

future, and the declaration by Gerhard Schröder, tellingly entitled "Responsibility for Europe".

Michał Kosman's book is a comprehensive and exhaustive study of the policy of Germany towards integrated Europe. The author skilfully combines a calendar of events with a review of official documents, enriching his exposition with interesting political observations. Well-planned composition is aug-

mented by a lucid style. The only suggestion which could be taken into account before the second edition is published, is that the author should extend his study to include the years 2002–2004.

The book deserves to be recommended to political scientists, historians, lawyers, experts in international relations, as well as journalists interpreting the contemporary Polish-German dialogue.

***The Faces of Terrorism*, edited by Sebastian Wojciechowski, Institute of Political Science and Journalism at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland 2006, pp. 216**

*by Wojciech Stankiewicz*

Terrorism in a contemporary world plays a vital role. It becomes more and more dangerous due to technical development and access to information on terrorist means and methods allows better communication between terrorist groups. Contemporary political terrorism characterises variety and difficulty far more developed now than centuries ago. Terrorists are able to interfere into politics of different countries, using terrorism actions to achieve particular goals. The increase of conflicts and tensions on ethics, religion, ideology or sociology made it possible for terrorism to appear in new forms and become a solution for current global issues.

Terrorism is a planned action with a psychological connotation and political relation on account of its goals and motivations. It exceeds beyond direct victim or goal. It is used by different organizations in a conspiratorial way together with violence, which

threatens society with an infliction of force. The fear includes the fear to an enemy, which is an ethnical or religious group, a whole country, the government or a political party, public opinion. Terrorism aims to achieve the power of influence and its goals are local or global political changes.

In the book 15 texts are presented in the following order: 1. Maria Tomczyk, Evolution of International Terrorism; 2. Sebastian Wojciechowski, Global terrorism; 3. Noemi GAL-OR, Has the Third War Broken Out? Reflections on the Place of the Terrorism in International Conflict and Its Impact on the Transformation of the Law of War; 4. Artur Wejksznier, Countering terrorism at the Onset of the 21st Century – Through Chaos to the New World Order; 5. Anna Potrykała, The Impact of the Global War Against Terrorism on the International System of refugee Protection; 6. Filip Jasiński, Piotr Rakowski,

European Union Against Terrorism: A Critical Appraisal; 7. Zbigniew Czachór, Transnationalism, Supranationalism and the Risk of Terrorism in Europe; 8. Richard Drake, Combating Italian and Islamic Terrorism: A comparative Study; 9. Krzysztof Liedel, Principles on International Law on terrorism Combating After September 11th 2001; 10. Krzysztof Wojciechowski, Anthropological and Axiological Premises of terrorism; 11. Eryk Pieszak, Cultural and Ethical Aspects of Terrorism; 12. Przemysław Rotengruber, Ethics and Symbolic Power, 13. Agnieszka Stepińska, Modern Mass Media and International Terrorism; 14. Radosław Fiedler, Iraq: Between Stabilisation and Destabilisation. Suicide Attacks, Kidnappings, Islamic Terrorism and the Threat of Civil War; 15. Łukasz Szyszka, Future Scenarios for the Palestinian-Israeli Terrorism.

In the first article Maria Tomczak conducted analyses of terrorism evolution, paying particular attention to stages of forming contemporary violence, which is forming of anarchist revolutionary groups from the end of 19th century in Russia, up to just anarchist movement in Italy, Spain, France or USA (page 13). The second stage of this phenomenon occurred in late sixties, yet intensification of acts of violence appeared especially in seventies. Terrorist organisation from that period differed significantly from anarchist group; they were structurally formalized, which was visible in division to leaders and common members, people who conducted direct actions and those who were responsible for logistics i.e. IRA, ETA, Italian Red Brigades ( p. 18). In the following part of deduction the author reveals the Muslim

terrorism in 21st century, especially Al-Qaeda. Islamic groups are divided into two fractions on account of ideological factors. The first fraction includes traditional separatists or national groups, which conduct their operation in conflict areas of the world, such as Chechnya, Kashmir or Israel. The second fraction mostly aims to islamisation of the world.

In the second article professor Sebastian Wojciechowski reveals terrorism in a global reality of the contemporary world. This view is particularly interesting due to various aspects of terrorism: geographical, ideological, common threat, countermeasure and prevention. Terrorism differs with its intensity, dynamics; nevertheless it is an unpredictable phenomenon, which international community has to face (page 33).

In the third article professor Noemi GALOR starts her work from questions – thesis: Has the third war broken out? Is the world ready for the war law transformation in the face of international conflicts and for the placing terrorism as a global threat of civilisation? After introduction, the author points out to a political idea, which after the Second World War transformed into “modern” version (p. 37). In the following part the analyses of legal factors is conducted, including both *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* in the reference to war law. The difficulties linked with the law aspect concern primarily with precise description of the definition of terrorism. For those reasons this definition has been excluded from the jurisdiction scope of the International Criminal Court, even though an indirect reference appears in number of international crimes (i.e. hijacking) (page 51). On the fol-

lowing pages, the author conducts interesting legally political analyses concerning legal loopholes in the reference to the definition of war. On account of progressive, totalitarian character of war actions the war transition follows beyond abstract Huntington's civilisation crash or Hoffman's global crash.

In the following article PhD Artur Wejksznar points out to the greatest peace and stability threat in the contemporary world, namely religious extremism. One of the thesis raised by the author concerns Western World status and in particular USA as a major enemy of Muslim fundamentalists. Radical Islam is an answer for social, economic and moral crisis of contemporary civilization (p.59). The author bravely undermines Bruce Hoffman opinion about negation of searching support from Muslim communities in terrorism actions, as the propaganda operation is directed to tightening Muslim ties in the fight with the influence of western world values (p. 60) In the following part the author points out on four levels of activity in the fight against terrorism: elimination of terrorism roots, terrorist intention analyses, effective terrorism actions countermeasure, as well as safety support and defence resources for citizens (p. 64).

PhD Anna Potrykała in her article pointed out to relation of terrorism with the international system of refugee protection. The terrorism threat results in the effort undertaken by international community to provide effective safety for countries and its citizens. Still, actions undertaken in such a direction are harmful especially for refugees. First of all, the access to procedures, which protect the refugee law, is significantly aggravated.

One of the major tasks for immigration authorities is now verification of possible connections between people who apply for refugee status with terrorist organization. The central message of author's article is a conclusion, that the fight against terrorism cannot result in a decrease of international refugee protection standards, especially based on recommendation of UNHCR, as refugees remain direct victims of persecution and terrorist actions. Every legal norm, national and international must take into account human rights in the scope of safety and public order maintenance.

Authors Filip Jasiński and Piotr Rakowski refer to legal and institutional anti-terrorist agreements within European Union and concurrently pointing out its benefits and drawbacks. In the article contemporary EU problem are raised in the scope of terrorism, paying particular attention to major historic events of researched phenomenon, together with the most essential treaty settlements. Moreover, the attention in the article is paid to union law, which allows an insight into European institutions operation as well as decision undertaking process in the scope of terrorism countermeasure. Primary strategic operations are directed to four areas: containment, protection, prosecution and reaction (page 96). EU together with its organs (i.e. CTC Eropol, Eurojust, SitCen) are authorised for providing a support to membership countries and for coordination of their operation, nevertheless there is no authorisation for forcing membership countries to launch proposed recommendations.

Professor Zbigniew Czachór suggests perception of EU not only from the perspec-

tive of multinational systems, but above all as a political formation. Precisely speaking, international cooperation system may enable consolidation of local and global antiterrorist initiatives. The fight against terrorism within EU should not encounter any obstacles such as: nationalistic egoism, which is often visible in different concepts of fight with terrorism (i.e. the issue of Iraq intervention), variety of approach to Turkish membership and often different attitudes to religion and nation (p.107). The fight with terrorism should not represent an excuse for discrimination on any level of society in Europe. The progressing process of individuals and groups elicitation in mobility allows terrorist for more effective operation then ever.

PhD Richard Drake in his article conducts profound analyses of Italian terrorism on leftwing and rightwing basis, predominately deriving his exemplification from Red Brigades terrorist actions. Abolishment of this organisation makes Italy one of not many countries which dealt with terrorism issue in eighties and nineties. Why were those solutions successful? For the first time in the history of Italian Republic the government allowed unlimited power to military forces over civil services (*fermezza*). The criminal system was radically exacerbated and extreme punishments were often sentenced. In the further subsections the author points out on the background of radical Islam popularity on Apennines Peninsula. Anti-Americanism is common for both Italy and Islamic civilization (p. 121). The contemporary Islamic terrorism functions in socio-economical context of biblical calamity.

Krzysztof Liedel's article represents legal analyses of contemporary documents in the scope of fighting against and countermeasure to terrorism. Particularly, the author pays attention to the Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001), which represents international community answer for the attack from 11th September 2001 on USA (p. 129–131). Within EU the document from 13th June 2002 draws the special attention (Council Framework Decision on combating terrorism – 2002/475/JHA) (p. 131–132). The participation of Poland in antiterrorists legislative normalizations is worth mentioning – the convention from 16th May 2005 in Warsaw, which resulted in signing by 18 countries European Council convention on terrorism countermeasure. In the further part of the article the author mentions the most significant international agreements in fighting against terrorism in aerial and marine communication. The demand for creation of timeless mechanisms and instruments, which will serve for international law and order protection, is author's valuable remark.

PhD Krzysztof Wojciechowski pays attention to anthropological and axiological premises of terrorism. Destructive operations are the easiest actions in which a human being can manifest its individuality. Destruction gives satisfaction (p. 144) and evolutionary success belongs to the most aggressive human race. Ubiquitous aggression divides a society into groups, which are in the constant conflict, described also as political parties, interests groups of economic cooperation. Terrorism remains modern form of unchangeable reason manifestation, which

allowed *homo sapiens* to rule over the world – aggression.

PhD Eryk Pieszak in his recognition raises subject of cultural and moral aspects of terrorism. He asks questions: about reasons for threats of Islam from western atheism, about the values of western world, which are opposite to fundamentalists' attitude, about the final goal of conducted terrorist actions? He also refers to words of Z. Bauman, coded morality – ethics, law cannot be automatically moral. Such transformation is only possible in post modernistic times, which in his view was a modernism without illusion. The West, which influences the rest of the world, does not include common values such as: respect for life, freedom, justice, equality, and tolerance. In conclusion the author states that it is not possible to speak about universal values in the western culture.

According to Przemysław Rotengruber, a correctly settled system of rule ( in a communicative sense) is composed of certain assets package for predominant individuals disposal. The predominant groups, often political elites, should undertake the stabilization of international communication system on the practical level. Such attitude requires commitment from intellectuals and also social activists, mediators and teachers. Author considers if the western societies are willing to implement the idea of redistribution of major capital and simultaneously employ it in the process of international community constant ethical identity reconstruction (p. 172).

PhD Agnieszka Stępińska in her article presented terrorist organization as an actor of political life and the terrorist actions as a

process of social communication. The author refers to Mc Nair, Denton, and Woodward as authorities in political communication analyses. Contemporary terrorist organisations should be regarded as main part actors of political scene, which use all available means in the fight against their opponents. They adopt every available technique to accomplish once established goal, techniques that are used by governments, political parties and politicians. One of those techniques is mass media management. That is why the functions of mass media should be redefined to acknowledge new elements and relations between them. And this is terrorist attack as an action of political communication, which can be accredited as a trial for such concept (p.185).

PhD Radosław Fiedler conducted analyses of three-year long American presence in Iraq, which balances on the verge of stabilisation and destabilisation. The current major threat concentrates on Islamic terrorists and Sunnites' nationalists, who try to push Iraq nation to civil war and create new Islamic country with new dictator. The Kurds, who try to stay aside of the conflict between the Sunnites and the Shiites, concentrate their operations on creating the foundation for their own citizenship. On the other hand it is difficult not to recognize the development of democratisation of Iraq's life: the first elections, referendum and acceptance of the first constitution. Referendum made clear to the discrepancy international community between Iraq's communities. From one side Abu Musab al Zarqawi, who threatens everyone who takes part in voting, and on the other hand the Sunnites' organization, which

try to abolish the constitution regarded as anti – Sunnites ( p. 199).

In the last article of reviewed collection PhD Łukasz Szyszka tried to present different variants of solution for Palestynian–Israel conflict. In the short term perspective the most predictable scenario is recession of terrorist actions. On the contrary, form the 4–8 year long perspective the author forecasts the establishment of an independent Palestinian democratic country, and the relation between the two countries will remain on the level of coexistence. In other option the author predicts the stages proper for conflict situations development, stagnation, escalation, peaceful solution. For problem solution the political will is needed,

as well as favourable attitude of both nations. The vital role plays economic factor, especially common unemployment together with low GDP (Gross Domestic Product), which increase terrorist threat (p. 212).

In above presented articles the attention is paid not only to the descriptive and explanative assessment, but also mostly to analyses of reality in the context of contemporary civilisation threats. Generally speaking, presented material is an original, academic and explorative achievement, which is useful in a didactic process and also in spreading the knowledge on one of the greatest threats of the contemporary world, namely international terrorism.

### ***Governmental Elites of the Third Republic of Poland. Sociological Portrait***

*by Barbara Brodzińska*

The reviewed position is a novelty on the publishing market in Poland. It was written as a report based on a scientific research run by Sociology of Politics Panel of the Insitute of Sociology of the University of Warsaw directed by Jacek Raciborski.

The reading matter of the book concerns an analysis Jerzy Buzek and Leszek Miller cabinets, which by the fact of a complete difference between the mentioned above makes it only more reading-worthy. There should be doubt that the undertaken problem is a point of interest for political scientists and sociologists, however it does not make it any easier to study. One of the most

significant problems, which authors did shed some light on, is a fact that their repsondents tend to stay silent on many cases.

The book contains 11 chapters on the pages of which many crucial aspects of recruitment and promotion inside the core of elites of power was descirbed.

Chapter II – *The Construction of Elites and Cabinets* – by Jacek Raciborski deserves special attention. The author explores institutional circumstances of creating and working of a cabinet. The process in Poland is strictly regulated by the law of Constitution, which defines who is or has to be in charge of creating cabinet. To put it in Lever