R E V I E W

Ingrid Borarosova, Aaron T. Walter, Ondrej Filipec, *GLOBAL JIHAD. Case studies in Terrorist Organizations,* Research Institute for European Policy, Gdansk 2017, pp. 230.

Evolution that takes place mainly on the plane of national security is the *signum temporis* of the twentieth century. It is the result of the occurrence of the new global challenges and threats. The end of the cold-war influenced the order of the world and the related transformation of the international order was directly responsible for the need of redefying the safety and the need to come up with new political concepts that would indeed guarantee it.

Creating an efficacious defense strategy does cause numerous problems, that are mainly brought about by the somewhat various and highly diverse dilemmas regarding the modern security systems. Among the many important factors that do seem to influence our current reality (like asymmetry of the world concerning the disproportion of the resources, ecological disasters, scarcity of the resources, problems with energy supplies, human rights, migrations, violation or the new, difficult to fight at any given moment civilization diseases), there seems to be one specific problem, that seems to top them all – it is the international terrorism, especially in the form of religion terrorism.

The more one tries to analyze thoroughly the matters of the modern terrorism, the more obviously one sees certain factors providing arguments in favor of the extremists. Obviously it would be difficult to deny, that it is the politics and the military powers that are the most relevant components, which are essential if one tries to comprehend the modern day terrorism. At the same time it is truly important to understand what really composes the potential and the drive of the numerous terrorists' organizations. It is undeniably the emotional factor (intransigence and the determination of the individual) together with the ideology and identity (identifying with the certain religious or ideological group) that are the most distinctive feature of the new and extremely effective terrorism.

From the beginning of the 1970's this truly global in all its forms and incarnations phenomenon had been perceived as the problem and threat of a very local and marginal measures. The last decade of the twentieth century though and the first years of the new millennium have shown how much this phenomenon has dominated the world. This domination is expressed both by the spectacularisation and escalation of the violence and in the forms of the global communication between the determined terrorists and the other actors on the international scene.

Over last two decades, especially after 9/11 attacks, both scientific and journalistic „markets" were awash with publications concerning this problematic issues. Some of them – valuable, fulfilled with analysis and original, the other ones – laconic,

imitative, not contributing a lot of content to the discussion about terrorism. Surely, *Global Jihad. Case studies in Terrorist Organizations*, published in 2017, qualifies to the first category. Three authors of the book - Ingrid Borarosova, Aaron T. Walter and Ondrej Filipec, substantively, profoundly and at the same time interestingly present the characteristics of a chosen terrorist organization functioning. The paper consists of two parts. The first part has three chapters, the second one comprises eight chapters.

The first part deliberates the phenomenon of Jihad. The authors analyze specifics of the religion terrorism, highlighting radicalism of Islam interpretation. Exploring Islamic fundamentalism, they fairly state a thesis that it is the compilation of politics and religion, signalizing that in this particular case politics is strictly connected with violence. *The obstacle lies in the roots and aims of Islamist terrorism and the impossibility to distinguish between clearly religious and political aims. Radical Islamism connects both: radical religion and extremist politics* [Mudde, 2000].

This particular opinion is being shared also by Johannes Juliaan Gijsbert Jansen who states that Islamic fundamentalism is both politics and religion. It has a dual nature. When it is analyzed as if it was a movement that has a political nature only, mistakes are made because fundamentalism is fully religion at the same time. When it is analyzed as if it was a movement that has a religious nature only, mistakes are made too, because fundamentalism is fully politics at the same time [Jansen, 2005). That sort of unity makes the origins of the Islamic fundamentalism. In our times the most dangerous seems to be the Islamic religious terrorism. The leaders of the extremists groups take advantage of the blind faith of the soldiers; they manipulate the fanaticism and the intolerance. Those manipulated soldiers become the life weapons that are willing to sacrifice their life in the name of the holy cause. While the general trend of the return to the Islamic values helped the societies in finding the rules of the truth and love in life, the extremists started to use the basic religious values to manipulate the people and to achieve the political objectives. The contemporary fundamentalism is not the proof of the renaissance of the religiousness. It is the proof of the very strong politicization of the faith [Kaczmarek, 2001].

This opinion is shared also by Krzysztof Kościelniak, who stats that the world of Islam has not worked out the division into *sacrum* and *profanum*, whereas secular or other independent culture gained only partial autonomy in some of Muslim states. This state arises from the fact that democracy is understood differently there, than in western countries. While Islam brings God`s sovereignty to the fore, western democracies highlight the independence of humans [2006].

The authors of the book draw attention to multidimensionality of Islamic fundamentalism, emphasizing that it incorporates both politic dogmas such as anti-democratic ideas focused on world´s Islamization or anti-western values, and streak of overinterpretation of Quran towards achieving intended purposes. They state that… *Radical Islamism presents ideology which constituted itself as the major anti-democratic force since the fall of Communism. Moreover radical Islamism has some features close to totalitarian ideologies: on one side it has some utopian ideas about creation of the new World based on the Sharia law, on the other it shares the conservative sentiment for old ages in the aims of resurrecting the Sunni Caliphate. Unlike other totalitarian ideologies radical Islamism is aggressive and expansive in*

its nature. Moreover, within radicalism there is strong encouragement for original purity of religion embodied in Salafism which is in principle opposing modernity. This reaction to modernity has also its hostile attitude towards Western civilization which may well serve as the political program and justification for Jihad in its violent form. Jihad in connection with radical Islamism has resulted in Jihadism: the politically and religiously justified violent struggle against everything which is not purely Islamic or which is opposing pure Islam. In this sense Jihadism contains certain paradoxes: zealous and literal fulfilment of Islamist ideology by violent means (extreme Salafism) is not only against the development of society and progress of mankind, but is also against the basic principles of Islam. The religious heterogeneity of Islam as well as misunderstandings regarding Quran and its interpretation makes Islam prone to misuse by radical groups including Salafi jihadists who interpret Jihad in a very utilitarian and aggressive way [Borarosova, Walter, Filipec, 2017].

In the second chapter of the first part of the book, the authors raise an issue of a specific symbiosis between terrorists and mass media. *The relationship between media and terrorism is currently a highly discussed topic. In comparison to the past, media has become an everyday irreplaceable source of information. Most people read news, watch television, listen to the radio and also use the internet. Since media can deliver information to large amount of people immediately, it is a useful partner for terrorism. One of the most basic aims of terrorists and their organizations or groups is to inform people about their existence and to deliver fear and panic to as many people as they can. To pass this message through the media has become the most simplistic way* [Borarosova, Walter, Filipec, 2017].

A similar statement appeared in Jean Baudrillard`s Duch terroryzmu (*Spirit of terrorism) - Pictures enhance the importance of events and have a huge influence. They work as a continuous multiplication* [Baudrillard, 2005], and it was also shared by Polish scientists Krzysztof Kowalczyk and Wiesław Wróblewski who highlighted that entire contemporary world, shattered by constant conflicts, is bound by electronic media, within which mass-media play an important role. Therefore, media have become an effective tool of manipulation and a convenient kind of terrorist weapon.

Tomasz Aleksandrowicz contends the same and writes that a terroristic act is a media act and its immanent feature is public opinion. It has to be shocking so that it can fulfill its purpose, because it is the only way to draw attention of public opinion and trigger off the planned, intimidation effect [Aleksandrowicz, 2008].

At the beginning of a new Millennium nobody questions the symbiosis between media and terrorism. Different extremists are fully aware that terrorism without advertisement lacks impact. This has an influence on a frequency of attacks. Therefore, they do everything not to be forgotten even for a short period of time. Additionally, mass-media often become supporters of terrorists' demands. Through spreading of certain news they require fast reactions from governments. They often put pressure on executive powers and thus facilitate either mitigation or worsening of an international situation [Stańczyk-Minkiewicz, 2010].

It is easy to notice how a technological and IT progress, as a result of globalization processes, influences the development of military tools. These tools are easily available for different people. The increasing dependence between information web and societies is used by different kinds of extremists. With finances, which

contemporary perpetrators possess, it is easy to use all new methods of persuasion [Stańczyk-Minkiewicz, 2010].

But what is crucial, is the fact that use of mass media is repeatedly interrelated with spreading false, manipulated information, which often raise the significance of extremists or they present them as victims of Western Civilization. *For example, rationalization of terrorism is very dangerous, as the case when media explain why the terrorist group was acting in such a way and these explanations or reasoning can be very attractive for the public in specific situations. Labelling is also connected with this phenomenon: terrorists may be given the label of "good guys" who fight for their generally accepted purpose which might create sympathies amongst the public. These media mistakes or sometimes even these media aims can completely change the mood of the public about terrorism and by doing this dangerously spread positive statements towards terrorist groups* [Borarosova, Walter, Filipec, 2017].

The third chapter of the publication has a theoretical character and is an introduction to current, key issues of international law in terrorism context. Controversies about defining terrorism or terrorists, which arise from the fact, that the more precisely we analyze the phenomenon (on political science, sociologist and psychologist level), the more we are certain that it is not possible to define and determine it unambiguously.

The term „terrorism" is used to describe various phenomena. As a synonym of acts of violence it is identified pejoratively with people called "terrorists". In this context the term "terrorist" is comparable to other, offensive epithets of political vocabulary, such as "racist", "fascist", "imperialist". Those undoubtedly overexploited words loose their original meaning and become a part of an offensive rhetoric used by political opponents.

International scientific and political panels have been trying to develop a commonly accepted and effective definition of terrorism for decades. The obstacles are various political concerns (ideological matters, cultural and individual interest) and all other particularisms which overbalance a reliable, substantive approach and struggle for one consistent theory. Instead of objectively verified terms, there are still being used epithets such as "correct – incorrect", "comprehensible - incomprehensible", "justified – unjustified", which simply cannot be commonly accepted. As the authors fairly tell that ...*as terrorism developed over time, there were codification attempts of several issues related to terrorism. However, terrorism is in its nature a very controversial issue touching political interests of countries. For this reason, the perception of terrorism differs among them. What acts shall be considered as terrorism and actually, who are terrorists? There is not a single answer for this question and the definition of terrorism and terrorist is rather shallow and influenced by political perception. While some countries consider certain movements or groups as friendly, other states may on the contrary consider them as terrorists. There is no general consensus which groups are terrorists and which are not despite in some cases the consensus is much broader. Similarly, there is no single definition of terrorism* [Borarosova, Walter, Filipec, 2017].

Alike conclusions can be found in the book *Od Boga do terroru. Rola religii w ideologii dżihadyzmu na przykładzie organizacji Al-Kaida (From God to terror. The role of religion in ideology of Jihad on case of Al-Kaida),* where the author states that dilemmas about methods of interpretation of terroristic actions are still

current. E.g. militants who fought for the independence of Chechnya, because of their methods were called "terrorists" due to the goals they fight for – "partisans". It is why, it`s crucial to work out a semantic model, enabling to objective and precise specification of terroristic activities, what should implicate ability of differing them apart from partisans or criminal operations [Kosmynka, 2012].

Moreover, in this chapter the authors put an emphasis on the first attempts to codify an international law and its sources, especially in the aspect of covenants relating to the problem of terrorism. There are raised matters of extradition, questions of an international criminal law, and institutions which enforce law-abidingness. Also, this part of book provides information about methods of combating terrorism in aid of human rights or about the problem of "child soldiers" frequently used by terrorist organizations. By raising these questions, the authors conclude that, admittedly, law is not capable of preventing terrorism, but it has powerful tools – rules and regulations - with which it can combat the problem. They highlight that *this fight is sometimes controversial as the borders between terrorism and other forms of violence are very thin and sometimes overlapping. Moreover, terrorism is predominantly a political phenomenon. The role of law in the fight against terrorism has increasingly become important. The new wave of terrorism related to the existence of the Islamic state again questioned the issue of the right balance between civil liberties and freedom on one side and security on the* other [Borarosova, Walter, Filipec, 2017].

In eight chapters of the second part of the book, the authors attempted to create a case study of terrorist organizations, which, though being very different in aspects of ideologies, range, areas and methods of action, are being interrelated with each other by Islamic fundamentalism as a cause of attacks and by playing a meaningful part in the context of global and national security. The authors bring closer to readers the origins of particular organizations, their leadership, and areas and range of activity.

The first organization analyzed by the authors was Al-Qaida – which stood out in minds mostly because of the World Trade Centre attacks (11092001), though it was actually created in the 80` of 20th century. The authors, fairly and at the same time similarly to other scientists exploring specifics of this organization functioning, [Abraham, 2007] present Al-Qaida as a strong, resiliently working terrorist network, which instead of getting weaker against the background of newly established, competitive Islamic organizations, constantly proliferates, enlisting more and more supporters and stretching the geographical area of their activity [Williams, 2002].

The second terrorist organization is the Islamic State (Daesh). The authors fairly state that the activity of this organization is raising nowadays the biggest fears and affrights. They highlight that firstly, Daesh controls enormous zones in the Middle East and secondly, it is an organization which transformed into a self-sufficient, state organization with its own finances and economy. Moreover, its *modus operandi* enables it to quickly reshape from a *quasi*-state organization, into a *stricte* terroristic. The authors seem to confirm the formerly presented thesis of Benjamin Hall, which he delineated in his book entitled *Inside ISIS. The Brutal Rise of a Terrorist Army*. He stated that, even though authorities claim, that terrorists do not take over new territories, as a matter of fact, the situation gets worse constantly. ISIS strengthens itself in cities, toughens its control over occupied areas and

encourages to perform attacks on West and still tortures and murders thousands of innocent people. Moreover, their ranks extend continuously, due the radicals joining in to them, from all over the world [Hall, 2015].

Another case study in this part of publication relates to Al Nusra Front organization. In the authors´ view, it can be comparably dangerous as previously mentioned Islamic State. They emphasize that *the Al-Nusra Front is formally known as Jabhat al-Nusra (JN) 27 and can be considered the official alQaeda (AQ) affiliate in Syria able to operate with strategic, intelligent planning and follow-up in sophisticated actions. ISIS and JN are rivals, although their strategic goals overlap28. The most dangerous feature about JN is also the main difference to ISIS. ISIS is a creation of its own self-announced state through power projection i.e. by conquering of land. JN prefers to select a different method and operates by provoking social and religious transformations, unrests and infiltrating into local revolutions with patience and planning. The current situation in Syria has created almost ideal conditions to execute the strategy of JN, steered indirectly by Al-Qaeda*[Borarosova, Walter, Filipec, 2017].

Shaul Shay and Ely Karmon draw attention to the same features of the organization in the post-conference publication entitled *Jabhat al-Nusra at Crossroads* stating that *both ISIS and JN are Sunni Salafi-jihadi terrorist groups. ISIS has presented itself as a group that can protect Sunnis against the Assad regime, which is aligned with Iran and Hezbollah and Iraqi Shiites. Once ISIS is gone, JN could step in and assume that role. The defeat of ISIS inside of Syria is likely to increase the capability and strength of Jabhat al-Nusra, and can lead to the option of cooperation between the groups. The "emirate" of Jabhat al-Nusra could be al-Qaeda's first sovereign state. If the plan is carried out it could see two "Islamic states" –ISIS and the new al-Qaeda emirate - competing for territory and influence within the borders of war-torn Syria. While the US's strategy in the Middle East is heavily focused on ISIS, which is also known as the Islamic State, ISIL, or Daesh, Jabhat al-Nusra, which is also known as the Nusra Front, is spreading its influence through groups that oppose the regime of Syrian President Bashar Assad. The United States and its western allies fear that if it establishes territorial control it could use Syria as a base for attacking the West, as Osama bin Laden did in Afghanistan*[1].

The African continent is an area of inception and operation of two next terrorist organizations presented in the publication. Al – Shabaab – a terrorist group dominating in Somalia since 2006 and Boko Haram, established in 2002 in Nigeria. As in cases of previously elaborated organizations, both groups were analyzed for their structures, scale of activity and motivations of actions. In the case of Al Shabab, the authors especially highlighted the fact that the main goal of this group is to create competitive administration to currently exercising power government and creating a Somali caliphate in "bigger" Somalia. They signalized, that the attacks conducted by extremists at the territories of Ethiopia, Uganda or Kenya may have a great impact on Somali inhabitants` decision on migration. They also underlined a constant fight of extremists with AMISOM, peacekeeping operation

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[1]   https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309135880_Jabhat_al-Nusra_at_Crossroads, (11.05.2018).

forces of African Union stationing in Somalia since 2007, and also activities beyond the African continent, in Yemen.

In Boko Haram context, the authors drew attention mostly to the fact, that the main target of the organization is incorporation of sharia at the whole territory of Nigeria. They also stressed multidimensionality of the organization, consisting in diversity in aspect of policy of functioning, in the interest of gaining as much supporters as it is possible. *According to a report from the US House of Representatives it is possible that one of Boko Haram factions should deal with domestic problems and other one should deal with international violence. Another report states the group probably split into three factions from whom one of them would wish the end of all the violence, another one seeks the international peace treaty and third one does not wish to stop the violence until the sharia will spread through the whole country* [Borarosova, Walter, Filipec, 2017].

In both cases of those organizations functioning on the African continent, the authors emphasized that their activities are characterized by uncompromisingness, cruelty and a gigantic scale of victims.

John Maszka came to similar conclusions. He spared his whole book to those two organizations - *Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram. Guerrilla Insurgency or Strategic Terrorism?* He accents there that *Boko Haram is now the deadliest "terrorist" organization operational in the world, by virtue of the sheer number of people the group has killed. Together with al-Shabaab, the two groups account for a substantial amount of carnage on the African continent* [Maszka, 2017].

The ninth chapter of the second part of the book, was intended by authors for an analysis of the *East Turkmenistan Islamic Movement*, Muslim separatist organization whose activity`s main theme is separation of Eastern Turkmenistan from China (though the grouping cooperates with Al-Kaida, outside China). In this chapter, the aspect of ethnicity is thoroughly explored. In the authors´ opinion, it need not always be a violence determining factor. However, in case of this organization, which is also fueled by Salafi Jihad and coexistence with Al-Kaida, it undoubtedly radicalizes its activities.

Often, while exploring the symbiosis between ethnicity and violence, other scientists present more firm, categorical views, stating that for the majority of people in the world, especially in Asia, Africa and Europe, the identity is inextricably connected with ethnicity. People are more opened to killing each other, because of ethnic, religion and racial issues, than ideological causes [Czubocha, 2012].

Last two chapters of the book were spared for organizations working on the territories of Chechnya and Pakistan. Arab Mujahideen in Chechnya, is a groupment established in 1995 by Arabic mujahids, which realizes in its activities, *stricte* cruel, brutal methods of fight. The authors are correct in their analysis, which proves media`s incorrect identification of this groupment with Wahhabit`s organization, acknowledging that Wahhabits do not use any kind of violence in their actions.

Lashkar e Tajiba, the last Sunnite organization to be studied over, functioning mostly in Pakistan, though created in 1987 in Afghanistan with the support of Osama Bin Laden, is reasonably recommended by the authors as noteworthy, due to its international and national operations. Its ideology holds concepts of introducing the rules of state of Islam in southern Asia as well as it concentrates on

combat with military forces of India and civilians inhabiting disputed region of Kashmiri. The same assumptions are way more broadly presented by the workers of the Combating Terrorism Centre at West Point in publication entitled *The Fighters of Lashkar-e-Taiba: Recruitment, Training, Deployment and Death.*

It has to be admitted that the second part of the book which is some kind of a compendium about particular terrorist organizations is clearly an added value of this publication, thanks to the fact that it brings to whole book, apart from *stricte* theoretical knowledge, practical aspect - it is the analysis of functioning of fundamentalist, extremist groupments. Even though the authors detailed only eight subjects among from all the others, in reviewers´ opinion, this a little subjective choice seems to be justified because it illustrates different geographical regions (e.g. Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, Somalia, Nigeria, India, Chechnya, Pakistan, etc.) as well as various methods of extremists functioning and combat, and also different ideas. This clearly exemplifies multidimensionality of modern terrorism, problems with eradication of it or even its minimalization.

Obviously, previously there had been released other elaborations of this kind, e.g. *The Mind of the Terrorism. The Psychology of Terrorism from the IRA to AL-QAEDA* , Jerrolda M. Posta [Post, 2007], which had no chance for this kind of analysis, because it was published in 2007, while organizations such as Islamic State, Al. Nusra Front or Al. Shabab weren`t either developed by then or even established at all. Global Jihad. Case study in Terrorist Organizations is a kind of continuation or actualization of all those publications.

The discussed publication is surely worth of noticing, because of the topicality of the subject, range of analysis and substantive knowledge. The authors precisely and deeply explored literature, what is proclaimed by abundant bibliography. What is more, this publication is a meaningful voice in a global terrorism discourse, probability of its evolution and resultant threats. It is recommendable to all the readers interested in Global Jihad`s matters, because of scientific or occupational sakes. In reviewer's opinion, its righteous and legible message guarantees that it will get into the canon of publications pertaining to the problematic of terrorism, for good.

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