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# The Paris Attacks: Charlie Hebdo, November 2015, and Beyond

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# **The Paris Attacks: Charlie Hebdo, November 2015, and Beyond**

A Chancellor's Honors Program Senior Thesis

Hunter Pons  
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“Allahu Akbar” (God is the greatest). These were the words that resonated in the halls of the French satirical weekly newspaper, Charlie Hebdo, on January 7, 2015 around 11:30 local time in Paris. These same words were later heard by hundreds of innocent people again on the evening of Friday 13, November 2015, when terrorists coordinated a series of attacks targeted at mass crowds. Terrorism has never been a top threat to France in the past few decades. However, terrorism will haunt every single French citizen for years to come after witnessing what true terror can cause to a country.

Although terrorism has only become a prominent threat to France within the past year, terrorism has been an underlying threat to Western Europe in the past fifteen years. In 2004, ten bombs on four trains that were heading towards Madrid, Spain were set off and took the lives of 191 people and injured a little less than 2,000 people total (“Madrid train bombings of 2004”). This was the first major terrorist attack by jihadists in Western Europe and can be seen as the start of a major issue that has continued to the present. The terrorism continued a year later in London, England when four Islamist extremists coordinated suicide bombings on several London Underground trains and buses that took the lives of 52 civilians (Rodgers, Qurashi, and Connor). Following this tragic attack, several smaller scale acts of terrorism were carried out during the next ten years leading up to France’s first days of terror in 2015, a year that will be looked back on with much sorrow, but also with much pride and solidarity.

### **January 7-9: Charlie Hebdo shootings and kosher grocery hostage killings**

The ensuing threat of terrorism in France began on January 7, 2015, when the Kouachi brothers forced their way into the French satirical newspaper office, Charlie Hebdo, and began murdering employees one by one after calling out their respective names. The attackers

believed that Charlie Hebdo had “desecrated the image of the Prophet Muhammad” and must pay for doing so (Schweitzer 1). After killing eleven employees, the Kouachi brothers fled the scene, killing a police officer and were later killed by French authorities on January 9<sup>th</sup>.

Meanwhile, a man working with the Kouachi brothers named Amedy Coulibaly was holding several people hostage at a kosher grocery at Porte de Vincennes. The police were able to take out Coulibaly and free most of the hostages, but unfortunately four hostages were killed by Coulibaly during the hostage situation (Landauro). These horrifying three days mark the beginning of Islamic extremist terrorist attacks in France and sparked the urgency of reformed legislature to prevent such attacks from reoccurring.

The aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo shootings and hostage killings is unlike any other global response to acts of terrorism. The phrase “Je Suis Charlie” (I am Charlie) became well known around the world as everyone grieved for the loss that France suffered during those three days. A sense of solidarity among the most powerful leaders in the world was shown as millions of people came together in the streets of Paris and showed their support for the remembrance of the one’s who were lost and the fight to come in order to protect France against any further potential acts of terrorism. Standing together arm-in-arm, leaders from France, Germany, Palestine, Israel, Mali, and more led the massive rally through the streets of Paris in a show of defiance and solidarity as France began the steps of recovery and resilience after the attacks (Alderman and Bilefsky). However, several questions must arise after these attacks. Terrorism is undeniably France’s greatest threat at the moment. How will they recover from such detrimental horror that has frightened an entire nation? What will they do to combat ISIS and other Islamic extremists that continue to terrorize Western Europe?

On January 10, François Hollande declared that the Department of Defense would deploy 10,000 soldiers on home soil to patrol the streets and additionally sent out 5,000 extra police officers to patrol the Jewish communities for extra security. These actions were carried out under France's new national security alert system called Operation Sentinelle (formerly called Vigipirate) (de Hoop Sheffer 7). Also, France began talks of adopting a Passenger Name Record (PNR) for all airline passengers entering and leaving France, but there was no strong push until after the November shootings. The Passenger Name Record would keep a record in the database of a computer reservation system that contains the itinerary for every airline passenger. This would help combat the terror threat facing Western Europe, but unfortunately the EU's apparent solidarity shown after the shootings "failed to translate into a sufficient number of concrete actions, their frustration focusing on the delay in the adoption of a PNR for all airline passengers" (Bertoncini 10). The implementation of a Passenger Name Record would have been beneficial to France before the November 2015 attacks.

Likewise, after the Charlie Hebdo shootings, Prime Minister Manuel Valls decided he should take matters into his own hands. Valls believes that the Direction générale de sécurité intérieure (DGSI) was flawed in the way they conducted their investigations prior to the shootings. When Valls addressed the opposition at the National Assembly following the attacks, he proclaimed that "le retour du terrorisme, c'est vous!" (Leclerc). His beliefs are backed by the lack of structure and persistent surveillance actions that the DGSI employed with regards to the Kouachi brothers. Prior to the attack, the DGSI had knowledge on the Kouachi brothers and Amedy Coulibaly. Unfortunately, they saw them as no immediate threat and had lowered their threat status recently despite gaining knowledge of the addition of new followers that shared

the same radical Islamist views as themselves prior to the attack. This negligence is a major problem that Valls is demanding to be reassessed and is demanding the government's immediate response in order to prevent any future failings that could result in another disaster (Leclerc).

### **November 2015 Paris Terrorist Attacks: Post Charlie Hebdo and Aftermath**

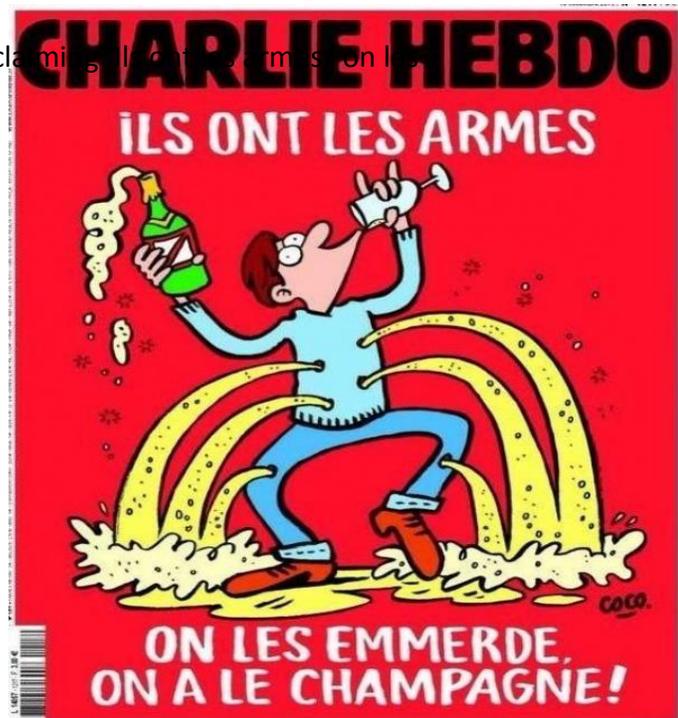
After the Charlie Hebdo shootings there were two notable radical Islamist terrorist attacks. The first occurred in Saint-Quentin-Fallavier, where the attacker, Yassin Salhi, beheaded a man and drove his vehicle into a warehouse full of flammable substances. Salhi was placed under surveillance by French authorities from 2006 to 2008 and was detained upon the arrival of French authorities. The French authorities responded quickly to the attack and helped reduce the possible casualties (Chrisafis, "France Beheading...Motives Unclear"). The other notable terrorist attack was thwarted by some brave train passengers when a man started opening up fire aboard the Thalys train from Amsterdam to Paris. Fortunately, some passengers were able to subdue the suspect and save numerous lives (Chrisafis, "France Train Attacks..on Paris Express"). These are the lone examples of the terrorist attacks that ended favorably, but sadly that good luck did not continue much longer.

On November 13, 2015, the largest scale terrorist attack that France has seen this century struck. That evening, three teams of terrorists from the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) coordinated three separate mass killings around Paris killing 129 people in total. The first team of terrorists consisted of three suicide-bombers who blew themselves up and killed one civilian outside the Stade de France. The second team of terrorists carried out suicide-bombings and shootings at three different restaurants/cafés around Central Paris killing 39 civilians, and

the last group entered the Bataclan theatre and started opening fire on the audience taking the lives of 89 civilians after hours and hours went by due to a prolonged hostage situation.

Footage from the Bataclan shows civilians doing whatever they could to survive, even if it meant hanging out the window from the top story of the building(Paris Under Attack). This night, Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> of November, will forever haunt France. True terror was felt by the City of Love that night. ISIS attacked something that is cherished by Parisians, convivialité and the youth. “Drinkers at a pavement café, people watching a rock concert or cheering at a football match” (Paris Under Attack). No one was safe. However, France stood up as one throughout the days following the attacks and were open in saying they will not be bullied. Charlie Hebdo put out a cartoon “capturing the spirit of the French by proclaiming ‘Ils ont les armes, on les emmerde, on a le champagne!’”(Paris Under Attack).

The president of France, François Hollande, was actually at le Stade de France enjoying a game of football when the first bomb went off. He was immediately safely escorted out of the stadium and placed France under a state of emergency soon after. The state of emergency was only supposed to last for twelve days, but François Hollande has since extended the state of emergency twice and will last until May 26, 2015. The increased governmental powers given to French authorities under the state of emergency has caused a lot of controversy in the months following the November terrorist



attack in Paris. The most significant issue deals with an accused neglect of Muslim's fundamental human rights.

## **France's State of Emergency and Increased Governmental Powers**

A day after the attacks, 14 November 2015, François Hollande placed France into a state of emergency. A few days later, the French parliament voted to extend the state of emergency another three months to February 26, 2016. Later, François Hollande proposed another extension and the French Parliament granted him the ability to extend the state of emergency another three months to May 26, 2016. These decisions by Hollande have proven to be quite controversial because of the increased powers that French authorities are allegedly abusing. According to a report done by Amnesty International, "The state of emergency is an exceptional regime that allows French authorities, mainly the Ministry of Interior and police, to exercise a wide range of powers at their own discretion which would normally require prior judicial authorization. They can for example search houses, businesses and places of worship, impose assigned residence orders and restrictions on public assemblies" (Amnesty International 6).

These increased powers granted to French authorities have been carried out extensively within the first few months since they have been granted such powers. According to Amnesty International's research, there have been 3,242 house searches taking place from 14 November 2015, to 29 January 2016 (Amnesty International 10). Additionally, French authorities have placed more than 350 civilians under an assigned residence order which restricts the person's mobility severely during the allotted time period they are faced with the order (Amnesty International 6). These increased powers have resulted in an incredibly high amount of unwarranted house searches and assigned residence orders which have led to a great deal of

controversy among thousands of French citizens and several organizations. The main outcries are detailed in Amnesty International's report stating that "[the] French authorities have restricted human rights, and more specifically the rights to liberty, private life, freedom of movement and freedom of assembly beyond what was strictly required by the exigencies of the situation" (Amnesty International 7).

Amnesty International, an Organisation non gouvernementale (l'ONG), has taken a firm stance against the prolonging of France's state of emergency. According to *Liberation*, l'ONG believes that France has implemented "draconian security measures" that have violated some people's fundamental human rights (Henry 1). Another important organization opposing the extensions of the state of emergency that François Hollande has pushed for is Amnesty International. The Secretary General of Amnesty International, Salil Shetty, has announced that their organization has launched an investigation into France's reaction to the recent terrorist attacks under a state of emergency. Shetty has asked, «Le système juridique international et les institutions mondiales sont-ils à la hauteur de la tâche urgente que représente la protection des droits humains ? (Henry 1)» The investigation that Amnesty International has conducted mainly deals with the way the state of emergency has affected the Muslim population in France. In fact, Muslims make up approximately ten percent of France's population, the largest by any country in Western Europe (Murray 1). Although there has been a large amount of controversy regarding the state of emergency, some good has come because of it. For example, one of the house raids in Lyon found a rocket launcher. Another counter terrorist raid that occurred in Saint Denis ended in a woman blowing herself up without any injuries to French authorities

(Murray). The encouraging news is that French authorities know where to look, but unfortunately the number of places to look is far too numerous.

## **Controversy Surrounding France's State of Emergency**

« Il me semble que si vous affichez votre religion, si vous portez une barbe, un symbole ou un vêtement religieux, ou si vous priez dans une mosquée particulière, vous pouvez être considéré comme "radical" et donc pris pour cible. Si l'on s'efforce de ne pas trop afficher sa religion, ils pensent que l'on a quelque chose à cacher. Nous ne savons pas qui nous devons être, comment nous devons nous comporter » (Amnesty International 7). This quote comes from a Muslim named Amar who was subject to one of the countless house searches that have been carried out since the November 2015 attacks in Paris. His testimony gives horrifying insight into the behaviors that French authorities have presented whilst conducting house searches without any warrants under the state of emergency. French police have been granted the authorization to conduct a house search on "the basis of vague grounds, below the standards set by criminal law. More specifically, any premises, including houses, can be searched if authorities have 'serious reasons to believe that the location is frequented by a person whose behavior constitutes a threat to public order and security' " and can be done at any time during the day or night without any notice (Amnesty International 10).

In Amnesty International's report, there are numerous examples of how French authorities have carried out house searches with excessive force and sometimes causing unwarranted harm to the house owners. For example, one family that lives in the Picardy region of France was at home one night when they heard "kicking and banging" on their front

door without any notification of who was at the door. The family phoned the police and hid as the door was subsequently broken down. The police proceeded to enter the house and break open the bathroom door where the family was hidden. They continued to punch the father of the family in the face and handcuffed both him and his pregnant wife. The house search lasted several hours, but nothing incriminating was found nor was a criminal investigation presented because of the search. Other house searches have resulted in thousands of euros worth of damages to mosques and one man even claims to have permanent nerve damage in his arm due to the excessive force used by the police (Amnesty International 12).

Another reoccurring complaint involving house searches revolves around the lack of information presented to house owners for the police's reasoning behind the search. Amnesty International's report details several examples of people claiming that policemen forced their way into their residence and would only give vague reasoning for doing so. The usual response was that "the Prefect highlighted that [your] behavior was a threat to public order and security" (Amnesty International 13). This insufficient amount of information has left hundreds infuriated and pleading for the end of the state of emergency. These house searches have also led to increased levels of fear and stress by the Muslim community, as well as a hurt reputation as neighbors who have witnessed these owners raided and believe they have done something wrong (Amnesty International 14). Due to the violent raids and insubstantial evidence to validate the grounds for conducting much of these house searches, Amnesty International believes that "the authorities have used this emergency measure in a manner that was not limited to what was strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, as prescribed by international rights law" (Amnesty International 15).

The other major power granted to French authorities that authorizes them the right to place certain people under assigned residence orders has led to much controversy too. “Under the state of emergency, the criteria for imposing an assigned residence order are much less stringent. An order for assigned residence may be imposed where ‘there are serious reasons to believe that a person’s behavior constitutes a threat to security and public order’ “(Amnesty International 16). In order to carry out the assigned residence order, French authorities must be granted approval at the ministerial level from the Ministry of the Interior. As of early February, Amnesty International says that over 350 assigned residence orders have been carried out with the majority of them causing more damage than good. Amnesty International believes that the “assigned residence orders are a restriction on liberty and have an impact on other human rights including the rights to freedom of movement, to private and family life or to employment. The vague grounds on which assigned residences orders are usually adopted, the lack of transparency regarding the collection of the information used to justify them as well as their negative consequences on the human rights of those subjected to them point to their disproportionate impact in respect of the aim they seek to achieve, namely ‘preventing further terrorist attacks’” (Amnesty International 17). This poor abuse of power being enforced by French authorities has caused a lot of harm to the French Muslim community and in a way has left them in terror. For example, one woman was accused of being a radical Salafist because she was seen wearing a full-face veil and was married to a religious man who travelled frequently to Yemen. However, the woman had never worn the full-face veil and was no longer married to the man they described. The police searched for the whereabouts of the man, but seeing that he lived in a different region of France, he was not found and the woman was put into an

assigned residence order instead of him (Amnesty International 17). In other cases, people are experiencing the negative side effects of being put in an assigned residence by restricting their mobility to travel to work or even make it to their medical appointments since they are restricted to movement only in the same town in which they are forced to reside (Amnesty International 21). These instances that keep occurring under the state of emergency are the reason so many people are hoping Parliament will stop issuing extensions to the state of emergency.

With respect to the International law and standards, Amnesty International came up with five allegations attacking the way France has handled the aftermath from the November 2015 terrorist attacks. The allegations state that France has not followed the international law and standards properly with respect to being in a state of emergency (Amnesty International 31). Amnesty International's allegations include the following:

1. "The emergency measures are vaguely formulated providing scope for overbroad application" (Amnesty International 32).
2. "The vague formulation of the emergency measures and the stripping of any *a priori* judicial authorization has resulted in their excessive application in a manner that extends beyond what is strictly required by the exigencies of the situation. This indicates that less than one percent (4 out of 3,242) of the searches resulted in the launching a criminal investigation for a terrorist-related offence (apart from the offence of 'apology of terrorism') under French law."
3. "Authorities used emergency measures for purposes other than those which were the basis of the declared state of emergency. In particular, they imposed assigned

residence on climate activists and introduced a blanket ban on demonstrations in the context of the UN Climate Conference, COP21” (Amnesty International 33).

4. “Measures taken had a disproportionately negative impact on human rights.”
5. “Some emergency measures may discriminate against specific groups, especially Muslims, on grounds of their religion or belief” (Amnesty International 34).

These astute allegations will hopefully lead to changes in French legislature that will prevent any further wrongful implementation of the increased powers French authorities have been granted in France’s state of emergency.

## **The Refugee Crisis, France’s relationships with EU countries, and Proposed Actions for Reform**

The November 13<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks have sparked an urgency in reforming France’s domestic and international policies, increasing their involvement in deployment of troops in Syria, and making the fight against jihadist terrorism their main priority. However, they can only accomplish these imperative actions by working together with other European countries (de Hoop Sheffer 1). Since the attacks, France has become more of an activist with foreign and domestic policies that help resolve the refugee crisis and limit the power of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). France has increased their military engagement in Syria, starting conducting air strikes in Syria for the first time, and regained military focus on the Middle Eastern and Northern Africa (MENA) regions. Accomplishing these moves in an effective manner will be the main struggle as disagreements and disparate local problems other countries are facing will make resolutions laborious (de Hoop Sheffer 2).

“There is a solidarity crisis in Europe” (de Hoop Sheffer 5). The EU’s response to the economic crisis in Europe (Greece) and conflicting stances on the refugee crisis has caused a disparity between certain European relationships. The most significant relationship with France that is showing opposing views is Germany. France is urging Germany to increase their military involvement in the Middle East and North Africa regions while Germany urges France to increase their quotas for accepting more refugees into their country. France is experiencing a military overstretch as it is and greatly needs the cooperation of other countries in order to succeed in their fight against terrorism (de Hoop Sheffer/Shwarzer 1). Germany has by far been the most accepting of any European countries with regards to refugees and asks others to follow their actions in order to allow freedom to those who cannot attain it in their home country. They plan to accept roughly one million refugees in 2015 and even more in 2016. Germany believes that France’s current plan to allow 30,000 Syrian refugees into their country over the next two years is far from enough to make any type of progress in the refugee crisis facing Europe (de Hoop Sheffer/Shwarzer 1). Some of these concerns have led to progress as Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany, and François Hollande have met regularly since the attacks. Germany has since increased military engagements in Mali, increased efforts in training Kurdish Peshmerga fighters, and has “offered to supply Tornado reconnaissance jets, aerial refueling, and satellite imagery to support the fight against the self-proclaimed Islamic State group ISIS.” Moreover, Berlin later decided to offer aircraft support for the Charles de Gaulle aircraft and deploy 1,200 German soldiers to the Middle East (de Hoop Sheffer/Shwarzer 1). Although cooperation has become more progressive, Germany’s and France’s opposing views

must converge in the near future for any positive progress to occur on the forefront of the crises presented to Europe.

Within the past decade, an increase in international terrorism caused by “non-governed areas and failed states and state instability” in the MENA region has led to the crisis that must be resolved. These unstable countries in the MENA region have “spillover effects” to neighboring countries which has resulted in an increase in terrorism (de Hoop Sheffer 6). An international presence in fighting back must be solidified. France has taken a stronger stance against terrorism since the November 13<sup>th</sup> attacks by planning an increase in their defense budget by 3.8 billion euros over the next four years. This increase in defense spending will hopefully allow France to keep France safe from a domestic stand point, but still allow them to combat terrorism from building in the MENA region (de Hoop Sheffer 7).

Another outcome from the November 15<sup>th</sup> attacks is a stronger relationship between the United States and France in regards to the fight against ISIS. Despite the United States decline in engagements abroad under the Obama administration, the United States has continued to provide France with military intelligence, drones, and cooperation in conducting airstrikes in Syria (de Hoop Sheffer 8). The continuance of such a strong alliance between the two countries relies heavily on France’s capabilities as a leader. France asked the other European countries to take a strong stance against ISIS with little unified cooperation. Their increased presence in the fight has often led to a US-led battle against ISIS which is worrisome for the United States who is reluctant to lead the fight. It is critical for France to increase solidarity among the European Union and the United States in order for any realistic advance against ISIS to be successful (de Hoop Sheffer 12). One alarming stance that France has taken

that is controversial among her allies is the involvement with Russia in the fight against ISIS. France is willing to look beyond the Russia-Ukraine crisis if Russia is willing to fight with the EU against Syria. However, the United States and certain European countries are erring on the side of caution with the idea of including Russia in the fight against ISIS (de Hoop Sheffer 12). If any progress is to be made with regards to the crisis in Syria, France must agree on such issues between her and their allies.

### **François Hollande's Response to Terrorism and Proposed Legislation**

In the days following the November 13<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks, François Hollande changed France's response to counter terrorism by using a more muscular approach. The day after the attacks he met with his national security team and began orchestrating plans for a counter strike for the next day. With the help of intelligence from the United States, France conducted air strikes on the town of Raqqa in Syria, just two days after the terrorist attacks in Paris. Hollande was adamant about retaliating quickly and was quoted as saying that France would be "unforgiving with the barbarians" who terrorized Paris taking the lives of 129 innocent civilians (Rubin). The airstrikes on Raqqa were reported to have destroyed the Islamic State's command post, jihadist recruitment center, weapons and ammunition depot, terrorist training camp, and an oil and gas depot. The airstrike on the oil and gas depot was targeted because the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria utilized the black market sales from oil and gas to help finance their arms acquisitions (Rubin). It is clear that France is at war with ISIS and will continue to fight back after suffering two major acts of terrorism in 2015.

In the months following the November 13<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks, Hollande continued to find ways of revamping France's legislation and has proposed an amendment to France's

constitution that received a lot of backfire from the French leftist group, SOS Racisme. Under the new amendment, French authorities would be given the power to strip nationality from French-born citizens convicted of terrorism (Après Charlie). The current legislation already allows France the power of stripping nationality of those who have acquired French citizenship, but this new legislation is a sensitive subject that contradicts France's tradition of "droit du sol" (Après Charlie). Representatives from SOS Racisme have been protesting for weeks since the proposed legislation changes were announced and have a clear message stating that the government is trying to "write discrimination into the heart of the constitution" (Après Charlie).

Despite the strong opposition to Hollande's proposed change in the legislation, the plan was passed through the lower house of parliament by the National Assembly in early February by a vote of 162 to 148. France's Prime Minister, Manuel Valls, expressed his enthusiasm for the plan by stating confidently, "I think the approval will be broader and the constitutional reform will go ahead" (Reuters). Despite this initial win for Hollande's proposal, there was some added controversy surrounding the change to the constitution just days before its initial pass through parliament. Former Justice Minister, Christiane Taubira, resigned due to her serious political disagreement of the proposed change in legislation. Stepping down from such a prominent role clearly raised more questions of the rationality behind the new proposal.

In late March 2016, François Hollande withdrew his proposal to strip French nationality from those with dual citizenship who have been convicted of terrorism into France's constitution. The decision to throw out the proposal has added relief among French politicians since the hot topic has been a focal point in debates within the past few months. "The proposal highlighted a growing split within the Socialist Party, between those who favored a tough law-

and-order approach in the wake of the attacks that killed 130 people, and those worried that the government would be impinging on civil liberties” (Nossiter).

Another action implemented after the November 13<sup>th</sup> attacks was the closure of the Calais migrant camps, also known as “The Jungle”. The northwestern city in France has been the home of thousands of migrants for years as they tried to make their voyage across the Channel into England for freedom. However, the migrant camps have been seen as a sore spot to the French as several migrants died trying to swim across the Channel or suffocate while being smuggled in trucks on the voyage over by ferry. The French government has let the issue get out of control and is the reason for the dismantling of the camps. On the other hand, the French Interior Minister, Bernard Cazeneuve, “pledged to offer all migrants new housing” as they begin the relocation of nearly a thousand migrants across France from the former Calais camps (Bisserbe). This is an issue that will continue to be a hot topic as the refugee crisis continues to be a major concern for Western Europe and as new Syrian refugees plead for acceptance into Western Europe by the thousands each month.

### **The effect the Paris Terrorist Attacks have on the Schengen Agreement**

The increasing threat that terrorism poses to Western Europe coupled with the ongoing refugee crisis has raised consideration of altering the current Schengen Agreement. One of the major subjects threatening the continuance of the Schengen Agreement is the refugee crisis. The opposing political visions shape the way civilians perceive refugees coming into their countries. One side views refugees as victims who could provide an opportunity for their host countries. The other side views “asylum seekers as a threat” to their potential host countries with regard to their economy, identity, health, etc. (Bertoncini 3). The most common

misconception of the agreement is that it's "perceived as just an additional freedom deriving from the elimination of systematic, fixed border controls at national borders, and if those controls would be reinstated, it would be wrongly perceived as a 'suspension' of the agreement." On the contrary, the Schengen Agreement needs to be seen as "a Code that reorganizes those controls in order to make them more effective instead of as an Area that eliminates controls" (Bertoncini 5).

According to the Delors Institute, the Schengen Agreement may be a collateral victim of the poor actions the EU has taken to control the refugee crisis. As the crisis was began, the EU's lack of funding to the UNHCR and World Food Programme caused a bigger crisis instead of swiftly consolidating refugees into countries closer to their homelands such as Jordan, Turkey, or Lebanon (Bertoncini 5). Germany has made the greatest effort thus far to control the refugee crisis under Angela Merkel by accepting hundreds of thousands of refugees in 2015. Their efforts have in turn prompted other EU countries to follow along, however in a smaller effort than Germany. Only Hungary, Sweden, Austria, Italy, and France have let in over 50,000 refugees while the other EU countries average a little under 10,000. This mass migration of refugees is one of the reasons why officials are questioning the current Schengen agreement's ease of crossing borders with little to no security measures requiring identification (Bertoncini 4). In particular, the president of the National Front, Marine le Pen, "has demanded an immediate halt to the intake of immigrants from Syria, and says that the Schengen agreement which allows free passage across European borders, is 'madness'" (Walsh).

Another problem affecting the Schengen agreement is the current lack of solidarity among the European Union countries. The lack of financial solidarity among EU countries

helped accelerate the severity of the refugee crisis and no real help was seen by all countries until the problem began getting out of control (Bertoncini 7). However, the Schengen agreement does allow temporary border controls in the case of specific threats to public law and order (such as large influxes of migrants) or if a country enters a state of emergency (Bertoncini 11). These safeguard clauses that have been implemented several times within the last two years have shown the capabilities of border control standards to be implemented as needed in an effective manner without jeopardizing the Schengen agreement which was primarily issued in order to “simplify the lives of lorry drivers and cross-border workers” in the first place (Bertoncini 5).

The more recent issue that has arisen after the November 13<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks is the effect it will have on the Schengen agreement. In the months following the attacks, several security measures have been planned to stiffen the law governing the sale of arms, strengthening of the struggle against terror funding, a “modification of the Schengen Code to allow the systematic monitoring of Europeans returning to their common soil, and the first implementation of the solidarity clause” that will allow Germany to aid France in their military operations in Syria (Bertoncini 10). There is a more concerted sense of solidarity among the EU countries with regards to the urgency of this issue. The ease of transportation was clearly demonstrated by the November 13<sup>th</sup> attackers traveling to and from Belgium in the hours leading up to the attack. The attacks have obviously fueled the fire against the Schengen agreement, but there are several questions that need to be answered first. The Delors Institute believes the primary question is this: “Despite the current tension, are the member states and their people going to hold to a position seeking to maintain the rights associated with

membership of the Schengen area (in terms both of freedom and of police and judicial cooperation) while agreeing to shoulder more of the duties that go with that (in terms both of solidarity and of border control)?" (Bertoncini 11).

## **Conclusion**

A year full of terrorism in France has marked the beginning of a war, tested the effectiveness of a government in a state of emergency, forced stronger relationships of member states in the EU, put the spotlight on François Hollande, and sparked questions surrounding the Schengen agreement. Terrorist attacks by radical Islamists in Paris at the beginning and end of the year has launched France into a full scale war with airstrikes into Syria. The acts of terrorism sent France into a state of emergency which has created its own negative side effects the months following the November 13<sup>th</sup> attacks. French authorities are in a way terrorizing French Muslims with well over 3,000 house searches and 350+ assigned residence orders carried out thus far. The means and ways these acts have been carried out will continue to be hot topics in months to come and will surely produce more restrictive legislation to the increased powers France will be capable of utilizing under a state of emergency in decades to come. France has strengthened her ties with Germany and the US in positive strides towards hampering the success of ISIS. However, the refugee crisis in Western Europe has become even more complicated and solidarity among the EU states is needed to resolve such matters. Likewise, the recent attacks have sparked conversations about eliminating or revising the current Schengen agreement that provides effortless means of crossing member state borders in Europe. The terrorist attacks in Paris have caused several chain reactions that will

result in new legislation, a bloody and violent war, and changes among the European Union's current legislative agreements. Nevertheless, the events following the terrorist attacks of 2015 will remain a milestone in French history as it provides an opportunity to become the forefront state fighting against terrorism in Western Europe, as well as leading the way to solidarity amongst the EU and the United States.

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