ENGLISH SUMMARIES

Al Qaeda and Hezbollah: So profoundly different, by Giandomenico Picco

The war between Hezbollah and Israel began in July 2006. Just a few days later the Lebanese group, still virtually unknown to the wider public, tried to open negotiations with the Israelis for the release of the two captured soldiers. Since hostilities had already started, however, the initiative bore no fruit. The policy of negotiating with the enemy, albeit indirectly, was not new to Hezbollah. But such a *modus operandi* would have unthinkable for any other group linked to Al Qaeda or identifiable with its religious and political ideology. Is compromise a viable tactic for Hezbollah? And is violent opposition the only option available to Al Qaeda? Though an in-depth analysis of the issue is necessary, the only answer to both questions would seem to be an affirmative one. Meanwhile the ideological clash between extremists and non-extremists in the world has spun out of control.

International terrorism, by Gianfranco Pasquino

The Author sets out to provide a number of keys for the interpretation of terrorism, starting from a broad definition and concluding with an identification of the intrinsic characteristics of the various terrorist groups and the specifics of their methods. In so doing he gives the lie to a range of common misconceptions (such as the current practice of considering terrorism as solely Islamic in origin) and states that espionage, prevention and repression cannot guarantee the advent of a new world order, only the conditions for beating terrorism. The rest can only come from a peaceful, albeit conflictual, competition between different ideas.

Terrorism and the search for resources, by Diego Gon

In this paper the Author discusses one of the most technical and crucial features of the development of terrorism: the procurement of resources. As well as the more familiar questions such as tax havens and money laundering, the analysis takes in lesser-known factors like terrorists' exploitation of attempts to combat those self-same problems. In this regard the Author focuses on the need to build specific expertise in those designated to stem these financial flows and to set up multilateral agreements to that effect.

News on the identity of terrorism, by Ned Basic

In the Author's opinion global terrorism is mainly the result of economic and political globalisation and the increasing degree of interdependence. These developments have created a global environment which offers unprecedented opportunities for terrorist projects. Since September 11th scholars and decision-makers have been exercised by two basic questions: whether a new type of terrorism has appeared on the international scene and, if so, what its specific features are. The Author looks closely at the organisational features of terrorism. They reveal a leadership structure, a new and closely-bound inter-organisational confederation between terrorist groups and the sophisticated use of new technologies which enable them to target the business and financial centres that make use of the same sophisticated technologies. The conclusion of the paper focuses on President Bush's approach to terrorism - based in particular on the idea "if you're not with us you're against us" - and a strategic response founded on a "genuine political and diplomatic coalition with socially marginalised groups".

Liberalism, terrorism and the politics of fear, by Chris Sparks

This article looks at the impact of terror and fear on the political health of liberal democracies. Exploring current reactions to terrorism, it examines the use of a strategy of terror to produce political fear. The discussion is developed around the presentation of a three-part map of the politics of fear constituted by the instigation, cultivation and management of fear itself. The central theme of the paper is an analysis of the destabilising effects of the introduction of fear in civil and political society and the search for effective counter-measures. The paper analyses the mechanisms which generate terror and fear and studies the relations between these feelings and the general insecurity that undermines the principles of liberal democracies.

Terror in the mind of man, by William d'Antonio

Proposing a variation on the title of Juergensmeyer's book *Terror in the Mind of God*, the Author presents an original analysis of the relationship between terrorism and religion, espousing Juergensmeyer's theses according to which 21st-century terrorism finds justification not in one religious system alone but all the main religions. The focus of the analysis of terrorism thus shifts to Christian fundamentalists, in particular the Evangelical and Pentecostal movements in America. A number of actions perpetrated during the Vietnam war, the idea of pre-emptive wars and the torture carried out in the prisons of Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay may also be viewed as part of a terrorist syndrome. The paper concludes with a discussion of five scenarios for a reassertion of the (beleaguered) principle of a legal-rational system of authority.

Anti-terrorist legislation: Fundamental rights under double attack?, by Kristina Touzenis

The intrinsic conviction underpinning this paper is that anti-terrorist legislation and national and international measures designed to prevent and combat terrorism may be perfectly legitimate, but they must be supervised and rooted in human rights, otherwise they risk creating new terrorists. From this standpoint the Author develops a detailed examination of anti-terrorist legislation in the European Union and Britain. There is a parallel discussion of the concept of international criminal responsibility which shows how crimes against humanity are punishable under international law.

Peace between good and goods, by Paolo Gregoretti

The Author proposes a critical analysis of the shared belief that peace basically means the pursuit of individual interests without external disruption. The in-depth historical-philosophical reconstruction of the concept of peace revolves around two key terms. Goods are identifiable as the body of aims that individuals decide to pursue. Good, in the singular, represents the necessary rider to the first - basically individualistic - meaning, with a trans-individualistic vision upon which a workable peaceful coexistence can be built.

Sharing and communion in inter-religious dialogue, by Jacques Dupuis

The Author analyses the complex question of inter-religious dialogue from a theological standpoint. Starting from pre- and post-Lateran documents, the analysis traces the development of the relationship between dialogue with other religions and the statement of personal religious faith, in the conviction that the two concepts are to be kept separate rather than fused together. Fidelity to non-negotiable personal convictions stands as the context for inter-religious dialogue among equals, taking account of the differences between them. This cannot be reduced to eclecticism or the syncretism of certain features of diverse religions, since they have a specific meaning in their respective religious contexts. It is rather the case that dialogue requires the participants to make the effort of entering the religious experience and overall vision of their interlocutors. The basic aim of inter-religious dialogue is the common conversion of Christians and members of other religious traditions to the same God, who calls them one and all together, challenging each of them through the others.

Trajectories, structures and ideologies of Western peace movements, by Carlo Ruzza

Peace movements have emerged in response to different kinds of conflicts in a wide variety of political contexts. Although they differ in terms of scope, dominant ideologies, duration and political impact, they display common elements, which are here identified and examined. This paper points to the concurrence of processes of institutionalisation and radicalisation. It is argued that the impact of peace movements, their

resource base and political significance are facilitated by their institutionalisation in various social institutions such as Churches, NGOs, trade unions and certain political parties. This embedding has also produced a process of specialisation which has increased the interconnection between peace activists and key institutional environments. On the other hand, peace movements also retain strong roots in an increasingly internationalised social movement sector. In recent years, the emergence of the anti-globalisation movement has promoted processes of de-differentiation which have made peace movements newly appealing to younger and more radical audiences.

Non-violent conflict mediation and the strengthening of dialogue in third-millennium Europe, by Maurizio Lozzi

The tried and tested mechanisms of governance by means of which the European Union pursues a series of specific policies stand as an important resource for conflict prevention. The Author conducts a wide-ranging review of the advantages to be gained from the mechanism of preventative conflict resolution in cases where social players take the place of traditional diplomacy. After presenting the definition of operational prevention and the various actions it gives rise to, the Author sets out the range of institutional instruments for conflict prevention at the disposal of the European Union. A review of the operational ramifications of these instruments is followed by a description of their positive fallout for society as a whole (maieutic social fallout).

Non-violence: Effectiveness and limits, by Alberto L'Abate

Starting from ideas discussed by Bobbio and Galtung and an analysis of pacifism and non-violence, the Author shows that non-violence is much more effective than pacifism. This is because the latter plays a major role prior to the outbreak of violence but then tends to disappear, whereas non-violence is present before, during and after the occurrence of violence. The complex question of non-violence is explored and illustrated through a number of examples researched into by the Author and his team, who highlight the forms of effectiveness developed by non-violence in many recent instances. Besides its effectiveness, the Author analyses five limitations inherent in non-violence. He differentiates non-violence according to whether it is adopted by the strong or the weak, whether it is a principle or a strategic/tactical stance, whether there is a basic minimum humanity in the two adversaries, whether it concerns the non-violent defence of a country, whether it is accepted and understood by the common people and the so-called intelligentsia.

The role of the military in peacemaking processes. India and Pakistan, by Sahai Verma Virendra

By means of a description of the specific context of Indo-Pakistani relations, Virendra Sahai Verma presents a scheme of conflict control and resolution that entails an active

role for the armed forces. After a geopolitical analysis of the state of the Indo-Pakistani border, the author goes into a detailed description of the role that should be adopted by the military in conflict prevention, peacemaking during a conflict and peacekeeping after it.

Pax americana against Pax europea? Nato, European enlargement and transatlantic relations, by Neil Winn

The path towards a Common European Security and Defence Policy in the EU and the possible creation of a European army constitute the main theme of current European integration policy. This path raises serious questions about the real nature of European foreign and defence policy, transatlantic relations and, perhaps most importantly, the purpose and destiny of the European Union. Since 1998 Europeans have developed new strategies to carve out greater military independence from both Washington and NATO. Nevertheless, the EU's eastward enlargement has inevitably thrown up new security problems that require solution. This paper looks at the options available in terms of transatlantic relations and European security and considers the positions of the major eastern European countries towards the CESDP. The article's centrepiece, however, is the contrast between the Pax Americana based on military power and a Pax Europea based on the power of the "economic and welfare state".

European Union policing missions in civilian crisis management, by Claudio Catalano

Policing missions are playing an increasing role in the post-crisis stabilisation of fragile states and countries devastated by war. The recent wars in the western Balkans have highlighted the need to intervene in countries marked by public security problems and fragile institutions. The European Union is at the spearhead of policing assistance missions consisting of monitoring, training and providing consultation to host state police forces. The EU is also developing civilian capability in the concept of police replacement missions and especially Integrated Police Units for rapid and robust interventions to restore public order. To this end a number of states have set up a European Gendarmerie. This paper illustrates the main concepts and doctrines devloped for European Foreign and Security Policy missions involving the deployment of police forces in international missions.

The social roots of the new Europe's internal conflicts, by Gabriele Blasutig

The Author's critical approach focuses on an analysis of a number of key concepts which in his view stand at the basis of the widely-held idea that new structural conditions determine a marked weakening of social conflicts. A brief introduction designed to clarify the theoretical framework and the variables defining social conflict is followed by an analysis of the concepts of convergence, competitive solidarity, networks

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and bio-power. Advancing reasonable doubts about the importance attributed to these four concepts, he throws up new ideas and questions regarding the current state of and prospects for social conflicts.

An epoch-making turning point in the structure of Russia's imperialist identity, by Ilja Levin

Here interviewed, Ilya Levin shows that in recent years Russia's national identity has been gaining ground at the expense of its other - imperial - identity. To typify the imperial identity Levin cites George Kennan's famous "twelve thousand-word tele-gram". That identity was connected not to the model of responding to challenges in an interest-based manner but rather to increasing the power and prestige of the Soviet state by any and all means. Now, in Levin's view, an identity is developing around the idea that Russia is becoming a "normal civil nation". During the Balkan wars in the 1990s, public opinion in Russia was against the NATO and American interven-tions in Serbia and Kosovo but stopped short of supporting any armed intervention by Russia - on the contrary, it was considered that Russia's interest would be served by re-establishing relations with NATO. An appendix to the interview presents the "twelve thousand-word telegram" written by George Kennan, US Ambassador to the Soviet Union, on February 22ⁿᵈ 1946.

Islam online. Types of dissemination and new trends in the cross-fertilisation of categories, by Elena Bettinelli

Ways of understanding, experiencing and communicating religion in the contemporary age are becoming more elaborate, making use of a number of levels and dimensions, real and symbolic alike. The research presented in this paper, carried out on the Internet with regard to the confrontation between Islam and the West (in itself a highly stylised pairing), leads not only to the conclusion that the confrontation in question is between a range of Islams and as many variously-patronised visions of the Christian and Western world. The way of using the Internet also seems surprisingly adaptable to interpret a range of intermediate attitudes in which the assertion of the Islamic religious and cultural identity takes on a number of hues. The presentation and dissemination of religious beliefs relies on methods ranging from harmony and compromise to the most blatant displays of political aggression and delegitimisation of the Other.

Islam as an integral part of monotheistic Mediterranean civilisation: Its particular characteristics and its problems, by Sergio Noja Noseda

Within the broad purview of this paper the Author highlights how Islam is first and foremost an integral part of Mediterranean civilisation, where it is seen as a heresy (in Christian eyes) or a successor to the monotheistic religions (as it sees itself). Hence the marked antagonism between the two. It is also emphasised that Islam is the

successor to internationalist Communism, in its millenarian and fundamentalist components and in its bipolar reconstruction of world power. Yet in its relations with Europe and the West Islam has always been defeated at the times when it was most feared - at the sieges of Constantinople in 711 and Vienna in 1683 and following the September 11th attack on the Twin Towers. And when Islamic religious fundamentalism actually takes power in a country (Iran is cited here) it delivers the state over to the politicians. As a result of this collapse of religion in its desire to reconstitute the state, if there is a loser it is society. The analysis concludes by emphasising the present tendency of Islamic countries to modernise without westernisation, especially without emancipation for women.

The failure of bin laden and the proliferation of witch-doctors and their mini-terrorisms: A role for Europe, by Alberto Gasparini

The Author examines the world situation in which the proliferation of terrorism and the management of the response to it, above all the American response, has set history back in motion and is relaunching a compatible type of peace and the players which can inspire it (including international organisations). The analysis of September 11th is conducted along the lines of possible scenarios and their modification as a result of new, unpredictable factors and above all unpredictable responses to them. The range of diverse scenarios thus progressively changes, producing new equilibriums: the failure of Al Qaeda and Bin Laden, the inability of the US to manage its Empire "wisely", the emergence of new targeted' terrorisms and regional powers such as Iran. In this context the Europe of united civil societies, of mistrust of militarisation, of faith in negotiation and the convergent yet parallel policies of the countries composing it, emerges as a player marked by a "wise" imperial approach with a strong leaning to pacify the antagonists in the conflicts spread around the world. And such a role for Europe as a "wise" and peaceful empire would become even more convincing if it stopped producing arms and selling them around the world. Another conclusion, of a more general nature, is that September 11th does not necessarily stand as a turning point in history. If it has become one, that is because people have behaved as though it were a turning point and have done so because they wanted it to be one.