

# Quaderni

del Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche  
Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore

ISSN: 2239-7302



**ORBEM PRUDENTER INVESTIGARE ET VERACITER AGNOSCERE**



EDUCatt

11  
2017

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del Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche  
Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore

11  

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2017

Anno VII - 11/2017

Registrazione presso il Tribunale di Milano n. 355 del 27.06.2011

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Modalità di pagamento:

- bonifico bancario intestato a EDUCatt - Ente per il Diritto allo Studio dell'Università Cattolica presso Banca Infrastrutture Innovazione e Sviluppo - IBAN: IT 08 R 03069 03390 211609500166;
- bonifico bancario intestato a EDUCatt - Ente per il Diritto allo Studio dell'Università Cattolica presso Monte dei Paschi di Siena- IBAN: IT 08 D 01030 01637 0000001901668;
- bollettino postale intestato a EDUCatt - Ente per il Diritto allo Studio dell'Università Cattolica su cc. 17710203

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Largo Gemelli 1, 20123 Milano - tel. 02.7234.22.35 - fax 02.80.53.215

e-mail: [editoriale.dsu@educatt.it](mailto:editoriale.dsu@educatt.it) (*produzione*); [librario.dsu@educatt.it](mailto:librario.dsu@educatt.it) (*distribuzione*)

web: [www.educatt.it/libri](http://www.educatt.it/libri)

ISBN edizione cartacea: 978-88-9335-121-8

ISBN edizione digitale: 978-88-9335-132-4

ISSN: 2239-7302

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## I Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore

Il Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore ha più di trent'anni di vita, essendo stato costituito nel 1983 sulla base del precedente Istituto di Scienze Politiche. Conta attualmente ventisei membri di prima afferenza; oltre ai Docenti e Ricercatori di ruolo ed ai Professori a contratto, svolgono la loro attività di studio e di ricerca nell'ambito del Dipartimento un numero rilevante di collaboratori a vario titolo (Assegnisti di ricerca, Borsisti post-dottorato, Dottori e Dottorandi di ricerca, Addetti alle esercitazioni, Cultori della materia).

Il Dipartimento costituisce una delle due strutture scientifiche di riferimento della Scuola di Dottorato in Istituzioni e Politiche. Inoltre il Centro di Ricerche sul Sistema Sud e il Mediterraneo allargato (CRiSSMA), costituito nel 1999, «collabora – in particolare – con la Facoltà di Scienze Politiche [oggi Facoltà di Scienze Politiche e Sociali] e con il Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche».

Gli afferenti al Dipartimento appartengono a diverse aree scientifico-disciplinari – diritto, scienza politica, storia – orientate allo studio dei fenomeni politici, nelle loro espressioni istituzionali e organizzative, a livello internazionale ed interno agli Stati. Il fondatore del nostro Ateneo, Padre Agostino Gemelli, affermava nel 1942 che diritto, storia e politica costituiscono «un tripode» sul quale si fondano le Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, delle quali difendeva l'identità e la funzione. Circa vent'anni dopo, Francesco Vito, successore del fondatore nel Rettorato e in precedenza Preside della Facoltà di Scienze Politiche affermava: «Noi rimaniamo fedeli alla tradizione scientifica secondo la quale l'indagine del fenomeno politico non può essere esaurita senza residui da una sola disciplina scientifica. Concorrono alla comprensione della politica gli studi storici, quelli filosofici, quelli giuridici, quelli socio-economici». Per Gianfranco Miglio, la storia è il laboratorio privilegiato della ricerca politologica.

I Docenti e i Ricercatori del Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore sono quindi tutti profondamente radicati nelle loro rispettive discipline, ma ritengono che il loro rigore metodologico, la loro specifica competenza, la loro capacità di comprendere i fenomeni oggetto dei loro studi siano arricchiti dal confronto interdisciplinare consentito dalla struttura scientifica alla quale appartengono. Vi sarà modo di verificare e approfondire anche in questi *Quaderni* il valore scientifico irrinunciabile del Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche.

Come immagine caratterizzante dell'identità del Dipartimento, le cui aree scientifiche hanno tutte una forte dimensione internazionale, è stata scelta la mappa disegnata nel 1507 dal cartografo tedesco Martin Waldseemüller (1470-1521), di grande importanza storica essendo la prima nella quale il Nuovo Continente scoperto da Cristoforo Colombo è denominato "America". Nel 2005 tale mappa è stata dichiarata dall'UNESCO "Memoria del mondo".

La frase «*Orbem prudenter investigare et veraciter agnoscere*», che esprime lo spirito di libera ricerca nella fedeltà alla vocazione cattolica, utilizza alcune espressioni della seguente preghiera di S. Tommaso d'Aquino: «*Concede mihi, misericors Deus, quae tibi placita sunt, ardentem concupiscere, prudenter investigare, veraciter agnoscere, et perfecte adimplere ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui. Amen*». Tale preghiera, «*dicenda ante studium vel lectionem*», a sua volta forma la prima parte di una più lunga orazione «*Ad vitam sapienter instituendam*».

Il Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche promuove:

- il coordinamento fra Docenti e Ricercatori per un efficace svolgimento della ricerca negli ambiti disciplinari di competenza;
- lo sviluppo della ricerca scientifica in ambito storico, politico, giuridico-internazionale e un attivo dialogo tra gli studiosi delle varie discipline;
- l'organizzazione di convegni, seminari e conferenze, attraverso i quali realizzare un proficuo confronto fra studiosi, l'avanzamento e la diffusione delle conoscenze nel campo delle scienze politiche;
- la realizzazione di pubblicazioni scientifiche, che raccolgano i risultati delle ricerche promosse e i contributi dei membri del Dipartimento e degli studiosi partecipanti alle attività seminariali e di ricerca organizzate dal Dipartimento stesso.

Proprio la rilevante e qualificata attività promossa dal Dipartimento ha indotto alla pubblicazione (a stampa e su Internet) dei presenti *Quaderni*, per ospitare atti e testi derivanti dalle iniziative promosse dal Dipartimento, nonché saggi e articoli dei suoi Docenti e Ricercatori, dei loro collaboratori a tutti i livelli e di autori esterni.

Da questo numero entrano in vigore alcune modifiche nell'organizzazione scientifica e redazionale dei *Quaderni*, rese necessarie dal loro crescente sviluppo. La pubblicazione degli articoli già da questo numero è soggetta a *Peer Review* anonima. Viene creato un Comitato di redazione il cui segretario sarà il Dr. Davide Borsani. Il Direttore ringrazia per il suo impegno il Prof. Gianluca Pastori, che ricopriva l'incarico di Capo redattore, ora abolito.

Il presente numero pubblica nella prima parte le relazioni pervenute e pubblicabili presentate al IX Convegno di studio sull'Alleanza Atlantica: *La lotta al terrorismo transnazionale: un ruolo per la NATO?* Nella sezione *Miscellanea* compaiono due articoli su aspetti del pensiero cristiano, cattolico e ortodosso, in campo politico.

Il prossimo Quaderno n. 12 verrà pubblicato nel corso del 2017.



# Europe, Transnational Terrorism and Hybrid War

di MARCO LOMBARDI

***Abstract** – Il presente saggio cerca di rispondere ad una domanda fondamentale: “Come mai il concetto di terrorismo è rimasto lo stesso di quello riferito a Brigate Rosse, ETA, IRA e altri gruppi simili?”. Anche se non c’era motivo di convincersi dell’esistenza di un terrorismo “tradizionale”, ciò ci ha permesso di credere che fossimo in possesso di norme e politiche appropriate per combattere questo fenomeno. Il terrorismo del nuovo millennio, è di tipo diverso e può esser compreso solo come parte della nuova “guerra ibrida”, ossia un tipo di conflitto pervasivo, diffuso e demoralizzato, che caratterizza i giorni nostri, con Daesh come attore fondamentale. Il problema è che, per ragioni politiche, tale concetto “invasivo” di “guerra ibrida” non è stato accettato, così che ci si trova tuttora impreparati ad affrontare la minaccia che ne deriva.*

## **Preface**

«The cast iron pedestal, with its circumference of a meter and a half and the same height, has increased a hundredfold the violence of the explosion. Every splinter became a bullet». In total, there were 16 dead and dozens of injured people, many of them were severe. The 17<sup>th</sup> victim was a three-year-old boy who was pronounced dead later on at the hospital. In the end, the death toll of the attack to the Milan trade fair was 20.

This is not a novel, but a forgotten event dated 12<sup>th</sup> April 1928. The quote at the beginning of this paper is taken from the newspaper *La Stampa* of April 13<sup>th</sup>; the Fiera is the Milan trade fair; the device is a time bomb that was placed at the base of a lamppost in order to amplify the explosion. King Vittorio Emanuele III inaugurated the fair despite the bombing, but the reception at the Scala theatre was cancelled. The investigation covered different directions: communists, anarchists, members of the movement “Justice and Freedom”, Balkan nationalists and more. There was no result to the investigation and after 8<sup>th</sup> September 1943 the investigation did not continue.

There were other “terrorist attacks” in the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century before the episode mentioned above. In Los Angeles, on 1<sup>st</sup>

October 1910 the headquarter building of the “Los Angeles Times” was the target of a dynamite attack with a bomb placed in the hall: 21 dead and over 100 injured. It was the extreme protest of the members of the Iron Workers Union. Again in the US, a horse-pulled wagon exploded on 16<sup>th</sup> September 1920 at JPMorgan Chase at Wall Street, New York, leaving 38 people dead and 143 injured. The perpetrators were never found. On 18<sup>th</sup> May 1927, in Bath Township, in Michigan (US), a Mr. Kehoe called blew up the Bath Consolidated School using dynamite, after killing his wife and blowing up his farm. Then, he blew himself up in his car filled with other dynamite. In total there were 45 people dead and 58 injured, many were children. He did this to protest a tax.

It is in these historical episodes that we can trace back some characteristics of the terrorism that hit Europe in the last century and then changed into what we now call Islamic terrorism and it is identified with the Islamic State, ISIS, Caliphate or Daesh.

In the last few decades many things have changed. The world is globalized and has become “smaller”; therefore, the security that derived from the conflicts between the static power blocks has dissolved in the uncertainty of too many actors. The dream of a constant increase of wealth has crumbled. The real and virtual mobility has transformed into movement frenzy. The sturdy tree of our roots has overturned and the foliage is now buried in the ground.

Why would the concept of terrorism have remained the same as that of the Red Brigades, ETA, IRA and similar groups? There was no reason to think of “usual terrorism”, but it was easier to believe it, so that we could feel we had regulations and policies able to fight it. The terrorism of the new millennium is different and, perhaps, it is not even terrorism, based on the knowledge we have of it. With a set phrase, we can say “even terrorism is not what it used to be”.

The result is an increased vulnerability due to regulations and practices that are not suitable to the new form of terrorism in the new millennium.

### **Daesh and the Hybrid Warfare**

Today, there is Daesh (*al-Dawlah al-Islamiyya fial-Iraq wa-al-Sham*): a significant threat even before the proclamation of the Caliphate, on 29<sup>th</sup> June 2014, when I was writing that the most efficient and least

expensive solution would have been an immediate military campaign to rapidly destroy the Islamic State. Whoever would have led the military campaign, alone, would have suffered immediate political costs and would have gained advantages only in the foreseeable future. But overall, everybody would have benefited from a military intervention that was not feasible because of the multiple political interests underlying it: the guarantees on North Iran for the Kurds, the Turkish interests to conquer the new empire, the Qatar and Saudi Arabia's interests against those of Iran, and, above all a complete disagreement on the future governance of the crucial area of the Middle East. The more time that passed from June 29<sup>th</sup>, the less probable a military intervention against the auto proclaimed Caliphate. At this point, the possibility of a military intervention, that we can call one of "eradication", has vanished and it is not wanted by the coalitions that see the Daesh "only" as a common enemy, that, in any case, has the task to avoid a clash between present partners who would compete for a freed territory waiting for a new governance upon which no agreement can be found.

It was already written: there were documents on the plans of expansion of al-Qaeda dated at the end of the 1990's and signed by Osama Bin Laden and Ayaman al-Zawahiri. The plan of Islamic infiltration by the radical Islamists was articulated over the following fifty years, including both the proclamation of the Caliphate and the attacks of the last few years.

But not only that.

We all consider September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 as the capstone of the new Islamic terrorism. In fact, everything started two days before, on September 9<sup>th</sup> when Ahmad Shah Massoud, the Lion of Panjshir, was killed. He was the commander of the Northern Alliance that was fighting against the Taliban. This date marks the beginning of the following hybrid war. Massoud was killed during an interview led by two false journalists, one of whom blew himself up with a bomb placed in a video camera. The suicidal false journalist was identified as Abedessatar Dahman: a Tunisian, immigrated to Belgium, and linked to Moroccan Islam. Later on, the Belgian Court identified 13 accomplices that had helped and provided documents to the false journalists. The other terrorist was identified as Adel Tebourski, also Tunisian, and expelled from France in 2006 due to the participation in Massoud's assassination. If we continue scouting,

a well-structured network especially at the family level can be found which connects Massoud's assassination with Salah and the attacks in Paris and Belgium. Therefore, what is revealed in the 2015 and 2016 "surprising" attacks of Paris and Belgium was already written in the history of the past 15 years, which see a constant development of radicalization towards terrorism in the heart of Europe, especially in Belgium in which violent extremism has been nourished.

Although many present events were already written, there are still many novelties. The one that characterizes Daesh lies in the possibility to control a territory in a para-state organized form and it set itself up as the main actor of the "hybrid war", which is a pervasive, widespread and delocalized conflict that characterizes our current era. Today, war is not limited within the borders of a geographical territory, but it extends beyond with interconnected micro-actions that can be carried out anywhere not only by men in uniform, but also terrorist groups, organized crime, etc. For political reasons this "invasive" concept of a hybrid war has not been accepted: the politics does not want to accept this phenomenon and it is therefore unprepared to fight the real threat that it brings. As a consequence, the answer given is very vulnerable and this is at the basis of the continuous threats: Daesh is not strong, but it best manages to take advantage of the vulnerability of its enemies.

The President of the Italian Republic, Sergio Mattarella, in his message at the 36<sup>th</sup> Meeting of Rimini (19<sup>th</sup> August 2015), which opened with an important conference on religions, wrote:

World peace will depend on the ability to dialogue, to understand each other, to collaborate between monotheistic religions. We need to be aware of this. The terrorism, fostered also by a fanatical misrepresentation of faith in God, is trying to introduce in the Mediterranean Sea, in the Middle East, and in Africa, the seeds of a Third World War. [...] The humanity shown in welcoming desperate refugees, the intelligence used to deal with migrations, the strength with which we'll fight the human traffickers will show the world the quality of the democratic life.

In these last sentences there is the first reference to the "Third World War" brought by terrorism. Almost exactly a year in advance (18<sup>th</sup> August 2014), Pope Francis, on his way back from South Korea, declared: «We have entered the Third World War; though it is fought in phases, in chapters». He also denounced the brutality

of non-conventional wars that have reached «a level of horrendous cruelty», whose victims are often defenceless civilians, women and children and during which «torture has become almost an ordinary means of usage». The theme of the Third World War in chapters has been mentioned many times by Pope Francis and, eventually, it has been legitimized by the President Mattarella. Some analysts had already used this discourse, but politicians have eschewed (and continue to do so) due to the implications hidden in this expression. In any case, the two above-mentioned people, Pope Francis and President Mattarella, seem to understand better than anyone else the new geopolitical scenario that is characterized by the hybrid war. This war presents a multiplicity of conflicts in which different actors (conventional armies, terrorists, organized crime, NGOs, media, etc.) maintain conflicting relationships without sharing a system of regulations. In simple words: this new form of war is pervasive, widespread and delocalized. The start and the end of the war are not declared. All types of weapons can be used by men in uniform or not, among whom the terrorists are the main actors. It is the new look of war in a globalized world, in which also local wars are interconnected and potentially coherent with a single strategic project. This form of conflict seems to exist and is realized in the Daesh development with much greater awareness than the one expressed by the uncohesive answers of the various alliances that fight it.

In 2007, American Frank Hoffman suggested a definition for the new conflicts characterized by: «Hybrid wars incorporate a range of different modes of warfare including conventional capabilities, irregular tactic and formations, terrorist acts including indiscriminate violence and coercion, and criminal disorder»<sup>1</sup>. But only after the Russian intervention in Ukraine has the expression “hybrid war” entered into NATO terminology.

The formal definition of the characteristics of a war is necessary for various political, organizational, cultural, and normative reasons: agreeing on the definition of an object means maintaining control and managing to place it in the context of shared rules. For this reason, the war, the most uncertain type of conflict, is characterized by the

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<sup>1</sup> F.G. Hoffman, *Conflict in the 21st Century: the Rise of Hybrid wars*, Arlington, VA, 2007, p. 14.

opportunities that allow easy changes and has been defined as regular/irregular, symmetric/asymmetric, and conventional/nonconventional.

This is how wars were described sometime ago.

The best way to represent the new hybrid war is to imagine it as a field where a team plays soccer, another one rugby, a third one plays handball (and so on), with a referee who thinks to arbitrate a tennis match (the referee is usually the UN): everyone plays on their own rules and objectives and of course... everyone will get hurt. This form of conflict is the hybrid war:

- the change in the idea of national identity, that requires a claim of power on the basis of simple labels (for example ethnicity) in the context where legitimate politics is weak;
- new fighting forms, from guerrilla warfare to spectacularization of conflicts, from strategies that tend to avoid direct conflict and to create more victims among civilians, producing numerous evacuees and refugees;
- a war economy that does not depend only on the state, but is decentralized and, therefore, is influenced by extra State resources, including illegal trafficking of weapons, drug, and refined goods.

Today, however, there is no definition of hybrid war that is recognized at international level, while the only present, recurring definition is the already mentioned definition by Hoffman. In hybrid wars, there simultaneously exist a conventional army that must defeat their regular enemies as well as other military forces that must work to free areas from irregular forces and deal with the population of those areas to bring peace. Success with local population is crucial. The danger of the hybrid war is intensified by the proliferation of advanced armaments available to the numerous actors at stake.

This is the context where the “Third World War” takes place. It is happening and it is the result of the system of interdependence that the global world has created.

But only a few want to be aware of this.

It is a new form of war that was generated from the same logic of globalization that is embodied in the dense network of relationships that rules the world of communication, economy, and politics, and it has redefined conflicts too, but has not yet been accepted.

Globalization is characterized by a rich system of relationships that passes on the effects of an action from a single knot to all the

knots of a big network. All the knots are interconnected. An example of the consequences of globalization could be the unpredictability of the stock markets and the development of the economic crisis, or the usage of the same formats for TV programs, and global information. It is now obvious that whatever happens in London, New York, Shanghai or Cairo has an impact also on each individual's grocery shopping. This awareness is now widespread and is part of our daily life. However, the awareness of interdependent systems and their "domino effects" is not adopted in understanding ongoing conflicts, that after the end of the Second World War have multiplied, with a much higher number of victims among civilians than military.

The novelty of the present situation is not found in the high number of conflicts, rather in the interdependent and interconnected traits of these conflicts, as highlighted in the definition of hybrid war. For example, there are strong connections between the terrorism of Daesh and the American drug cartels, between the different groups of organized crime, between States that have a regular army and the terrorist groups, and so on. The numerous actors that have a role in the hybrid war in the context of global interdependent relationships, have efficiently (and strategically) made connections between the different delocalized conflicts, and have created the so called "Third World War" that is «fought in chapters» as Pope Francis has defined it. The problem is that the so-called Western world has not been able to recognize this logical effect of the globalization on conflicts and therefore does not have the culture (tactics and strategies) to face the hybrid war. On the other hand, many other actors, for instance terrorists and organized crime, have taken advantage of the chances offered by this new context.

The Daesh's expansion plan fits well in the context of the hybrid war. It is indeed focused on exporting the model of the Islamic State through various tools: alliances with local jihadist groups; synergic relationship with groups of organized crime that are a source of profit and logistic opportunities on the territory; the recruitment of fighters and families to populate the conquered areas. Together with these tools, the Daesh efficiently uses *soft power*, that is to say communicative strategies which are the fundamental strategic asset of the new conflicts.

Daesh has interpreted the changes well and the first result of this ability is that the countries that fight it are not prepared both on the

cultural and normative level. In addition to the investigative and military ones, the political culture above all has stuck to old models that have better allowed their institutional survival. The norms that tackled terrorism could not regulate phenomena like online circulation and penetration of propaganda, recruitment and auto recruitment, new deregulated forms of fighting, etc.

In this context, Daesh's project as represented in the motto "Stay and Expand" ("Stay and Expand" is often repeated in Daesh's propaganda) has exposed all the contradictions of the motley crew, that has responded to Daesh with its motto "Degrade and Destroy" (President Obama, February 2016).

The communication war is an important part of the new form of conflict and Daesh is playing it well, with a great sociological capacity to interpret and take advantage of the distress in order to promote the spread of its ideology.

### **From Belgium to Europe**

The dramatic episodes of Brussels dated 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2016 are a clear example that Belgium, the heart of Europe, shows itself as the hotbed of European Jihadism with about 500 fighters for the Caliphate. This is the highest in Europe between population of a country and foreign fighters. However, Belgium is also a difficult country on the political, cultural, and social level because it is fragmented by "tribal" interests that divide the language and ethnic components of the country from within. These opponents, Flemings and Walloons, are so confrontational with each other that whoever does not belong to the two big factions is not even considered "Belgian". That is how Molenbeek, the creator of the networks that attacked Paris and Brussels arose. Those networks have also supported and covered the terrorists on the run. It is a State within the State. It is independent, uniform and it grows in the general indifference that does not take into consideration the high unemployment rates and distress that characterizes it because "it is a different Belgium". This is the ecosystem that becomes the favourite incubator for terrorists recruited by Daesh and that openly protested against the institutions (not recognized as own institutions) when the killers of Paris were caught. The cultural, political, and institutional fragmentation complicates the necessary



exchange among actors who feel closer to their “tribe” rather than to a common “being Belgian”.

The lack of “being Belgian” not only in the specific case above, but also in general for all EU members who lack any kind of European and national sense of belonging, deprives young people of an identity and leaves them with less hope for the future. Daesh is also an idea that is sold and advertised with effective propaganda to an audience who search for an identity after ideologies and ideals have collapsed. Europe saw the fall of ideologies as a great conquest until it realized (but, has it really?) that the lack of ideologies has given a chance to other ideologies, even more monstrous in form and results, to take their place.

The lack of awareness: this is what exposes everyone to big risks.

After the attacks in Brussels, politics has focused on warning everyone “not to change our habits” because we would give in to the terrorists. Of course this is what they would like us to believe, but this warning is now only a ritual mantra, some kind of exorcism to convince us that things have changed. The situation is, however, very different from the past few years and the threat is increasing significantly. In the context of the hybrid war and the specific environmental conditions, it is important to wonder whether to change our behaviour or whether this change has the advantage to increase the sense and the reality of safety. The repeated mantra prevents the development of the awareness of the dramatic moment we are living in and increases everyone’s vulnerability. Now it is the time to take into consideration all the possibilities that allow us to undergo a difficult and problematic historical situation, and possibility to change our habits. This does not mean to give in to terrorists, but, on the contrary, to be in the best situation to build normality again on the basis of a reasonable acceptance that our world is threatened.

So, it is undeniable that it is important to take the necessary steps and take action.

Furthermore, after the attacks in Brussels, politics keeps repeating another refrain (similar to the one that invites us not to change our habits) that focused on the creation of a European intelligence. This is another even more dangerous mantra because it is delivered by people in charge in the world of politics. It is a dream, even if pushed by emergency. By nature, the intelligence agency reports to the government of a specific country to protect the interest of that state,

which is its right hand. The sharing of information, on the operative level, always occurs in terms of utilitarian terms of exchange as in “what do you give me in exchange for...?”. And, luckily, the informal operative level operates independently from the formal institutional one. How can a European intelligence exist if there is no European central government? For decades the necessity of a European defense policy has been discussed without any result against the resistance of the single member States. The Daesh has contributed to increase this resistance, pressing them towards the auto destructive illusion that it is better to fight alone than together.

In the perspective that the risk of Islamic terrorism inevitably increases during 2016 together with a progressive regional instability, two intervention strategies are necessary, with two different timelines and different times to be realized.

In the short term, it is necessary to reduce and contain the threat with intelligence and police and military repression actions. In the long term, it is necessary to eliminate the motivations that push people to embrace the cause of terrorism, irrespective of the possible “good reasons” and undertaking actions that regenerate young generation’s trust in the future.

Both these policies, the short and long term ones, are necessary and intertwined, and they collide with a general lack of awareness that allows a company like Apple, in the name of its trademark and its consumers’ privacy protection, to refuse to help the FBI to decrypt the Iphone 5C used by the attackers in the San Bernardino attack on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2015. Also, for too many years, many European countries have considered going to fight for Daesh as an expression of individual freedom. Additionally, another mistake lies in the fact that the link between organised crime and terrorism is not even taken into consideration. Organized crime facilitates the passage and the recruitment of foreign fighters among those desperate people who cross mountains and sea in search for a better life. Furthermore, preaching about violent jihad in many mosques has been tolerated too, while representatives of moderate Islam (which exists) have failed to clearly and publicly dissociate themselves from the radical and terrorist forms of Islam.

These are only a few relevant examples among many.

Therefore, if only the first line of intervention is realized, the conflict will continue indefinitely and the defensive line will sooner

or later collapse. On the other hand, the second strategy cannot be realized without the stability that can be guaranteed only by the first intervention strategy.

In this context, in the near future, I do not expect much from the countries that are fighting Daesh now, although it is probable that the coalition will take progressive action to contain Daesh's expansion and to take away conquered territory, especially in East Syria. However, Daesh will probably expand in the troubled North Africa with a non-homogenous penetration in various territories thanks to terrorist groups that already exist and create flexible and uncertain alliances, but which are still destabilising for the entire area. In addition to this, the conflict within the Muslim world will continue and Daesh will continue to fight for the leadership of the conflict. The year ahead of us, or maybe the next ones, will essentially be troubled by the perspective that these apparently far away conflicts will appear more and more often in Europe, isolating the Western world to the role of "collateral victim" but leaving it with enormous damage.

Therefore, we are in a Europe that has not yet realized that it either fights united or will die fragmented.

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e-mail: editoriale.dsu@educatt.it (produzione); librario.dsu@educatt.it (distribuzione)  
web: www.educatt.it/libri  
ISBN: 978-88-9335-121-8 / ISSN: 2239-7302

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