 to the most recent attacks in Europe , terrorism has changed and it has developed new ways to spread fear and panic . Modern society and governments need to evolve and create new systems in order to adapt and be ready to properly respond to the new emerging threats .

Being able to correctly respond to a crisis , it's a necessary action when prevention failed to stop an attack . Crisis management enters in the picture as a mandatory operation to maintain people freedom and safety especially in these unpredictable times .

The aim of this thesis is to put an emphasis on the importance of crisis management in the circumstance of a terrorist attack and to do so I will start this analysis by exploring the concept of crisis management and the general structure of the actions taken in regard of it .

The second chapter it's a practical example of how a European country , France in particular ,

¹ Peter J Phillips (2011), Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy, Volume 17, Issue 1,

responded to a terrorist attack . The episode analyzed has been chosen because it represents the first of his kind ,and opened a new discussion to the concept of managing terrorism in Europe and in the World . Given the definition of chapter one we can make some statements about the efficiency of the managing capabilities and actions taken during this attack .

Chapter three is a more technical chapter and deals with laws and regulations applied to both , before and after the Paris attacks developed . It will focus mainly on European counter-terrorism legislation.

Chapter one

Strategic Crisis Management

Crisis management; it's a process that can be applied to various situations, dealing with organizations both public and private, as well as with individuals that are facing or want to prevent a sudden and significant negative predicament and need to preserve their public image examples include politicians and public figures. (UNISDR, 2009²).

Crisis management can happen before and after a crisis has occurred. The most efficient way to perform crisis management is by preventing it from happening at the first place, with the preparation of an emergency plan to use as a drill or practice in case of a crisis breaking out. After a crisis is already in place, crisis management applies damage containment measures, but it is undeniably less efficient than the previous method.

Crisis management is a very comprehensive field. In fact the term crisis can apply to many different situations or range of potential threats. This includes natural disasters like hurricanes, earthquakes, tornadoes and floods. Human induced threats like terrorist attacks, power blackouts, workplace violence, cyber crimes, product tampering, bomb threats, and the unexpected death or illness of key leaders are other examples.³ (Baubion C., 2013)

In modern society, where global economy and politics are closely intertwined, crisis measures need an effective coordination between different stakeholders to achieve a successful outcome.

Governments are always held more responsible for a crisis situation. The trust of its citizens in public

² UNISDR (2009), UNISDR Terminology on Disaster Risk Reduction, <https://www.unisdr.org/we/inform/terminology>, accessed on April 4th, 2018.

³ Baubion, C. (2013), "OECD Risk Management: Strategic Crisis Management", *OECD Working Papers on Public Governance*, No. 23, OECD Publishing, Paris.

institutions is directly affected by how the government responds to a critical situation.

A society in constant evolution creates continuous changing landscapes for crisis management.

Modern crisis management not only has to face the challenges of solving a critical situation and limit its damages, but it also has to take into consideration various relevant factors of contemporary society .

The main elements to face in modern crisis are:

- Confronting the unknown.
- Dealing with international organization and other players.
- Limited capacities and power of the central government.
- The private sector.
- Constant scrutiny of the media.
- High demand and expectation of the citizens.

New technology and advancements in science have changed crisis management approaches over the course of the years. At first for instance, it focus was mainly on emergency response after a disruptive event had taken place. Now, it's interfused with a better use of risk assessment and strategy, and more comprehensive approaches. Because of this, modern crisis management also incorporates prevention and mitigation policies. These are designed and put in place to reduce vulnerability and limit exposure. (IRGC ,2011)⁴

The first practical example of the crisis management system transformation was visible at the second United Nations World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction. It adopted the

⁴IRGC (2011), Improving the Management of Emerging Risks, Risks from new technologies, system interactions and unforeseen or changing circumstances, International Risk Governance Council, Geneva.

Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015 by 168 countries. During this conference the scope of crisis

management was broadened to put emphasis on prevention and mitigation.

Currently, evolution of the risk management cycle in the majority of countries has expanded to include early recovery, reconstruction, and feedback after a crisis or disaster. ⁵(Siambabala Bernard Manyena , 2006).

1.2 Resilience

In crisis management, resilience is the ability of a system, community, or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate, and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner. This includes the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions. (UNISDR,2009)⁶ In other words, this means that both the public and private sector should ensure a way to function even during a crisis. They should be able to recover as quickly as possible in the aftermath of it. ⁷(Beddington, J. et al. , 1976)

Government is held most responsible for ensuring resilience of a country, and any malfunction of public services or failed operations would be considered its error.

Governments have to take this into consideration in addition to many other factors when proposing how to handle a crisis.

The economic aspect of a crisis event is also immensely relevant, since dealing with a crisis could be

and often times is extremely cost consuming.

A solution to mitigate financial costs of a crisis is to proactively invest in prevention. As the World

⁵ Siambabala Bernard Manyena , (2006)the concept of resilience revisited , Wiley Online Library , <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/j.0361-3666.2006.00331.x> , accessed on April 6th 2018

⁶ *Ivi pag1 ,1*

⁷ Beddington, J. et al. (1976), “Concepts of stability and resilience in predator-prey models”, Journal of Animal Ecology, vol. 45, 791–816, London

Bank report of 2011 shows, long term investment in prevention have, in many cases, provided significant positive returns.⁸ (World Bank economic forum , 2012)

Therefore it is clear that governments need to start paying more attention to crisis management and Begin preparations not only after a crisis emerges but in preventing them as well .

1.3 Crisis Management: Emerge of new types of crisis

Crisis management is generally divided into three aspects. Preparation before the crisis, damage response during the crisis, and feedback after the crisis are the main categories.

1.3.1. Preparation phase

The preparation phase focuses on the prevention of a crisis and consists of gathering knowledge and developing capabilities. This is in order to efficiently anticipate, respond, and recovery from it. It

is important to point out that in comparison to the past, it's now necessary to prepare and adapt approaches to advantageously adapt for the unknown.

This stage itself can be divided in different parts:

- Risk assessment: identifying major threats, hazards, and etcetera
- Vulnerabilities
- Emergency planning and response
- Early warning system; with the knowledge acquired from the previous step
- Threats should be cataloged and warning system could pre-identify defined emergency or contingency plans
 - Accumulating and maintaining equipment, supplies, training, and exercising
 - Appropriate institutional structures; creating clear mandates, comprehensive

⁸ World Economic Forum (2012), Global Risks 2012 Seventh Edition, an Initiative of the Risk Response Network, Insight Report, World Economic Forum, Geneva.

Policies, legislation, and well allocated resources ⁹(US Department of Security, 2011)

Risk assessment

Developing adequate knowledge of potential threats has always been, and continues to be an essential step in crisis management. Risk assessments can be useful in various phases such as vulnerability reduction, territorial management, disaster risk financing strategies and etcetera. As a result, it becomes a harmonizing tool for risk management policies and practice; providing an overall vision of the crisis scenario.

Novel and trans-boundary crisis in the present day require a holistic and dynamic approach, because they are more easily articulated and adaptable to different possible scenarios than in the past.

This wider approach should involve developing a broader and shared view on risk. A frequently updated system of known or potential threats, and a program for sharing information on these risk assessments to all parties involved in emergency response to a potential crisis is key. These new approaches imply a great deal of collaboration. National authorities have to create an emergency response based on coordination and cooperation possibly through an integrative partnership. ¹⁰(OECD , 2003)

The multi-hazard approach appears to be the most fitting in this context. After gathering information from all different parties involved, a risk matrix is created that ranks major risks and threats. Accordingly, it prepares an appropriate response in addition to allocating all necessary resources to deal with each unique situation. In an ever more border-less world, international cooperation is the rational step and also most inevitable. A national crisis could

⁹ United States Department of Homeland Security (2011), Risk Management Fundamentals, Homeland Security Risk Management Doctrine, US Department of Homeland Security, Washington.

¹⁰ OECD , (2003) , emerging risk in the 21th century , an agenda for action , OECD publishing .

have severe economic impact and social consequences on neighboring countries. Increasing quality while also decreasing cost of crisis response could be achieved through sharing information and tools of risk assessment. Creating a communal view on cross-border risks and developing collective tools at the international level will aid as well. ¹¹(World Meteorological Organization 2012)

During this phase it is essential to gather information at various national levels, from technical agents to citizens. Combining this data will help when creating a national emergency plan and provide additional supportive capacities in the event of a large-scale crisis. Unfortunately, the SILOED approach is still predominant in our society. Companies tend to avoid sharing information, creating a substantial obstacle in crisis preparation.

Emergency planning

This step consists of developing pre-defined scenarios with the information previously gained, creating correspondent emergency plans, and allocating the resources needed.

Emergency planning ensures that all parties involved possess sufficient capabilities and resources to act in an emergency situation, in addition to contributing to the risk assessment process. Within a majority of countries, local and national agencies share emergency response capabilities, and act accordingly to their mandates and institutional structure.

For facilitating resource allocation, national governments rely on the National Risk Assessment (NRA). This categorizes risks and selects the most probable scenarios.

Once emergency response capabilities and necessary resources have been established, it's time to focus on the contingency plan. These are often scenario based, and

¹¹ World Meteorological Organisation (2012), Institutional Partnerships in Multi-Hazard Early Warning Systems, M. Golnaraghi Ed., Springer-Verlag, Berlin. ¹¹(Ghosh P. , 2011)

present a series of pre-established guidelines to utilize on any given attack or threat.

What is important in this phase, is determining different functions and roles that individuals, as well as organizations, have in critical situations. Generally the top-down control system is the most established method in contingency plans.

This kind of process nonetheless presents some negative aspects. Scenario based plans often create a fixed routine that will prepare response only to attacks predicted. This does not give the required mind elasticity, the ability to deal with unforeseeable large scale events.

Unfortunately, the novel crisis, as we will analyze later in relation to the Paris attacks, tend to be innovative and never before seen. These require enhanced mental reasoning and unique tactics. Emergency response needs to be ready to adapt and improvise, create new strategies, and communicate rapidly. This is fundamental in mobilizing all required parties and stakeholders, and in modern society, even beyond borders.

Modern crisis has given birth to a new method of emergency planning that could be applied to counteract and combat the unknown.¹²(Boin A., 2012)

Many nations are now facing crises that are exceedingly different from the past. Coordination And focused direction is needed if they want to contain and terminate this newfangled type of crisis.

Inter-agency coordination mechanisms and evolving procedures across all levels of government and jurisdictions needs to be as efficient and flexible as possible. In order to unify response towards shared goals and utilize all possible resources in maximum capacity when solving a crisis, its essential to involve different organizations

¹² Boin, A. (2012), “Thinking the Unthinkable: The Limits of Traditional Crisis Management and the Necessity for New Approaches”, Presentation, First OECD/Swiss Federal Chancellery Workshop on Strategic Crisis Management, Geneva, June 28, 2012.

with diverse goals and practices.

Nevertheless to ensure that a collaboration will work, its also fundamental to have a presence of strong leadership.

Training

Simulations of attacks and the consequent response can be used to better understand and improve crisis actions, especially when studying feedback of the simulation and understanding mistakes that were made during it.

Table-top or large scale exercises can be used mainly in preparation of a response to pre-defined scenarios, but are also very helpful in securing correct function of various forces involved.¹³ (Federal Office of Civil Protection and Disaster Assistance 2011)

The coordination issue is most relevant in modern crisis scenarios, in unison with the leadership network. The training needed for the modern crisis is not only based on response to a certain action, but mainly on testing the leadership and overall lucidity of public servants that are deployed in the eventuality of a crisis. Being able to respond to input in an innovative way and not be influenced negatively by the fear factor, are key ingredients for a great leadership especially in times of crisis.

1.3.2. Response Phase

Once a crisis becomes reality the response phase begins.

Responding in the appropriate way to a crisis requires years of preparation, as we saw Previously. Even with complete training things could go wrong. For these reasons, the

¹³ Federal Office of Civil Protection and Disaster Assistance (2011), Guideline for Strategic Crisis Management Exercises, Federal Office of Civil Protection and Disaster Assistance, Bonn.

response phase itself is divided in many steps:

1. Activation and detection happens through various sources and can build up with time or happen instantaneously, just like the crisis itself.
2. Monitoring development of a crisis with the help of an intelligence organization, creating an operational picture.
3. Selection of the contingency plans and activation of the emergency networks.
4. Coordination, monitoring, and adaptation of response actions through the crisis cell.
5. Standard operating procedures, information sharing, and communication protocols should be rigorously applied.
6. Crisis communication is essential to maintain trust and not spread fear; a strong leadership is fundamental.

Activation

Early warning system (EWS); it's a life saving instrument, particularly in the case of natural hazards. EWS could allow actions and intervention even before a crisis spreads, limiting the damage. In the case of natural events, for example; evacuation or quarantine and with military operations, terrorist attacks.

This system authorizes emergency plans to be activated to detect potential risks. Technical experts and risk management agencies have been working together to create better capabilities in forecasting, warning, and putting emergency plans into action.

¹⁴(Erkki K. Laitinen ,2013).

¹⁴ Erkki K. Laitinen, H. Gin Chong, (1999) "Early-warning system for crisis in SMEs: preliminary evidence from Finland and the UK", Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development

However in modern society, with the emergence of novel crises, the situation becomes ever more complicated.

Modern crisis, as we mentioned prior, doesn't follow a linear dynamic and is further more perverse to detect.

The capacity of foreseeing a crisis, more so related to terrorist attacks, should not be underestimated. Utilization of intelligence networks for detecting emerging crises should be solicited.

Something worth noting is that no matter how superb this system is, without the appropriate emergency response networks and preparation in place, all these measures would be vain.

Operational picture

Obtaining a clear and wholesome view of the crisis is the main step in achieving a top-notch response system.

Being able to make advantageous decisions depend on the knowledge of the situation. Quality information and a reliable overall picture are essential in harmonizing all various forces acting in a crisis.

The crisis cell; the operational center of a crisis operation, is where all information is gathered and where the process of harmonization commences.

As always, modern crises are often complicated to control and also to identify. For this reason, having a resolute picture of it's aftermath is often troublesome. Experts are called upon to give their opinion on the matter before deciding how to act or define a modern crisis.¹⁵(Muller N., 2010)

¹⁵ Mueller, N. (2010), "Proposition for a multi-dimensional, integrated approach for a crisis management system on a national level", 14th Annual Conference of the International Research Society for Public Management (IRSPM) Conference, Berne, 2010.

Standard operating procedure vs. managing large response network

In a crisis, it's essential to proceed in the most rapid and efficient ways possible. Being briefed on how to act and knowing the role that everyone plays during a crisis can save time and often lives.

Typically, the majority of countries act by the principle of subsidiarity. This means that first responders are presumably always local authorities, and that they will ask for support and guidance from their superior emergency responders and government.

The emergence of the trans boundary crisis requires an adverse approach. The lack of time present during these types of crisis does not facilitate the required contact of all various parties involved in an international crisis. Trade-offs between different organizations at local and national levels, as well as internationally, should be clearly addressed in institutional and legal frameworks.

Heightened emergency response capability is essential for central government, since the dimensions of trans-boundary crises are always unknown. Mutual-aid agreements are solicited in conjunction with surge capacities such as special forces, that may need to intervene out of necessity.¹⁶(Leonard D. , 2012)

Also to be considered is the role of the citizen themselves. NGO's and volunteers can contribute immensely in times of emergency, but at the same time it's important to keep them safe and secure.

Given the various groups involved in an international crisis, it's highly suggested to create

¹⁶ Leonard, D. (2012), "Rethinking the management of large-scale national risks", Presentation, First OECD/Swiss Federal Chancellery Workshop on Strategic Crisis Management, Geneva, June 28, 2012.

crisis rooms to better facilitate the decision making process. This is to involve all groups invested and cut response times.

Leadership

The role of leadership during a crisis is the foundation of a strong operation. Decision-making and crisis communication heavily rest on the shoulders of the leaders. Training, as we saw earlier, is essential for leaders. Controlling emotion and being able to function under otherwise unbearable pressure and fear is key.

With the population during a crisis most likely panicked and disoriented, the leader assigned has to come forward and attempt to stabilize the public opinion.

Crisis communication aims to encourage people that the government is doing everything within their means to solve the situation. Leaders have an obligation during these times to find the correct way to address the situation. This is by giving all the information the public needs, but at the same time trying to maintain or in some cases, rebuild trust in the government or institutions.

Finding the appropriate words as well as being able to persuade focus and attention on what might be necessary, accentuates the possibility of a more advantageous reaction from the public. Presence of officials can also help in comforting the population.¹⁷(Boin , A et Al .2005)

Remember that in modern society, communication is not just limited to television, newspapers, and radio. All new forms of communications should be utilized, such as the use of

¹⁷ Boin, A. et al. (2005), *The Politics of Crisis Management, Public Leadership under Pressure*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

twitter accounts for emergency response and government agencies. Social media for crisis communication like everything , has both positive and negative aspects. Positive aspects include the velocity of which information can be shared and the population can receive quick and direct news. Downsides include speculation and fraudulent news that can easily circulate among the web. Scrutiny of different social media platforms is another task necessary while facing modern life crises.¹⁸(IRGC , 2012)

1.3.4. End of crisis

With the end of a crisis, management operations come to a close as well. The closure of a crisis requires clear messages in addition to a well-working feedback mechanism. Learning from the past not only improves preparation but also future response.

Communication is again an extremely important role. Officials and leaders need to clearly indicate the termination of the crisis in order to reduce fear and encourage a return to normal daily life.

Depending on how the crisis has been managed by the leaders and government, trust in the institution could be weakened. Its essential then, to ensure the citizens on different aspects of the operation and to be as transparent as possible. Given that the public wouldn't react positively, if they felt like the government was hiding something from them.

Therefore, clarifying the decision making process and showing clear government accountably can aid in avoiding a political crisis, which would even further diminish levels of trust. ¹⁹(OECD 2011)

¹⁸ IRGC (2012), "Social Media for Crisis Communication" , Concept Note, IRGC, Geneva

¹⁹ OECD (2011), OECD Reviews of Risk Management Policies, Future Global Shocks, Improving Risk Governance, OECD Publishing.

The feedback mechanism is the final step in our crisis management analysis. The ability to collect all information from different organizations and governments involved makes it easier to analyze the past situation and take notes on what to do or not do in case of another crisis.

CHAPTER TWO

The Paris case

General picture of the attack

On November 13th 2015, 130 people were killed and 368 were wounded on French soil by nine terrorists . Bilal Hadfi, Ahmad al-Mohammed , M al Mahmud ,Chankib Akrouh , Abdelhamid Abaaoud , Brahim Abdeslam ,Omar Ismail Mostefai , Samy Amimour and Foued Mohamed-Aggad are the responsible of this massacre, out of them only Salah Abdeslam survived and he is now in French custody ²⁰ (HSAC ,2016) . When this tragedy took place , France was still recovering from attacks happened only a couple months earlier : “ the Charlie Hebdo attack and the Thalys Amsterdam-Paris train attack “

The first attack is dated January 7th 2015 and the second one August 25th of the same year . The attack at the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo , shocked the all nation and the entire world , but it was only the beginning of a reign of terror that continuous till these days . Cherif and Said Kouachi , two French brothers killed eleven people with assault rifles on January 7, 2015 at 11:30 local time, before escaping out of Paris .

On January 9th , the brothers were found and killed by the police in a fabric near the Charles de Gaulle airport but not before declaring to have been sent by AlQaeda ²¹(CNN,2015).

In the meantime of the operation to capture the brothers, French police had to deal with a shooting and hostage situation in the outside of Paris where Armedy Coulibaly entered a market and killed four people , took fifteen as hostage and threaten to kill more if

²⁰ HSAC JUNE ,2016 , The Attacks on Paris : Lesson Learned

²¹CNN Library (2017) Charlie Hebdo Attacks Fast Facts

available on : <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/01/21/europe/2015-paris-terror-attacks-fast-facts/index.html> access on : may 3 ,2018

the Kouachi brothers were harmed , lucky almost as soon as the brothers were killed the police was able to storm into the store and neutralize the attacker without making any more casualties ²² (Hunter R. Pons ,2016) .

Thanks to a video of Coulibaly that later emerged ,we were able to deepen on the relationship between the terrorists , learning that they considered themselves all “ brothers “ as they liked to call themselves .

Their strategy , for the attack , was to “do things a bit together and a bit separate ” to have a bigger impact ²³(Rukmini Callimachi and Andrew Higgings , 2015).

This relationship between the terrorists of the first attacks has been discovered to go back to 2010 , indeed Coulibaly and Cherif met in prison and after his realize , Cherif and his brother travelled to Yemen for weapon training .

Unfortunately this was not an uncommon situation for France as much as it can be considered a victim of its own efficiency regarding the counter-terrorism system and policies .

France is known for its high level of imprisonments for terroristic reasons but its data shows that prison sentences are quite short (7 years) and that 57% of prisoners are re- convicted within five years of the release ²⁴ (Dorle Hellmuth , 2015).

This high numbers are due to the fact that France hadn't considered prisons as places where proselytization and radicalization could be facilitated , given that inmates are more prone to existential crisis and a consequent approach to religion and possible following up radicalization .

Prison is a gang based environment and religion can be one of the gathering factors for people,

²² Pons, Hunter R (2016), "The Paris Attacks: Charlie Hebdo, November 2015, and Beyond" University of Tennessee Honors Thesis Projects.

²³ The New York Times (2015) Video Shows a Paris Gunman Declaration His Loyalty to the Islamic State , available : <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/12/world/europe/amedy-coulibaly-video-islamic-state.html> accessed on may 3rd ,2018

²⁴ Dorle Hellmuth (2015) , “Countering Jihadi Terrorists and Radicals the French way ”

appealing to other prisoners with their same beliefs, can create a sense of strength and superiority in a really violent and dangerous environment . This lack of consideration for the role of radicalization in prison , its clear in the Charlie Hebdo's case , and as we will examine in the chapter 3 , the lack of consideration for the role of radicalization in terrorism played an essential role on the situation in which France is today.(Dorle Hellmuth ,2015) ²⁵

Ayoub El- Khazzani carried out the second attack from which France was still recovering , this attack was a lone wolf attack , that took place on a Thalys train . That was fortunately stopped by same courageous passengers ²⁶(Jim Bitterman and Bryony Jones ,2018) .

2.2 Chronology of the Attacks

To be able to fully understand the crisis management process behind the Paris attack and be able to give a useful feedback it's essential to have a good knowledge of the events as well as the locations of the different attacks.

November 13, 2015 :

21:20 Suicide bomber detonates suicide vest near Gate D outside Stade de France north of Paris, killing himself and one victim .

21:25 Gunmen open fire on terraces of le Carillon bar and Le petit Cambodge restaurant in the 10th arrondissement Paris . There are 15 fatalities and 10 injured .

21:30 second suicide bomber detonates his vest outside Gate H at Stade de France , killing only himself

21:32 gunman opens fire at the Café Bonee Biere and La Casa Nostra in the 11th arrondissement of Paris . there are 19 fatalities and 9 injured .

²⁵ Dorle Hellmuth (2015) Countering Jihadi Terrorists and Radicals the French Way, Studies in Conflict & Terrorism

²⁶ CNN WORLD(2018), France train attack : What we know about suspect Ayoub El Khazzani , available on : <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/08/24/europe/france-train-attack-what-we-know-about-suspect/index.html> accessed on May 4th , 2018

21:36 gunman opens fire on the terrace of La Belle Equipe bar located in the 11th arrondissement .
three are 19 fatalities and 8 injured.

21:40 suicide bomber detonated its vest inside the Comptoir Voltaire café , in the 11th arrondissement , killing himself and injuring 15.

21:40 three attackers enter in the Bataclan Concert Venue , located on the 11th arrondissement , and begin a 20 minutes shooting spree inside the venue .there are 90 fatalities and 19 injured victims.

21:53 third suicide bomber detonates bomb outside the Stade of France killing only himself .

21:55 patrol officers respond to the Bataclan Theatre. One of the attackers is shot and his vest detonates killing him but none of the hostages.

22:15 BRI police unit enters the Bataclan.

23:15 BRI officers begin negotiation with two attackers holding hostages on the second floor

November 14 ,2015

00:20 Police begins assault on Bataclan concert hall. Two attackers detonate their vest and are killed ; all remaining hostages are freed. ²⁷ (Michael Ray ,2018)

2.3 Crisis management approach

As we saw in chapter 1, crisis management is not a single action but a series of connected steps that have the same aim, resolve or prevent a crisis. To better understand the November 13th operations the discussion will focus on six key areas: intelligence, community engagement, investigation, training, incident command and crisis communication .

All this areas have been previously discussed but they will center on the following analysis , on the challenges that the Paris emergency forces had to face in this specific case.

²⁷ Encyclopaedia Britannica , Paris attacks of 2015 , available on :
<https://www.britannica.com/event/Paris-attacks-of-2015> accessed on May 5th ,2018

2.3.1 Intelligence

The November , 2015 attacks were overweening for the France authorities and intelligence for various reasons . To begin the attacks were the first of their kind in European soil and they were aiming to make a carnage not to attack a symbolic target, as it happen in the Charlie Hebdo case. Even though France police doesn't believe that technological intelligence could have prevented the attacks , but only human intelligence and community engagement could have made a difference , its important to examine the particular characteristics that made this attacks unpreventable .(Raffaello Pantucci , 2015)²⁸

The only case of attacks that is similar to the Paris one is the Mumbai November 26 , 2008 attack . Indeed it, relied on the surprise effect creating confusion and overwhelming the ability of the authorities to respond ²⁹(the RAND Corporation , 2009) , just like the French case. Both attacks were carefully planned ,the terrorists were divided in different groups and simultaneously attacking in different location with heavy explosive and firearms , to disabling the police to have a clear picture of the situation and act in consequence .

To debilitate police even more new tactics were used by the attackers on November 13th, the combination of attacks methods only used singularly by Syrian foreign fighters before, like shooting ,explosions ,hostage and siege situation coat the police off-guard.

The Bataclan attack was completely different from the Charlie Hebdo one, so even if France was intensifying its intelligence it would not expect those kinds of attacks . The terrorists were organized ,every action was planned , and the attackers were divided into blind cells with high logistic support . Important to point out, it is that 5 of the 8 terrorists were French and they collaborate on deciding the locations of the attacks, giving their geographical knowledge and aiming for the most crowded places . It is also believed that the organization of the attacks aimed to

²⁸ Independent (2018), Paris terror attacks :the lesson of Mumbai were learned- by the jihadis, available on : <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/paris-terror-attacks-the-lessons-of-mumbai-were-learned-by-the-jihadis-a6734836.html> accessed on May 5th ,2018

²⁹ the RAND Corporation (2009) , “ the lesson of Mumbai” January 2009

draw the security forces outside the Paris central area with the suicide attacks at de Stade de France , obtaining a strong intervention action there ,leaving Paris center without any emergency response system available . It is known that at least two of the attackers trained in Syria and the terrorists used recognized military tactics in the Bataclan siege. The intelligence after these attacks started to believe that there were going to be more coordinating acts aiming to debilitate the police forces and the training has been adapted to this new kind of situation .(Dr. Alain Gabon ,2016)³⁰

2.3.2 Community engagement

Following the school of thought of ROY, which insists on the fact that radicalization and violent behavior doesn't not depend only on religion , but also on other factors of non-integration with the environment that act like triggers , leading people to engage in extremist activity throw radicalization processes , we can examine the conditions of Muslims in France .(Roy,2007)³¹

Paying close attention to the lack of integration of Muslims in France its necessary to understand the history of the first Muslims immigrates.

Going all the way back to when Algeria and Morocco were French colonies and France started to convert the indigenus Muslims to Christianity, to the eight years Algerian war, nearly 1 million of Muslims migrated to France. (Nabih Bulos ,2016)³²Once they arrived they didn't have the best welcoming; the French mindset doesn't not recognize Muslim ethnicity or communities but only one big "French community". This happens because France straightly believes on the concept of laïcité which is, the strict separation between church and state , under which public life is considered completely secular. With time French political life , increased its relationship with the concepts of laïcité separating always more from the Muslim community practicing that embrace

³⁰ Virginia Wesleyan College (2016)Jihad in France from Charlie Hebdo to November 13 , , Model UN , February 13,2016

³¹ Roy Oliver(2007) "Islamic Terrorism Radicalisation in Europe", in Amghha Samir ,Amel Boubeker and Michael Emerson (eds.),"European Islam-Challenges for Society and Public Policy" , Brussels , Central for European Policy Studies ,2007 ,pp. 52-60.

³² Los Angeles Times (2016) , why France has a more fraught relationship with its Muslims communities than the U.S. , Available on : <http://www.latimes.com/world/europe/la-fg-france-threat-history-20160716-snap-story.html> accessed on May 6th ,2016

public proclamation of religion³³. Laws as the 2004 ban on veils in schools and the 2010 ban on public wearing of face-covering, contribute to the increase of the feelings of isolation for the Muslims communities already living in the suburbs .

A major step to understand the situation of Muslims in France is by looking at some demographic data, France has the largest Muslim population of the European Union around 4.8 million people or 7.5% of French residents .³⁴(Pwe Research Center ,2015.) . The majority of this people live in suburbs , France counts 717 “ sensitive urban areas “ , where poverty and unemployment are extremely high ,almost over twice the national unemployment rate and a third of the Muslims live below the poverty line³⁵(The Economist , 2013). In this conditions radicalization is stronger than ever , between discontented young unemployed people and petty criminals incarcerated which are for the 50% (French penal population) Muslim .³⁶(congressional Research Service ,2015). France , with his high number of terrorism-related arrests , is, as said before , paradoxically a victim of his efficiency , not taking in consideration epicenter centers for radicalization as banlieues , prisons and basement mosques lead resentments feelings turn into concrete violent actions .

Until 2014 France didn't considered radicalization needed to be targeted in the counter terrorism actions plan .³⁷

2.3.3 Investigation

During the November attacks , the France intelligence was able to respond in a fast and coordinated way despite not having a National incident management system or incident command system . Given the chaotic situation of that day it is possible to value the French authorities' job as efficient , with a high degree of accuracy in assessing the situation .

³³ Ibit 6

³⁴ Pwe Research Center (2015) , five facts about Muslim population in Europe, November 17,2015.

³⁵ The Economist (2013), forgotten in the Banlieus, February 23, 2013

³⁶ Congressional Research Service (2015), France : effort to counter Islamist terrorism and the Islam state ,November 18,2015

³⁷ Ibit 6

One negative point is that the police wasn't able to locate and arrest one of the terrorists Abdeslam right away but took them around 5 months to get him , even if he was hiding in Brussel .

In defense of the French authority the hostility that we examined before from the Muslims communities for the state didn't help in finding tips or collaboration to locate the only escaped attacker .

President Hollande acted in the smartest way by calling the State of Emergency immediately allowing the authorities to investigate , rade houses ,take suspects in custody and follow tips with out many juridical limits , this action lead to 414 warrantless searches within 6 days after the attacks .

Another smart action was making the investigations begin right away , sending investigators at the Stade of France to analyze the scene and the explosive used . This action resulted really helpful in dealing with other situations that were going on that night as for example the Bataclan one , where the rescue forces were able to create a better strategy knowing what kind of explosive they were facing .

The Bataclan operation , resulted nevertheless complicated , the terrorists used military techniques , they create a shooting of seven straight minutes and some of the terrorist vests exploded during the police operations . (HSAC,2016)³⁸Unnecessary to say that the Bataclan crime scene was a really complex one , but the forensic team decide to divide the scenes in zones in order to facilitate the collecting of evidence . To have a better picture of the situation all the survivors of the attack were interviewed and all the security cameras of the Bataclan and of the nearby places were reviewed . This gave the investigators significant information about the attackers , as the fact that they drove into Paris form Brussels . Another important information come from a cellphone found in a trashcan near the Concert Hall that contained a text message saying “we have left , we are starting ”and was

³⁸ HSAC (2016), The attacks on Paris: lesson learned , Homeland and security council

send at 21:42 on November 13³⁹ (CNBC,2015) . This evidence was really useful in confirming that , there was a great degree of planning and coordination between all the attacks and it was also used to locate the last location of the attackers before getting into action . Efficient intelligence work also identified the location of Abaaoud the suspected mastermind that was killed together with other 3 suspects following a shoot-out with the police .

Worth mentioning is also the system used ,by the authorities , to identify the victims of the terrorist attacks :”SINUS or Standardize Information Numeric System “. With the help of bard coded waist bans put on the victims of all the attacks , it was possible to create a real life data base of all the victims despite their location , and it was possible for their relatives to know in what hospital or morgue their loved once were .Unfortunately giving to the amount of victims and doctors involved in the operation , the communication didn’t work perfectly and in some cases the bands were removed from the patients because the doctors were not informed of their aim . Although the system worked pretty well and with a little more information and planning it can deftly be used again and be improved .

2.3.4 Training and equipment

In regard of the training of the emergency authorities involved in the response to the attacks, the overall operations can be considered successful as well as the special forces training, the only negative point comes out when dealing with the first responders situation .

The French police system is highly centralized and was not ready to adequately respond to this new generation of attacks. The problem emerge with the fact that first responders so general local police, was trained to wait for the specialized forces to arrive and not take the first action . In the contest of

³⁹ CNBC (2015), “Let’s go” text found on Paris attacker’s cellphone , available : <https://www.cnbc.com/2015/11/17/lets-go-text-found-on-paris-attackers-cell-phone.html> accessed on May 10th ,2018

the November 13 situation, “ordinary policing might have limited the damage”⁴⁰(Adam Nossiter , 2015) but they weren’t able to act given their instruction .

The only case where the local patrolman responded to the attacks is the Bataclan situation where he shot one of the attackers , instigating the explosion of his vest ,but without making any casualties .He was later required to withdraw from the scene and wait for the special forces that took around 30 minutes to arrive to the Concert Hall .

In order to have had a completely efficient manage of the terrorist conflict first responders need to have an appropriate training as well as resources as specialized fire arms to match up automatic weapons .

2.4 What went wrong: an overall review of the crisis management response

During a crisis , the situation is very luckily to escalate when the response is not coordinated between the various actors involved . During the attacks of November 13th 2015 , a lot of important decisions were made , some of them saved thousands of lives , others didn’t help the situation . The figure of President Hollande , come out quite positive out of this crisis thanks to his ability in taking “snap decision”⁴¹(Stacy Meichtry, Joshua Robinson and Nick Kostov , 2015) . An example of this is , the decision made by the president right after the explosion of the first vest at the Stade de France , where he was watching the game.

The head of state was rushed to safety but he decided to not interrupt the game , in this way he prevented the spectators to rush outside where the attackers were waiting to ambush them . This

⁴⁰ New York Times (2015),” Response to Paris Attacks Points on Weaknesses in French Police Structure” , available on : <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/01/world/europe/response-to-paris-attacks-points-to-weaknesses-in-french-police-structure.html> accessed on May 10th ,2018

⁴¹ Wall Street Journal ,(2015) Behind Francois Hollande’s snap decisions at Stade de France and the Unfolding Terror in Paris , available on : <https://www.wsj.com/articles/behind-francois-hollandes-snap-decision-at-stade-de-france-and-the-unfolding-terror-in-paris-1447634427> accesses on May 10th ,2018

decision saved a lot of lives , indeed there was only one victims of the 3 suicide vests exploded that day at the stadium beside the terrorists .

Another recognition to give to the French authorities is that they didn't send all their police commanders to the Stadium, but they left some behind to ensure some support in case of another attack .

Now going to the negative factors , the elements that sticks out are bad communication and lack of overall coordination , that as we know , are the main aspects of a well made crisis management operation .

In regard of the operation itself, its evident that France paid the consequences of been the First European country to suffer from this kind of attack. France lacked of an incident command system and of a proportionated information call system (emergency line) made the respond phase completely chaotic .

In regard of the absence of the command system ,we have to say that the French protocol for emergency situations stated that the BRI and the RAID forces were suppose to joint and act under a unique command called FIPN (force d'intervention de la police national). However given the number of different emergency response organizations and intelligence involved in the crisis operation this fusion hadn't happen , and it resulted in all this different forces working individually , without cooperating or sharing information .⁴²

This ended up in the creation of three different crime scenes , with three separate command posts and it was almost impossible for the police to have access to the necessary updates on the situation .

To make the communication issue even worst the Headquarters took control of the radio communications ,which the first responders were using to communicate between them .

The insufficiency of the emergency respond line was given by the fact that there were only 2 call centers with 40 operators each . The authorizes added additional 160 centralists later on that night

⁴² Ibit 19

and create a one line dedicated to the ongoing investigations and another to victim support .
However is estimated that only 1 on 6 emergency called were answered .

Officials where also unable to use social media effectively to communicate with the population ,
letting the media , which is largely unregulated in France , speculate to the situation , creating once
again , a more chaotic situation .(BBC ,2015)⁴³

The last point I want to report about the operation management, deals more specify with the
Bataclan rescue where only one doctor was on the scene at the moment of the entering in the
Concert Hall, completely disproportionate to the number of victims and wounded people that could
have possible be on the inside .

⁴³ BBC (2015)trending ,”How the Paris attacks unfolded on social media” available on :
<http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-34836214> accessed on May 8th 2018

CHAPTER THREE

EUROPEAN LEGISLATION BEFORE AND AFTER THE ATTACKS

The aim of the European Union is and has always been to ensure that Europeans live in an area of freedom, security and justice, without international frontiers.

In this chapter an analysis of the European legislation present presiding the November 13th 2015 attacks is made, and it is followed by an identification of the major changes that this type of terrorist act, forced to make to the legislation.

3.1 Before November 13th

In the words of President Claude Juncker “Combating cross-border crime and terrorism is a common European responsibility”⁴⁴(Claude Juncker, 2014), by 2014 the European agenda on Security was in fact already focus on creating coordinated response to crime and terrorism threats, and the EU institutions were working on renewing the International Security Strategy ⁴⁵(European Council, 2014). The 2014 EU agenda understood the difficulties of the Member States in fighting terrorisms with their own forces and while respecting the Member states national laws and precautions, it asked all the European actors to collaborate to fight cross-border threats. This collaboration should have been made official by a shared agenda of Security between the Member States and the Union. The agenda prioritized terrorism, organized crime and cyber crime since they all have a cross-border dimension and a coordinated action could make a big difference.

⁴⁴ Claude Juncker (2014)A new start for Europe . My agenda for jobs, growth ,fairness and democratic change .Political Guidelines for the next European Commission , 15.7.2014

⁴⁵ European Council (2014)Conclusions EUCO 79/14 of 27/06/2014 European Parliament Resolution 2014/2918 of 17/12/2014 ; Council Conclusion of 4/12/2014 on the development of a renewed EU international Security Strategy.

From the treaty of Lisbon it was set up clearly that the Union should ensure an effective response to threats, to do so it strengthen the protection of right and democratic control over international security matters and it also made the European Parliament an equal co-legislator and juridical cooperation in criminal matters. ⁴⁶(European Council, 2014)

An important step regarding the European legislation on the matter arrived on December 1st 2014, indeed since then police and juridical cooperation in criminal matters fall within the EU legal order ⁴⁷. (European Council,2010)

With the security agenda of 2014, the Union tried to take one step forward to urge all the European actors to collaborate and work together.

The communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Region, dated 28/4/2015 has individuated five key points to create a functioning collaboration between all the European actors. The first point is the preservation of the fundament rights; it addressed a shared competence between Member States and Union. All security measures have to comply with the principles of necessity, proportionality and legality, with appropriate safeguard to ensure accountability and judicial redress ⁴⁸ (European Court of Justice, 2014).

Second deals with the need to ensure more transparency and accountability. To do so 3 measures has been taken; twice a year the commission will update the European Parliament and Council on the implementation of the agenda, in 2015 it will be set up an EU Security Council forum bringing together all the European actors and, the Commission, will create performance indicators for EU instruments.

Third pushes for improving the application of existing EU legal instruments.

Fourth incite a joined-up inter-agency and a cross-sectorial approach.

⁴⁶ European Council (2010)Conclusion of 25/2/2010 on the internal security strategy for the European Union: towards a European security model ; COM(2014) 154 final of 11/2/2014

⁴⁸ European Court of Justice (2014)Article 52(1) of the charter of fundamental rights; judgment if the European Court of Justice of 8 April 2014 .

Policy and actions on the European soil must be coordinated among all the involved agencies, in the area of Justice, Home Affairs and beyond ⁴⁹.

These agencies should ensure logistic and practical support to all the Member States and, are involved in many different EU policies as: custom, education, transport, maritime security policy, information technologies, energy and public health.

The agenda focuses as well on existing sectorial strategies that can contribute to high level of security ⁵⁰(European Council, 2014).

The last point aims to unite the internal and external dimensions of security. The nature of the threats that Europe faces is global and should be treated with the most effective measures. This involved the collaboration not only of European Members States but also of the global community reinforcing the link between Justice and Home Affairs and Common Security and Defense policy. Expanding the already existing dialogues with third countries and creating new once it is a direction on the right way to ensure a security within and outside European borders.

Three priorities were stabilized by the European Union before the Paris attacks, regarding Security: terrorism and foreign fighters, serious and organized cross-border crime and cyber crime. All in need of a coordinated action from the Union and the Member State.

For the aim to this thesis the focus of the analysis is only on the first point, terrorism.

Fighting terrorism is not a one-way process; it involved many actors as well as much action.

Legislative, Economic, Educational measures as well as many others need to get together to fight this phenomenon.

The Europol is the protagonist of the fight of terrorism, with a great experience gained by the years and the right resources, Europol, following the 2014 Agenda, could be the answer to the terrorism issue.

⁴⁹ The EU law enforcement agency Europol , the EU agency for the management of operational cooperation at the external border Frontex , the EU judicial cooperation agency Eurojust , the European police college Cepol , the EU agency for large-scale IT system EU-LISA , and the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drugs Addiction EMCDDA .

⁵⁰ European Council (2014)EU Maritime security strategy .

The creation of the European Counter-Terrorism Center, aimed to create a secure environment, providing support at the EU level for Member States, with high confidentiality in its communications.

This center should include Europol's Focal point travellers on foreign terrorist fighters and related terrorist networks, the EU-US terrorist financing tracking programmed, FIU.NET the decentralized computer network supporting Financial Intelligence Units and Europol's existing capabilities on firearms and explosive devices. ⁵¹(European Commission ,2015)

The Euro just that will ensure the coordination of investigations and prosecutors will hold an important role in the organization.

In additions two other Unities were going to be launch by 2015, the Internet Referral Unit, with the aim of assisting Member States in the identification and removal of the violent extremist content online and the EU-level Forum that was mentioned before.

For the economic aspect of fighting terrorism EU was focused on, tracking financial operations given the dependence on financial support of foreign fighters to travel, train and purchased weapons. In dealing with terrorism financing instruments as the FIU.NET come into play and measures of freezing assets in compliance with Article 75 TFEU . At the time it was addressed the need for more regulations to strengthening of the cash control Regulation⁵². (European Parliament ,2005)

Form the legislative point of view the Commission was planning on creating more coherent laws against foreign fighter across Europe, by updating the 2008 Framework Decision on Terrorism and requiring states to criminalize travel to conflict zone for terrorist purposes ⁵³(UN ,2014). In order to efficiently target foreign fighter intensification of cooperation with third countries is essential.

In addition by 2014, another fundamental aspect of terrorism become been targeted, radicalization .

⁵¹ 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 .s

⁵² European Parliament (2005), Regulation 1889/2005 of 26/10/2005

⁵³ UN Security Council (2014) Resolution 2178 ,2014

Radicalization has to be addressed but the EU measures should not lead to stigmatization and isolations of one group or community. Radicalization has to be targeted with a strong counter-narrative, and the Commission would ensure enforcement of relevant EU legislations in the matter⁵⁴(EU ,2010).

To help the fight against radicalization EU funds will be directed on training, monitoring, reporting and recording incidents of hate crime or speech.

Since marginalization is believed to be one of the causes of radicalization, and inclusive education can be a step forward in preventing it. Education and youth participation ,employment social inclusion as interfaith and inter-cultural dialogue are just some of the actions that the Commission solicits .⁵⁵(European Council,2016)

In 2014 the Commission has also set out 10 areas to structure efforts to address the roots causes of extremism⁵⁶ (European Commission , 2014)as well as created the Radicalization Awareness Network enabling the exchange of information and techniques for detecting radicalization.

Training at the local level to locate and select extremist is requested to the Member states, but support is given by the European Union as in the case of the European Organization of Prison and Correctional Services , providing training and sharing knowledge between all Member States.

In conclusion, we can say that there is a paradox in the EU's counter-terrorism legislation before November 13th 2015. On one hand governments agree about the necessity of cooperation at the EU level, given the entity of the terrorist threats , on the other there is not the willingness of giving the Union the necessary powers and resources⁵⁷(Daniel Keohane , 2008) . In defense of the Union is to say that it is already hard for National governments to coordinate between ministries and agencies

⁵⁴ Framework decision 2008/913/JHA of 28/11/2008, Directive 2000/43/EC of 29/06/2000, Directive 2000/78/EC of 27/11/2000 and the directive 2010/13/EU of 10/03/2010

⁵⁵ European Council (2016)The strategic framework for European cooperation on education and training (ET 2020)

⁵⁶ European Commission COM(2013)941 final of 15/1/2014

⁵⁷ Daniel Keohane (2008)The absent Friend: EU foreign policy and counter-terrorism, EU Institute for Security Studied ,2008

in regard of counter-terrorism , be able to coordinate 28 states governments requires an immense effort and high level of difficulty .⁵⁸(Charlotte Lepri ,2007)

3.2 After November , 2015

The Paris attacks of November 13th, 2015 destabilized Europe and the entire world.

The emergency measures taken under those circumstances created a widespread discussion on counter-terrorism policies and their relationship with security and individuals liberty.

The Council Conclusion on Counter-Terrorism dated November 20th 2015 adopted by the Justice and Home Affairs Council, is the main document used in this discussion, and it seems to claim that the potentiation of boarder control within the Schengen area it's an efficient way to respond to the attacks on European soil .

To update border security the Commission is looking forward to establish common high standards of border management and increasing the cross-border police collaboration mainly by using the Joint Investigation Teams program, gathering together police authorities and investigator.

Coordination for the protection and control of borders, is also required to the Europol and Eurojust in the meaning of supporting and facilitating investigations when necessary .

The focus of the initiatives take after Paris, rounds about enforcing past priorities by intensifying already exiting tools as SISII ⁵⁹(European Parliament ,2006), to increase border security and check for foreign fighter affiliations ⁶⁰ (European Commission ,2015)and to speed up the process for approving pending initiatives.

Other important matters have been addressed by the commission after Paris , as

⁵⁸ Charlotte Lepri (2007)“Quelle reforme pour quells services de renseignement ? “, IRIS , March 2007

⁵⁹ European Parliament (2006)Regulation (EC) No. 1987/2006 of European Parliament and of the Council of 20 December 2006 on the establishment, operation and use of the second generation Schengen Information System (SIS II)

⁶⁰ European Commission (2015), recommendation 2015 3894 June 2015

tightening fire arm control for purchasing and possession ⁶¹ (European Council ,1991)and radicalization extirpation with the use of soft policies and the Radical Awareness Network Centre of Excellence.

The Conclusion on Counter-Terrorism of November 20 , 2015 highlights seven points that need to be implemented at the light of the Paris attacks :

First , the EU PNR proposal should be adopted , and it “should include internal flight in its scope , provide for a sufficient long data period during which PNR data can be retained in non-masked out form and should not be limited to crimes with a transnational nature”⁶²(PNR ,2014)

Second is necessary to increase cooperation through Europol especially in regard of the Operational Action Plan on Firearms . Also increasing on controls in the West Balkans to stop the smuggling of weapons is required to Member States with the help of Europol and Frontex.

Third the Councils calls on the Commission to revise Art.7.2 of the Schengen Borders Code and to include European Citizens in the upcoming smart border proposal. The necessity of strengthen control of external borders also emerges in order to made the Member States able to control , coordinate and implement the external border controls necessary even on people that enjoy the right free movement .

Fourth deals with create a common approach to SIS II data sharing system in order to train and act in a more coordinated and efficient way in the matter of foreign fighters .

Fifth is the creation of ECTC within the Europol to increase informational sharing, operational coordination , monitor and investigation of foreign fighter , terrorist finances and illegal firearms acquisition .

Sixth through the FIU.net network on Europol , is required to harmonize and improve the cooperation and informational sharing in regard of terrorist financing .

⁶¹ European Council (1991) Firearm Directive 91/477/EEC

⁶² PNR (2014) EU Counter terrorism coordinator on the PNR Directive

Seventh an update of the Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism is asked by the Council to the Commission with a view of collectively implementing into EU law UNSC Resolution 2178 (2014) and an additional protocol to the Council of Europe's Convention .⁶³(Didier Bigo , 2015)

To conclude, it is to report that on the 25th of November 2015, the European Parliament voted a draft report on preventing radicalization⁶⁴(European Parliament ,2015) .

Three main areas are touched :

- The structure and organization of detention regimes .
- Alternatives to detention regimes , particularly on the matter of returning foreign fighters .
- Measures oriented at the integration , rehabilitation and reintegration of radicals and former radicals .⁶⁵(Council of EU ,2015)

⁶³ Didier Bigo (2015)The EU and its Counter-Terrorism Policies after the Paris Attacks . CEPS paper in Liberty and Security

⁶⁴ European Parliament (2015), Draft report on prevention of radicalization and recruitment of European citizens by terrorist organizations (2015/2063(INI)) , 1/6/2015 , paragraph 4

⁶⁵ Council of the EU (2015), Conclusion of the Council of the European Union and the Member States meeting with the Council on enhancing the criminal justice response to radicalization leading to terrorism and violent extremism ,Press Release 845/15 , Brussels , 20/11/2015

Conclusion

Terrorism has evolved dramatically in the recent years, 2015 was a particularly catastrophic year for OECD countries, which experienced a 650% rise in the number of fatalities derived from terrorism actions ⁶⁶(START GTD ,2016) , resulting in the second worst year after September 11 , 2001 attacks. The attacks on November 13th 2015 also demonstrate to have a complex organization in planning and execution, making always more evident the necessity of evolving and updating the Counter-Terrorism policies of the European Union and the rest of the world. ⁶⁷ (AIG ,2016)These attacks also exposed the lack of sufficient and suitable crisis management, in the response plane as well as in the crisis communication part.

Establish common standards and enhancing collaboration has been the main objective of the European Union after the Paris attacks but more work has to be done.

Counter-terrorism is not only in the hands of the European Union, Member States should invest in crisis management techniques as appropriate training and better communication system within the responders and the population.

Communication is core component of disaster management, it can prevent or lessen the impact of an attack and when inefficient it can cause a disaster ⁶⁸(Brianouston ,2014) and Member States as well as the European Union should focus more attention to it.

To conclude our analysis we can say that crisis management techniques remain relevant despite the evolution of terrorism, and that the European Union is working on the right direction to fight terrorism with the use of soft policies.

Better communication and collaboration between Member States and Europol as well as targeting radicalization and recruitment is an important step forward in the war against terrorism.

⁶⁶ START GTD (2016), IEP calculations, IEP estimates

⁶⁷ AIG Terrorism White Paper(2016), Global Terrorism: On high alert

⁶⁸ Brianouston (2014), social media and disaster: a functional framework for social media use in disaster planning, response and research, Overseas Development Institute 2014

Acts of terrorism are criminal and unjustifiable and must be treated as such under all circumstances.⁶⁹(Crisis and Terrorism 2018)

Expect the best and plan the worst, it is a perfect summary of the crisis management operation and should be always been kept in the mind of people responsible for the security of the population.

⁶⁹ Crisis and Terrorism 2018, EU counter-terrorism strategy, 13/02/2018

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RIELABORAZIONE IN ITALIANO

Un analisi della gestione delle crisi: il caso di Parigi

Introduzione

L'argomento trattato nella seguente tesi è un'analisi dei procedimenti di gestione di crisi relativi ad atti di terrorismo.

L'analisi è suddivisa in 3 parti: inizialmente viene discusso il concetto di gestione delle crisi nelle sue linee generali, in un secondo tempo poi viene presentato un esempio pratico in cui la gestione delle crisi viene applicato, nel caso specifico vengono presi in considerazione gli attacchi di Parigi del 13 Novembre 2015. In conclusione viene presa in esame la legislatura Europea in atto prima e dopo gli attacchi di Parigi.

CAPITOLO UNO

LA GESTIONE DI UNA CRISI

La gestione delle crisi è un concetto molto ampio, poiché può essere applicato a varie situazioni e può coinvolgere anche enti pubblici, privati, aziende e singoli individui qualora per questi ultimi si presenti tale evenienza.

Si può gestire una crisi sia prima che essa si manifesti, sia naturalmente dopo la sua insorgenza.

Il metodo più efficiente è agire prima dello scoppio di una situazione critica, grazie alla preparazione preventiva di un piano di emergenza e formazione delle persone coinvolte nelle misure di soccorso.

Per quanto riguarda le possibili operazioni dopo una crisi, esse si concentrano prevalentemente su misure di contenimento dei danni.

Nei tempi odierni I governi devono affrontare non solo le crisi in se stesse, ma anche le conseguenze delle decisioni prese nel affrontare queste crisi. La cattiva gestione di una situazione di emergenza può infatti avere un risvolto negativo da parte della popolazione nei riguardi del governo che verrà considerato responsabile delle più o meno tempestive operazioni di soccorso o del contenimento della crisi non adeguatamente riuscito.

Gestire una crisi inoltre, nella società moderna deve tener presente molteplici elementi:

- Confrontarsi con un avversario ignoto
- Collaborare con varie organizzazioni nazionali e non
- Accettare la partecipazione del settore privato
- Gestire il Potere e le risorse, spesso purtroppo limitate del governo
- Tener conto del controllo continuo dei media
- Rispondere alla alta domanda e alle aspettative di sicurezza dei cittadini.

LE FASI DI GESTIONE DI UNA CRISI

La gestione di una crisi, come già detto prima non e' un processo unico, ma e' una serie di azioni che richiede diversi step.

1 FASE DI PREPARAZIONE

La fase di preparazione, consiste nel raccogliere tutte le informazioni possibili su eventuali crisi di vario genere (disastri naturali, attacchi terroristici, ecc.) e provvedere a creare le risorse e potenziare le capacita per poterla contrastare o fermare.

Questa fase a sua volta si sviluppa attraverso vari passaggi: inizialmente vengono identificati I rischi maggiori, in un secondo tempo viene studiata la vulnerabilità di strutture, persone o nazioni sotto attacco ed infine viene sviluppato un piano di emergenza e risposta nell'eventualità di un attacco.

Quando si e' a rischio di una crisi e' importante prevedere e organizzare un sistema di allarme che grazie alle informazioni raccolte sulla vulnerabilità e I luoghi d'attacco, renda immediatamente attuabili dei piani di contenimento nei vari settori predefiniti attraverso un costante monitoraggio e la preparazione delle risorse umane e fisiche.

2 FASE DI RISPOSTA

La seconda fase è la fase di risposta che entra in azione se le misure di prevenzione non hanno funzionato. Tale fase inizia non appena una crisi viene identificata e con l'aiuto delle autorità preposte viene monitorata affinché si possa avere una panoramica della situazione. Quando la situazione è chiara si passa all'attuazione di un piano di contenimento che viene attivato attraverso i vari settori. Coordinamento, monitoraggio e adattamento delle risorse sono elementi continui e duraturi che devono essere presenti durante la gestione della crisi stessa.

Un ruolo molto importante è rappresentato dalla figura del leader in cui tutta la popolazione ha fiducia e si identifica. È questo il motivo per cui un vero leader deve mostrare forza e al tempo stesso comunicare le giuste informazioni contenendo il panico che si impadronisce delle persone nei particolari momenti di crisi. Data l'evidente difficoltà di questo compito è necessario che il leader stesso sia addestrato così come le risorse di cui abbiamo precedentemente parlato, anzi in modo ancor più efficiente .

3 LA FINE DI UNA CRISI

Questo terzo momento è decisivo per i leader che devono ancora una volta rivolgersi alla popolazione spiegando dettagliatamente la situazione, elencando tutte le operazioni che sono state svolte e tutte le decisioni che sono state prese. Occorre una grande onestà nel presentare la situazione e la gestione di tale situazione perché ne dipende il giudizio negativo o positivo nei riguardi del leader stesso e del suo governo.

Nella fase di chiusura di una crisi il passaggio più importante è il meccanismo di riscontro grazie al quale vengono esaminate, analizzate e discusse, dalle autorità responsabili, tutte le azioni e i meccanismi posti in essere durante la crisi dalle unità preposte. Questo passaggio è essenziale per evidenziare cosa è andato bene e cosa deve essere invece modificato. Grazie a tutto ciò si può stabilire un nuovo piano e apprendere dai propri errori per essere meglio preparati ed attrezzati nell'eventualità di una nuova crisi.

CAPITOLO DUE

IL CASO DI PARIGI

Gli attacchi di Parigi del 13 Novembre 2015, sono un esempio perfetto di come una situazione di crisi possa venire gestita. Il metodo di attacco di Parigi e' stato il primo del suo genere sul suolo Europeo, in quanto si e' trattato di un azione terroristica molto ben organizzata che agiva in diversi punti della città simultaneamente lasciando spiazzati le autorità e I servizi di emergenza. Per meglio capire la situazione e' necessario avere ben chiara la cronologia degli eventi.

Attacchi del 13 Novembre:

- 21: 20 Un kamikaze allo Stade de France si fa esplodere, facendo una vittima
- 21:25 sparatoria nella terrazza di Le Carillon e a Le Petit Cambogia nel decimo arrondissement di Parigi. 15 vittime e 10 feriti
- 21:30 un secondo kamikaze si fa saltare in aria allo Stade de France non facendo nessuna vittima
- 21:32 sparatoria a Cafè Bonee Biere e La Casa Nostra nell'undicesimo arrondissement. 19 vittime e 9 feriti
- 21:36 sparatoria a La Belle Equipe nell'undicesimo Arrondissement .19 vittime e 8 feriti.
- 21:40 kamikaze esplode a Compote Voltaire Café all 11 .15 ferity
- 21:40 3 terroristi entrano al Bataclan Concert Benue. 90 vittime e 19 feriti.
- 21:53 terzo kamikaze allo Stade de France
- 21:55 risposta delle forze dell'ordine locali al Bataclan, ucciso uno dei terroristi.
- 22:55 BRI entra nel Bataclan
- 23:15 BRI inizia la negoziazione con I terroristi
- 00:20 la polizia inizia l'operazione di salvataggio al Bataclan, I terroristi fanno detonare le proprie vesti esplosive e vengono uccisi, tutti gli ostaggi vengono liberati.

LA GESTIONE DELLA CRISI DI PARIGI

La sera del 13 Novembre 2015, ha rappresentato una situazione molto problematica per le forze del 'ordine Parigine e Francesi. La quantità e la varietà degli attacchi, il grande numero di vittime e assalitori unito a l'assenza di un sistema di gestione di crisi o di un "incidente comando sistema"

hanno reso le operazioni di soccorso quasi impossibili ma, nonostante le enormi difficoltà i servizi francesi hanno svolto un lavoro molto buono.

Sono vari gli elementi della gestione di questa particolare crisi che dobbiamo evidenziare. In prima la figura del presidente Hollande, che è stato capace di prendere decisioni istantanee che hanno contribuito a salvare la vita di moltissime persone, come la decisione di non interrompere la partita allo Stade de France, per evitare un ammassamento delle folle poiché si sospettava che ci fossero altri kamikaze alle porte dello stadio (cosa poi rivelatasi veritiera). Hollande ha anche subito dichiarato lo stato di emergenza, dando l'autorità di perquisire e prendere in custodia senza mandato. Questa azione ha portato a 414 perquisizioni senza mandato in 6 giorni dall'attacco. Altre azioni positive prese dal governo francese sono state, le investigazioni immediate subito dopo il primo kamikaze, grazie alle quali si sono potute raccogliere informazioni precise da usare nell'operazione di soccorso al Bataclan.

L'operazione al Bataclan, presenta sia un aspetto negativo che uno positivo per la Francia. La prima risposta all'attacco alla sala da concerti è stata di un poliziotto locale, che andando contro la procedura ha tentato di rispondere sparando a uno dei terroristi facendo così esplodere le bombe che aveva addosso senza provocare altre vittime. Purtroppo dopo questa azione l'agente è stato costretto a farsi da parte ed aspettare le autorità competenti, che non sono arrivate in tempi brevi.

Sul salvataggio al Bataclan c'è molto da dire; una volta entrate le forze speciali non si sono registrate più vittime ma c'era un solo medico disponibile sulla scena e quindi non ha potuto soccorrere l'elevato numero di vittime.

L'investigazione sulla scena dell'attentato ha portato a rivelazioni importanti. Il ritrovamento del cellulare di uno dei terroristi ha permesso di individuare l'ultima loro ultima posizione prima dell'attacco e anche un messaggio che ci ha fatto capire che l'operazione è stata molto ben coordinata e che tutti gli attentatori lavoravano insieme.

Quanto agli aspetti negativi della gestione della crisi di Parigi è evidente la mancanza di coordinamento tra le varie forze che si sono occupate della risposta all'attacco e anche la scarsità di comunicazione. Dato l'elevato numero di attacchi e persone coinvolte sia come vittime che come forze dell'ordine la situazione di caos generale ha portato alla creazione di tante piccole unità di risposta alla crisi che lavoravano singolarmente senza condividere informazioni con le altre, e questo stato di cose ha rallentando le operazioni.

Insufficiente anche l'intervento dei centralini e degli operatori telefonici : nelle linee di emergenza e' stimato che solo 1 chiamata su 6 ha ottenuto risposta.

CAPITOLO 3

LEGISLATURA PRIMA E DOPO LA CRISI

Questo capito esamina i vari provvedimenti Europei prima e dopo gli attacchi di Parigi. Per prima cosa dobbiamo dire che lo scopo dell'Unione Europea e' ed e' sempre stato assicurare ai cittadini una vita in libert , sicurezza e giustizia senza frontiere.

LEGISLATURA PRIMA DI PARIGI

Gi  nel 2014 l'agenda europea si rende conto delle difficolt  dei singoli stati a combattere con le loro forze il terrorismo e chiama tutti gli stati europei a collaborare in questa azione. Un passaggio importante si ha nel dicembre 2014 quando politica e cooperazione giuridica per le operazioni criminali ricadono nell'ordinamento legislativo europeo.

Nell'aprile 2015 vengono individuati cinque punti chiave nell'intento di creare una fattiva collaborazione tra gli stati membri europei.

Punto uno, competenza condivisa tra stati membri dell'unione nel rispetto dei diritti fondamentali.

Punto due, maggiore trasparenza e responsabilit .

Punto tre, miglioramento nell'applicazione degli strumenti legali europei gi  esistenti.

Punto quattro, maggiore collaborazione tra agenzie e un approccio multi settoriale nell'aria di giustizia, affari interni ed altro.

Punto cinque l'unione tra le misure di sicurezza esterne e interne. Ci  prevede la collaborazione non solo degli stati membri europei ma un rafforzamento del legame tra giustizia, affari interni, sicurezza comune e politica della difesa.

La Guerra al terrorismo coinvolge molti attori e molte azioni. Misure economiche, legislative, educative e molte altre sono essenziali per combattere questo fenomeno Secondo l'agenda del 2014 Europol rappresentava un punto focale alla lotta al terrorismo.

Quanto agli aspetti economici del terrorismo , l'EU era focalizzata sul rintracciare i finanziamenti economici ai foreign fighters e sul congelare conti sospetti secondo l'articolo 75 TFEU.

Bisognava combattere la radicalizzazione senza per  stigmatizzare o isolare un gruppo o una comunit  , aumentando sempre la collaborazione tra stati.

In conclusione possiamo dire che prima del 13 Novembre si parlava di necessita' di collaborazione da una parte ma , d'altra parte ,non si volevano dare all' unione i poteri e le risorse necessarie.

DOPO NOVEMBRE 2015

Dopo i destabilizzanti attacchi di Parigi si comincia a pensare di potenziare il controllo delle frontiere entro l' area di Schengen.

Per migliorare la sicurezza si aumentano gli standard di controllo delle frontiere e la collaborazione tra team investigativi e autorità di polizia e di investigazione.

Si richiede anche la collaborazione del Europol e Eurojust.

Maggior controllo sull'acquisto e possesso delle armi e l'estirpazione della radicalizzazione con l'uso di politiche leggere sono due punti importanti del dopo Parigi. La conclusione del counter-terrorism del 20 novembre 2015 evidenzia sette punti importanti:

1. Adottare tutte le proposte del EU PNR al fine di ottenere e fornire un gran numero di dati da controllare non limitandosi ai crimini di natura transnazionale
2. Incrementare la cooperazione europea relativamente al piano operativo delle armi aumentando il controllo nei Balcani sul contrabbando di armi.
3. Revisioni del codice di SCHENGEN al fine di effettuare sempre maggiori controlli anche su cittadini degli stati membri che ora hanno diritto di libero movimento.
4. Individuazione di approccio comune al sistema di condivisione dati SIS II per il controllo di foreign fighters.
5. Creazione di ECTC all'interno del EUROPOL al fine di migliorare scambi di informazioni, cooperazione operative, investigazioni su combattenti stranieri e sui loro acquisti di armi.
6. Attraverso il FIU.net di Europol, coordinare e migliorare lo scambio di dati relativi ai finanziamenti ai terroristi.
7. Richiesta da parte del Consiglio alle Commissioni di un aggiornamento per rendere sempre più fattiva la collaborazione e (richiesta) di un protocollo aggiuntivo al Consiglio della Commissione Europea.

Il 25 Novembre 2015, il parlamento europeo ha votato un progetto sulla prevenzione della radicalizzazione, mettendo in evidenza la necessità di una migliore struttura e organizzazione dei regimi di detenzione, di alternative ai regimi di detenzione con particolare attenzione ai foreign fighters di ritorno e misure volte all'integrazione, riabilitazione e reintegro di radicalizzati ed ex radicalizzati.

CONCLUSIONE

Nel 2015 il numero di morti per terrorismo e' aumentato del 650%, facendo risultare questo anno come il peggiore dopo il 2001. Gli attacchi di Parigi Novembre 2015 hanno evidenziato la complessità dell'organizzazione e dell'esecuzione di atti terroristici ai quali si deve rispondere con fermezza, prontezza e capacità mediante un improcrastinabile miglioramento delle politiche, delle tecniche di comunicazione e della preparazione sia della popolazione che degli specifici responsabili. Restano essenziali la comunicazione e lo scambio di dati. Per concludere possiamo dire che le tecniche di gestione della crisi diventano sempre più importanti a seguito dell'evoluzione del terrorismo e che la EU per sconfiggerlo deve mettere in atto politiche non aggressive ma ben strutturate. Migliorare la comunicazione , la collaborazione tra gli stati membri e tenere sotto costante controllo la radicalizzazione ed il reclutamento rappresentano un notevole passo avanti nel combattere gli atti di terrorismo che sono comunque crimini e come tali vanno trattati. Aspettarsi il meglio e prepararsi al peggio e' il principio imprescindibile che tutti i responsabili della sicurezza delle persone debbono tenere a mente sempre.