

Marcin Styszyński

JIHAD PROPAGANDA DURING THE MILITARY INTERVENTION IN MALI

Introduction

The tragic humanitarian situation in Sahel and domination of rebel groups in the north of Mali became a side effect of so-called the Arab Spring. It was evident after the collapse of Muammar Gaddafi's regime in Libya and instability of the region, which affected traffic of weapons, drugs and jihadists across frontiers.

However, the military intervention in Mali in January 2013 influenced on propaganda campaign conducted by main jihadist networks and websites such as such as *Shabakat ash-shumūkh al-islāmiyya* (Islamic Glory Network), *Anṣār al-mujāhidūn* (Supporters of mujahidun) or *Shabakat al-jihād al-'alāmiyyi* (Network of Global Jihad) or *Al-Andalus* (Andalusia). The jihadist media campaign didn't distinguish any particular organizations like Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJWA) or Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) operating in Sahel. All groups were defined as a uniform jihad platform including rebels from Sahel, Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia or Syria and Chechnya.

The propaganda against the operation in the northern Mali became a response to official media campaign explaining and justifying attacks against rebel camps in Gao, Timbuktu and Kidal regions. Besides, jihad activities were confronted with Muslim theologians and preachers who condemned radical organizations for imposing their policy and laws to local communities. For example, Sheikh Mahmoud Dikko, the leader of the High Islamic Council in Sahel criticized jihadism and pro-

posed theological debate and preaching activities regarding moderate and peaceful version of Islam.¹

It should be pointed out that jihadist manifestos and statements regarding Mali conflict are based on particular stylistic and rhetoric devices, which enable to expose slogans and demand as well as persuade the audience and affect its emotions and sentiments.

Application of religious rhetoric in jihad propaganda

Jihad propaganda regarding Mali is based on religious rhetoric similar to the concept of *khuṭba* (a sermon), which is one of the oldest narrative and oratory form delivered by theologians called *khaṭīb*. The sermon consists of two parts. The first one usually starts with religious invocations, which are always followed by the expression: *wa ba'd* (and then; afterwards). It indicates separation between passages in the text and concentration on main subjects. The religious orations usually regard religious questions such as piety, *hudā* (the right way in life), as well as good behavior and morality. The second part is delivered after a short break of *khaṭīb*. It usually concerns current events and issues of local community, some social questions as well as existential problems. However, all considerations are usually based on religious sources such as the Quran or hadith.²

In fact, the structure of *khuṭba* becomes a useful background for radical leaders who express their political slogans and demands. It should be pointed out that many jihadist manifestos and statements are called in Arabic *khuṭba* that enable to expose religious and respectful connotations of the discourse.

The following examples show some similarities between sermons and jihadist manifestos regarding the conflict in Sahel. They are often started with *Basmala* – a collective name for the phrase: *Bismi-Allāhi ar-raḥmāni ar-raḥīm* (In the name of God the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful), which is recited several times as part of daily prayers and is usually the first phrase in many document or books. The manifestos also contain additional invocations like: *Aṣ-ṣalātu wa as-salāmu 'alā an-Nabiyy* (Prayer and peace be upon the Prophet), *As-salāmu'alā man ittaba'a al-hudā* (Peace be upon those who follow the right way) or: *A'udhu bi-Allahi min ash-shayṭāni ar-raḥīmī* (I seek protection in Allah from the accursed Shaytan). The invocations are followed by the expression: *wa ba'd* and passages regarding main ideological and political ideas. The manifestos are usually concluded by other religious citations such as: *Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwa illā bi-Allahi* (There is no power nor might save in Allah), *Li-takūna kalimat Allahi hiya al-'ulyā* (The Word of Allah is the Supreme) or *Saddid ar-ramya wa thabbit al-aqdāma* (Allah! Abstain the fall and strengthen the foot).

¹ V. Thorin, *L'intervention française et après?*, „Afrique-Asie” 2013, Février, p. 24–26.

² F. Abu Zeid, *Al-Khuṭab al-ilhamiyya*, „Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Imān wa al-Hayāt” 2009, p. 274–277.

The Quranic verses – ayat also play an important role in the jihadist campaign. They explain and authenticate the fight against French and African forces in Sahel. In the first days of the French operation in Mali jihadist forums contained some threats based on the aya 33 from surat Al-Ma'ida:

إِنَّمَا جَزَاءُ الَّذِينَ يُحَارِبُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ، وَيَسْعَوْنَ فِي الْأَرْضِ
فَسَادًا أَنْ يُقَتَّلُوا أَوْ يُصَلَّبُوا أَوْ تُقَطَّعَ أَيْدِيهِمْ
وَأَرْجُلُهُمْ مِّنْ خَلْفٍ أَوْ يُنْفَوْا مِنَ الْأَرْضِ ذَلِكَ لَهُمْ
خِزْيٌ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَلَهُمْ فِي الْآخِرَةِ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ ﴿٣٣﴾

Indeed, the penalty for those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger and strive upon earth [to cause] corruption is none but that they be killed or crucified or that their hands and feet be cut off from opposite sides or that they be exiled from the land. That is for them a disgrace in this world; and for them in the Hereafter is a great punishment.³

The theological and key sense of the aya is adapted to modern political context. The literally meaning of the fragment suggests violent acts against enemies. In fact, different exegesis and interpretations of the Quran explain that brutal punishments described in the verse regard *quṭṭā' aṭ-ṭarīq* (those who cut the road, aggressors and criminals) who committed different crimes during the first period of Islam.⁴

The ignorance of particular historical and social facts as well as literal interpretation of the Quranic verses influence on matching the violent acts mentioned in the aya with present enemies such as local authorities or Western governments.

The religious background applied in the jihad propaganda is also combined with rhetorical devices such as *majāz* (metaphor) or *tashbīh* (comparison), which affect different emotions and sentiments of the audience.⁵

The jihad propaganda attributes specific metaphors to Western and local authorities as well as military forces. The enemies are usually called *ṣalībiyyūn* (crusaders), *'ubbād aṣ-ṣalīb* (believers of the crust), *sihyūniyyūn* (Zionists) and

³ A. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'ān. Text and translation*, Kuala Lumpur 2007, p. 124. see also: www.quran.com/5 [15.06.2013]. The aya published in jihadist's websites: www.as-ansar.com/vb/showthread.php?t=78681 [15.06.2013].

⁴ Abū 'Abd Allāh as-Sa'dī, *Taysīr al-Karīm ar-Raḥmān fī tafsīr kalām al-mannān*, Beirut 2012, p. 185.

⁵ It should be pointed out that rhetorical techniques applied in jihad propaganda are based on classic principles of Arabic *balāgha* (rhetoric) studies presented by medieval rhetoricians like Abū 'Uthmān Al-Jāhiz (d. 869), 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 1078), As-Sakkākī (d. 1229) or Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1239). However, those rules are used by jihadists selectively and they are adopted to modern concepts of propaganda. See: E. Abd al-Latif, *Madkhal balāghi li-taḥlīl al-khuṭab as-siyāsī*, „Alif” 2010, No. 30, p. 146–175.

taghūt (a devil, a Satan). The enemies and opponents are also called *kuffār* (sinners) or *awbāsh Ifrīqyā* (ragtag and bobtail of Africa). Besides, the expression: *hamla ṣalībiyya dīdda al-islām* (crusaders' operation against Islam) defines military activities against rebel camps. The metaphors are repeated in every passages of the manifestos in order to define and precise the new semantic substitute for the military intervention in Mali. The figurative words are also related to euphemisms,⁶ which modify and hide the real sense of meanings and refer to historical and religious conflicts, which are placed in modern contexts. The meanings contain negative connotations related to a sin, a devil, immorality and hostility as well as critical impressions resulting from crusaders war, colonialism and Zionism.

Application of rhetorical argumentation in jihad propaganda

Jihadist groups apply additional rhetoric features to discuss and express their opinions and ideas. The concept of *jadāl* (discussion) plays a crucial role in the jihad propaganda. It's similar to the rhetorical argumentation and appeal to authority. The Arguments in Arabic rhetoric regard different respectful sources such as Quranic verses, hadith or poetry and citation of honorable theologians and philosophers. They also refer to historic and present events as well as casual stories.⁷ In fact, all sources are rooted in the culture, history and everyday life of local communities. Moreover, *jadāl* is matched up with three major factors considered in the manifestos:

1. Economic and political exploitation of the region as well as oppression against Muslim communities in Sahel.
2. Globalization of the local conflict.
3. Encouragements of supporters and threats against enemies.

The following examples show the importance of the first factor. Al-Qaeda leader in Sahel, Mukhtar Belmukhtar, discusses the humiliation of Muslim communities in the region. After the terrorist attack in In Amanes⁸ in January 2013 he states in his speech that the majority of Mali communities has chosen shari'a law, which is combated and destroyed by invaders, crusaders and sinners.⁹

He also criticizes and discredits local governments and their support of Western intervention in the region. Belmukhtar blames the Algerian authorities because of their agreement concerning French military flights above Algerian soil. The decision is confronted with the sacrifice of 1,5 millions of martyrs died in the *Algerian War of Independence* from 1954 to 1962. The argument affects sen-

⁶ Euphemism in Arabic rhetoric isn't specified and it is classified to different types of *majāz* (metaphors).

⁷ H. Abdul Raof, *Arabic rhetoric, a pragmatic analysis*, New York 2006, p. 295–296.

⁸ A. Mouat, *In Amanas- Le film de l'opération*, „El-Watan”, 20.06.2013, p. 5.

⁹ SITE Intelligence Group- Monitoring Service- Jihadist threats: www.siteintelgroup.com [15.06.2013].

timents of the auditorium and its sensitive impressions about the fight against the French colonialism. However, the historical context of the arguments is combined with negative impressions about present policy of local governments. Moreover, the arguments cover the tragic sense of terrorist attacks and ennobled struggle against different authorities.

The similar concept of arguments and slogans is included in the manifesto of the main Al-Qaeda leader in Maghreb, Abd al-Malik Droukdel alias Abu Musab al-Wadoud. His discourse was posted on jihadist forums in December 2012, a couple of weeks before the intervention in Mali.¹⁰

Besides different religious basis glorifying shari'a law and blaming enemies, Abu al-Wadoud focuses on examples, which illustrate devastating economic policy of Western countries not only in Maghreb or in Sahel, but also in southwestern African states like Ivory Coast, Senegal or Cameroon. In his opinion, the real sense of Western presence in the continent regards exploitation of natural resources such as gas, oil or uranium. The negative image is intensified by description of poor African children collecting cacao-trees for multinational companies producing chocolate. Droukdel stresses that Western concerns for people in the region are just a political game, which covers authentic purposes of economic and social domination. He also states that Western ignorance of massacres in Syria is a good example in this context.

The similar arguments are underlined in the statement of the radical theologian from the Gulf, Abd ar-Rahman as-Sa'd, who demonstrates hypocrisy and egoism of Western countries, which take illusively care about local communities in Sahel and at the same time they ignore the tragedy in Syria or Palestine.¹¹ Sheikh as-Sa'd confronts his ideas with the phrase:

The things done by France in Mali are just a crusade against Muslims in Mali. Damages of this war can't be hidden. The biggest destructions regard killing of children, women and old people.¹²

The sentence is marked out in the text and it's repeated several times in every passages. Sheikh as-Sa'd tries to reveal a favorable image for the jihad propaganda. The reports about casualties and attacks against innocents affect emotions and increase negative attitude to the military operation in Sahel. They stimulate revenge as well.

The statement of Sheikh as-Sa'd also contains some additional arguments showing the anti-Islamic policy of the West. He refers to the present conflict in the Central African Republic and the coup made by the Seleka rebel coalition in March

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ www.saaaid.net/fatwa/f117.htm [20.07.2013].

¹² *Ibidem*.

2013 against the president François Bozizé.¹³ He stresses that French forces didn't interfere in this country because there aren't Muslim inhabitants and valuable natural resources. He imputes additional conclusions suggesting that the military operation in Sahel concerns only Muslim communities living in African countries. Moreover, the complicated social and political situation in Africa is simplified and adapted to convictions of jihadist followers.

The examples of persecutions are also expressed in the propaganda of radical groups like Boko Haram and Ansaru acting in Nigeria and other regions in the southwest Africa.

After the brutal kidnapping of French Moulin-Fournier family in northern Cameroon in February 2013,¹⁴ the Ansaru organization has posted a video explaining and justifying terrorist acts. The media statement is focused on Baga massacre in Nigeria in April 2013 when hundreds of civilians were killed or wounded by Nigerian military forces.¹⁵ The tragic pictures show burned villages, massacred bodies and destroyed mosques. The Quran scattered across devastated and dirty places becomes an additional suggestive image for spectators.

The Ansaru organization publicizes the tragic events in Baga that seem to be unsaid in the official media discourse regarding the crisis in Sahel. The exposure of persecutions against Muslims in Nigeria covers harmful activities of jihadist and create a positive image demonstrating self-defense against humiliation conducted by local authorities supported by Western countries like USA or France.

The second factor regarding the globalization of the Mali conflict plays an important role, too. It's evident in the discourse of Belmukhtar. Al-Qaeda leader stresses some demands such as release of radical sheikh Abd ar-Rahman who was engaged in The World Trade Center bombing occurred in 1993¹⁶ or release of Aafia Siddiqui, a nuclear scientist from Pakistan, who was accused of cooperation with Al-Qaeda.¹⁷

The arguments demonstrate solidarity and loyalty of Maghrebian structure of Al-Qaeda with ideas and goals of other groups in the Middle East, Africa or Asia.

¹³ V. Munié, *Agonie silencieuse de la Centrafrique*, „Le Monde Diplomatique”, Octobre 2013, p. 12.

¹⁴ M. Harjani, *Nigeria's Fight against Boko Haram*, „Counter Terrorist Trends and Analysis” 2013, Vol. 5, No. 7, p. 12–15.

¹⁵ A. Nossiter, *Massacre in Nigeria Spurs Outcry Over Military Tactics*, „The New York Times” 2013, April 30, www.nytimes.com/2013/04/30/world/africa/outcry-over-military-tactics-after-massacre-in-nigeria.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1& [28.11.2013].

¹⁶ J. McKinley, *Islamic Leader on U.S. Terrorist List Is in Brooklyn*, „The New York Times” 1990, December 16, www.nytimes.com/1990/12/16/nyregion/islamic-leader-on-us-terrorist-list-is-in-brooklyn.html [28.06.2013].

¹⁷ D. Walsh, *The mystery of Dr Aafia Siddiqui*, „The Guardian” 2009, November 24, www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/nov/24/aafia-siddiqui-al-qaida [28.06.2013].

It should be remarked that most of the terrorists involved in In Amanes attack came from other countries like Libya, Tunisia, Egypt or Canada, France, Niger and Mali.¹⁸ In fact, the objective of global demands also regards the request of additional foreign supports in order to prepare other attacks in the region.

The generalization of the Mali conflict is also considered by Abu Musab al-Wadoud, who compares the crisis in Sahel to tragic events in Afghanistan, Iraq or Somalia. He stresses that the West has divided its interests in the Arab and Muslim world into American influences in the Middle East and Asia as well as French domination in northwestern Africa. The withdrawal of French forces from Afghanistan in 2012 and their transfer to Sahel is a strong argument for Droukdel.

The Mali crisis is also elaborated in the jihadist journals like *Ṣaḍā al-Jihād* (Echo of the Jihad) or the English issue of Inspire magazine. They target young and Western audience because of sophisticated and modern style. Instead of long theological and political discussions, the journals contain short messages 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. The following pictures show specific strategy of the journals:



First page of the journal: *Ṣaḍā al-Jihād* (Echo of the Jihad) with bloody graphics and the suggestive inscription: The crusade against Islamic Maghreb.

¹⁸ www.edition.cnn.com/2013/01/18/world/africa/algeria-attackers [20.07.2013].

THE NATION STANDING ON 'NO VALUES'



The page from *Inspire magazine* including youth-oriented graphics of the White House combined with jihad slogans regarding condemnation of American policy.

16 **INSPIRE** | 10-Minute Media | Winter 2013

17

France, the Imbecile Invader

Abu Abdullah Almorad

The Western crusader tend - if not pretend - to forget historical facts. They do not want to learn from the defeats they gulped since their first crusade against Muslims in the 11th century. We do not have to recount that history. And those incidents are enough a proof for the crusaders that our muslim ummah is capable of inflicting them with heavy defeats in spite of the difference of weapons and numbers which have always been at their advantage.

On the dawn of 2013, France underestimated the catastrophic consequence it will face. It stupidly announced a crusade on the Muslim Mali for declaring Muslims state governed by the Shari'ah of Allah. It announced its crusade for Mali has "violated" human rights by banning music and alcohol. What a stupid move!

It would have been appropriate for France to remember the lessons from its colonial era and how it forced jihad force and assistance especially in Algeria. France should have taken into consideration the blessed jihad incidents against Italy in the newly built century, when it occupied Libya. France should remember the guerrilla way fought under the leadership of the Lion of the Desert, Omar al-Mukhtar. France should have backed away and retire after it has gulped the bitterness of defeat in Afghanistan in the hands of the Taliban mujahideen. It should have turned its attention to its crumbling economy especially that the Euro Zone is in a deep recession as a result of a decade plus war in Afghanistan and Iraq. France should have considered that the jihad movement in the Muslim world, especially Al-Qaeda, is stronger than to be beaten in a rapid deployment. There are many considerations which it had to put into its mind before engaging in a direct war in Mali.

And if it does not mind all these considerations in the path of defending "freedom of nations" and "human rights" as it claims, then where is it from the Syrian revolution? Does Bashar Al-Assad respect human rights which France claims to defend? Where is it from the massacre in Burma? Where is it from Pakistan which is bombarded day and night? Which freedom and rights is it talking about? The freedom of living in peace with adequate resources? Or the freedom of adultery, homosexuality, interest and other things parties? Where is its "freedom of conscience" when it banned Hijabs of muslim women? Is saying, killing and looting part of the freedom? It rights to us we have seen in Mali in the last weekend of your invasion in the deeds of your troops. As to the Muslim, their strategic notion is that the West is losing its prestige and its military and technical superiority wherever it dispatches guns and boots in a muslim land. Our notion is that the West is losing the components of strength, influence and uprightness when it fails and its economy is tested. And nothing exhausts the economy like a long bloody war, moreover in a warzone like the desert of Mali. Our notion is that the muslim ummah which has brought forth millions of martyrs in the way of fighting the crusader occupies in the colonial era is the same ummah which will support jihad with men and wealth in this era, but this time the support will be bigger and greater. Greater because the ummah has become more connected and bonded. Greater because the muslim has freed itself from the influence of the tyrants in the Arab Spring.

Almost all political and military analysts are predicting an inevitable catastrophe will hit France and

whoever is allied in that war. Even her dear common future are calling it a hurry decision. Yes, it is a hurry decision to engage in such a dangerous and desperate of the African terrain. I wonder how our spoiled liberal media manage to put a battle in the dry terrain of the Muslim Mali.

The French crusade on Mali is certainly connected to the historic crusades and definitely its result won't differ from its predecessors. So why is France so quick in launching from its past mistakes? Is it fearing that it will be defeated once again, to engage in a war away from home? Woe upon you from fate of the muslims!

The page from *Inspire magazine* includes the young jihadist Mohammad Merah from France who attacked French soldiers and civilians in Toulouse in March 2012. His picture is combined with the images of jihadists from Sahel in order to glorify his acts. The message is led towards Western audience that is encouraged to imitate Merah.

The arguments presented in the jihadist manifestos also concern some encouragements of supporters and threats against enemies. They are usually presented in the end of the manifestos and they become a key conclusion of considerations. For example, Abu Musab al-Wadoud finished his speech with threats regarding hostages detained in Sahel. It concerns especially French hostages kidnapped in northern Niger as well as Algerian diplomats detained in Gao.¹⁹ Abu Musab al-Wadoud also claims that the hostages will be released only in case of withdrawal of French forces from the region.

However, in the first days of the French invasion in Mali jihadist forums focused on reports illustrating tragic failures of French forces in northern regions of Mali. The reports contained descriptions of successive destructions of weapons and equipments like helicopters, armored cars or checkpoints and camps.²⁰ This strategy corresponds with rhetorical *mubālagha* (exaggeration), which deforms the true image of the situation by exaggerated descriptions and information.²¹ In fact, war damages concern the accident of one French helicopter and incidental shooting, which caused some casualties among French and African soldiers.²² However, the exaggeration of facts expresses bravery and proud of rebels who resist against the invasion. Moreover, it's a strong encouragement of potential militants who may support the jihad. Rebels in Sahel are also supported by Ayman az-Zawahiri, the head of Al-Qaeda, who stresses:

France will find in Mali, God willing, what found America in Iraq and Afghanistan. I appeal to our nation in Mali for patience and persistence.²³

Az-Zawahiri encourages his followers on the basis of Western failures in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Arabic words: *ṣabr* (patience) and *ṣamd* (persistence) play an important role in this context. They are usually used in difficult, hopeless situation and circumstances in order to comfort and console believers as well stimulate hopes.

Fortifying and stimulating ideas are also considered in the statement presented by Al-Qaeda in the Arab Peninsula. The group underlines:

America has tasted slaughtering in Iraq and Afghanistan that pinched its consciences. America, you should rethink if you have any interests in that issue (Sahel), especially that Muslims are now one body and one Umma can't watch their brothers who are oppressed by those who don't

¹⁹ S. Belamri, *Ikhtīṭāf ad-diblūmāsīn fī ijtimā' ṭārī' hāḍā al-usbū'*, „Al-Chorouq” 2012, Septembre 4, p. 5.

²⁰ www.as-ansar.com/vb/showthread.php [15.01.2013].

²¹ H. Abdul Raof, *op. cit.*, p. 39–40.

²² www.france24.com/en/20130112-islamist-militants-warn-france-mali-military-operation [28.06.2013].

²³ www.dikka.info [08.04.2013].

want the victory. The power of Mujahideen is different from the past. The number of soldiers and troops has increased and spread.²⁴

The local fight in Sahel is included in global structure of Al-Qaeda organization. Az-Zawahiri claims that Al-Qaeda branches share the same ideas and goals. However, the unification of different fighters strengthens the organization and increases its advantages over enemies.

Conclusion

The research presented in the paper show that the jihad propaganda regarding the Mali crisis is focused on rhetoric devices related to religious backgrounds and argumentations.

The analyses demonstrate that the structure of the sermon plays an important role in jihad media agitation. It regards the application of religious invocations and citation of Quranic verses, which are modified and adopted to modern political context. Besides, religious connotations enable to express some political goals covered under the idea of modern crusades and war against Islam values. The rhetorical forms also refer to some examples of metaphors replacing literary meanings by negative definitions of different enemies.

However, the rhetoric features are matched up with three crucial factors considered in the jihadist manifestos. They concern particular arguments regarding the economic and political exploitation of Sahel and Western Africa, oppression and humiliation against Muslim communities, globalization of the Mali conflict and encouragements of supporters as well as threats against enemies.

The research also shows that jihadist groups such as Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, Al-Qaeda in the Arab Peninsula or Boko Haram and Ansaru sympathize with the same demands and goals regarding the crisis in Sahel.

For example, all arguments included in the manifestos point out devastating policy called modern crusades, destructions and causalities among Muslims in Sahel, economic exploitation of natural resources or similarities between the Mali crisis and the situation in Afghanistan, Iraq or Syria. They also demonstrate some failures of Western forces in Mali and successful attacks against enemies.

In fact, the arguments enable to cover negative sense of terrorist attacks. The religious background and suitable arguments generate an image of respectful and dignified organization, which takes care of local Muslim communities.

It should be also pointed out that the propaganda techniques regarding the Mali crisis has become a successive step or front of worldwide jihad campaign conducted already in other conflict regions like Afghanistan, Iraq or Syria.

²⁴ www.muslm.net/vb/showthread.php?504287 [03.04.2013].

Propaganda dżihadu w czasie interwencji wojskowej w Mali

Artykuł analizuje techniki propagandowe stosowane przez dżihadystów podczas interwencji wojskowej w Mali. Publikowane na stronach internetowych manifesty manipulują emocjami odbiorców, wykorzystując połączenie klasycznej retoryki (*balāgha*) z religijnymi kazaniami (*khuṭ-ba*). Problemy poruszane w odezwach prezentowane są więc poprzez zastosowanie figur retorycznych i precyzyjne słowa, zwroty metaforyczne i silne argumenty.

słowa kluczowe: islamizm, dżihad, Al-Kaida, Mali