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THE MEDITERRANEAN AS A PLAZA

Japanese and Italian Insights on the Great Sea

Hiroshi Kato, Liana Lomiento (eds.)

CISALPINO
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The Euro-Mediterranean Dialogue Starts from Collective Identities: The Innovative Role of the Anna Lindh Foundation's Italian Network

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Abstract

The issue of *collective identity* refers to integration within a group, to symmetric and complementary relationships between different collective identities, and to mutual respect. Identity is the most important factor in world politics, able to provide leaders with moral, philosophical and social legitimation.
The analysis focuses on the socio-political assumed competition between a *Statist*-oriented *élite* and a *Glocalist*-oriented *élite*, examining two corresponding case-studies: Anna Lindh Foundation-ALF, and BRICS' organization.
The study highlights the role of the Italian Euro-Mediterranean Network in suggesting a renewed definition of collective identity between these two opposite identity models, possibly encouraging also a productive dialogue between European, Mediterranean and BRICS actors.
This innovative bi-polarized analytic model is applied to collective identity throughout significant phases of modern history, up until the selected contemporary case-studies, described in a mind map.

Keywords

Identity, Glocalist, statist, Mediterranean dialogue, Euro-Mediterranean, network, models.

Introduction

Collective identity is the basis of life. Gregory Bateson[1] developed an anthropological identity concept related to the prevalent *formal* dimension of human relationships, which explains why the *way* human beings (as mammals) communicate is more important than the *contents* of communication. Bateson also relates the issue of identity to essential concepts of integration within a group, to symmetric and complementary relationships between different collective identities, and to mutual respect.

Consequently, identity turns out to be the most important factor in world politics, providing leaders with moral, philosophical and social legitimation. Artificially constructed collective models can become, in the hands of a very limited number of decision makers, powerful rhetorical instruments producing a significant impact on people's mind and their socio-economic life. The term "model" (from Latin *modus*) means measure, reference, parameter to evaluate reality, which in fact is by definition more complex than any abstract rigid framework.

The purpose of this article is an analysis of the socio-political assumed competition between two organized and structured political *élites*, a *Statist*-oriented *élite* opposed to a *Glocalist*-oriented *élite*,[2]

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[1] See, in particular, G. Bateson (1972). Steps to an Ecology of Mind (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

[2] This author has developed over two decades of research work the suggested innovative methodological approach in a number of publications, applying the Glocalist/Statist analysis to a variety of case-studies. Among other articles and books (with ample bibliography), see: E. Molinaro. Geopolitical Trends: Statalist BRICS Challenge Glocalist Financial Instability. Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali 2016;83.1: pp. 49-68; Limes-Heartland (April 1, 2015). Available at: http://temi.repubblica.it/limes-heartland/a-mediterranean-marshall-plan/2064; Limes Heartland (December 22, 2014). Available at: http://www.limesonline.com/en/geopolitical-trends-statalists-up-glocalists-down; Limes-Heartland (November 24, 2014). Available at: http://www.limesonline.com/en/statalists-versus-globalists-the-conflict-is-back-to-jerusalem; Id. (2014). La competizione tra *élites* statali e glocali: il caso-studio di Gerusalemme e dei suoi Luoghi Santi. In: A.M. Cossiga, S.L. Germani (eds.). I fondamentalismi religiosi nel mondo contemporaneo (Roma: Eurilink) pp. 187-208; Id. (2013). Gerusalemme tra *status quo* e conflitti identitari. In: C. De Martino (ed.). Gerusalemme, Strategie per il controllo dello spazio urbano (Roma: Castelvecchi) pp. 125-143; Id. (2009). The Holy Places of Jerusalem in Middle East Peace Agreements. The Conflict between Global and State Identities (Brighton -

examining for each of the two corresponding abstract identity models a selected case-study: the Anna Lindh Foundation-ALF and the BRICS' organization, respectively.

The President of the Foundation Elisabeth Guigou (France) and the Executive Director Nabil Al Sharif (Jordan) manage the ALF, created in 2005, co-founded by the European Commission and the 42 countries of the Union for the Mediterranean-UfM/Union pour la Méditerranée-UPM[3] (28 from the European Union and 15 from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean shores), represented in the Board of Governors.[4] Deeply influenced by the Glocalist cycle started on the wake of the tragic events of September 11, 2001, since its constitution the ALF adopted Glocalist discourse and key-words described below.[5]

The five BRICS countries (Brazil, the Russian Federation, India, China and South Africa) account for 26,46% of world land area, 42,58% of world population, and have contributed more than 50% of world economic growth during the last 10 years.[6]

The study focuses on the role of the civil society's Italian Euro-Mediterranean Network[7] in suggesting a renewed definition definition of collective identity betweeen these two opposite identity models,

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Portland: Sussex Academic Press) pp. 198; Id. L'Osservatorio sui Luoghi Santi di Gerusalemme: una proposta per favorire il dialogo arabo-israeliano. La Comunità internazionale 2009;LXIV.2: pp. 253-271; Id. (2007). Nazione, religione e identità collettiva tra Europa e Mediterraneo. In: E. Pföstl (ed.). La creazione di una zona di pace e stabilità attorno all'Unione Europea (Roma: Editrice Apes) pp. 301-452; Id. (2002). Negotiating Jerusalem. Precondition for Drawing Scenarios Based on Territorial Compromises (Jerusalem: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs PASSIA) pp. 122.

[3] Union for the Mediterranean (2012). https://ufmsecretariat.org/.

[4] Anna Lindh Foundation (2014). http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/history-and-milestones; see also *infra*, The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and the Anna Lindh Foundation: Anna Lindh Foundation (2014). http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/governance-and-management.

[5] See *infra*, The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and the Anna Lindh Foundation.

[6] BRICS Organization (2015). http://infobrics.org/page/history-of-brics/; http://www.brics2018.org.za/what-brics. See also *infra*, The Statist Language of the BRICS Summits (UFA 2015 and Johannesburg 2018).

[7] See *infra*, The Innovative Initiatives of the Italian Head of Network and the ALF Reform.

and possibly also in encouraging "the development of a productive dialogue between European, Mediterranean and BRICS actors".

The scope of the study is limited in defining collective identity in general terms, applying the suggested bi-polarized analysis throughout significant phases of modern history, up until the selected contemporary case-studies. As a consequence, this article does not include a complete and detailed description of the competition between the two opposite *élites* cyclically influencing the geopolitical arena, in a fashion similar to a Ping-Pong power-game.

By understanding the deep political interests at stake, geopolitical analysts can avoid polarized constructed dichotomies, such as referring to German/Italian, Right/Left or West/Islam opposite extremes. Artificial polarization, provides organized *élites* with intellectual weapons to manipulate scholars' interpretations and people's perceptions, thus distracted from the real power-game on the ground.

This explains why, without a deep awareness of the real interests at stake, which ofter are kept in the dark to the general public, the success of research publications and academic models risk to rely on the contingent ability to recruit sponsors or powerful communication instruments rather than on objectively verified results. Taking into account such necessary epistemological limitation, a deep awareness of the described social science innovative methodological instruments may allow scholars to see beyond apparent contingent political tactics.

The Cyclical Prevalence of Statist and Glocalist Dichotomized Identity Models

The competing Statist and Glocalist *élites* force people to choose between one of the two respective Western-based opposite models of collective identity, developed in Europe between the Middle Age and the Renaissance: a Glocalist transboundary model, or a Statist territorial model. As a result, contrasting waves influence Western history in an apparent dichotomized cyclical process, like conflicting winds in a tormented ocean.

The main assumption of the Statist model is the supposed unconscious originality of the State-national identity for ethno-linguistic communities, composed of citizens belonging to a single exclusive country. Statists assume an automatic identification for all such ethno-religious and linguistic territorial communities with their respective State identities, defined by clear-cut borders. Examples of this rigid territorial dichotomy abound in modern history: French/Germans, Israelis/Palestinians, Iraqis/Iranians Chinese/Japanese, Russians/Ukrainians. In this perspective, the Westphalia Peace (1648) concluded in the Rhine region across the French-German boundary symbolically inspired the Latin saying *cuius regio eius et religio* ("Whose realm, his religion", or "Whosever territory, his religion").

According to the Glocalist trans-boundary model, developed from the Papal-Imperial Middle Age universal thinking into the political-cultural context of the British and Dutch Global Empires, boundaries of virtual communities depend on ideological, economic, theological, or spiritual borders. Such virtual borders challenge and overcross physical state boundaries and citizenships.[8] In the Glocalist perspective, people perceive their position in the world on the basis of *supra-national* or *intra-national* abstract values.[9] Glocalist scholars, journalists and politicians emphasize the role of non-State actors, such as local regional and municipal autonomous administrations, transnational (NGOs), multinational corporations, or international bureaucracies.[10]

Nowadays, virtual communities of fans, following world famous stars and influencers emerging from the media business, are becoming the trendiest *global supra-national* (virtual) collective identities. Examples proliferate on YouTube, Facebook and Instagram

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[8] See E. Molinaro (2009). The Holy Places of Jerusalem in Middle East Peace Agreements pp. 123-130; Id. (2002). Negotiating Jerusalem. Precondition for Drawing Scenarios Based on Territorial Compromises pp. 7-22 and 67-71.

[9] See this author's Mind Map on Collective Identity Models, "1. Cultural and political identity": left side, published in this issue.

[10] See A.M. Slaughter (2011). International Relations, Principal Theories (Constructivism). In: Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 28. https://www.princeton.edu/~slaughtr/Articles/722_IntlRelPrincipalTheories_Slaughter_20110509zG.pdf.

social networks, as well as on TV, such as "Big Brother", or other popular reality shows.

On the *intra-national* level, the Catalan or Basque secessionists from Spain, most radical leaders of the former North League in Italy, the independence movement from France in Corsica, from China in Tibet, from India in Kashmir, as well as any micro-geographic fraction of municipal identities competing with each other, are supporters of anti-State *localism*.

As a result, Glocalists tend to classify people in countless trans-national or infra-national categories: Arabs/Druses, Shiites/Sunnis, Muslims/Jews, Catholics/Protestants, Mormons/Taoists, Believers/Atheists, Communists/Democrats, Proletarians/Capitalists, Poor/Rich, Whites/Blacks, Vegans/Macrobiotics, Basques/Catalans, Brahmins/Dalits, Padanians/Sicilians, Mediterraneans/Europeans, Fats/Slims, Male/Female, Homosexuals/Heterosexuals, and so on.[11]

In fact, no real State or identity group in particular has ever perfectly matched any of the described two opposed abstract Glocalist and Statist visions of collective identity. Influential political leaders' long-term strategic alliances cut through traditional political coalitions, national frontiers, and consolidated identity groups developed at a religious, civilizational, ideological, global, supra-national, or local infra-national level. Any definition describing such heterogeneous State or identity groups neglects their multiple aspects.

Apparently united national or religious groups can hide conflicting and contradicting interests of objective or subjective nature, represented by an intertwined and complex web of political-economic relations developed through public institutions, private organizations, and the States themselves. Such interest groups, pervading State institutions or international organizations, are permanently in competition with each other in order to legitimate their respective power. However, the Statists share the following strategic goals to strengthen centralized national States and their institutions, while the Glocalists try to weaken and disaggregate States, through alternative intra-national or supra-national identity models overcoming,

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[11] See this author's Mind Map on Collective Identity Models, "1. Cultural and political identity": left side, published in this issue.

or defiling, traditional State borders. Each of the two corresponding *élite* groups, influencing the public with their respective obsessively reiterated Statist and Glocalist keywords, produce unexpected alliances in different geopolitical areas of the globe.

On June 4, 2001, on the occasion of a seminar in honor of the Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico, the author of this article gave a lecture at the Department of Italian Literature at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Faculty of Humanities, titled *Vico*, *Rome*, *Jerusalem*, *the Intifada and the Yin-Yang Cycles*. Vico suggested a vision of history where events followed each other in a cyclical way.[12] Ancient Taoist philosophers have also developed analogous (*Yin-Yang*) cycles of history: "The ancients observed 2 phases of constant cyclical change. *Yin* constantly changes into *Yang* & back into *Yin* again. This can be seen in the changes of four seasons, and the changes throughout a single day (24 Hour Cycle)".[13]

For example, the Emperor and the Pope of the Middle Age Glocalist era, which Dante Alighieri used to define the "Two Suns", left the political center-stage when the Statist cycle reached its aforementioned Westphalia triumph in 1648. A new Glocalist cycle prevailed again on the occasion of the Cold War, setting up transnational divide between Communist and Capitalist blocs following transboundary ideological criteria. In contrast, after the 1989 Berlin Wall's fall a new Statist cycle allowed the German Statist reunification, promoting the resurgence of academic, journalistic and popular debate about national identity, and the significance of each State's boundaries for its respective collective identity.

The aforementioned Twin Towers terror attacks of September 11, 2001 in the USA marked a new wave of global transboundary discourse, under Glocalist slogans borrowed from the Neocons'

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[12] See E. Molinaro (2009). The Holy Places of Jerusalem in Middle East Peace Agreements p. 174 n. 798; on the cyclical prevalence of each of the two overlapping Statist and Glocalist models of collective identity in international law theory, corresponding respectively to an horizontal or a vertical structure of the relations between States, see: L. Ferrari Bravo (2002). Lezioni di diritto internazionale. IV ed. (Napoli: Editoriale Scientifica) pp. 26-27.

[13] Sacred Lotus Chinese Medicine (2000). https://www.sacredlotus.com/go/foundations-chinese-medicine/get/yin-yang.

and US President Bush's Clash of Civilization Crusade. In this Glocalist perspective, trans-national terrorists apparently challenge traditional State frontiers, replacing old-fashioned territorial conflicts with a newly shaped global universal borderless Islamic-Western civilization rift.

The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and the Anna Lindh Foundation

Time is a crucial factor to evaluate the Glocalist or Statist orientation of institutions, research centers, politicians, international organizations, media, States, and governments. One dramatic example is the Glocalist murder[14] of both Statist Israeli Prime Minister Rabin and, consequently, the Oslo Israeli-Palestinian Statist peace negotiations, just a few days before the Statist Euro-Mediterranean Process and Partnership launched in Barcelona, Spain, on November 28, 1995.[15] This terrorist crime poisoned any future development for cultural, economic and political cooperation in the whole region, still under permanent security threat, since the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations did not produce yet a stable positive outcome.

Ten years later, in 2004,[16] the Euro-Med Ministers of Foreign Affairs agreed on the Recommendation by the 2003 High-Level Group Report on Intercultural Dialogue[17] to create a Euro-Mediterranean Foundation, which inaugurated in 2005 its international

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[14] M. Karpin, I. Friedman (1998). The Savior. In: Iid. Murder in the Name of God: The Plot to Kill Yitzhak Rabin (New York: Metropolitan Books) pp. 352. Available at: http://movies2.nytimes.com/books/first/k/karpin-murder.html.

[15] On the historical-political events related to the Statist cycle developed in the nineties (fall of the Berlin Wall and 1993 signature of the Israeli-Palestinian Oslo Agreements in Washington) leading the 1995 Euro-Mediterranean "Barcelona Process" and the opposite, Glocalist strategy of US President Bush for a "Kantian democratic peace" in a Broader Middle East (BME) see also, E. Molinaro (2007), Nazione, religione e identità collettiva tra Europa e Mediterraneo pp. 404-411.

[16] Anna Lindh Foundation (2015). http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/history-and-milestones.

[17] Anna Lindh Foundation (2015). http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/sites/annalindh.org/files/documents/page/rep_hl_adv_group_11_2003.pdf.

Headquarter in Alexandria, Egypt, with the first Heads of National Networks' Meeting.[18]

Courageous Statist Prime Minister of Sweden Anna Lindh, cowardly assassinated, just like her Statist mentor and predecessor Olof Palme, inspired the new Foundation's name.[19] As the Swedish Environment Minister, Anna Lindh defied powerful poisoning Glocalist multinational companies. She also described then Glocalist US President Bush as a "lone ranger", thus condemning his Glocalist devastating war in Iraq, launched without a legitimate UN Security Council resolution.

At the Paris Summit for the Mediterranean of July 13, 2008, French Glocalist President Nicolas Sarkozy, then also President of the European Council, launched with the forty-three Euro-Mediterranean Heads of State and Government the aforementioned UfM, in declared continuation[20] with the 1995 Barcelona Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (Euro-Med).

A few months later Glocalist UfM launched, with the UfM Final Statement in Marseille, a new regional program "aiming at strengthening the role of *civil society*",[21] a fundamental pillar of Glocalist discourse and key-words,[22] as opposed to Statist identities limited by national frontiers. According to the quoted Statement, the Anna Lindh Foundation-ALF "will consolidate its capacity to promote intercultural dialogue, diversity and mutual understanding and raise its profile as a bridge between Euro-Mediterranean cultures, religions and beliefs, in cooperation with the UN Alliance of Civilizations" (UNAOC).

The 2005 UNAOC initiative, co-sponsored by the Turkish Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, seeks to galvanize international action against extremism through the forging of international, intercultural and interreligious dialogue and cooperation. The Alli-

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[18] Anna Lindh Foundation (2015). http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/history-and-milestones.

[19] *Ibid*.

[20] Union for the Mediterranean (2012). https://ufmsecretariat.org/.

[21] Union for the Mediterranean (2012). http://ufmsecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/dec-final-Marseille-UfM.pdf.

[22] See this author's Mind Map on Collective Identity Models, "1. Cultural and political identity": left side, published in this issue.

ance places a particular emphasis on defusing tensions between the Western and Islamic worlds.[23]

The UfM is an intergovernmental Euro-Mediterranean organization, whose mission is to enhance regional cooperation, dialogue and the implementation of projects and initiatives with tangible impact on Mediterranean peoples, with an emphasis on young people and women.[24] After the 2008 UfM summit, the ALF became its "focal institution"[25] for "Intercultural and interfaith dialogue in the Mediterranean".[26]

Speaking at the high-level Ministerial Meeting co-chaired by the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs Federica Mogherini and Jordanian Foreign Minister Nasser Judah, held in Barcelona on November 26, 2015, the ALF President, said: "*Civil society* is indispensable in the face of today's common regional challenges, and central to addressing the root-causes of extremism".[27] ALF documents, speeches and topics, on the contrary, rarely use the term "identity", except for the somewhat generic expression "Mediterranean identity".[28]

The Statist Language of the BRICS Declarations (Ufa 2015 and Johannesburg 2018).

The BRICS' approach to global challenges has progressively adopted the Statist territorial model. It relies on a specific identity

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[23] United Nations Alliance of Civilizations (2018). https://www.unaoc.org/event/strengthening-interreligious-and-intercultural-dialogue-through-knowledge-sharing-opportunities-and-challenges/.

[24] Union for the Mediterranean (2012). https://ufmsecretariat.org/.

[25] Union for the Mediterranean (2012). https://ufmsecretariat.org/institutional-partnership-to-strengthen-intercultural-and-interfaith-dialogue-in-the-euro-mediterranean-region/.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] Anna Lindh Foundation (2015). http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/news/announcement-malta-will-host-2016-euro-mediterranean-forum-anna-lindh-foundation.

[28] Anna Lindh Foundation (2015). https://www.annalindhfoundation.org/news/announcement-malta-will-host-2016-euro-mediterranean-forum-anna-lindh-foundation.

construction characterized by State-centrist pillars such as *sovereignty*, defined territorial borders and territorial integrity, national and ethnic integration, defining security as the essential defense of borders, and the conservation of public order.

On July 9, 2015 the five leaders met for the Seventh BRICS Summit held in Ufa, Russia, under the theme "BRICS Partnership – a Powerful Factor of Global Development".[29] The Ufa Summit's conclusions can be considered as a sort of political *manifesto* of the respective Statist *élites* ruling those five Republics, and its key-words make it up as a masterpiece puzzle of Statist thinking: *sovereign* equality, multilateralism, development/growth for the real sector of economy, efficiently regulated and stable financial markets, infrastructure investments, internet governance ecosystem, independence, unity, *sovereignty*, territorial integrity, statehood, integrated state institutions, national unity government.[30]

The *Ufa Declaration* emphasizes "equal and indivisible security for all states, through respect for international law and principles of the UN Charter" and "the unique importance of the indivisible nature of security: no State should strengthen its security at the expense of the security of others".[31] This cohesive Statist approach applies to various geopolitical areas of crisis: Iraq, Iran, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Afghanistan, Ukraine, Syria ("Respecting the independence, unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Syrian Arab Republic"), as well as Libya, where the Glocalist "military intervention in 2011 led to the breakdown of integrated state institutions, effective army and law-enforcement bodies, which in turn contributed to the rise of activities of terrorist and extremist groups".[32] The Declaration's Statist BRICS political-diplomatic agenda has also implied for the BRICS an active role in shaping

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[29] Russian BRICS Chairmanship (2015). Available at: http://en.brics2015.ru/load/381158.

[30] See this author's Mind Map on Collective Identity Models: "1. Cultural and political identity": right side, published in this issue.

[31] Ufa Declaration (2015). http://infobrics.org/post/25659/.

[32] Ufa Declaration (2015). http://infobrics.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Declaration_eng.pdf.

international economic policy following the 2008 financial crisis.[33]

Three years later, the 10th BRICS Summit was held in Johannesburg on July 25-27, 2018, in planned coincidence with Nelson Mandela's birth centenary, under the theme "BRICS in Africa: Collaboration for Inclusive Growth and Shared Prosperity in the 4th Industrial Revolution". The South African summit produced a *Declaration* consistent with the examined Ufa's Statist wordings. Like in Ufa, BRICS reaffirmed their Statist "commitment to the principles of mutual respect, *sovereign* equality, democracy, inclusiveness and strengthened collaboration", through the promotion of "peace, a fairer international order, sustainable development and inclusive growth".[34] The BRICS leaders have also reiterated their determination, already affirmed in the previous BRICS Declarations, in particular in the 2015 *Ufa Declaration*, "to work together to strengthen multilateralism and the rule of law in international relations, and to promote a fair, just, equitable, democratic and representative international order".

In particular, Chapter III of the *Johannesburg Declaration*, titled "Strengthening and Consolidating BRICS Cooperation in International Peace and Security", reaffirms *Ufa Declaration*'s principles regarding the "tensions in the Middle-East region": "there is no place for unlawful resorting to force or external interference", and "ultimately, lasting peace can only be established through broad-based, inclusive national dialogue with due respect for the independence, territorial integrity and *sovereignty* of each of the countries of the region […], especially with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian situation". About the latter conflict, in particular, the BRICS have reiterated the need to achieve peace and stability "through negotiations with a view to creating an independent, viable, territorially contiguous Palestinian State living side by side in peace and security with Israel", a Statist approach far from the Glocalist manifest indifference *vis-à-vis* the so-called two-States solution.

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[33] L. Wang (2016). India to Pitch for Hosting G20 Meet. Available at: http://www.brics-info.org/india-to-pitch-for-hosting-g20-meet/.

[34] Johannesburg Declaration (2018). http://www.brics2018.org.za/sites/default/files/Documents/JOHANNESBURG%20DECLARATION%20-%2026%20JULY%202018%20as%20at%2007h11.pdf.

In the last three years, the author of this article has contributed to organize three BRICS meetings in Rome,[35] in the contest of the BRICS multidisciplinary research laboratory, led by Eurispes' Secretary General Marco Ricceri.[36]

The Innovative Initiatives of the Italian Head of Network for the ALF Reform

The Italian Network for the Euro-Mediterranean Dialogue (RIDE-APS, set up in Rome on June 13, 2017)[37] intends to connect activities to better develop dialogue on the one hand, and evaluation and respect for collective identity, on the other hand. RIDE-APS is the result of a decade of experience of the Italian civil society focused on promoting dialogue with the corresponding organizations active around the Mediterranean basin, developing a "pedagogical" role with respect to the members.[38]

The ALF Italian Network (whose head, since its appointment on September 16, 2017, is RIDE-APS' collegial Board of Directors) refers to this concept in its plural form because, as there are various

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[35] Available at: http://www.ansamed.info/ansamed/it/notizie/rubriche/politica/2016/07/14/brics-e-mediterraneo-se-ne-parla-in-ambasciata-india-a-roma_0bad2761-cc52-4a6e-8a22-759263d656b5.html; http://www.ansamed.info/ansamed/it/notizie/rubriche/economia/2016/07/18/brics-e-rete-diaologo-euro-medinsieme-per-promuovere-pace_35f783e9-966b-4f43-bdbb-db2a2e9e12b8.html; http://www.ansamed.info/ansamed/it/notizie/rubriche/politica/2016/12/15/med-tavola-rotonda-su-ruolo-ue-e-paesi-brics-per-sviluppo_82f5930b-871f-486a-ba9a-b790f84e0c50.html.

[36] See *infra*, The Innovative Initiatives of the Italian Head of Network for the ALF Reform; see also *Eurispes*, *Report Tavola Rotonda sui BRICS - luglio 2016*; http://www.eurispes.eu/content/eurispes-report-tavola-rotonda-sui-brics-2016. On the occasion of the third BRICS Rome meeting, held at SIOI on Tuesday, 30 October (Available at: http://www.ansamed.info/ansamed/it/notizie/rubriche/economia/2018/10/30/brics-ambasciatori-discutono-cooperazione-ruolo-italia_f90e5e6e-c230-4f87-ad82-9acd4d91403e.html), conference speakers questioned the full participation of Brasil in the BRICS' future activities, in light of the elections, two days earlier, of the Glocalist president Bolsonaro.

[37] Rete Italiana per il Dialogo Euro-mediterraneo (2017). http://ride.mediper.eu/it/.

[38] Ride Italiana per il Dialogo Euro-mediterraneo (2017). http://ride.mediper.eu/it/eventi-e-progetti-ride-aps-rete-italiana-alf/420-documento-storico-della-commissione-europea-sulla-riforma-della-fondazione-anna-lindh.

Mediterranean identities, so there may be different Mediterranean perspectives.

According to the Italian Network's proposal, collective identity should be the focus of *any* dialogue between the Northern and the Southern shores of the Mediterranean, and between all of us. The Italian Network's new ideas may contribute to advance and address an organizational capacity needed to represent the back-bone of the ALF operational framework, with its good governance mechanisms, funding model and structure, including the role of its stakeholders and networks. This contribution is also a possible answer to the criticism and requests of strategic reforms expressed in a recent European Commission's Evaluation *vis-à-vis* the ALF.[39]

In addition to the ordinary ALF Italian Network, RIDE-APS has put together a parallel extraordinary network based on Italian law, registered at the notary. This structure of RIDE-APS within the 42 national ALF heads of networks could be an ideal case-study and possibly an inspiring experience for other networks, with the idea to create a best practice for the administrative organization.

In this historic peculiar context, the RIDE-APS network drafted programs with the mandate of developing activities through its working groups, not necessarily limited to the official ALF Program. An example is the research, sponsored by RIDE-APS, on the aforementioned BRICS organization, whose five members are today penetrating the Mediterranean area.

The BRICS ambassadors in Rome, representing half of the world population, have asked the help of the Italian ALF network as a communication bridge *vis à vis* the Euro-Mediterranean region and people.[40] In particular, according to Mr. Niu Dun, Ambassador of the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to FAO, the cooperation between BRICS and RIDE will provide "historical opportunities", and RIDE will play a very important role in promoting dia-

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[39] Historical European Commission's Document on the Anna Lindh Foundation's Reform (English Version). http://ride.mediper.eu/it/eventi-e-progetti-ride-aps-rete-italiana-alf/documento-storico-della-commissione-europea-sulla-riforma-della-fondazione-anna-lindh.

[40] Istituto di Studi Politici Economici e Sociali (2016). http://www.eurispes.eu/content/eurispes-report-tavola-rotonda-sui-brics-2016.

logue and cooperation among countries so as to boost the political, economic and social development in this region. Amb. Niu Dun, wishing for this cooperation between BRICS and RIDE a bright future, defined RIDE "a starting point"[41] to make coordinated and comprehensive efforts together, to optimize the investment and resources allocation, to push forward the cooperation between BRICS and RIDE so as to set a good example in the world multilateral cooperation.

Additionally, RIDE-APS started to develop working groups that opened debates and active cooperation on immigration's policies with the representative of all the diaspora communities in Italy. This pragmatic model stems from two Italian virtues: flexibility and creativity, with the aim of providing all members of the ALF networks with the possibility to work and discuss practical issues.

Another example of creativity involving identity issues is the area of organic and balanced identitary food, reaching out also to Israeli-Palestinian civil societies, in view of the 2019 edition of the Cerealia Festival, devoted to Tunisia.[42] In this context, RIDE-APS is sponsoring innovative health research about the roots of local food and nutrition, acknowledging cuisine as a significant component of culture and identity. RIDE-APS intends to connect this track of activities to the general follow-up programs generated by Milano Expo 2015,[43] as well as to the PRIMA Research Program.[44]

The suggested national associated networks (NANs), to be set up in all the 42 members States on the model of RIDE-APS, could work side by side with the respective current ALF Networks, and may also contribute to the fundraising process of the ALF activities in two parallel ways.

On the one hand the proposed NANs, working on the identity

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41 *Ibid*. See also Fondazione Mediterraneo (2016). https://www.fondazionemediterraneo.org/index.php/rete-italiana-alf/*archivio*-20102016/3319-brics-e-ride-insieme-per-promuovere-la-pace; https://www.fondazionemediterraneo.org/images/_Luc/LUGLIO_2016/BRICS%20E%20RIDE%20INSIEME%20PER%20PROMUOVERE%20LA%20PACE/intervento%20CINA_tavola%20rotonda%20BRICS.pdf.

42 Cerealia Festival (2011). http://www.cerealialudi.org/en/cerealia-il-festival/cerealia-festival-presentazione/.

43 Milano Expo (2015). http://www.expo2015.org/.

44 PRIMA Research Program (2014). http://prima-med.org/.

concept, can look for *in-kind* contributions from their respective civil society bodies (including the business community and public institutions, at both central and local levels) in terms of material help and staff assistance on a voluntary basis. In principle, this should reduce the need for the ALF Headquarters to fund all the administrative expenses of the national heads of network, and their respective networks activities. On the other hand, the involvement of so many business, financial, educational bodies could in the long term financially compensate the declining trend of funds from member states to the ALF.

Additionally, RIDE-APS is launching a new program of *participated workshops* on euro project management, which intends to involve the best of its national network in large-scale European projects, with maximum active involvement and participation from the grass-root network membership. This is expected to lead to ambitious fundraising goals at European level, in cooperation with other ALF national networks sharing the same goals.

Additionally, the Italian Foreign Ministry appointed the RIDE-APS Board of Directors as the National Focal Point for UNAoC. This and other related tasks have been designed also to shape some legitimate expectations for a successful fundraising campaign.

Last but not least, the high-quality work of the renewed NANs may earn for themselves challenging and influencing policy-oriented advisory tasks in relation to their own respective Foreign Ministries and national Governments. This is what the RIDE-APS is trying to do in the area of development cooperation and migration, acting as a *think tank of think tanks* for the Mediterranean, African and Middle East areas.

Conclusion

This study is based on a number of scientific and methodological assumptions regarding the notion of *collective identity* in a broader geopolitical context. It includes the application of the suggested analysis to a number of case-studies, and an explicative Mind Map.

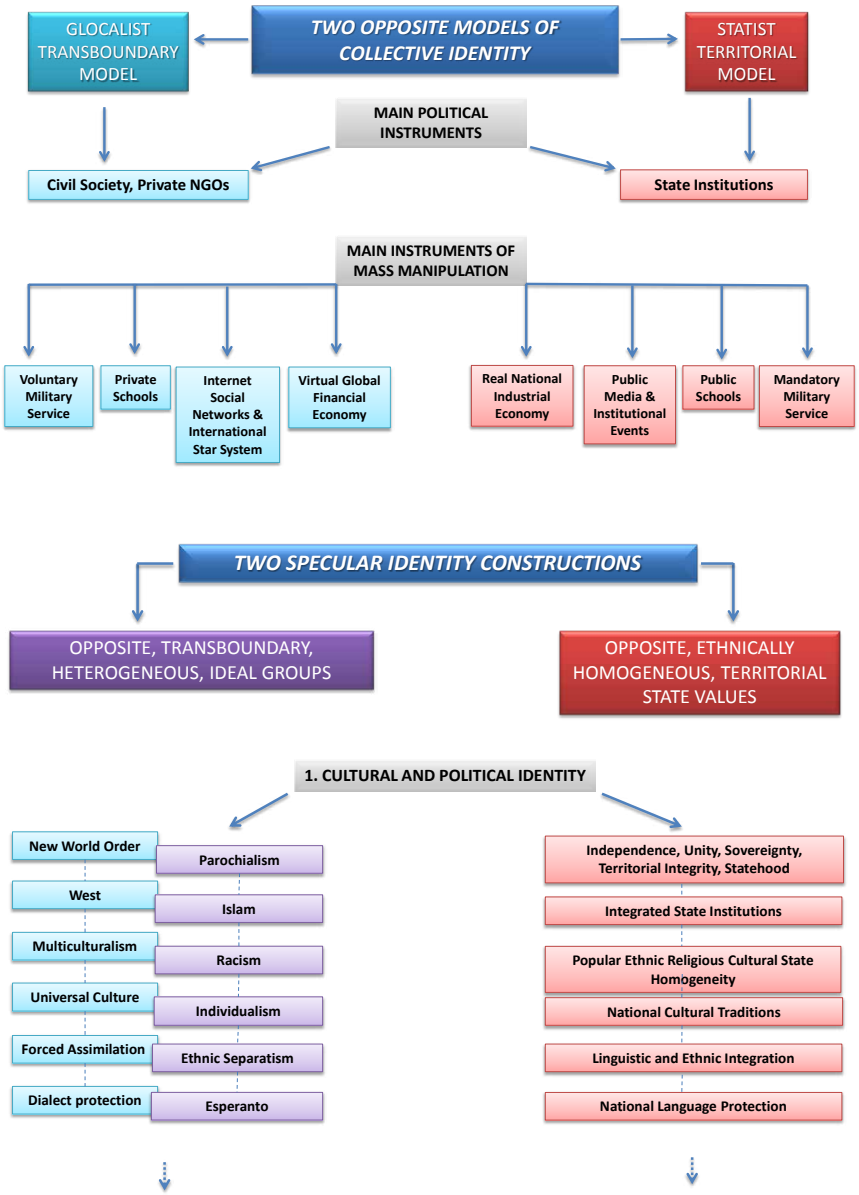
Glocalist and Statist *élites* compete in attracting masses of

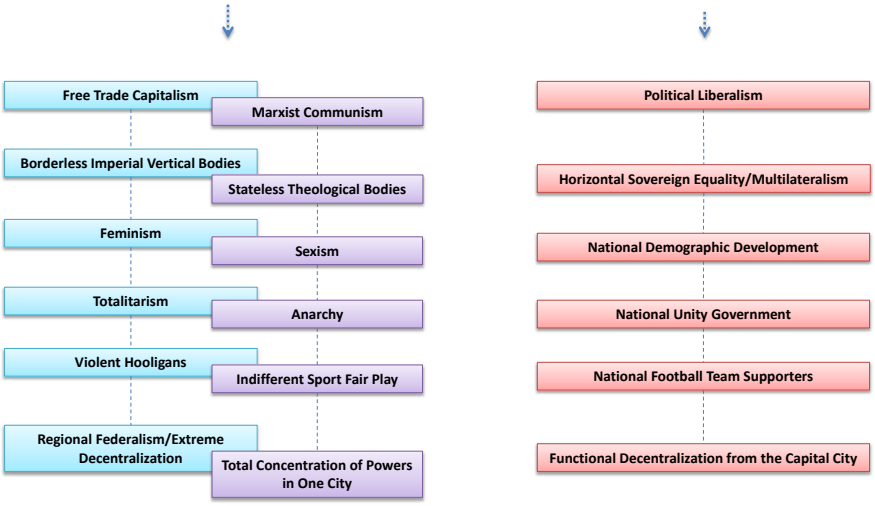
people to follow one of their two respective identity models. This bi-polarized heuristic and analytic tool helps to better understand international relations and world politics facing contemporary global challenges, throughout different phases of modern history. An awareness of the two Statist and Glocalist models of collective identity may provide researchers in international relations and geopolitics with an innovative tool. As a practical application of this dichotomized analysis, the suggested comparative and analogic approach could help political scientists and global actors to interpret and predict short-term and long-term geopolitical trends, facilitating them in tackling contemporary issues.

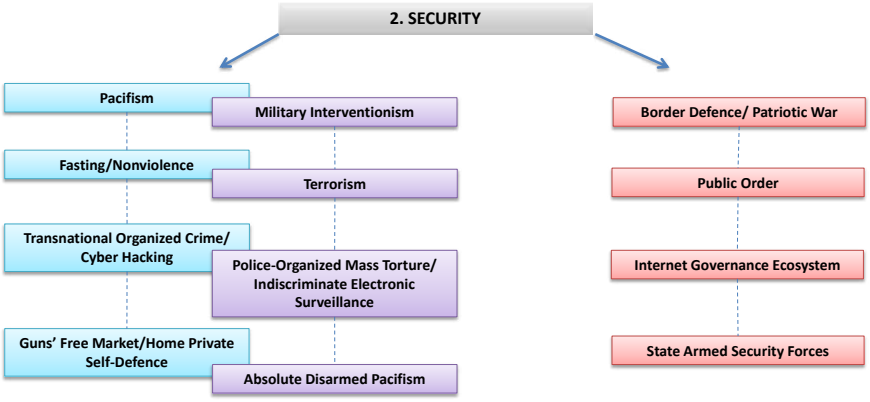
The Italian ALF head of network suggests to put together the ALF actions for the Euro-Mediterranean *dialogue* with discovering, protecting, revaluating and respecting religious, national, cultural, linguistic and ethnical *collective identities* at the national networks' level, highlighting and supporting the best practices of the Italian (and European) civil society *vis à vis* the Southern and Eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

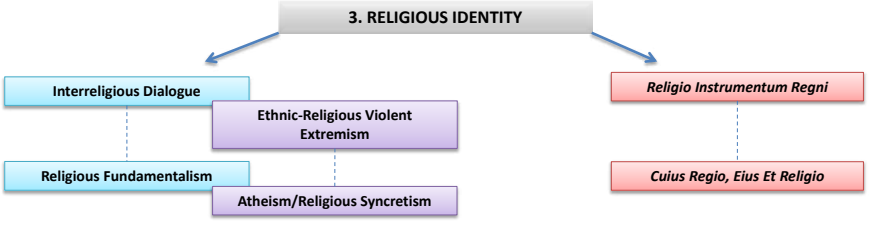
RIDE-APS' proposal is aimed at increasing cooperation and treasuring a unique Mediterranean socio-cultural environment, which includes extraordinary rich collective identities, where State borders may favor a productive exchange between different cultures, while at the same time helping to protect the precious roots of their respective group identities.

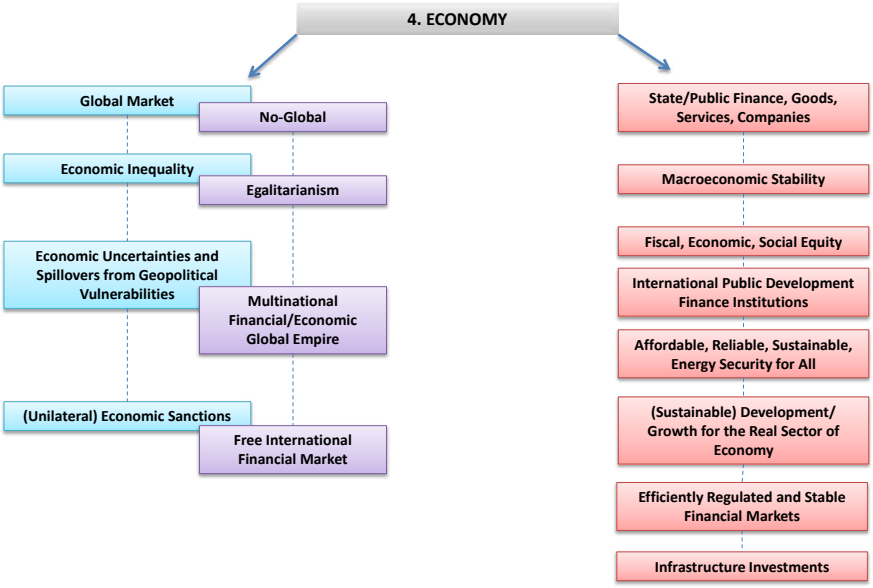
Appendix
Mind Map on Collective Identity Models




Free Trade Capitalism
Marxist Communism
Borderless Imperial Vertical Bodies
Stateless Theological Bodies
Feminism
Sexism
Totalitarism
Anarchy
Violent Hooligans
Indifferent Sport Fair Play
Regional Federalism/Extreme Decentralization
Total Concentration of Powers in One City
Political Liberalism
Horizontal Sovereign Equality/Multilateralism
National Demographic Development
National Unity Government
National Football Team Supporters
Functional Decentralization from the Capital City


2. SECURITY
Pacifism
Military Interventionism
Fasting/Nonviolence
Terrorism
Transnational Organized Crime/ Cyber Hacking
Police-Organized Mass Torture/ Indiscriminate Electronic Surveillance
Guns' Free Market/Home Private Self-Defence
Absolute Disarmed Pacifism
Border Defence/ Patriotic War
Public Order
Internet Governance Ecosystem
State Armed Security Forces


3. RELIGIOUS IDENTITY
Interreligious Dialogue
Ethnic-Religious Violent Extremism
Religious Fundamentalism
Atheism/Religious Syncretism
Religio Instrumentum Regni
Cuius Regio, Eius Et Religio



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