

NEW MULTIFACETED EMERGING THREATS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

Security Analysis within the Framework of the EU Crisis

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I. Agenfor Fact Sheets 2012- Two sides of the same new coin

In 2012 the prosecutors of Perugia, Italy arrested 10 Italians belonging to the Anarchic group FAI-FRI: Stefano Gabriele Fosco, Elisa Di Bernardo, Alessandro Settepani, Sergio Maria Stefani, Katia Di Stefano, Giuseppe Lo Turco, Paola Francesca Iozzi, and Giulia Marziale.

Formally they belonged to the anarchic scene but their past was in the environmental protests in Val di Susa and in violent anti-governmental demonstrations of a different nature in Italy.

In addition to the 10 Italians, the Spanish citizen Gabriel Pombo De Silva (detained in Germany) and the Swiss born Marco Camenisch, have been arrested in the same operation for their cooperation with other 24 radicals, among them 6 Greek citizens.

They all belonged to formally different EU social groups and are considered responsible of a long list of radical attacks in Greece, Italy, Germany, Spain and Switzerland, including the killing of a policeman in Brusio.

The Italian prosecutors suspect that in a number of cases these different actions are organized through a common integrated logistic organisation.

Fraser James Watson Rae, born 8 August 1984, from Johnstone in Renfrewshire, Scotland, was a former soldier and Iraq veteran, serving with the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. At 4pm on the afternoon of 23 September 2012, he walked towards the Central Mosque in the south side of Glasgow shouting: "I will blow this place up." He passed through the Mosque car park and terrified a 15 year old boy saying: "Run, run, run, I've got a bomb." As Rae entered the prayer room, he yelled: "Christians can do it too, boom." He added: "Stay back, I've got a gun", quickly followed by: "I'll shoot you." Police officers attending the incident arrested Rae and searched his backpack seizing a number of items including a 'Scream' mask, gloves and scissors. Rae was escorted to Cathcart police station where he was detained and later interviewed. The police investigation did not uncover a firearm and the search by a specialist dog to identify traces of explosives material met a negative result.

On 20 December 2012, Fraser Rae appeared at Glasgow Sheriff Court. Defence lawyer Mark Chambers said his client was remorseful and that his actions were out of character although it was revealed that Rae had suffered psychologically after leaving the Army and that he had become abusive towards Pakistani people in general in Britain, suggesting they were responsible for the bombings in Iraq. The court also heard that Rae had said to the police: "I was in Iraq and all they did was bomb. My brothers in the army got blown up."


II. Background Analysis

Different studies and national reports on terrorist threats in Europe tend to differentiate types of terrorism based on their declared agenda and narratives.

Left-wing terrorists are considered a different form of terrorism compared to anarchist terrorists, single-issue terrorism such as Animal Rights Violent Extremism (ARE), ethno-nationalists, separatist terrorists, religious terrorists and rightwing radicals.

However this agenda-based approach frequently used by the intelligence community may overshadow some other aspects of the risk analysis, that are essential for the early identification of new emerging threats and for the detection of early mutations of old terrorist forms.

II.a) The new trans-European Dimension:

	<p>Unlike in the past, radical movements today have a clear transnational and European dimension as proved by letter bombs sent to Korydallos prison in Athens, Swissnuclear, Folgore paratroops in Leghorn, the Deutsche Bank in Frankfurt, the Greek Embassy in Paris and the bloody assault against the Finmeccanica manager Adinolfi in Genoa.</p> <p>Actually, attacks linked to Greek or Italian anarchist circles occur frequently in Europe. In most cases, the motivation is an expression of solidarity with imprisoned anarchists from other countries. Similar to 2010, signs of increased transnational coordination between groups were observed in 2011 and increased since 2012.</p>
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Communiqués issued by the Greek terrorist organization Synomosia Pynon Fotias advocated the need to establish “an international network of anarchist individuals and groups”. The renewed activism of the Italian FAI can be seen in this context. In documents found inside their parcel bombs, reference is made to this call to action by Synomosia Pynon Fotias.

Communiqués issued in 2013 by the ‘Chaotic of the Night’ in Germany justify their attack against the Deutsche Bahn in the following way: “In the early hours of February 27th, in search of a suitable target for a solidarity action with Nikos Romanos, Dimitris Politis, Andreas-Dimitris Bourzoukos and Yannis Michailidis, we spotted a vehicle belonging to the Deutsche Bahn in the neighbourhood of Prenzlauer Berg, in Berlin, which we wrapped up in the flames of international solidarity. At the Deutsche Bahn AG (German railway corporation), ten managers of its subsidiary DB International have bribed public officials for engineering services contracts in several African States and in Greece, as the Frankfurt judiciary confirmed (according to a report of the ‘Süddeutsche Zeitung’ in April 2010). Since 2008, in a number of legal battles, it has been documented that the German companies Siemens, MAN Ferrostaal and Deutsche Bahn have bought off politicians in Greece on a large scale, and thus ‘financed’ political decisions in their favour. So, the Siemens

Group alone 'invested' since the mid-1990s and for about a decade 15 million euros per year in Greece, in order to propitiate in this way politicians of both major parties, Nea Dimokratia and PASOK.¹²

The number of incidents related to the so-called "No Border" campaign is relatively high in comparison to other ideological themes of left-wing/anarchist activism in the Netherlands and in other Northern European countries.

II.b) The new common multi-ideological modus operandi

A shift in this direction was already present in some anarchist protests towards environmental issues in 2010 in the UK. In 2011, anarchists joined the ranks of protesters in France and Italy during demonstrations against the construction of the future airport of Notre Dame des Landes in Nantes, and the high-speed railway link between France and Italy in Val di Susa.

In Italy, also third country nationals active in the Muslim community joined the violent protests in Rome, Genoa and Milan in 2012. Also, in France, a number of incidents were motivated by the expulsion of asylum seekers. Companies involved in the construction of detention centers (CIE) for asylum seekers, immigrants or prisons are preferred targets of anarchist extremists and suffered relevant damages in 2011-2012. The trend continues in 2013.

Naïve forms of non-structured religiosity, localism and sectarian or identity related issues and grievances regarding social justice tend to find common ground within anti-Western and anti-capitalist ideologies, where old anti-imperialism trends merge with new anti-globalist approaches. Besides the traditional meetings and protest demonstrations, a number of violent incidents, such as arson attacks, clashes with police and incidents of criminal damage, occurred in 2011, 2012 and intensified in 2013 targeting a variety of public and private symbols perceived as negative by this galaxy. In a significant incident in the Netherlands, protesters attacked and damaged the private house of the CEO of a construction company and in Italy building companies working in Val di Susa suffered serious damage to their construction sites. A concept of "extended responsibility" seems to emerge from these actions, where private companies or individuals working in sensitive areas are considered targets just because they 'collaborate' with the State. A similarity can be drawn with the reasoning of Jihadi groups when they legitimise attacks against innocent civilians-usually forbidden by shari'ah- only because of their supposed support for their governments considered as foes, *al-'aduw al ba'id*.

This modus operandi was used previously by groups such as Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC), Militant Forces against Huntingdon Life Sciences (MFAH) and National Anti-Vivisection Alliance (NAVA), who were often involved in assaults on pharmaceutical company personnel and damage to businesses related to the animal testing sector with improvised explosive devices (IED).

However, today this modus operandi which targets a large variety of social functions is adopted also by a number of radical groups, as proved by the SEEMO reports of homemade bombs produced with the use of gas canisters and placed outside the homes of a number of journalists in Athens, Greece, on 11 January 2013. The anarchist group "Lovers of Lawlessness" said the attacks were carried out to protest against media coverage of the country's financial crisis that was perceived to be sympathetic to the government. Similar attacks occurred against the Italian newspaper La Stampa, Turin, in April 2013. In the communiqué

¹ The document is published the multilingual web-portal <http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/2013/03/19/berlin-incendiary-attack-against-the-deutsche-bahn-in-solidarity-with-anarchist-prisoners-in-greece/>

for this attack the FAI-Fronte Rivoluzionario Internazionale-Cellula Damiano Bolano (who is an anarchist detained in Greece), declared its solidarity for Nicola Gai and Alfredo Cospito, 2 terrorists detained for the bloody attack against the Finmeccanica manager Roberto Adinolfi in Genoa (7-5-2012). A few days earlier, Gai and Cospito, from the Ferrara Prison, had called on the International movement to react with terrorist acts against journalists as a form of solidarity *"for the brothers and sisters of the Indonesian, Chilean and Greek cells"*.



This is the typical approach of violent radicals, who transform neutral social functions (private companies, media, supermarkets, etc.) into vulnerable targets because they are signs of structured powers. These new radicals reduce the complexity of social life to a single issue (anti-fascism, anti-capitalism, etc.) that embodies all symbols of normal life in the form of a single foe. Therefore, they are sometimes unpredictable.

Homemade IEDs are another commonality between numerous groups. In the past, home made IEDs were the main weapon of choice of ethno-nationalist terrorists for executing attacks. These type of attacks are now used by a larger galaxy of anti-globalist movements and religious radicals (groups and individuals). Starting from 2011, left-wing terrorist groups claimed responsibility for attacks in which explosives were sent in letters, targeting several public and private institutions. Home-grown religious-inspired Jihadists and 'lone wolf' attackers have a similar modus operandi using homemade IEDs produced with ordinary consumer products, often using the same instruction manuals posted in internet.

II.c) Anti-Western Narratives

The tendency to attack symbols of industrial Western society is another common denominator of different radicals: violent environmental extremist groups focus on targets accused of polluting the environment in a broad sense, such as construction companies, the energy and transport sectors, nuclear power and nano-technology operators. Technology has become a symbol of Western power for anti-globalist trends, that theorize a 'happy decrease'. In France, demonstrations against the construction of two new airports escalated and resulted in eight casualties among law enforcement officers. The use of nuclear power remains a focal issue for environmental extremist groups. Traditional actions against radioactive waste transport between Member States continue as well as attacks against critical infrastructures. Gene and nano-technology research is a recent target for violent extremist groups. Anti-vaccination campaigns are today a distinctive sign of the 'salafi jihadists' in a number of countries because they suspect that beyond the vaccination there is a Western plot aimed at sterilizing Muslim women.

However, anti-Western narratives and conspiracy theories are the main argument of numerous religious-inspired groups and anarchist movements of various denominations.

III. The urgency to Detect and Profile this Multifaceted Threat

Commenting on the 2011 scenario (Europol 2012), Europol noted: “Joint transnational protests and actions by violent left-wing extremist and violent environmental extremist groups could be an indication of stronger ties and increased cooperation between these groups. The future threat of violent environmental extremism might be influenced by cooperation with other violent extremist groups”.

According to Italian open-source intelligence reports (Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Report on Security Intelligence Policy, 2012), extremists consider the worsening economic crisis as an opportunity to start joint schemes of action. Documents concerning the project of a “transversal platform” have been discovered by Italian security agencies after the 15 October Rome demonstrations, where different radical groups attempted to give a unified thrust to the socio-economic protest.

Giulia Marziale, Italian, 34 years old, arrested for her involvement in the FAI/FRI activities and for the attacks against members of Carabinieri in Piazza San Giovanni, is the daughter of Lanfranco Marziale and Miriam Bacà, two among 78 Italians arrested by the Italian Prosecution Office for their involvement in the case of providing false entry permits for immigrants. This connection between the issue of immigration and anarchist narratives needs further investigation.

 <p>Tahrir-ICN GREECE For more information see: http://libcom.org/blog/bosses-open-fire-immigrant-workers-18042013</p> <p>Before you buy again strawberries from Manolada, Greece, just think that they are covered with the blood of immigrant workers.</p> <p>On 17th April 2013, more than 20 immigrants who were demanding to be paid for their work, were attacked and shot by their Greek employers.</p> <p>The Greek government is covering up the murderers who act with the support of Golden Dawn.</p> <p>BOYCOTT strawberries from Manolada, Greece</p> <p>Mi piace · Commenta · Condividi · 3 · circa un'ora fa ·</p>	<p>Immigration is a very sensitive issue for the International anarchist galaxy: The Italians Fosco, Di Bernardo, Stefani, Settepani and Di Stefano, the German-Argentinean Pombo da Silva and the Swiss Camenisch are suspected to be responsible of the campaign 'Eat the rich' that on 15 December 2009 culminated in the violent IED attack against the director of Cie in Gradisca d'Isonzo, Italy. CIE are immigration centers.</p>
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Moreover, new coordinated narratives are emerging from different socio-political grievances, that may find common denominators capable to overcome the traditional divisions within the radical EU movements: the campaign against the high speed train project in the Susa Valley, popular protests over waste disposals, the fight against “immigrant repression” (detention centers, prisons and expulsions), campaigns against the banking system, globalization, capitalism and unjust tax system (bomb campaign against Equitalia in Italy) and the rights of immigrants.

III.a) Backflow Effects: “Christians can do it too, boom.”

The case of Fraser James Watson Rae in the UK shows one very specific trend of the new identity based religious-inspired threat: while the foreign policy of some governments served to fuel the fires of extremist propaganda, another potent threat to European security began to emerge from unlikely and disturbing

'backflow effects' represented by rightwing identity based tendencies that may lead to lone wolf attacks or forms of home-grown terrorism. In other words, the "Anders Breivik effect" should not be underestimated, as clearly stated by a recent report of the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation, London, that analyze the case of the British Movement EDL and its leader, Tommy Robinson, or the insights offered by Matthew Collins².

The research found that the far-right group is sharing these tactics with partners in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and other countries. Growing concerns are emerging from Western Europe's Countries for this very specific form of violent radicalisation that may involve some vulnerable groups such as former army members and security staff at different levels.

On 22 July 2011, the Norwegian national Anders Behring Breivik killed 8 people through the explosion of a car bomb (a 'vehicle-borne improvised explosive device' (VBIED)) in the government quarter of Oslo. He also randomly shot 69 predominantly young people at a youth camp on the island of Utøya. The perpetrator is considered to be a lone actor whose targets were the Norwegian political system, including the government and the Labour Party. Moreover, he issued a 1518-page long manifesto named "2083 – A European Declaration of Independence" on the Internet. The manifesto reveals that he established his own ideology from various influences and without a clear affiliation, presenting himself as a "cultural conservative". His ideology is assessed as opposing multiculturalism and more specifically Islamism.

In terms of Modus Operandi this "rightist" approach is similar to the old al-Qa'idah-inspired techniques while the new "leftist" approach has similarities with insurrectional strategies adopted by International anarchists and movements of the so-called 'Arab Spring'. In this regard, it may be important to notice that some of the guerrilla manuals used yesterday in Midan al-Tahrir are used today by these new violent radicals in their confrontation with security forces in Greece, Italy and other Southern European Countries. Similarities are to be drawn also for the way the internet is used as a mobilization tool in different geographical areas.

The increasing confrontation between 'leftist' and 'rightist' radicals may be conducive to short circuits and increase tensions and conflicts, that are trigger factors toward violent radicalisation.

III. b) The so-called Islamo-Socialist Threat: The Global South

European analysts seem to underestimate the role of immigration in the ideological transformations of both large-scale movements and extremist groups. Third country nationals from North Africa, Algeria, Mali and the Middle East disseminate revolutionary ideas in Europe and adapt 'oriental' narratives to the new European context, based upon the ideas diffused by intellectuals such as Sayyid Qutb, Ali Shariati or Musataf as-Siba'i in their fundamental critique of capitalism. These narratives have ancient roots in pseudo-Islamic terrorism (a good example is that of the People's Mujahedin Organization of Iran, the MeK, founded in an effort to advance a hybrid system incorporating communism and Islam) and found new inspirations through the Iranian-Venezuelan connection (*We give welcome to a distinguished leader, the leader of a heroic people and of a revolution kindred to the Venezuelan revolution: the Islamic revolution.*" Hugo Chavez).

² Matthew Collins, *Hate. My life in the British Far Right*, London, Biteback Limited, 2011

حركة الانسلطونيين | Tunisian Anarchist Mouvement | التونسيين
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أحداث الغاصصة: بالكرم العربي
<https://www.facebook.com/FdayahDeSileya>

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 14 dicembre 2012 · 4 Mi piace · Comments · Condividi

الانسلطوية ليست قوسوية، ولا ترفض التنظيم: وهذه أكذوبة شهيرة يكررها الإعلام وخصوم الانسلطوية السياسيين، خصوصًا الماركسيين، تكرارًا مملًا. لكن نظرة وحيدة إلى أعمال رواد المنظرين في الانسلطوية تؤكد خطأ هذا الاعتقاد. لن يجد أحد رفضًا للتنظيم في كل كتابات برودون، وباكونين، كروبوتكين، روكر، وارد، بوكنتشين.. إلخ، وإنما اهتمامًا خاصًا حولها، حول كيف ينبغي تنظيم المجتمع وفقًا للمبادئ الانسلطوية في الحرية الفردية والعدالة الاجتماعية. لقرن ونصف الآن، يجادل الانسلطويون في أن ذلك التنظيم الهرمي القوي، كما هو مجسد في الشركات والحكومات، لا يعادل المنظمة التي يعتبرونها ضرورية، وأن هذا التنظيم القمعي يجب أن يستبدل بتنظيم فاعلي لا مركزي قائم على التعاون الطوعي والمساعدة المتبادلة، ذلك بالكاد يعتبر رفضًا للتنظيم.

Ri-elaboration of traditional Bakunin theories in the Tunisian Web Site of the local anarchists

From this perspective, on the other side of the analysis, new systemic threats may emerge from the polarization of the 'Eastern Debate' and the Shi'i-Sunni confrontation, after the so called 'Arab Spring', where conflicts between 'Islamiyyun' and 'Libraliyyun' (or secularists) may trace the path of the old Western polarizations between 'Left'/'Right', 'Extremists/Reformists', 'Nationalists/Independents'. Furthermore analysts seem to overshadow the importance of a very new phenomenon in Arab politics: the emergence of black blocs and soccer fans³ as a fundamental component of the new Arab riots exploited by secularist movements against the religious-inspired governments of the Ikhwan. It is worth mentioning that there is a tangible parallel with what occurred in the Western Balkans wars of the 1990s where the terraces of the top football clubs delivered recruits to paramilitary units across the former Yugoslavia. Most notorious of these were the Tigers, a militia formed largely from Red Star Belgrade hooligans and commanded by the gangster, Zeljko Raznatovic – better known as Arkan. A similar situation is visible today in Port Said and in the Egyptian Canal area with fans from the local team al-Masri.

A second channel to be consider in order to precisely profile this transversal threat is the flexibility that former combatants in the theatres of war have shown when they return home in Europe, as was the case of the so-called 'Afghans' in the nineties. Today the increasing number of Europeans fighting in Syria is of great concern for the security agencies⁴, because these individuals will then have experiences, connections and capacity to manipulate cells of different ideological tendencies to exploit the social vulnerabilities of our systems.

Tariq Ramadan wrote: *"There can be no political liberation in the Arab world without economic emancipation, just as there can be no political justice without economic equity: the old Marxist adage, later adopted by South American liberation theology, has lost non of its truth"*.

These tendencies that Tariq Ramadan (who is their main activist in Europe) has classified as 'Islam-Marxist'⁵- but we more appropriately may define as 'Islam-Socialist'- anticipate what is often considered as the new 'Global South Movement', powered by "new dynamics of mobilization from within the youthful and energetic population of the Global South". Parallels are drawn between "Protest movements such as the Arab uprisings or the protests of the 'indignados' in Spain, Greece, Israel or the United States"⁶.

Old categories from religious narratives, such as the confrontation between 'mustakbirin' and 'mustad'afin', tend to assume new forms in Europe within the framework of common anti-globalist-

³ See James M. Dorsey, *Rioting ultras and striking police officers*, in <http://www.agenformedia.com/rioting-ultras-and-striking-police-officers-may-ease-security-reform.html>

⁴ <http://icsr.info/2013/04/icsr-insight-european-foreign-fighters-in-syria-2/>

⁵ Tariq Ramadan, *The Arab Awakening. Islam and the New Middle East*, London, Penguin, 2012, pg. 112.

⁶ Idem, pg. 122

inspired visions and therefore be exploited by States or terror organizations to organize European proxies and recruit vulnerable individuals and groups.

From symbolic value, unfairly foreign policies and wars, can fuel new forms a tangible radical organization and parallels can be drawn with the old connection 'Red Brigades/Palestinian Terrorism/Rote Armee Fraktion' in the past. However, contrary to the past, now the international dimension is powered by the facilitated mobility and enhanced by the social networks and satellite multi-platforms (mobile phones and internet).

	<p>The EU Anarchist movement, under the umbrella of Black Block Cairo, declared its open participation to the arson attack against the Muslim Brotherhood Office in al Manial Street, Cairo on 30-1-2013⁷ :<i>"We announce today our revolution in Tahrir Sqare, until Egypt and the Egyptian people will regain their rights. Life, Liberty, Social Justice."</i>. Their web portals Revolution Black Bloc, Black Blocairo, Black Bloc Egypt have been shut down by Egyptian authorities but a number of Arab groups belonging to this 'ishtiraky' galaxy are very active in internet and with close tie to the EU Anarchist Federation:</p>
<p>Picture of the protest 'Occupy the World' organized in Tunis on 12-12-2012 and published by the weekly magazine 'AYN'.</p>	

[Anarchists of Arabs](http://www.facebook.com/AnarchistsOfArabs?ref=stream) (*"The Power negates Freedom"*), [Al Anarkiyyah](http://www.facebook.com/AnarchistsOfArabs?ref=stream#!/Egy.Anarchism) al-Masriyyah, <http://www.facebook.com/AnarchistsOfArabs?ref=stream#!/JoAnarchists>, [Moroccan Black Block](http://www.facebook.com/AnarchistsOfArabs?ref=stream#!/pages/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%B1%D9%83%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%B4%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%83%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%B1%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A9/361419437205619), [Moroccan Black Bloc](http://www.facebook.com/pages/Moroccan-Black-Bloc-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%AA%D9%84%D8%A9%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%BA%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/225914084209342), Tunisian Anarchist Mouvement <http://www.facebook.com/TnAnarMov?ref=stream>, The Tunesian Society for Revolutionary Work <http://www.facebook.com/disobey.tn?ref=stream> and the European page <http://www.facebook.com/Tahrirlcn?ref=stream>.

⁷ www.alasbarricadas.org/noticias/node/23396



The declared objective of these Arab movements is the fall of the new Arab governments inspired by the Muslim Brothers, perceived as enemies of the people and against civil liberties. Military is often perceived as part of this plot.⁸ On 29 January 2013 the General Prosecutor in Egypt, Talaat Abdullah, arrested 22 Black Block members and the general security launched in 2013 new investigation on this movement, that made its first appearance on the eve of the Egyptian revolution's second anniversary, declaring its mission to be "liberating the people, ending corruption and bringing down tyrants."⁹

In the calling for the Mansura protests, they use arguments like this: "You will see among us youth who will go to death, like you rush for life; for us martyrdom is sacred... Wait for [our anarchy] soon".¹⁰

Moreover, further valuable indicators towards these transformations of the threat profile, may be collected among the different groups composing the galaxy of 'Muslim-inspired' independents in the Western Balkans, who are seeking to establish a new Bosniak entity with territories from FYROM (Macedonia), the Sanjak, Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Signs of international alliances based on common values ('Adalah Igtimayyah', Social Justice) or interests (geopolitical dimensions) are quite clear from our recent prison analysis, as prisons present a clear 'opportunity factor' in the spread of violent radicalization. 'Prison Ideology' may be the label of some common elements connecting 'jihadi-inspired terrorists' and anarchists¹¹.



Covered Anarchists attack a train in Tunisia

Leftists group are trying to exploit this connection between prison-immigration-international solidarity, as well documented by the Ibrahim al-Lohouar case in France¹² that may be considered substantially different

⁸ <http://www.ysina.org/home/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B3%D9%83%D8%B1-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%AE%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%A3%D9%8A%D8%AF-%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AD%D8%AF%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%B4%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%83%D9%8A%D8%A9/>

⁹ <http://english.ahram.org/NewsContent/1/64/69501/Egypt/Politics-/Egypst-prosecutor-general-orders-arrest-of-Black-.aspx>

¹⁰ <http://english.ahram.org/NewsContent/1/64/65908/Egypt/Politics-/Black-Bloc-and-Hooligans-to-head-to-Nile-Delta-cit.aspx>

¹¹ Signs of relevant prison activities are reported from numerous EU countries:

<http://en.contrainfo.esiv.net/2012/09/26/mass-mobilization-in-greek-prisons-since-13-9-rebellion-in-koridallos-prison-23-9/>

¹² <http://cordatesa.noblogs.org/post/tag/ibrahim-el-louar/>

in its phenomenology from the 2005 riots in the French banlieue, where deprived immigrants forced the French police and army to resort to emergency laws.

IV) ENTRIES AND PROXIES. New categories mark the difference between radicalization and violent radicalization.

It's important to highlight one issue that is usually underestimated by current security and intelligence analysis: the failure of established political parties to offer channels of participation and representation for radical grievances may become a trigger factors towards violent radicalization.

Broadly speaking, all narratives may be considered legitimate. Both, right wing extremists and leftist radicals exploit issues which are serious and partially accepted by a large part of different social and electoral groups. The left-wing extremist galaxy, contrary to their right wing opponents, tend to use for their radical discourse themes which may be superficially considered as "politically correct" by institutional leftist parties, such as defense of human rights, democracy, rights of vulnerable people, women's rights, sex-based discrimination and social justice. Nevertheless, more democracy, more popular participation and social justice were historically the key arguments of the bloodiest Marxist dictatorships. On the other side of the political spectrum, issues such as the failure of multiculturalism (as defined by Merkel, Cameron or Berlusconi), the Christian roots of Europe, the need for less fiscal oppression and more liberal budget policies, as well as the urgency to reform the governance towards new forms of democratic leadership, improved security, more authority and a better State, are also relevant questions for legitimate central-right parties all over Europe. Nevertheless 'Blut und Boden' embodied by one Führer or Duce was also the workhorse for European Fascists movements in the thirties.

Parallel arguments may be used for religious inspired political groups, such as the Muslim Brothers or the Saudi Wahhabi compared with religious inspired radicals, as in the case of the Jihadists and Takfiri groups. The relationship between religion and politics or the role of religion in the public sphere are issues discussed by legitimate parties and movements for a long time in Europe (CSU, Democrazia Cristiana, etc.) and now this debate is also part of the public discourse in a number of North African and Eastern Countries, where legitimate parties with an Islamic background are today ruling parties, thanks to open and democratic elections. However, similar themes to these, which have then been distorted, are the roots of the '*mutatarrifin*', the religious-inspired radical jihadists, that kill innocents and oppress their own citizens in the name of *khawarig* ideologies.

Therefore in their nature all these generic arguments, these narratives, cannot be considered a threat in itself, even though some of the arguments may be considered 'radical' by an opposing party. We have to admit that to be radical is not necessarily a negative attribute. Some political radicals got the Nobel prize for their contribution to peace and others became distinguished Prime Ministers. One representative of the Italian 'Radical Party' has been an excellent EU Commissioner.

What makes the difference in terms of radicalization is not the narrative but its direction of action (radicalization leading to violence), its acceptance (or refusal) of the 'rules of the game', that's to say, the acceptance of an institutional framework, which includes transparency, scrutiny and controls and, above all, the refusal of violence as a viable tool for social change. Based on these assumptions, we are all confident that the existing democratic institutions and the European people have the maturity, the capacity and the institutional means to prevent and counter the rise to power of anti-democratic movements/parties that may exploit democratic rules and vulnerabilities to impose dictatorships, as was the case of Fascism and Nazism in the past.

Therefore from a security point of view institutional radical parties or groups, working within the framework of clear cut formal contexts, subject to institutional monitoring activities, as prescribed by law, can even be considered as positive 'entries' or important facilitators to prevent and tackle radicalization leading to violence and terrorism. These 'entries' may occupy an institutional space that offer representation and participation to social groups that could otherwise be attracted by non-institutional and violent options, that's to say 'Proxies'. The difference between an 'entry' and a 'proxy' –somebody exploiting democratic openness to destroy the institutions for its own purposes or on behalf of external actors- is given by the level of acceptance of the institutional framework and not by the contents of the narratives promoted, being open to scrutiny by the given authorities in line with national and European laws and regulations. The first kind of institutional and legitimate radicals, particularly when they sit in Parliament, represent citizens and tax payers. The related parties are usually accepted by Constitutional courts and undergo scrutiny to be able to participate in elections. If somebody is radical within a parliament it is because he is part of a formal political party and has got the necessary electoral consensus, according to democratic rules for public participation, a certain level of transparency and therefore the acceptance of the constitution and the rules of the democratic game. Moreover, in case of Member States, compliance of the EU Charter and respect of the EU fundamental values, is part of the EU-acquis.

The Italian Movimento Sociale Italiano (M.S.I.) can be considered a Best Practice for 'entry' preventive and de-rad policies in the context of countries where civil wars created deep divides. Founded in 1947 by former fascist members of the Salò Republic, this party decided to operate in line with the democratic system despite its clear connection with some aspects of the former regime. The Italian political and judiciary system accepted this political presence, because the MSI formally accepted democracy and the constitution and participated to the parliamentary life at national and local level, gaining parliamentary seats and competing in the electoral arena right from its beginning. Its leadership was elected through congress and statutes and membership was quite transparent. Despite its political isolation from the Genoa Congress (June 1960), and the overall bias against its "politically incorrect initiatives", after 48 years struggle and a complex political path that saw its members involved as actors and victims of the so called "strategy tensions" in the seventies, on the Fiuggi Congress (27-1-1995) the MSI-DN dissolved and transformed itself into the National Alliance (A.N.), and was then one of the founders of the Italian People of Liberty (PDL), party led by Mr. Berlusconi. In 2004 members of the newly established National Alliance were elected to Government positions for the first time in the Italian democratic Republic. Undoubtedly the strongly disputed political activity of this party contributed to the integration into democratic and constitutional life of those Italians who were defeated in the civil war and its political and electoral activity contributed to isolating right wing radical groups, such as Ordine Nuovo (outlawed on 21 November 1973), Avanguardia Nazionale (outlawed on 1976) or Terza Posizione (outlawed on 1980), that never reached an institutional position or social acceptance because that space was already occupied by the MSI first and then AN¹³.

Contrary to this, we can consider "proxies" all those movements that reject the constitution, the electoral systems (indirect democracy) and resort to violence as an acceptable tool to promote social or political transformations.

¹³ For further details on this movement, please see Sergio Bianchi, *La Destra nell'Epoca del Leaderismo*, Rimini, Il Cerchio, 2009



These movements are usually organized in separate secret cells and don't accept monitoring by constitutional bodies. Their distinctive character is the a-critical refusal of any form of power and organization, perceived as contrary to freedom and direct democracy. Old and new themes seem to offer fuel for new forms of organization based upon new communication technologies, ideologically perceived as a means to expand democracy and participation of the 'masses' in political decisions, but in reality manipulative technologies that require a high level of control and hierarchical organization, often exploited by States and/or organized bodies.

The anarchic idea of 'multitude' that is supposed to manage democracy through new participative forms without State or hierarchical organizations¹⁴ is incorporated within the Islamic reformist ideas of the 'sha'ab mythology'¹⁵, that is bolstered by imperial policies hidden beyond the curtain of civil liberties. Contrary to common opinions, in this context we notice a phenomenon that is parallel to other criminal activities: the Internet changes the approach to transversal organized crimes and radicalization.¹⁶ As Europol noted: "*Cross-border cooperation between violent extremist groups, including the provision of support for violent activities, is steadily increasing. Terrorist and violent extremist groups have taken full advantage of developments in the communication and technology*" (TE-SAT 2012) sector, allowing them to notify likeminded individuals and groups about upcoming activities, and inspire others by promoting the results of their activities online.

These transversal movements are usually not attracted by the political institutional dialogue and find a fertile ground within some NGOs and Civil Society Organizations for the similarity of their political themes, particularly within the squatter movement and among new vulnerable groups, such as prisoners and deprived immigrants, that may be considered 'opportunity factors' for those violent radicals.

¹⁴ Toni Negri con Michael Hardt, *Moltitudine: guerra e democrazia nel nuovo ordine imperiale*, Milano, Rizzoli, 2004

¹⁵ For the new Islamic populism, please see Sergio Bianchi, *The Evolution of the Muslim Brotherhood*, Roma-Vienna, 2012

¹⁶ "The internet is also a major driver of criminal activity, enabling organized crime groups to access a large pool of victims, obscure their activities and carry out a diverse range of criminal acts in a shorter period of time and on a much larger scale than ever before. The spread of the internet and technological advances have caused significant shifts in crime areas and the pattern of criminal activity." (Europol, SOCTA 2013)

CONCLUSIONS:

The Risk analysis at European level shows separate tendencies between Northern, Southern and Eastern countries.

In a scale of priority for countries like the UK the AQ-inspired radicalism remains a top priority, due to its social and ethnic contest. In Eastern Europe countries the right-wing extremism pose a substantial threat to the new institutions and in Southern countries, such as Italy, Spain or Greece the top priority seems to be this new transversal threat.

The dramatic social crisis of the Southern European economy, coupled with a complicated geopolitical situation in North Africa and in the Near East and in the Western Balkans, may offer fertile ground for the emergence of new transversal narratives capable of offering a 'rationale' to the social malaise and paving the way for new " multi-platforms for radicalization leading to violence and terrorism" through the grievances spread within a larger part of society hit by the socio-economic crisis and the similarity of these new narratives with legitimate socio-political themes.

However, while rightwing 'identity based' narratives may lead to forms of homegrown terrorism (lone wolf) because of the existence of 'entries' that tend to represent and channel radical narratives of organized groups, there are actually some indicators of a common modus operandi between ideologically different proxies that tend to go beyond traditional divides. These new narratives may catalyze relevant parts of the Anarchic and Environmentalist radicals as well as the new phenomenon of the Arab Black Blocks, soccer fans and secularist insurgents through the common anti-Western and anti-Capitalistic approach to join together in the name of social justice. Their emerging tendency to partner on specific initiatives and platforms and their ability to use common modus operandi, is a very tangible indicator of potential future strategic alliances bolstered by economic and financial instability as well as by the dramatic geopolitical situation in North Africa and in the Near East, particularly in Syria.

For this reason the main threat is represented by the new 'Islam-Socialist' narratives because the welding of Islam-Socialist concepts with this new idea of 'Global South' may lead to organized forms of terrorism and be conducive to the growth of International "proxy" alliances exploitable by anti-Western powers.