

ACTA ASIATICA VARSOVIENSIA  
NO. 28

ACTA ASIATICA VARSOVIENSIA

*Editor-in-Chief*

JERZY ZDANOWSKI

*Subject Editors*

NICOLAS LEVI

JERZY ZDANOWSKI

*Statistical Editor*

MAHNAZ ZAHIRINEJAD

*Board of Advisory Editors*

NGUYEN QUANG THUAN

KENNETH OLENIK

ABDULRAHMAN AL-SALIMI

JOLANTA SIERAKOWSKA-DYNDO

BOGDAN SKŁADANEK

LEE MING-HUEI

ZHANG HAIPENG



Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures  
Polish Academy of Sciences

ACTA ASIATICA VARSOVIENSIA  
NO. 28

ASKON Publishers  
Warsaw 2015

*Secretary*  
Nicolas Levi

*English Text Consultant*  
Stephen Wallis

© Copyright by Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures,  
Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw 2015

Printed in Poland

This edition prepared, set and published by

Wydawnictwo Naukowe ASKON Sp. z o.o.  
Stawki 3/1, 00-193 Warszawa  
tel./fax: (+48) 22 635 99 37  
[www.askon.waw.pl](http://www.askon.waw.pl)  
[askon@askon.waw.pl](mailto:askon@askon.waw.pl)

PL ISSN 0860-6102  
ISBN 978-83-7452-091-1

ACTA ASIATICA VARSOVIENSIA is abstracted in  
*The Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities,*  
*Index Copernicus*



Professor Roman Sławiński  
(1932–2014)



# Contents

INTRODUCTION .....	9
<b>ARTICLES</b>	
MARIANNE BASTID-BRUGUIÈRE, In Memory of Roman Sławiński .....	11
STANISŁAW TOKARSKI, Westernization and Easternization. At the Crossroads of Multicultural Dialogue .....	15
ADAM W. JELONEK, On the So-Called Asian Values Once Again .....	25
ADAM RASZEWSKI, Human Rights in China and the Philosophical Perspective ...	39
ARTUR KOŚCIAŃSKI, Becoming Citizens: The Taiwanese Civil Society .....	51
LARISA ZABROVSKAIA, Women in Confucian Society: Traditions and Developing New Trends .....	61
NICOLAS LEVI, La minorité chinoise à Paris .....	69
IRENA KAŁUŻYŃSKA, Chinese Naming – Substitution by Homophones .....	79
IZABELLA LABĘDZKA, Taiwanese Contemporary Dance: From the Chinese Body to Intercultural Corporality .....	93
LIDIA KASAREŁŁO, The Pop-Cultural Phenomenon of Taiwanese TV Drama: Remodelled Fairy Tales and Playing with Virtues .....	113
EWA CHMIEŁOWSKA, FU-SHENG SHIH, Reshaping the Tradition: Postpartum Care in Modern Taiwan .....	123
DIANA WOLAŃSKA, Musical Inspirations in Japanese Culture .....	137
WALDEMAR DZIAK, China and the October '56 Events in Poland .....	147
IWONA GRABOWSKA-LIPIŃSKA, The Culture and Policy of the People's Republic of China towards Southeast Asian Countries 1949–1976 .....	157
ANNA MROZEK-DUMANOWSKA, NGOs versus FBOs: Cooperation or Rivalry? The Case of the Chosen Asian and African Developing Countries .....	167
DOROTA RUDNICKA-KASSEM, Searching for the Truth: The Life and Work of Abū Ḥāmid Al-Ghazālī .....	181
MARCIN STYSZYŃSKI, Jihadist Activities in the Internet and Social Medias .	193

**FIELD STUDY REPORT**

ROMAN SŁAWIŃSKI, JERZY ZDANOWSKI, The Ethnic Groups and Religious Beliefs of Southern China in the Transformation Period  
Shown as in the Example of the Hunan Province ..... 203

Notes on Contributors ..... 212

## Introduction

Dear Readers!

We are presenting you yet another, already the 28th, issue of *Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia* devoted to the countries and culture of Asia. Over the years of its activity the journal started to be issued in English and it has hosted on its pages many eminent experts on Asia, yet still it remained faithful to its formula which was proposed thirty years ago by Professor Roman Sławiński, the founder of the journal and its permanent editor in chief. This formula stipulated that the Asian cultures should present themselves in the journal and talk directly with their own voice. The idea was both: to include in the group of authors and editors of the magazine scientists who grew up in Asian cultures, as well as to publish materials based on or referring to the texts – philosophical, linguistic, historical, sociological, religious studies or political studies – which were created by the Asian culture. These could be proper names as an object of linguistic research, religious texts, political documents, ideological declarations, but also biographical materials, historiographical elaborations, experience of meeting other cultures and mutual acculturation phenomenon resulting from the relations.

Professor Roman Sławiński left us in November 2014. The more time passes from his death, the more I feel his absence and the more I realize how unique a character he was in the world of research on China. Professor Marianne Bastid-Bruguière, a prominent French scholar from Institut de France in Paris, who met Roman Sławiński in the times of his studies in Beijing, writes about that fact. Most striking is the variety of interests and multidimensionality of research on China which he ran. He was trained as a linguist, and he knew perfectly well not only the classical language, but also many dialects. There was even a time it was appreciated by Mao Zedong himself. Roman Sławiński was interpreting a conversation of the Chinese leader with the Polish state authorities. During the conversation Mao Zedong changed as usual from the classical language to the dialect of Hunan province, which was his place of origin. When he realized he was using the dialect, he noticed that it was not a slightest problem for the interpreter to understand his statements. Then he asked: „Who is that young man who understands the Hunan dialect?” It was known that many Chinese from the surroundings of the Chairman did not understand him when he spoke in the native dialect. It so happened, that Roman Sławiński knew the dialect.

He was interested not only in the language. History, politics, culture as well as China's economy were the subject of his interest and research. His views, opinions and insights on these matters were the inspiration for many researchers of China, some of which are the authors of the materials contained in this issue. Of the many research interests of Professor Sławiński in recent years at least two may be mentioned. First one became Confucianism, especially its latest colours and shades. Professor persistently sought and discovered them in the texts of Chinese scientists, government documents, archives and everyday citizens of China. In this regard he was a dedicated explorer and a keen observer. Even the slightest detail was important to him. Minor personnel changes on the bureaucratic ladder were important for the formation

of general conclusions. From my conversations with him, I got the impression that he was rather skeptical about the possibility of a revival of Confucianism under the supervision of the communist authorities. So he concluded after examining many texts of the so-called new wave of Confucianism in China. His works on the latest Chinese historiography constitute an invaluable contribution to global research on contemporary China. His second passion was the research on the minorities of China Southern. The field research among the peoples of Miao and Tujia that he ran and in which I had the opportunity to participate assumed getting to know the nature of change in the cultural identity of these minorities in the era of globalization and accelerated socio-economic transformation in China. These studies had not been completed, and we can only hope that one of the students of Professor will continue them in the near future.

The arrangement of contents offered to you in the 28th issue of *Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia* refers to the research passions of Professor Sławiński. The first article, written by Stanisław Tokarski – Indologist and long-time associate of Professor Sławiński, concerns dialogue between the East and the West and the possibility of mutual understanding and agreement. Understanding another culture is also the ability to read the symbols contained in the letters and that aspect of the intercultural dialogue interested Professor Sławiński in particular. The question of so-called Asian values – presented in the articles written by Adam Jelonek, Adam Raszewski, Artur Kościański and Larisa Zabrowskaia – was very close to Professor Sławiński and he dealt with it for many years as part of his research on the so-called new Confucianism. The issue of Chinese migration in the world was also in the interests of Professor – mainly in the context of global economic and social phenomena. This part of the research on China is presented in the article on the Chinese migration to France by Nicolas Levi. The issue of Chinese language was obviously important for Professor Sławiński as a linguist and he always welcomed in the columns of *Acta* the authors writing about language and linguistic issues. This area of research is presented in the current issue in the article on Chinese names written by Irena Kałużyńska. On the other hand, the artistic part of the culture is referred to in the articles by Izabella Łabędzka, Lidia Kasarełło, Ewa Chmielowska, Fu-sheng Shih and Diana Wolańska. The first three of these articles relate to Taiwan, where Professor conducted research for many years which resulted among others in a monograph *History of Taiwan*. The further three articles penned by Waldemar Dziak, Iwona Grabowska-Lipińska and Anna Mrozek-Dumanowska refer to the political sphere. Political sphere is inextricably linked with the ideology which was also the case of China. Confucianism and the new Confucianism emerged and developed in the shadow of the emperors, presidents and chairmen of the Chinese Communist Party. Researching them without the analysis of the political scene was not possible. The part of articles is closed by two texts unrelated with China, but with the Middle East. Their authors – Dorota Rudnicka-Kassem and Marcin Styszyński present materials based on the Middle Eastern sources and thus relate to the traditions of *Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia*. The issue is closed by the report from field research in southern China by Professor Sławiński and me. For me it was a unique opportunity to get to know at least a little piece of China – a unique one, because my guide was Professor Sławiński – such a great scholar and such a seasoned expert on Asia.

I would like to thank the authors – students, colleagues and friends – for participation in the preparation of the issue, and the Directorate of the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences for the possibility to dedicate the anniversary issue of *Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia* to Professor Sławiński.

Jerzy Zdanowski

MARCIN STYSZYŃSKI

## Jihadist Activities in the Internet and Social Medias

### Abstract

The present paper concerns studies on communication and propaganda strategies of the main jihadist groups al-Qaeda and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). In fact, agitation campaigns implemented by those organizations enabled to expand ideological and operational influences as well as to encourage different militants in the world to join the battlefield in Syria and Iraq or to carry out terrorist attacks in the West.

Analysis of propaganda techniques reflects al-Qaeda propaganda, which concentrates on limited technical facilities and written manifestos based on liturgical sermon and Arabic rhetoric.

Besides, the research presents some innovative propaganda techniques implemented by ISIS. They concern traditional, liturgical speeches in Arabic addressed to local audiences in mosques and modern forms of communication such as radio and TV stations, social medias including sophisticated programs, high quality pictures, graphics and videos. Moreover, studies on jihadist propaganda show specific ideological competitions between al-Qaeda and ISIS, which try to attract the audience and affect emotions of followers who support particular group.

**Key words:** ISIS, Islam, jihadism, rhetoric, communication

### Introduction

Growing threats and worldwide influences of jihadist organizations such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) or al-Qaeda rely on ideological, military, financial and operational capacities. However, radical Islamist groups could not succeed without appropriate propaganda and communication strategies that enabled to recruit and inspire insurgents, including foreign volunteers.

Al-Qaeda was the first organization, which exploited effectively media agitations, which concentrated on audiovisual manifestos broadcasted by Arab satellite channels and Internet websites. The manifestos had limited technical facilities and they relied on traditional communication forms in the Arab world. In recent times, agitation campaigns have been initiated by ISIS, which focuses on new technologies and social medias. In fact, the death of Osama bin Laden in 2011 and other al-Qaeda's leaders like Anwar Awlaqi or Abu Yahia al-Libi, as well as eruption of the Arab Spring have affected al-Qaeda's ideological and operational capacities. Moreover, failures of the transition process in post-revolutionary countries and overthrow of Islamist representatives by secular and military forces deepened the crisis among al-Qaeda's militants who expected other results and they hoped to share power or to implement their ideological programs.

Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leader of ISIS responded to insurgents' hopes and offered new concept of jihad and implementation of sharia regulations as well as establishment of the historic caliphate. Successful military combats, support of Sunni communities, control of large parts of Syria and Iraq as well as terror campaign and brutal executions reinforced the position of the organization and defined new forms of jihad compared to dignity, bravery, honor and adventure. So far, more than 30 different groups, including insurgents from Asia and Africa have taken an oath to al-Baghdadi.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, al-Qaeda and ISIS compete each other for successful position among worldwide jihadists. The last terrorist attacks in Paris demonstrate this phenomenon. The attack against French *Charlie Hebdo* magazine in January 2015 was carried out by the Kouachi brothers who were inspired by al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). Besides, Amedy Coulibaly, who headed the attack against the kosher supermarket in Paris claimed that he was encouraged by ISIS.<sup>2</sup> Propaganda techniques played a crucial role in motivation and agitation process that encouraged young persons to carry out brutal acts against civilians in France. Similar situation reflect other recruits who are inspired by appropriate forms or messages presented in the Internet and social medias. In this regard, the jihadist propaganda deserves further studied.

### **Traditional concept of jihadist propaganda**

First forms of jihadist propaganda were rather limited and they concerned al-Qaeda organization, which focused on verbal and written manifestos. Audiovisual or stylistic features were limited and less important because al-Qaeda's leaders such as Osama bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri or Musab al-Zarqawi usually delivered their manifestos in difficult logistic conditions in war zones of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq. Propaganda materials delivered by official Islamist websites or TV channels like al-Jazeera contained poor scenery, staid graphics and uniform pictures highlighting figures of the speaker. Moreover, after each terrorist attack insurgents and followers have waited an official statement of al-Qaeda's command and they have respected all ideas, slogans and objectives of the message.

However, propaganda techniques applied in official manifestos exploited the concept of liturgical sermons called *khutba* and Arabic rhetoric called *balagha*. *Khutba* is one of the oldest narrative and oratory forms in the Arab and Muslim world. It is presented in mosques during Friday's prayer or on special occasions of feasts and holidays. Basic narration and stylistic features reflect two parts of the speech. The first one regards short prayers, religious invocations and citations of Quranic verses. It is always followed by the expression: *wa ba'd* (and then; afterwards), which indicates separation between passages in the speech. The second part is delivered after a short break and it is the main fragment of the sermon. It usually concerns religious and moral values or social questions such as unemployment, drug abuse, organized crime or family crisis and positive values of Islam. Discussions are based on the Quran and hadiths (stories, statements and report attributed to the Prophet Mohammad) or various allegories and examples from history and everyday

---

<sup>1</sup> Tobias Feakin and Benedict Wilkinson, 'The Future of Jihad What Next for ISIL and al-Qaeda?', *Strategic Insight, Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, June 2015, pp. 7–8.

<sup>2</sup> Rukmini Callimachi and Jim Yardley, 'From Amateur to Ruthless Jihadist in France', *The New York Times*, January 17, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/18/world/europe/paris-terrorism-brothers-said-cherif-kouachi-charlie-hebdo.html> (accessed 10 November 2015).

life. The speech is concluded by other religious citations.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the central fragment of the sermon also reflect implementation of rhetorical devices regarding different forms of narration and compositions, appropriate words and arguments as well as rhetorical figures like comparisons, metaphors, repetitions or antithesis.<sup>4</sup>

*Khutba* also includes some non-verbal devices and speaker's attributes such as theological skills, respect among believers, presentation of the sermon in liturgical podium above the auditorium as well as sacral clothes during the speech or balanced voice and gestures.<sup>5</sup> It should be pointed out that religious discourse was often politicized by Islamist groups, which used the structure of *khutba* or *balagha* to present political messages in the second part of the speech.<sup>6</sup>

For instance, al-Qaeda's leaders Osama bin Laden or Ayman al-Zawahiri often started their speeches with religious invocations such as: "In the name of God the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful", "Prayer and peace be upon the Prophet", "Peace be upon those who follow the right way" or: "I seek protection in Allah from the accursed Satan". After the expression: *wa ba'd* they concentrated on the second part, which was a combination of political, ideological and religious slogans and demands. Al-Qaeda's publications and media presentations were focusing on two opposite images. The first was based on criticism, accusations and damnations of different political enemies like Western governments and military forces as well as local authorities and officials. The second idea reflected glorification of terrorist activities and encouragement of supporters and militants.

However, those images were based on different rhetorical devices, which had a strong influence on emotions and opinions of the audience. Al-Qaeda's leaders often used particular names and definitions attributed to Western enemies, interior authorities and military forces. For example, many words focused on historical and religious symbols. The publications often contained the words like *salibiyyun* (crusaders), *sihyuniyyun* (Zionists) and *taghut* (a devil, a Satan). The enemies and opponents were also called *kuffar* (sinners), *murtaddun* (apostates) or *a'da Allah ta'ala* (The enemies of Allah). Al-Qaeda's leaders tried to keep alive national and social disproportions as well as religious dissensions between societies in the world. They adopted words containing negative connotations related to a sin, a devil, immorality and hostility as well as critical impressions resulting from crusaders war and Zionism. Moreover, political messages were intensified by certain Quranic verses and *hadith*, which explained objectives of jihadism and justified terrorist activities. Manifestos also concerned traumatic descriptions regarding Muslim communities in particular countries. Many manifestos referred to Western military operations and devastations among civilians in Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia or Chechnya. The arguments affected feelings and reactions of Muslim societies who condoled with victims of military missions in the Arab-Muslim world.

<sup>3</sup> Linda Jones, *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 195–232.

<sup>4</sup> Patrick Gaffney, *The Prophet's Pulpit*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, pp. 271–293.

<sup>5</sup> Jones, *The Power of Oratory...*, pp. 195–232.

<sup>6</sup> Examples presented in the following paper are based on jihadist propaganda materials available in private archives of the author. They were collected from various jihadist websites, social medias as well as al-Jazeera Internet sections that have published al-Qaeda manifestos in the years 2001–2011. Al-Jazeera has finally cancelled navigation to the section. See more: <http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/392BC4D7-E9AA-4E5A-8F33-877EEB0C0781.htm> (accessed 20 November 2011).

The negative opinions about Western countries were also emphasized by distinctive and controversial news frustrating or shocking the public opinion. Jihadist groups benefited from events, which demonstrated humiliation or insults to traditions, beliefs and costumes of Muslim communities around the world. Statements have also mentioned tortures of prisoners in Guantanamo and Abou Ghraib, as well as caricatures of the Prophet Mohammad or a ban of Islamic veil in Europe. The appeal to different arguments were usually followed by final conclusions showing a new kind of crusades against Islam, which encouraged additionally to military and terrorist response. Besides, appropriate arguments glorified militants responsible for the spectacular terrorist plots like the 9/11 attacks or Madrid bombings in 2004 and London attacks in 2005. Al-Qaeda's militants were exalted by metaphoric expressions concerning destruction of the pagan idol, which replaced the literary sense of the 9/11 attacks. The terrorist acts were justified and respected because they generated religious connotations related to struggle against the evil and paganism. Moreover, al-Qaeda referred to glorious events in the Arab-Islamic history and descriptions of distinguished Muslim personalities or heroes like successors of the Prophet Mohammad, famous caliphs or brave military leaders.

Traditional liturgical discourse has affected ISIS's leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi who applied the concept of the sermon in his official speeches. The sermon delivered in Ramadan 2014, in which he announced the establishment of the caliphate is a good example in that context.<sup>7</sup> Contrary to previous jihadist leaders, al-Baghdadi respected all conventions and etiquettes regarding non-verbal and narration features of *khutba*.<sup>8</sup> His sermon was presented in classic Arabic in the main mosque in Mosul above the auditorium in liturgical podium. Al-Baghdadi was wearing sacral clothes and he was standing up at the first step of speech and then he was sitting down during other parts of the discourse. He also avoided loud voices, chaotic gestures or reactions and he used index fingers to precise or underlines some questions.

Apart from personal skills, al-Baghdadi followed strict narration and stylistic devices of *khutba* and *balagha*. He started his speech with religious invocations and citations and after a short break he refers to main subjects concerning spiritual values of the holy month, which absolves from all sins and rehabilitates human souls. Ramadan was confronted with specific concept of jihad described by al-Baghdadi as scarified efforts facilitating defeat of enemies and implementation of Islam values and the historic caliphate. Furthermore, al-Baghdadi's opinions were followed by appropriate argumentations based on sources such as the Quran, hadiths or citations of noble personalities from the history of Muslim empires. For examples, he refers to the speech of the Caliph Abu Bakr who became the first Muslim Caliph from 632 to 634 following the Prophet Muhammad's death. Al-Baghdadi appeals to the famous speech of Abu Bakr after seizure of power: "I have been given the authority over you, and I am not the best of you. If I do well, help me; and if I do wrong, set me right. Sincere regard for truth is loyalty and disregard for truth is treachery. The weak amongst you shall be strong with me until I have secured his rights, if God will; and the strong amongst you shall be weak with me until I have wrested from him the rights of others, if God will. Obey

---

<sup>7</sup> Hannah Strange, 'Islamic State Leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi Addresses Muslims in Mosul', *The Telegraph*, July 5, 2014, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/iraq/10948480/Islamic-State-leader-Abu-Bakr-al-Baghdadi-addresses-Muslims-in-Mosul.html> (accessed 9 November 2015).

<sup>8</sup> Jones, *The Power of Oratory...*, pp. 195–232.

me so long as I obey God and His Messenger. But if I disobey God and His Messenger, ye owe me no obedience. Arise for your prayer, God have mercy upon you".<sup>9</sup>

Al-Baghdadi stated his obedience to Allah's orders like the first caliph Abu Bakr did. He also avoided straight political messages but the appeal to the symbolic speech of Abu Bakr enabled to authorize the new Caliphate, distinguish the power of the new Muslim leader and stimulate allegiance of other jihadist groups. However, the narration of the speech and liturgical style also explained and justified ISIS's policy regarding violent implementation of sharia laws, executions of hostages and rival religious factions.

### Al-Qaeda's media and Internet facilities

Al-Qaeda propaganda techniques have flourished along with development of new technologies and Internet facilities. The organization expanded its activities in particular websites such as *Ansar al-mujahidun* (Supporters of mujahideen), *Shabakat al-jihad al-alamiyi* (Network of Global Jihad), *Shabakat ash-shumukh al-islamiyya* (Islamic Glory Network). The websites often changed their names and technical parameters because of Internet blockade and suspension. The Internet services included various materials produced by media centers like as *as-Sahab* (Cloud) that focused on global issues as well as local services like *Furqan* (Victory) and *al-Fajr* (Dawn) from Iraq or *Kataib* (Battalion) from Somalia, *al-Andalus* (Andalusia) from Maghreb and *al-Malahim* (Epics) from the Gulf. Al-Qaeda's online offensive was determined by growing number of audiovisual materials. For instance, in 2007 *as-Sahab* network released 97 different media productions comparing to 2002 when the organization issued only 6 videos.<sup>10</sup> The concept of media campaign relied on decentralized networks, which posted online materials that usually concerned video reports from battlefields in the Middle East, Asia or north Africa. Statements of regional insurgents were identified by the same composition of texts, which pointed out detailed descriptions of terrorist attacks. All materials stressed dates and way of terrorist attacks as well as information about damages and casualties among security forces and civilian.<sup>11</sup> Besides, local statements became a derivation of the manifestos delivered by al-Qaeda's leaders. For instance, regional insurgents used the same meanings describing different enemies called apostates, pagans or crusaders and they applied similar arguments justifying and glorifying terrorist attacks.

Moreover, regional statements were reinforced by some video materials. Distinctive features of the productions reflected dynamic scenes and combination of different motifs. Many videos started with presentations of al-Qaeda's leaders, who delivered their speeches in front of pictures pointing out spectacular terrorist attacks like September 11 attacks, Madrid bombings in 2004 or London attacks in 2005. The manifestos were interfered with official press releases and videos showing military activities of Al-Qaeda. However, the scenes were supported by religious chants glorifying fighters and condemning enemies, as well as pictures demonstrating tragic situation of Muslim communities around the world.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Rami Munir, *Al-Khitaba ind al-arab*, Bayrut: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 2005, pp. 39– 40.

<sup>10</sup> Craig Whitlock, 'Al-Qaeda's Growing Online Offensive', *The Washington Post*, June 24, 2008, <http://www.washingtonpost.com> (accessed 9 November 2015).

<sup>11</sup> Manifestos of regional jihadist groups were often published by particular websites such as al-Boraq: <http://www.al-boraq.info/showthread.php?t=42304>. (accessed 10 May 2005) or al-Ekhlās: <http://al-ekhlās.net/forum/showthread.php?t=168809> (accessed 10 May 2005).

<sup>12</sup> Al-Qaeda propaganda video issued on You Tube: <http://pl.youtube.com/watch?v=p04IptVK-7M> (accessed 6 June 2008).

Pictures of al-Qaeda's leaders were confronted with videos of local branches that demonstrated in details attacks against local authorities, US army patrols, convoys and official headquarters. The scenes usually showed trapped cars, which exploded in front of military vehicles or governmental buildings. Besides, some reports described every step of the attack. First scenes were called *Idad al-ghazwa* (Preparation of the attack) and they presented preparations of explosives and the trapped car. The scenes were followed by sequences showing greetings and wishes between fighters and their commandants. Afterwards, the videos focused on travel through the target called *Rihla* (Journey). Last scenes highlighted strong detonation of explosives placed in cars or trucks. Sometimes, the final scenes were repeated and slowed down to point out the moment of the destruction.<sup>13</sup> All films included appropriate battle songs encouraging the audience to support al-Qaeda's activities. The chants contained burdens like: "The fate to the target has started" or: "Dear Mather! Pass the racket Katyusha and put on the back a uniform of cartridge".<sup>14</sup> The phrases conserved their rhymes and they expressed poetic, pathetic or sentimental character of the battle compared to heroism, dignity and adventures. Furthermore, encouragements and glorifications of terrorist attacks were also based on pictures illustrating pride, glory and happiness of death fighters. Many videos scenes included pictures of smiling and happy faces of combatants after the attack, as well as inscriptions: "After the sacrifice, an aroma of musk has risen from his body".<sup>15</sup> The authors of films adopted magic and spiritual elements to terrorist acts that affected sentiments and emotions of insurgents, who considered terror actions as heroic deeds.

### New forms of jihadist propaganda

Counter-terrorism campaigns have decreased the role of al-Qaeda's official websites that were censored, blocked and suspended. Webmasters had limited access to Internet services and militants were forced to use suitable passwords and logins.

ISIS took a lesson from the situation and implemented some innovative forms of propaganda that includes new technologies such as TV channels, radio stations or social medias and sophisticated online magazines issued in PDF versions. It should be pointed out that all sources are available in different free Web hosting or uploading sites. They are released in multilingual versions in order to attract wide audience, especially young militants from Western countries.<sup>16</sup> *Dabiq* magazine became an important communication platform for radical Islamists around the world.<sup>17</sup> The name refers to the historic Battle of Marj Dabiq near Aleppo in Syria. In 1516 the Ottoman army conquered most of the Middle East, which encompassed the entire region of Syria and built the new Empire.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Al-Qaeda propaganda video issued on You Tube: <http://pl.youtube.com/watch?v=umfq-Bht4KM&NR=1> (accessed 6 June 2008).

<sup>14</sup> Al-Qaeda propaganda video issued on You Tube: <http://pl.youtube.com/watch?v=zwgrAuZKLNA> (accessed 6 June 2008).

<sup>15</sup> Al-Qaeda propaganda video issued on You Tube: <http://pl.youtube.com/watch?v=m8yYO7bUp-E&NR=1> (accessed 6 June 2008).

<sup>16</sup> Franck Daninos, 'Internet, Arme de Persuasion Massive', *Hors-Series science et avenir*, Juillet-Aout, 2015, pp. 10–14.

<sup>17</sup> PDF versions of *Dabiq* magazine are available on the website Jihadology: <http://jihadology.net/category/dabiq-magazine/> (accessed 9 November 2015).

<sup>18</sup> Richard Gray, *The Cambridge History of Africa*, Vol. 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp. 14–15.

Instead of long theological and political discussions, the magazine contains short messages based on suggestive graphics and provocative pictures similar to tabloid press or comics. Cover and first pages from the magazine usually present main headlines, including slogans regarding policy and strategy of the new caliphate. Statements, manifestos and short reports are always followed by photos illustrating ISIS successful offensives and campaigns in Syria and Iraq, images of wounded soldiers among fires and explosions as well as victorious parades of militants in controlled cities or harvest campaign and distribution of food and water. Other pictures show brutal executions of Shia prisoners, representatives of Christian and Yazidi communities or some colorful and sophisticated graphics showing spectacular terrorist attacks around the world. The pictures are followed by symbolic sentences such as: “Khalifa declared”, “A new era has arrived” or: “It’s either the Islamic state of the flood”.

The *Dabiq* respects traditional concept of propaganda popularized by previous jihadist leaders such as Osama bin Laden, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. For example, different opponents are usually called *salibiyyun* (crusaders), *taghut* (a devil, a Satan) or *kuffar* (sinners) and *murtaddun* (apostates). The meanings are already known for radical Islamists, who compare Western and local authorities to the Devil, sins, immorality, crusaders wars or Zionism. Furthermore, the *Dabiq* presents transliterations of the Arabic words without English equivalents in order to conserve stylistic traditions of jihadist propaganda and to identify symbolic meanings that unite and strengthen ISIS insurgents and followers. It should be also pointed out, that ISIS hijacked the stylistic and linguistic concept of the *Inspire* magazine issued by Anwar al-Awlaki who has been killed in 2011 by drone attack on his convoy in Jawf province, Yemen.<sup>19</sup> Sophisticated and modern style of the *Inspire* magazine contained short messages in English based on suggestive graphics and significant pictures similar to tabloid press or comics and graffiti. The slogans exposed in the journals usually refer to martyrdom and bravery of militants as well as destructive activities of Western countries.

Apart from online journals and magazines ISIS broadcasts the radio station called *al-Bayan* (Statement) and TV station al-Hayat Media Center as well as the Internet service *A'maq Ikhbariyya* (Depth of Information). The audiovisual tools enable to implement sophisticated programs and headlines, including high quality pictures, graphics and videos regarding statements on terrorist attacks, short multilingual reports from battlefields in Syria and Iraq, brutal executions of hostages as well as manifestos glorifying attacks against enemies and implementation of ISIS laws and regulation in controlled territories.<sup>20</sup> For example, some media sources present modifications of heroes and graphics appearing in popular video games or Hollywood films. They are attributed to local fighters who are compared in that way to brave and famous heroes fighting with brutal enemies.

Statements released by ISIS media stations are often similar to the war reports published by al-Qaeda in the past. They usually contain dates and type of attacks as well as number of casualties among security forces and civilians. However, descriptions and updates are always followed by appropriate graphics, pictures, color scheme and logos that identify the organization.

<sup>19</sup> Howard Koplowitz, ‘US Formally Admits Killing Anwar Al-Awlaki, 3 Other Citizens, In Drone Strikes’, *International Business Times*, May 22, 2013, <http://www.ibtimes.com/us-formally-admits-killing-anwar-al-awlaki-3-other-citizens-drone-strikes-full-text-1275805> (accessed 29 June 2014).

<sup>20</sup> Asma Ajroudi, ‘It sounds like BBC: ISIS seeks legitimacy via ‘caliphate’ radio service’, *Al-Arabiya News*, June 12, 2015, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/media/television-and-radio/2015/06/12/-It-sounds-like-BBC-ISIS-seeks-legitimacy-via-caliphate-radio-service-.html> (accessed 10 November 2015).

ISIS also exploits social medias such as Twitter. Militants usually avoid Facebook or Instagram profiles because in their opinions they have poor security and encrypting tools. Besides, new encrypting programs and application become more and more popular among jihadists who try to protect their identity and conversations.<sup>21</sup> However, ISIS is still very active in Twitter that facilitates fast communication and publication of short messages, graphics and videos. ISIS's profiles contain appropriate avatars that identify users, their political views and character of displayed materials. Every tweet generates other posts and profiles reflecting common ideas of jihadism, glorification of fighters and condemnation of local and Western authorities or threats of future attacks. Twitter profiles also regard unofficial services of Hayat Media Center or *A'maq Ikhbariyya* as well as less known accounts services like *Somood* from Afghanistan or *Qabas* and *Rimah*, which focus on ISIS policy in the world or Syrian and Iraqi territories. Furthermore, ISIS militants can freely express their opinions, manifestos, graphics and videos. The new phenomenon was obvious during the terrorist attack against the *Charlie Hebdo* magazine in Paris in January 2015. ISIS's followers published a tragic photo of a dead policemen lying on the ground. It should be noted that first videos from the attack showed a terrorist shooting a police officer who tried to help people executed in the editorial board of the *Charlie Hebdo*. Twitter accounts used by ISIS released the picture of the killed policeman with short inscriptions: "If we do not revenge the Prophet, we do not will know prosperity" and: "The attack against the newspaper which published pictures insulting the Prophet".<sup>22</sup> The commentaries explained and justified the attacks and they glorified ISIS's policy.

Blocking of Twitter accounts are ineffective because suspended profiles are replaced by new users who often change their avatars and names. According to the United States Department of Defense there are around 6000 active ISIS users. Some surveys estimate 46,000 ISIS's supporters who use Twitter accounts.<sup>23</sup> It is also more and more difficult to identify potential supporters, militants and terrorists because they use various avatars, profiles, symbols and particular words that unite them and facilitate communication and exchange of materials. It should be pointed out that communication between jihadists relies on appropriate words and phrases in Arabic. They identify internet accounts and hashtags in Twitter service. Internet users usually refer to Arabic hashtags like: *khilafa* (caliphate) and *dawla islamiyya* (Islamic State), *jund al-khilafa* (soldiers of the caliphate) or *shabakat al-jihad al-alamiiyyi* (worldwide jihadi network), *a'maq ikhbariyya* and *ansar al-mujahidin* (followers of mujahideens) that are a derivation of popular jihadist websites. The words are often modified and they include additional epithets in Arabic in case of blocking and suspension. Many Tweeter accounts also reflect different statements, threats and short commentaries posted after particular terrorist attacks. The accounts are usually attributed to the hashtag *ghazwa mubaraka* (blessed invasion) with an appropriate name of the country affected by terrorist threats and attacks.

<sup>21</sup> Kim Zetter, 'ISIS's Opsec Manual Reveals how it Handles Cybersecurity', *Wired*, November, 19, 2015, <http://www.wired.com/2015/11/isis-opsec-encryption-manuals-reveal-terrorist-group-security-protocols/> (accessed 19 November 2015).

<sup>22</sup> Posts and commentaries published in jihadist profiles in Twitter service: [www.twitter.com/ss20y4\\_zz/status/5529008774030454784](http://www.twitter.com/ss20y4_zz/status/5529008774030454784) (accessed 20 January 2015).

<sup>23</sup> Allison Astorino-Courtois and Sarah Canna (eds), 'ISIL Influence and Resolve', *Special Operations Command Central – SOCCENT, A Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Periodic Publication*, September 2015, pp. 11–13.

## Conclusion

The research presented in the paper has demonstrated some communication and propaganda strategies of the main jihadist groups al-Qaeda and ISIS. Analysis of propaganda techniques showed that al-Qaeda's media campaigns have concentrated on limited technical facilities and written manifestos based on liturgical sermon and Arabic rhetoric. Moreover, in recent times al-Qaeda has decreased its propaganda capacities because of censorship and suspension of official websites. The agitation process was replaced by successful ideological and military offensives of ISIS that spread different sorts of agitation techniques, especially in social medias such as Twitter. Besides, studies on jihadist propaganda presented some common propaganda mechanisms applied by al-Qaeda and ISIS. In fact, al-Qaeda has inspired ISIS's militants who applied similar propaganda materials. Both organizations have delivered liturgical speeches and adopted rhetorical features in their sermons. On the other, al-Baghdadi's sermons had more effective impacts on the audience that appreciated adherence to the stylistic principles of the sermon and ideological or theological messages. Besides, both organizations released similar statements compared to war reports that have included appropriate graphics, narration and stylistic or rhetorical figures as well as similar descriptions of terrorist attacks and information about damages and causalities. This phenomenon also reflected the *Dabiq* magazine published by ISIS and the *Inspire* magazine issued by Anwar al-Awlaqi from al-Qaeda. In this regard, both organizations have been operating like a well-coordinated enterprise with particular logos, appropriate graphics or color schemes.

However, contrary to al-Qaeda's media campaigns, ISIS reinforced various channels of communications and exploited new technologies and Internet facilities. For instance, activities in social medias have expanded ideological and operational influences of ISIS and encouraged different militants in the world to join al-Baghdadi's organization. Various Internet accounts and Tweeter profiles have enabled to express jihadist objectives and to spread extremist ideas among internet users in order to recruit new fighters and to inspire terrorist attacks.

The research presented in the paper also showed some new challenges for security and counterterrorism policies in the world. It should be pointed out that it is more and more difficult to identify potential supporters, militants and terrorists because they use various avatars, profiles, symbols and particular Arabic hashtags that unite them and facilitate communication and exchange of materials. Besides, blocking of Twitter accounts are ineffective because suspended profiles are replaced by new users who often change their avatars and profiles.



## Notes on Contributors

MARIANNE BASTID-BRUGUIÈRE, an outstanding sinologist graduated from the Ecole Nationale des Langues et Civilisations Orientales and Peking University who worked for the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris and was named Grand Officer of the Légion d'honneur in 2010

STANISŁAW TOKARSKI, Professor Emeritus at the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, e-mail: s-tokarski@o2.pl

ADAM W. JELONEK, Professor at the Institute of Middle and Far Eastern Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, e-mail: ajelonek@hotmail.com

ADAM RASZEWSKI, PhD student at the Institute of Political Science of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, e-mail: voland7@onet.eu

ARTUR KOŚCIAŃSKI, Assistant Professor at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, e-mail: akoscian@ifispan.waw.pl

LARISA ZABROVSKAIA, Professor at the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography of Far Eastern People of the Far Eastern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Vladivostok, e-mail: larisa51@hotmail.com

NICOLAS LEVI, Assistant Professor at the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, e-mail: nicolas\_levi@yahoo.fr

IRENA KALUŻYŃSKA, Professor at the Department of Sinology of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw, e-mail: i.s.kaluzynska@uw.edu.pl

IZABELLA ŁABĘDZKA, Professor at the Chair of Asian Studies of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, e-mail: izarab@amu.edu.pl

LIDIA KASAREŁŁO, Professor at the Department of Sinology of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw, and at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Jagiellonian University, e-mail: lidia.kasarello@uw.edu.pl

EWA CHMIELOWSKA, PhD candidate of Department of Anthropology, Institute of Zoology, Jagiellonian University, e-mail: ewa.chmielowska@uj.edu.pl

FU-SHENG SHIH, PhD, Assistant Professor of Department of Sociology, Soochow University, Taipei, Taiwan, e-mail: fusheng@scu.edu.tw

ANNA MROZEK-DUMANOWSKA, Professor at the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, e-mail: abdumanowscy@wp.pl

DIANA WOLAŃSKA, Doctoral Candidate at the Faculty of Humanities, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, e-mail: alanis7@wp.pl

WALDEMAR J. DZIAK, Professor at the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw

IWONA GRABOWSKA-LIPIŃSKA, PhD, politologist-sinologist graduated from the Warsaw University, former co-worker of Professor Roman Sławiński in Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, e-mail: iwona.grabowska.lipinska@gmail.com

MARCIN STYSZYŃSKI, Associate Professor in the Faculty of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, e-mail: martin@amu.edu.pl

DOROTA RUDNICKA-KASSEM, Associate Professor at the Institute of Middle and Far Eastern Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, e-mail: d.rudkass@interia.pl

ROMAN SŁAWIŃSKI (1932–2014) was a Professor of Sinology at the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw and the Editor-in-Chief of *Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia*

JERZY ZDANOWSKI, Professor at the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, e-mail: [jerzyzda@gmail.com](mailto:jerzyzda@gmail.com)