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ISLAMIC RADICALISATION PROCESSES IN ITALY: THE ISLAMIC RADICALIZATION INDEX (IRI)

By Michele Groppi, (Research Assistants, ICT)
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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to analyze the process of radicalization among Muslims in the United States. The purpose of this report is to create an index of radicalization of the Muslim community in Italy. Preceded by concise sections about demographics and organization, the main part of the project focuses on elements that point to the radicalization of the Muslim community. By gathering data from public sources, the report compiles a list of radical organizations and leaders actively or passively engaged in religious extremism and terrorism. Increasing extremist visions of Islam, attacks or attempted attacks, arrests, sentences, expulsions, and religiousdriven aggressions show the real entity of the matter. The main conclusion of this project is that radicalization of Muslim communities represents a serious threat for peace and security in Italy and in the West and must be addressed immediately.

* The views expressed in this publication are solely those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT).

SUMMARY

Radicalization of Muslim communities in Italy is a phenomenon that must be addressed. Recent outburst of radical views of Islam, theoretical and logistical support for global jihad, and threat of terrorist attacks on the Italian soil raise issues of integration and peaceful coexistence. In order to avoid future prospects of cultural, social, and religious clashes, joint academics, officials, and policy makers must cooperate to face the growing radicalization of Muslim communities. This report has two main objectives. First, it offers a comprehensive vision of the Muslim community in Italy, both on demographic and representative levels. Second, it intends to show the real and concrete threat Muslim radicalization represents.

Demographically, Muslims number between 1 and 1,200, 000 millions and represent 1.5% of the Italian population. Muslim presence in Italy is strictly related to global migration flows. Since the 90s, Muslim immigration has increased exponentially, currently representing one-third of total migration flow to Italy. Muslims' geographical provenience is heterogeneous, as it interests the whole Muslim world. Nevertheless, the majority of Muslims comes from Tunisia, Morocco, and Egypt. Muslims are mainly concentrated in the more industrialized northern regions, such as Lombardia, Veneto, Emilia-Romagna, and Piemonte. Milan numbers the largest Muslim community in the country, followed by Turin. Age estimates suggest Muslims population to be young. The main sectors of occupation are catering, construction, manufacturing, and import-export. Finally, the great majority of Muslims is Sunni, while only 2% is Shiite. Most Muslims share a traditional view of Islam, as sermons' attendance amounts to 6-7% on a weekly base.

At the organizational level, Muslim representation is complex. Muslims in Italy are divided on cultural, political, and religious lines. Foreign states, mosques, and cultural organizations compete for their legacy and representation. The result is a myriad of organizations spread throughout the country. Such fragmentation affects Islam's institutional representation and relation with the Italian State. Still in competition with each other, Islamic organizations are yet to reach an entente with the government. Nowadays, Muslims rely on 18 main organizations, 735 worship places, more than 100 mosques, 159 Islamic centers, 88 Koranic schools, countless websites, and 12 national channels available on satellite TV. The most important institutions are UCOII, the Islamic Cultural Institute of Viale Jenner, COREIS, the Islamic Cultural Center of Italy, the Muslim World League, the Al-Rahman Mosque, and the Great Mosque of Rome.

As far as national security is concerned, radicalization of Muslim communities represents a real threat. Some social and religious organizations are connected to dangerous and potentially dangerous actors. The headquarters of the Muslim World League and the Islamic Cultural Center of Italy are directly run by Saudi Arabia. Iran administers the European Islamic Center in Rome and UCOII has decennial connections with the Muslim Brotherhood. Further, radicalism has spread across social organizations and mosque networks. Sometimes extremism is limited to rhetoric, other times it actively or passively triggers terrorism. A number of social and

religious leaders have been promoting Wahhabi or Salafi versions of Islam, racial hatred, religious intolerance, and jihad through recruitment of martyrs, funds, and weapons. Overall, radical organizations amount to 4, radical mosques to 108, and radical Imams to 18. Further, there are 11 mosques and Islamic centers engaged in terrorist activities. Renowned for its illegal businesses, for almost two decades the most controversial organization has been the Islamic Cultural Institute of Viale Jenner in Milan. The institute has been proven to host terrorists and recruit funds and martyrs, some of them known for carrying out suicide operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Even more disturbingly, a number of radical cells planned terrorist attacks in Milan, Bologna, and Cremona. More precisely, the number of attempted attacks amounts to 6. In 2009, in Milan, the epicenter of Islamic radicalism, Italy witnessed the first terrorist attack on its soil. Luckily, the attack did not cause significant damage as it was only partially successfully carried out. Moreover, since 2001 Italian officials have arrested more than 120 Muslims on charges of terrorism. As a result, Italian courts have condemned 25 and expelled 22 subjects who were considered as a threat to national security. Finally, an increase in cultural and religious-driven aggressions and murders has raised doubts about Muslim integration, religious tolerance, and incompatible styles of life.

INTRODUCTION

Muslims in Italy: A Quick Overlook

Interaction between Italy and Muslim immigrants is a relative young phenomenon. Contrary to countries like Germany, France, and the UK, Muslim presence in Italy became relevant only in recent years. Seeking better living conditions, Muslim immigrants began to settle throughout the peninsula, especially in the more industrialized north. Though mostly from Arab countries, Muslims form a variegated and heterogeneous community. Different cultural, social, and religious backgrounds assemble a complex puzzle of the Muslim population. Such division is reflected into their institutional fragmentation and representation in Italy, which is also divided on national and religious basis. Mostly secular, the great Muslims' majority seeks integration and peaceful coexistence with local communities. Unfortunately, a small, but significant minority of believers promotes extreme visions of Islam, rejecting integration. Radical doctrines triggered theoretical and practical support for Islamic terrorism, Al Qaeda, and worldwide Jihad. Preoccupied with issues of national security, Italian Secret Services have been monitoring, arresting, and expelling dangerous subjects. Such actions successfully prevented attacks on Italian soil, but inevitably enlarged the gap between Italians and Muslims.

As potential Islamic terrorist threats represent a serious challenge to peace preservation in Italy and the West, this report aims to create an index of radicalization of the Muslim community in Italy. Part one focuses on the demographics of Muslims in Italy, taking into account their provenience, geographical concentration, age estimate, occupation, and religion. Part two shows how the community is organized and represented in the country. Part three takes into analysis elements that point to Muslims' radicalization, such as dangerous or potentially dangerous contacts, radical social organizations, radical mosques and Koranic schools, radical social and religious leaders, organizations engaged in terrorist activity, financial and logistical support of terrorist activity, list of terrorist attacks or attempts of terrorist attacks on the Italian soil, Italian Jihadists, arrests on charges of terrorism, sentences, and expulsions, and cultural and religious-driven aggressions and murders.

PART ONE: DEMOGRAPHICS

Overlook on Muslim Immigration in Italy

Muslim presence in Italy is strictly linked to modern international migration flows. Though interaction between Muslims and inhabitants of the Italian peninsula is centuries old, in modern area Muslims began to settle down in Italy since the 60s. Initially, their presence was modest, as only some hundreds of students and elite members from Arab countries migrated, in search for better education and financial opportunities¹. Starting the 80s, the nature of

¹ Pacini, Andrea. 2001. "Muslims in Italy." [Italian: "I Musulmani in Italia"] University of Padova, Political Science Faculty, organized by GRIM, Research Group on Islam and Modernization

Muslim migration changed drastically. Responding to market's demand for cheap labor, waves of unskilled workers flooded the country. Their provenience was no longer limited to Arab countries, as immigrants came from all over the Muslim world. Due to dire economic and political unrest in their home countries, an increasing amount of Muslims kept migrating to Italy through the 90s until today. Though national and religious differences prevented cohesion at the national level, economic hardship and cultural proximity favored cohesion of Muslim immigrants at the local level. Consequently, Muslim communities grew and gave life to first and second generations of Italian Muslims.

Number of Muslims

Given the complexity in defining one's belonging to Islam solely based on his/her nationality, the number of Muslims in Italy is disputed. According to Caritas/Migrantes report of 2008, Muslims amount to 1,293,704², while for the Worldwide Muslim League Secretary Mario Scajola Muslims amount to 1,200,000³. Scholar Andrea Spreafico counts 1,100,000 Muslims, 6% of which are Italian citizens⁴. Finally, according to Cesnur data, Muslims amount to approximately 850.000⁵. The average of such estimates amounts to 1 million Muslims, who represent 1.5% of the Italian population.

Geographical Provenience

Unlike in its initial stages, the Muslim community in Italy is variegated and heterogeneous. Muslim residents and immigrants come from the entire Islamic world, inheriting impressive cultural and linguistic richness.

Table 1. Muslims' Geographical Provenience.

Countries of origin	Amount	%Muslim population
Albania	441,396	37
Morocco	403,592	34
Tunisia	100,112	8
Egypt	74,599	6
Senegal	67,510	5.6

² Caritas/Migrantes Statistical Report on Immigration. 2008. "Resident Foreigners' citizenship and gender" [Italian: Stranieri residenti per cittadinanza e sesso"]. Elaboration on ISTAT data.

³ "No to Poligamy, Italian Laws Have to be Respected" [Italian: "No alla poligamia, si rispettino le leggi italiane"]. 04/10. <http://www.uniurb.it/giornalismo/lavori/melis/Valentina/intervista1.html>

⁴ Spreafico, Andrea. 2006. *Muslim Representation in Italy* [Italian: *Rappresentanza dei Musulmana in Italia*]. XL Editions.

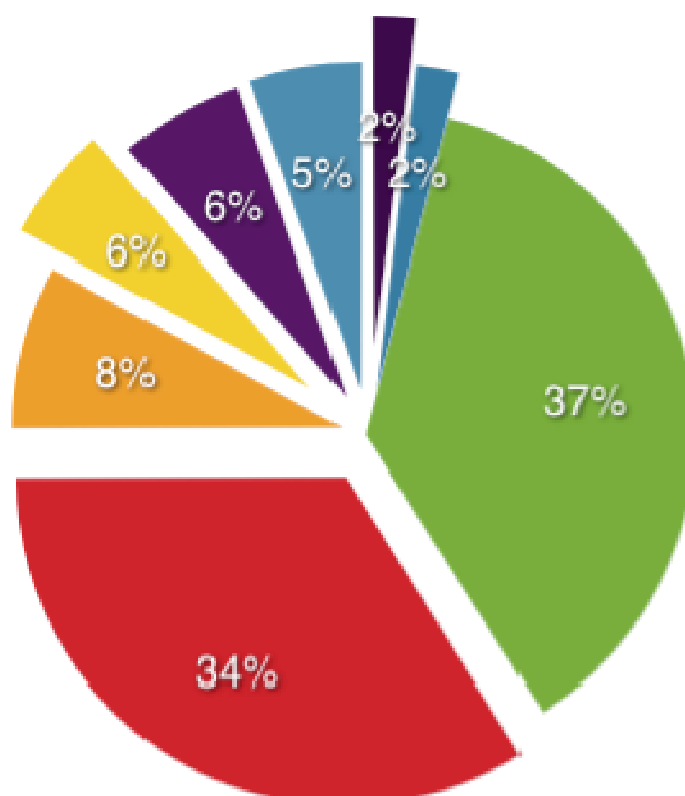
⁵ "Sunni Islam: an Introduction" [Italian: L'Islam sunnita, un'introduzione"]. 04/10. CESNUR http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_01.htm

Countries of origin	Amount	%Muslim population
Bangladesh	65,529	5.4
Pakistan	55,371	4.6
Algeria	24,387	2
Turkey	16,225	1.4
Iran	6,983	0.6
Somalia	6,663	0.6
Lebanon	3,779	0.3
Syria	3,701	0.3
Jordan	2,692	0.2
Sudan	2,395	0.2
Iraq	2,198	0.2
Afghanistan	2,158	0.2
Indonesia	1,553	0.1
Libya	1,471	0.1
West Bank/Palestine	228	0.02
Yemen	110	0.01
Saudi Arabia	47	0.004
TOTAL	Between 1,000,000 and 1,200,000 or 1.5% Italian population	1

Source: Caritas/Migrantes Statistical Report on Immigration. 2008. "Resident Foreigners' citizenship and gender" [Italian: Stranieri residenti per cittadinanza e sesso"]. Elaboration on ISTAT data.

Graph 1. Country of origin within the Muslim community in Italy

● others ● Algeria ● Albania ● Morocco ● Tunisia ● Senegal
 ● Egypt ● Bangladesh



As shown in Table 1, the top three nations among Muslims in Italy are Albania, Morocco, and Tunisia, followed by Egypt, Senegal, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. Graph 1, instead, shows Albanians amount to 37% of the whole Muslim population, while Moroccans amount to 34%, and Tunisians to 8%. Comparatively to the overall foreign residents' chart, Albanians and Moroccans take second and third place, only outnumbered by Romanians (Table 2). Likewise, Tunisia and Egypt take seventh and fourteenth place. Finally, Senegal, Bangladesh, and Pakistan take respectively sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth place. Out of the top 20 countries with the highest migration rates to Italy, 8 have a Muslim majority.

Table 2. Immigrants' Geographical Provenience

Country	Amount	%foreigners in Italy
Romania	796,477	20.5
Albania	441,396	11.3
Morocco	403,592	10.4
China	170,265	4.4
Ukraine	153,998	4
Philippines	113,686	2.9
Tunisia	100,112	2.6
Poland	99,389	2.6
India	91,855	2.4
Moldavia	89,424	2.3
Macedonia	89,066	2.3
Ecuador	80,070	2.1
Peru'	77,629	2
Egypt	74,599	1.9
Sri Lanka	68,738	1.8
Senegal	67,510	1.7
Bangladesh	65,529	1.7
Serbia	57,826	1.5
Pakistan	55,371	1.4
Nigeria	44.544	1.1

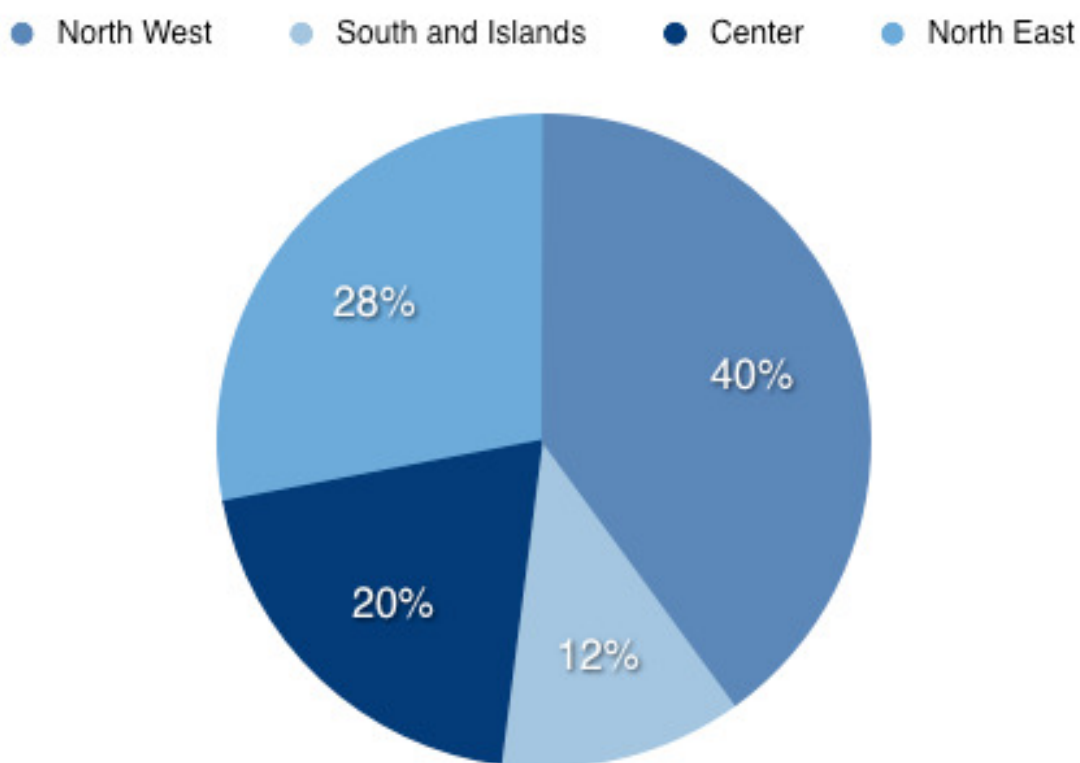
*Sri Lanka and Nigeria were not taken into analysis since Islam is not the only local prominent faith

Source: Caritas/Migrantes Statistical Report on Immigration. 2008. "Resident Foreigners' citizenship and gender" [Italian: Stranieri residenti per cittadinanza e sesso"]. Elaboration on ISTAT data.

In sum, Muslims represent 1.5% of the Italian population and 31.6% of foreign residents in the country. The majority of Muslims comes from Northern Africa and the Middle East, though a considerable amount of them comes from Southern Asia too. Only a small amount, instead, comes from sub-Saharan Africa and from former Yugoslavia, except for the case of Albania.

Geographical Concentration

Like the most part of foreign residents and immigrants, Muslims are mostly located in northern regions. Except for Rome, Veneto, Lombardia, Emilia Romagna, and Piemonte host the great majority of Muslims in Italy. Muslim males amount to almost 800,000, which is 66% of the entire Muslim population.



Graph 2. Muslims Males' Geographical Concentration.

As shown in Graph 2, in the North West Lombardia and Piemonte host 40% of Muslim males, while in the North East, Veneto and Emilia Romagna host 28%. Combined, Muslim males in North amount to 68% of the entire Muslim male population in Italy, which amounts to 485,453

out of 713,901. In the Center and the South Muslim males amount respectively to 20% and 12%⁶.

Table 3. Male Foreign Residents by Country of Origin, Geographical Area, and Cities.

Countries of origin	North West	North East	Center	Total amount of Muslim males*	Cities
Albania	75,932	59,519	60,258	222,198	Milan (13,127) Florence (8,888)
Morocco	90,580	67,684	30,684	216,517	Turin (13,970) Milan (12,973)
Tunisia	17,594	19,306	9,637	60,789	Milan (3,290) Modena (3,264)
Senegal	23,878	12,914	7,754	50,503	Bergamo (6,056) Rovigo (1,772)
Egypt	38,692	2,880	6,969	49,080	Milan (25,606) Brescia (3,022)
Bangladesh	8,957	13,969	10,963	37,359	Rome (7,165) Vicenza (3,821)
Pakistan	15,701	11,402	5,333	34,528	Brescia (6,483) Bologna (2,395)

⁶ ISTAT. 2008. Table 7. Male Foreign Residents by Region, Province, Geographical Area, and Home Country. [Italian: Tavola 7. Cittadini stranieri residenti per regione, provincia, area geografica e paesi di cittadinanza al 1 gennaio, 2008. Maschi]. www.istat.it

Countries of origin	North West	North East	Center	Total amount of Muslim males*	Cities
Algeria	3,741	4,865	3,121	15,750	Milan (965) Rome (708)
Turkey	4,433	2,721	1,110	8,631	Como (1,391) Modena (1,230)
Iran	1,069	850	1,517	3,864	Rome (697) Milan (423)
Somalia	846	344	1,268	2,801	Florence (514) Rome (480)
Lebanon	876	565	620	2,241	Rome (324) Milan (239)
Syria	1,172	363	533	2,203	Milan (643) Rome (305)
Jordan	667	353	650	1,828	Milan (254) Rome (228)
Sudan	382	297	446	1,770	Rome (374)
Iraq	221	319	531	1,234	Rome (367)

Countries of origin	North West	North East	Center	Total amount of Muslim males*	Cities
Afghanistan	110	193	551	978	Rome (394) Venice (48)
Libya	229	76	505	917	Rome (342)
Indonesia	102	52	140	325	Rome (128)
West Bank/Palestine	77	40	79	228	Milan (34) Rome (31)
Yemen	20	13	70	110	Rome (57)
Saudi Arabia	10	4	24	47	Rome (19)
TOTAL	285,289	198,729	142,763	713,901	

*The amount does not take into account Muslim males from the South and the Islands, given that their quantity is significantly inferior.

Source: ISTAT. 2008. Table 7. Male Foreign Residents by Region, Province, Geographical Area, and Home Country. [Italian: Tavola 7. Cittadini stranieri residenti per regione, provincia, area geografica e paesi di cittadinanza al 1 gennaio, 2008. Maschi]. www.istat.it

Table 3 shows Muslim males' geographical concentration according to their nationality. Albanians and Moroccans are the two major national groups spread throughout the country. Moroccans outnumber Albanians both in the North West and the North East, but fall short in the Center, where Albanians are almost twice as much. Besides Albanians and Moroccans, the North West is home to almost the whole Egyptian community in Italy. Instead, the North East hosts most Tunisians, Bangladeshis, and Senegalese. The Center is home to most Turkish, Iranians and Muslims from several Gulf States.

Of considerable interest is Muslim males' geographical concentration by city, in which Milan and Rome stand out. Milan is by far the city with the greatest amount of Muslim residents in Italy. Impressively, Egyptians are the largest national group, amounting to 25,606, followed by Albanians and Moroccans, who number respectively 13,127 and 12,937. In total, Milan hosts the great majority of 8 national groups, with more than 100,000 Muslim inhabitants. On the other hand, Rome has a considerable minor amount of Muslims than Milan, but is home to 11

national groups. In particular, 7,165 Bangladeshis form the largest community, followed by 6,460 Albanians and almost 1,000 Iranians. Finally, isolate but significant cases are Turin, where almost 14,000 Moroccans live, and Brescia, home to 6,483 Pakistanis. Further, almost 9,000 Albanians live in Florence, and Bergamo hosts 6,056 people from Senegal.

Age Estimate

Muslim population follows the overall immigrant communities' birth rate trend. Since 2003, such communities have been experiencing a constant demographic growth rate. Data from 2008 shows that out of an estimate of 4,329,000 foreign residents, 261,824 were minors and 171,253 were born in Italy⁷. The youngest regions are Lombardia and Piemonte, followed by Lazio, Emilia Romagna, Toscana, and Veneto. In Milan, in 2008, out of 175,997 foreign residents, 37,421 were minors and 26,859 were born in Italy⁸. In Rome, out of 218,426 foreign residents, 43,500 were minors and 33,434 were born in Italy⁹. Given the great number of Muslim workers and immigrants in Milan and Rome, it can be estimated that a considerable amount of minors and newborns in both cities is Muslim. In Milan especially, it is estimated that the great majority of Muslims who have an occupation is relatively young and gave life to a second generation of Muslim Italians. Contrary to other European countries like Germany, France, and the UK, Italy's second generation of Muslim is still young and yet to have a major impact on the country. Nevertheless, given the increasing quantity of minors and newborns, Muslim's second generation is only destined to grow, giving birth to many generations of Muslim Italians.

Occupation

Taking into account widespread presence of illegal workers, Muslim workers are estimated to be between 500,000 and 700,000, out of 1,000,000 Muslims in Italy. The main fields of Muslim occupation are catering and construction businesses, manufacturing, textile and import-export industries.

⁷ ISTAT. 2008. Table 1 Foreign Residents' Demographic Balance by Region, 2003-2007 [Italian: Bilancio demografico della popolazione straniera residente per regione]. www.istat.it

⁸ ISTAT. 2008. Table 5. Foreign residents, Minors, and Newborns in Italy by Region and City. [Italian: Cittadini stranieri, minorenni e stranieri nati in Italia]. www.istat.it

⁹ Ibid

Table 4. Muslims' Occupation.

Country of Origin	Employee	Employer	Job search	Total
Morocco	135,840	33,040	3,966	172,846
Albania	135,241	19,931	2,857	158,029
Tunisia	35,327	6,357	1,120	42,804
Senegal	31,716	8,870	1,149	41,735
Bangladesh	31,020	4,852	669	36,541
Egypt	29,304	6,763	473	36,540
Pakistan	22,525	4,011	586	27,122
Algeria	9,620	1,826	318	11,764
Iran	982	1,111	27	2,120
Somalia	1,535	352	38	1,925
Total	433,110	87,113	11,203	531,426*

*Such amount is not totally accurate as it does not take into account all countries of origin and illegal workers.

Source: ISTAT. 2008. Table 8.4. Work Visas and Work Visas by Geographical Area and Countries of Origin. [Italian: Permesso di soggiorno per cittadini extracomunitari per motivo di lavoro, area geografica e principali paesi di provenienza]. www.istat.it

As shown in Table 4, out of 531,426 Muslim workers, 81% are employed, 17% are employers, and 2% are searching for occupation¹⁰. As for national groups, Moroccans are the most employed but also the most entrepreneurial, as they represent 38% of the entire self-employed Muslim population. Following Moroccans, Albanians, Senegalese, and Tunisians represent, respectively, 23%, 10%, and 7% of the Muslim entrepreneurial community. Interestingly, though the ratio is not significant, Iranians are the only national group in which employers outnumber employees (1,111 to 982).

According to data from 2006, in Milan Muslim business owners showed their entrepreneurial skills more than other national group¹¹. In the city, Egyptians showed to be the most

¹⁰ ISTAT. 2008. Table 8.4. Work Visas and Work Visas by Geographical Area and Countries of Origin. [Italian: Permesso di soggiorno per cittadini extracomunitari per motivo di lavoro, area geografica e principali paesi di provenienza]. www.istat.it

¹¹ Ambrosini, Maurizio. 2006. "Immigration as a Resource: Economic Dimensions and Social Implications". [Italian: "Immigrazione come risorsa: dimensioni economiche e implicazioni sociali"]. CIRIEC center. <http://immigrazione.provincia.bergamo.it/uploads/file/CIRIEC.pdf>

prominent, as there were 3,200 individual Egyptian firms, which represent 18.7% of the total foreign residents' business ownership. The third most industrious community, after Chinese workers, is composed of Moroccan business owners who owned 1,400 firms, registering a growth rate of 14.2%. Lastly, Senegalese, Tunisians, Albanians, and Bangladeshi entrepreneurs had increased their businesses more than 30% for the previous three years¹².

Religion

The great majority of Muslim people in Italy are Sunni Muslims, while only 2% are Shiites. Excluding estimates of 10,000 Italian converts to Islam, Muslims amount from 1,000,000 to 1,292,000¹³. Such number is destined to grow as Muslim immigration increases. According to the 2008 immigration flow, 1 out of 3 people who migrated to Italy was Muslim. In some regions, percentages were even greater. Among immigrants, in Trentino Alto-Adige Muslims numbered 36%, in Lombardia, Marche, and Sicily 38%, in Emilia-Romagna 43%, and in Valle d'Aosta 48%¹⁴.

Muslims are granted by the Italian government free procession of their faith. In Italy there are 735 worship places¹⁵ and 88 Koranic schools¹⁶. The three officially recognized mosques are in Milan/Segrate, Rome, and Catania. The widespread confession of Islam is traditional and tends to seek cohesion and integration with local communities. However, extremist versions of Islam from the Wahhabi and Salafi schools are preached throughout the country. Sufism and animist confessions complete Islam's religious puzzle in Italy.

Muslims are not all observant. Most Muslims are secular and share a traditional vision of the Koran. Only 5% of Muslims attend weekly services and are believed to amount to 7-8% for the end of Ramadan¹⁷. Further, cultural differences stand out among Muslims' individual relation to Islam. For instance, Albanians tend to be completely secularized and do not take part to services as much as Moroccans and Egyptians, while Senegalese Sufis form informal animistic congregations.

¹² Ibid

¹³ "No to Poligamy, Italian Laws Have to be Respected" [Italian: "No alla poligamia, si rispettino le leggi italiane"]. 04/10. <http://www.uniurb.it/giornalismo/lavori/melis/Valentina/intervista1.html>

¹⁴ Caritas/Migrantes Report on Immigrants and Religious Belonging. [Italian: Immigrati e appartenenza religiosa]. 2009.

¹⁵ Polchi, Vladimiro. 2008. "Italian Mosques: The Map of Risk" [Italian: "Moschee d'Italia, la mappa del rischio"]. *La Repubblica*. <http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2008/03/09/moschee-italia-la-mappa-del-rischio.html>

¹⁶ Polchi, Vladimiro. 2007. "In Italy 88 Islamic Schools" [Italian: "In Italia 88 scuole Islamiche"]. *La Repubblica*. <http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2007/09/21/in-italia-88-scuole-islamiche-rapporto-segreto.html>

¹⁷ Pacini, Andrea. 2001. "Muslims in Italy." [Italian: "I Musulmani in Italia"] University of Padova, Political Science Faculty, organized by GRIM, Research Group on Islam and Modernization

PART TWO: ORGANIZATION

Muslim Representation: A Rich Mosaic

Muslim representation was initially linked to migration fluxes. During the 60s and the 70s, Muslim presence was a minor phenomenon, and so was its representation. The first organizations were composed of students mainly coming from Gulf States. Representation was minor and relatively homogeneous. As immigration skyrocketed throughout the 80s, new organizations mushroomed across Italy. Geographically heterogeneous, the current Muslim community is divided on cultural, political, and religious lines. The result is a myriad of organizations spread throughout the country.

Enlarging the gap among Muslims, foreign states, mosques, and cultural organizations compete for legacy and representation¹⁸. Such fragmentation affects Islam's institutional representation and relation with the Italian State. Following 5 attempts since 1993, in 2004 Minister of the Interior, Giuseppe Pisanu, proposed an agreement with prominent moderate Muslim leaders. The outcome was negative as both Italian politicians and Muslim radicals opposed Pisanu's proposal. Still in competition with each other, Islamic organizations are yet to reach an entente with the Italian State.

Nowadays, Muslims rely on 18 main organizations, 735 worship places, more than 100 mosques, 159 Islamic centers, 88 Koranic schools, a myriad of websites, and 12 national channels available on satellite TV.

The Shiite Organizations

Alh-Al Bait

Alh-Al Bait Islamic Association was created in 1991 in Naples by an Italian convert to Shiite Islam, Luigi Ammar De Martino. Inspired by Imam Khomeini and the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the organization's aim is to inform and spread Shiite Islam and the principles of the Iranian Revolution. The organization website (<http://digilander.libero.it/ahlalibait/>), disposes of copious amounts of information about Shiite Islam, Iran, the Shiite world, theology, and current political affairs. Alh-Al Bait's publications amount to 56 items between books and articles. The organization distributes a magazine entitled Pure Islam and publishes books like Imam Khomeini. Life, Struggle, Message, Islam's Fast, Man and Faith, and other books about the Iranian Revolution¹⁹.

¹⁸ Pacini, Andrea. 2001. "Muslims in Italy." [Italian: "I Musulmani in Italia"] University of Padova, Political Science Faculty, organized by GRIM, Research Group on Islam and Modernization

¹⁹ CESNUR organization. 04/10. "Islamic Association Al-Ah Bait".
http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_13.htm

Luigi Ammar de Martino was a leftist activist and is believed to be a former member of “Continuos Struggle,” an inspired-communist, extremist movement²⁰. In 1983 he converted to Islam and, influenced by Iranian students, became a Shiite in 1984. In 1991 De Martino founded Alh-Al Bait Islamic Association and published the first item of the magazine Pure Islam. His magazine has been an advocate of the Iranian Revolution and Hezbollah’s struggle against Israel²¹.

Imam Al Mahdi

Created by a branch of the Alh-Al Bait Association, Imam Al Mahdi also shares Ayatollah Khomeini’s principles of the Iranian Revolution and supports the Muslim cause around the world. The organization arranges prayers, lectures, and public events in the main center in Rome. The organization provides information about aspects of Islamic life, religion, culture, and politics. Imam Al Mahdi disposes of a newsletter, with more than 100 online articles. The organization has also published 23 books, among which The Greatest Struggle, The Reawakening Tale, and The Islamic Government²².

The European Islamic Center

The European Islamic Center is located in Rome and is directed by Iran’s embassy to the Vatican State. Iranian ambassador is the person in charge of coordinating Shiites’ religious affairs. The center publishes a magazine entitled For a New World and many other works on Shiite Islam. In spite of its national appeal, Italian converts to Shiite Islam are more likely to sympathize with the center than Iranian citizens who live in Italy. Many Iranians are either secular or Bahai and do not support the Iranian Islamic government²³.

Starting on 11/09/09, Ali Akbar Naseri has been the current Iranian ambassador to the Vatican State. Since his first meeting with the Holy Pope, Naseri has stressed the need for both Christians and Muslims to work together against injustice and oppression. Naseri has also focused on the Palestinian refugees’ question, Iran’s rightful peaceful pursue of nuclear energy, and preservation of international peace and security²⁴.

The IRB

Born in 1995, IRB is a radio station dedicated to Iran’s domestic and international affairs. Composed by a dozen members led by Soheil Pishvaeian, the radio’s talk shows are about Iran’s history, culture, religion, literature, and politics. IRB’s purpose is to diminish the gap between Italians and Iranians and Christians and Muslims, promoting dialogue and inter-religious

²⁰ Guolo, Renzo. 2003. “Xenophobics and Xenophiles: Italy and Islam” [Italian: Xenofobi e xenofili; l’Italia e l’Islam]. *Avanguardia* 213. http://avanguardia.altervista.org/Xenofobi_xenofili.htm

²¹ “Islamic Association Al-Ah Bait” 04/10. CESNUR. http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_13.htm

²² Islam Shia. Official Imam Mahdi Association website. 2010. <http://www.islamshia.org/english.php>

²³ Pacini, Andrea. 2001. “Muslims in Italy.” [Italian: “I Musulmani in Italia”] University of Padova, Political Science Faculty, organized by GRIM, Research Group on Islam and Modernization

²⁴ Assaf, Tony. 2009. “Iran and Holy See, Together Against Terror” [Italian: Iran e Santa Sede, insieme contro terrore”. *Zenit*. <http://www.zenit.org/article-20448?l=italian>

understanding²⁵. Among various cultural and political programs, IRB features shows like “Palestine Special,” “America: A Look from Within,” and “The Iraq War.”

The Sunni Organizations

UCOII

In the wake of the Muslim student’s movement, The Union of the Islamic Communities and Organizations (UCOII) was officially born in Ancona in 1990. UCOII is the largest organized Muslim organization in Italy. UCOII reunites 122 associations and runs more than 80 mosques and 300 unofficial worship places²⁶. Through cultural activities, congresses, camps, charity events, and talks to Italian institutions, the organization aims to represent Islam in Italy. Often linked to the Muslim Brotherhood ideology, UCOII sponsors the Koran’s translation into Italian and is strictly connected to Al-Hikma publishing house-founded by former UCOII’s secretary Hazma Roberto Piccardo.

At age 58, Hazma Roberto Piccardo is one of the most influential figures in UCOII’s history. Piccardo was born in Imperia and was brought up as Catholic. In complete disagreement with its ideology, Piccardo left the Catholic Church and became an extreme leftist journalist. He then converted to Islam in 1975, after traveling by foot across the Sahara Desert. Inspired by Beduins’ faith, he dedicated his life to spreading Islam. He divorced his Italian spouse and married two Muslim Moroccan women. A leader since the 90s and a publishing editor, Piccardo has been UCOII’s secretary and spokesman of the European Muslim Network²⁷. Piccardo has been repeatedly accused of justifying Jihad and supporting terrorism, but was never sued.

Unlike the seemingly Piccardo’s extremist views on Jihad and terrorism, Izzedin Elzir’s new UCOII presidency has taken a moderate stand. Born in Hebron, Elzir has been living in Italy for 17 years and is currently Florence’s Imam. Elzir’s new UCOII platform stresses the need for inter-religious dialogue, condemns terrorism and Islamic extremism, and invites every Imam preaching in Italy to speak Italian. Elzir has been accused of hypocrisy, but is regarded as one of the most instrumental tools for Muslim integration in Italy²⁸.

Islamic Center of Milan and Lombardia

The Islamic Center of Milan and Lombardia is one of the most active organizations on the national level²⁹. Created in the 70s, the center shaped around the Merciful Mosque built in 1988. In 1990 the center concurred to the establishment of UCOII, currently one of its sister

²⁵ IRB official website <http://italian.irib.ir/> 04/10.

²⁶ “UCOII”. 04/10. CESNUR. http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_02.htm

²⁷ Lorenzetto, Stefano. 2005. “Panorama Interviews Piccardo” [Italian: “Panorama intervista Piccardo”] *Panorama*. <http://www.spazioforum.net/forum/index.php?showtopic=27167>

²⁸ “UCOII’s Breakthrough” [Italian: “La Svolta dell’Ucoii”]. 2010. *Corriere della Sera*.

http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2010/marzo/24/svolta_dell_Ucoii_Ora_gli_co_8_100324031.shtml

²⁹ Peirone Center. 04/10. http://www.centro-peirone.it/Alhiwar/1999/4_99/alhiwar499_05.htm#SOMMARIO

organizations. Its vast library is mainly composed of items written in Arabic, focusing on religious, cultural, and political views about Islam. The center offers Arabic courses, arranges conferences on social and political themes, and spreads knowledge about Islam and Arabic through children Sunday schools.

The prominent leader of the Center is the Italian convert 'Abdur-Rahman Rosario Pasquini. Born in Fiume in 1934, Pasquini graduated in 1957 and started working as a lawyer. Believed to live decadently, in 1974 he converted to Islam³⁰. Pasquini became increasingly involved in the mosque's life, eventually leading the Friday prayer and teaching Arabic and Islamic culture. Since the 80s, Pasquini has been the editor for Calamo Editions and has been publishing a magazine called Islam Messenger, whose articles often attacked Christianity and Western decadent ways³¹.

Islamic Cultural Institute of Viale Jenner

The Islamic Cultural Institute was established in 1988 in Milan. Initially moderate, since 1995 the center has been subject of controversy and heated debates for its suspect ideology and support for terrorism³². The Islamic center serves as a place of worship, a dining hall for Muslim immigrants, and a school for Muslim children. The center services are mainly referred to short term immigrants who wish to eventually return to their home countries. The center's school hosts more than 200 children who do not attend Italian schools. School degrees are solely recognized by some Arab countries and have no validity in Italy. The center's main publications are the Arabic magazine Sawtu-l Haqq and books like Pillars of Faith and Jihab...why?

The person in charge of the Islamic Cultural Center is Dr. Abdel Hamid Shaari. Born in Libya, Shaari is an Italian citizen and he has lived in Italy since 1967. He graduated from Milan Polytechnic Institute with a degree in architecture and has been living in Milan with his family since then³³. In spite of his acknowledged respect for local religion and culture, Shaari's Center keeps being at the center of debate over Muslim integration, jihad, and terrorism. Following repeated perquisitions and inflammatory public events, relations between local inhabitants, Shaari, and the Islamic Cultural Center remain tense.

Muslim Union in Italy

The Muslim Union was born in Turin in 2007. UMI is considered as one of the most democratic organizations in Italy. Its purpose is to create a moderate and tolerant Islam, which condemns radicalism and violence³⁴. UMI is sponsored by the Minister of Islamic Affairs of Morocco, which

³⁰ Pedrick C. "Italy Turns to Islam" *The Islamic Bulletin*.

<http://www.islamawareness.net/Europe/Italy/turns.html> 04/10

³¹ "Il Centro Islamico di Milano e Lombardia" 04/10. *Peirone Center*. http://www.centro-peirone.it/Alhiwar/1999/4_99/alhiwar499_05.htm#SOMMARIO

³² "Istituto Culturale Islamico di Viale Jenner". 04/10. CESNUR. http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_04.htm

³³ "The Islamic Cultural Institute". 04/10. *Peirone Center*. http://www.centro-peirone.it/Alhiwar/1999/4_99/alhiwar499_03.htm#SOMMARIO

³⁴ "Muslim Union in Italy". 04/10. CESNUR. http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_20.htm

too condemns terrorism and Islamic extremism, but also aims to reunite Moroccan Muslims under one single organization.

UMI's president is Mr. Abdulaziz Khoutani, the so-called "Peace Mosque"'s Imam³⁵. Born in Morocco, Khoutani is a firm supporter of the Moroccan Party of Justice and Development, whose purpose is to maintain friendly relations with Morocco's monarchy. In recent years, Khoutani has been active in promoting moderate principles within the local Moroccan community, publicly condemning Islamic radicalism. In spite of Khoutani's undisputed efforts, uncertainty remains about UMI's relations with UCOII, as some of its members joined UCOII in the past³⁶.

Islamic Cultural Association in Italy

Founded in 1994 around the Al-Huda Mosque in Rome, the Islamic Cultural Association reunites immigrants from different nationalities. Officially not associated with it, the Islamic Cultural association maintains strong ties with UCOII and other UCOII-affiliated centers. The association arranges weekly worship services, Arabic courses, and inter-religious exchanges in local schools. The association also offers social assistance to Muslim immigrants who need VISAs and other bureaucratic documentation for their stay in Italy³⁷.

Islamic Cultural Center of Italy

The Islamic Cultural Center of Italy was established in 1966. Initially, the center was meant to serve as a charity, cultural, and social institution for Muslims living in Rome. Backed by Saudi Arabia, the center then assumed political and legal functions to face increasing rapid Muslim immigration. The Islamic Cultural Center of Italy is the only Islamic center that is officially recognized as a legal entity³⁸. The center seeks to promote knowledge about Islam and interaction between Christians and Muslim. It also sponsors trips to Mecca and social-philanthropical works led by the center's members.

The Islamic Cultural Center of Italy is led by an Administrative Council. The council is formed by 15 of the 28 Arab and Muslim ambassadors to Italy or the Vatican State who rotate periodically. Given its relevant role in the center's history, Saudi Arabia beat Morocco in the quest for ultimate representation and legacy. As a result, the center promotes Saudi Wahhabi version of Islam and has ties with UCOII and other traditionalistic organizations³⁹.

Muslim World League

Born in Saudi Arabia in 1962, the Muslim World League created an Italian section in 1997, which is located inside the Islamic Cultural Center of Italy in Rome. The World Muslim league aims to spread the true and authentic vision of Islam, which is universal, peaceful, and

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Islamic Cultural Association Official website. 04/10. <http://www.alhuda.it/associazione/chisiamo.asp>

³⁸ "The Islamic Cultural Center of Italy". 04/10. CESNUR.

http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_05.htm

³⁹ Ibid

tolerant⁴⁰. Thwarting fake doctrines and ideologies that undermine Islam, the League intends to assist Muslims all over the world, providing them with logistical and financial support. In doing so, the League affirms to refrain from competing with other Muslim organizations spread across Italy, as its main goals are Muslims' unity and representation.

Mario Scialoja is the president of the Italian section of the Muslim World League since 1997. A Roman in his 70s, Scialoja converted to Islam in 1987 when he was Italy's representative at the UN. After his conversion, he was appointed Italy's ambassador to Saudi Arabia, where he lived for two years. Scialoja is a firm advocate of tolerant and moderate Islam, political neutrality, and mutual understanding between Christians and Muslims. Scialoja is also one of the main figures in the quest for Islamic entente with the Italian State. To this regard, Scialoja openly sided against polygamy and veil imposition, in compliance with Italian law and morale⁴¹.

World Islamic Call Society

Born in Libya in 1972, the World Islamic Call Society is an international charity organization. It engages in inter-religious dialogue, owns hospitals in several states, and offers financial and logistical aid to developing countries and refugees. In Italy, the World Islamic Call Society is represented by an organization previously called the Islamic Union in the West (UIO). In the 80s, WICS concurred to the opening of the Islamic Cultural Center of Italy. WICS runs the only officially recognized Arabic and Islamic school, located in Rome⁴². The organization's leader is a Libyan-Italian citizen named Mansur Tantoush.

Italian Islamic Religious Community

Created in 1997 by a group of Muslim intellectuals, the Italian Islamic Religious Community (COREIS) is one of the most important and connected Muslims organizations in Italy. Striving for religious dialogue, COREIS invests its resources in public events that bring together Jewish, Christian, and Muslim believers⁴³. Focusing on Islam's deep spirituality and doctrine, COREIS condemns every form of fundamentalism, violence, and doctrinal hegemony. Refusing to be associated to any political thought and country, COREIS is the leading Muslim organization in the quest for an entente between Islam and the Italian government. Finally, the organization is linked to the Islamic Organization for Education, Science, and Culture, the Italian Ministry of Public Education, the Muslim World League, the Parisian Institut des Hautes Etudes Islamiques, and to Al-Azhar and Federico II universities, respectively in Cairo and Naples⁴⁴.

COREIS' leader is an Italian Muslim-convert named Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahid Pallavicini. Converted to Islam in 1951, Pallavicini has been one of the first native Europeans to embrace Islam and its spiritual message. He is regarded as the most prominent figure in Italian Islam in pursuing

⁴⁰ "Presentation". 04/10. Muslim World League official website. <http://www.lega-musulmana.it/Information/Presentazione.html>

⁴¹ "No to Polygamy, Italian Laws Have to be Respected" [Italian: "No alla poligamia, si rispettino le leggi italiane"]. 04/10. <http://www.uniurb.it/giornalismo/lavori/melis/Valentina/intervista1.html>

⁴² "World Islamic Call Society". 04/10. CESNUR. http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_07.htm

⁴³ "CO.RE.IS". 04/10. CESNUR. http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_06.htm

⁴⁴ Ibid

religious dialogue and entente with the Italian State⁴⁵. As Imam of the Al-Wahid mosque in Milan and COREIS vice president, in past years he met with important religious and political authorities, like Pope John Paul II. His efforts in promoting peace between religions were awarded by the Roman Catholic Church and received extended coverage in the media⁴⁶. Pallavicini wrote a book entitled *Universal Spirituality in the Islamic Religion*, and publishes monthly pieces in the *Assadakan* magazine, in the Europe and Islam section.

Italian Muslim Association

The Italian Muslim Association (AMI) was established in Naples in 1982 and then moved to Rome in 1985. Founded by Mr. Ali Mo'allim Hussen, an Italian citizen of Somali origin, the organization promotes coexistence between Western cultures and Islam and sponsors humanitarian and charity events⁴⁷. In the early 90s, AMI shared pro-American and Israeli sentiments, as it firmly condemned jihad and terrorism. However, following turmoils at the top level, AMI's leadership split and since 2003 AMI has abandoned its pro-American and Israeli sentiment. Nevertheless, AMI refuses to be associated with the Muslim Brotherhood and fundamentalist organizations. Since 2009, AMI's president is Prince Ahmed Abucar Suldan.

Muslim Assembly of Italy

Created in 2004 by former AMI's members, the Muslim Assembly of Italy embodies those pro-American and Israeli sentiments AMI shared in the early 90s. The assembly's leader is a highly educated Italian convert named Abdul Hadi Massimo Palazzi. Publicly siding with America and Israel, Palazzi and his organization have taken part to various cultural, religious, and political demonstrations⁴⁸. Unfortunately, so far Palazzi's ideas have had a minor impact on Italian Muslims.

Adel Smith's Muslim Union of Italy

Founded in 2001 by Adel Smith, the Muslim Union of Italy is a minor organization that has caused considerable controversy. Boasting more than 5000 members, Smith's organization is believed to be composed only by a few dozen individuals⁴⁹. Born in Egypt from a Scottish father and an Egyptian mother, Smith's past is concealed in mystery⁵⁰. Doubts remain about his upbringing in Pescara -in central Italy- and about his trip to former Yugoslavia where he became wealthy. Back in Italy Smith became involved with revisionist extreme right movements who denied the Holocaust. Smith became publicly famous for his inflammatory remarks about Israel, the journalist Oriana Fallaci, Christian iconology, and homosexuality⁵¹.

⁴⁵ "Presentation". 04/10. COREIS Official website. <http://www.coreis.it/>

⁴⁶ Ibid

⁴⁷ "Italian Muslim Association". 04/10. CESNUR. http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_08.htm

⁴⁸ "Italian Muslim Association". 04/10. CESNUR. http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_08.htm

⁴⁹ "Adel Smith's Muslim Union of Italy". 04/10. CESNUR. http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_09.htm

⁵⁰ Buffa, Dimitri. 2003. "The Three Characters who Form the Islamic Party" [Italian: "I tre personaggi che formano il partito islamico"]. *Libero*. <http://www.amislam.com/libero22.htm>

⁵¹ Adel Smith's Muslim Union of Italy Official website. 04/10. <http://www.adelsmith.altervista.org/>

Young Muslims Association of Italy and Muslim Women's Association

Two other minor but relevant organizations are the Young Muslims' Association of Italy and the Muslim Women's Association. The first organization represents a landmark for young Muslims. By providing academic, social, and religious assistance, the organization promotes young Muslims' integration. Sport events and a major annual national convention have benefited of extended media coverage in recent years⁵². The Muslim Women's Association is, instead, a Muslim organization for the advancement of Muslim women in the Italian society. Proud of their heritage and tradition, the association arranges public talks and events about the role of women in Islam and gender equality⁵³.

Mosques and Islamic Centers

In Italy Muslims can rely on 735 worship places and more than 100 mosques (please, see appendix section, page 79, Table 7). However, the officially recognized mosques are only three and are located in Milan, Rome, and Catania. Since the one in Catania is out of use, a new mosque is under construction in Val d'Elsa in Tuscany, and new projects were proposed in Genoa and Bologna⁵⁴. Except for such instances, Italian mosques are generally obtained from garages, basements, and factories that are turned into worship places. In multiple cases, mosques are ruled by self-declared Imams. Except for the three recognized mosques, minarets and muezzins are not allowed, as they would cause social unease.

The Al-Rahman Mosque in Segrate, Milan

Inaugurated on May 28, 1988, the Merciful Mosque in Segrate, Milan, was the first Italian mosque to be granted the construction of both dome and minaret. The minaret is 25 meters high and the mosque occupies an area of 658 square meters, which include a little Muslim cemetery. Segrate's mosque is the current headquarter of the Islamic Center of Milan and Lombardia, which arranges school trips, cultural, social, and sports events.

Mr. Abdu Shwaima is the founder and the current Imam of the Al-Rahman Mosque. Born in Amman, he graduated in medicine from the university of Milan. Former member of the Muslim Student Union in Perugia, Shwaima concurred to the establishment of UCOII in 1990. Openly against terrorism and the Iraq war, in 2004 he was assaulted by a member of his congregation who accused him of wrong doctrine. Defined as radical but not fanatic, in 2006 Shwaima was at the center of heated debate about gender equality and Islam, as he was accused of sentencing a *fawta* of death against an Italian politician against veil imposition⁵⁵.

⁵² "Who are we?". Young Muslim Association of Italy Official website. 04/10.

http://www.giovanimusulmani.it/home/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=72&Itemid=83

⁵³ "Muslim Women in Italy: No to Compromises" [Italian: "Donne musulmane in Italia, no ai compromessi"]. 2009. http://www.minareti.it/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=685&Itemid=9

⁵⁴ Stefano, Landi. 2009. Italy's Mosques: Where Muslims Pray" [Italian: Moschee d'Italia; dove pregano i musulmani"]. *Corriere della Sera*. http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2009/novembre/21/Moschee_Italia_dove_pregano_musulmani_co_9_091_121028.shtml

⁵⁵ Solani, Massimo. 2006. "The Imam did not Threat Santache" [Italian: "L'Imam non ha minacciato la Santache"]. <http://blog.libero.it/abushwaima/>

The Great Mosque of Rome

The Great Mosque of Rome is the largest mosque in Europe⁵⁶. Grounded on 30,000 square meters, the Great Mosque of Rome was inaugurated in 1995 after 20 years of construction. The mosque contains more than 2000 people and features several worship rooms, a library, a history museum, an Arabic school, a conference room, numerous offices, and dormitories. Its gardens and majestic architecture made the mosque a top tourist destination. The total cost of the construction amounted to roughly \$3,000,000 and was mainly sustained by Saudi Arabia, followed by Morocco, Iraq, and Libya⁵⁷. Since 1995, the building has been the headquarter of the Islamic Cultural Center of Italy, which arranges cultural activities and religious pilgrimages to Mecca. During the month of Ramadan, the mosque hosts community prayer and dinner. Starting on 2007, Egyptian citizen Ala' al-Din Muhammad Isma'il al-Ghobashi is the mosque's Imam.

Islamic centers

Enhancing an already variegated network, 159 Islamic centers are spread across Italy (please, see appendix section, Table 8, page 83). Except for major centers like the Islamic Cultural Center of Italy and the Islamic Center of Milan and Lombardia who operate nationally, most Islamic centers are addressed to local communities. Centers represent a cultural, religious, and social bridge between Muslims and their roots. A number of institutions dispose of dining halls, bars, libraries, schools, and day-care centers. Islamic centers mushroom from north to south, though the most important ones are located in Rome, Milan, Turin, and Florence, which count multiple centers.

Koranic Schools

Koranic schools represent a further cultural and religious trait for Muslims in Italy. A study led by the Viminale counted 88 schools that offer courses about the Koran and the Arabic language⁵⁸. Koranic schools are mostly located in northern Italy. Lombardia and Piemonte host 11 Koranic schools, Lazio 8, and Tuscany 16. Some schools are directly run or supported by foreign states. For instance, Tunisia supports Mazzara del Vallo's Koranic school, where Tunisian education is taught in both Arabic and French. Libya supports two schools in Rome, while Egypt two schools in Milan. In Cremona's case, the local Koranic schools discourages Muslim students to attend Italian public schools. Overall, the great majority of Muslim students attends Italian public schools, but doubts remain about some Koranic schools' teachings about religious pluralism and integration in the Italian society.

⁵⁶ "The Islamic Cultural Center of Italy". 04/10. CESNUR.

http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_05.htm

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Polchi, Vladimiro. 2007. "In Italy 88 Koranic Schools" [Italian: "In Italia 88 scuole coraniche"]. *La Repubblica*. <http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2007/09/21/in-italia-88-scuole-islamiche-rapporto-segreto.html>

Websites and TVs

Online Islam is a growing phenomenon in Italy. Muslims can rely on a myriad of websites about Islam, Muslim organizations, culture, and traditions. A number of websites features specific information about Muhammad, studies, articles, and public events. According to a study made in 2001, the amount of Muslim immigrants who use internet on a daily base is limited⁵⁹. However, given cybernetic boom Italy has experienced in the last decade, especially among young individuals, it is reasonable to assume that Muslim websites are easily accessible to the Muslim community. A list of the main Muslim websites is available in the appendix section, at page 78, Table 6.

Less accessible than websites, Muslim channels are available on satellite TV. The main channels are RTM (Morocco), Tunis 7 (Tunisia), Algerie (Algeria), Nile TV and Fadaya Al-Misria (Egypt), Al Jezeera (Qatar), Al Giumhuria Al Libia (Libya), Suria (Syria), Turkey (Turkey), MBC (Lebanon), and Arab Sat and Arte (various countries). The most popular programs are national news broadcasts, documentaries, music and cultural events, and sitcoms⁶⁰.

PART THREE: RADICALIZATION

Theoretical Background and the Radicalization Process

Muslim Radicalization: An Overlook

In spite of considerable military and intelligence accomplishments in the global war on terrorism, evidence of a growing radicalization in the Islamic world is substantive and quantifiable⁶¹. In Europe, intelligence officials report a significant rise in radicalized Muslims joining terrorist networks by the hundreds to wage jihad against the US-led coalition in Iraq. In the recent Pew global attitudes polls, approximately 15 percent of Muslims surveyed in Britain, France, and Spain believed suicide bombings and other forms of violence were at least sometimes justified in the defense of Islam. Similarly, defense of Islamic identity was the root of extended rioting and vandalism in France and deadly riots infuriated over cartoon depictions of the Prophet Muhammad published in a Danish newspaper.

The US State Department also reported a sharp rise in terrorist attacks in 2006, passing the 10,000 mark for the first time. Those terrorist attacks were responsible for 14,500 fatalities worldwide, with 25,000 additional people wounded and maimed. The unusually high casualty rate was due in part to the ongoing conflict in Iraq, and to a dramatic increase of terrorists willing to “martyr” themselves in suicide attacks. In 2005 there were a record 360 suicide

⁵⁹ Favalli, Bertani. 2001. “Muslim Immigration in Verona” [Italian: “Immigrazione musulmana a Verona”] <http://www.cestim.it/05verona.htm>

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹ Rosenthal, Justine. 2007. *State of the Struggle: Report on the Battle Against Global Terrorism*. Brookings Institution Press. Washington DC. In “Reversing Islamic Radicalization”. 2007. PBS. <http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/canada602/excerpt.html>

bombings, many in places where such radical tactics had rarely, if ever, been seen before, including Afghanistan and London⁶².

The Causes of Islamic Radicalization

There are several factors that triggered the spread of Islamic radicalism over the past several decades. The first one is the result of permanent conditions in the Muslim world⁶³. For instance, the failure of political and economic models in many Arab countries have fueled anger at the West, as disenfranchised Muslims have blamed US policies for their own countries' failures. This "structural" anti-Americanism is not amenable to amelioration through political or diplomatic means. Moreover, the decentralization of religious authority in Sunni Islam has opened the door for extremists with scant religious credentials to manipulate the religion for their own ends.

The second factor consists of several long-term conditions or processes which have developed over time and aggravated Islamic radicalism⁶⁴. First, Islamic resurgence in the Middle East over the past 30 years and the exportation of Arab ideology to non-Arab Muslim countries increased support for fundamentalism. As it was the case for Pashtun areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan, radical Islamic ideology spread to tribal societies with no strong central political authority, triggering extremism. Second, as a result, radical Islamists succeeded in forming networks that provide funding and recruitment. Lacking of central institutions, various radical networks began to provide social services to local communities, making them difficult to detect and disrupt. Third, the emergence of satellite regional media such as Al-Jazeera, radical websites, and prison and mosques networks⁶⁵ provided powerful means to reinforce anti-American stereotypes and narratives of Arab victimization.

Beyond these long-term factors, certain catalytic events shifted the political environment in the Muslim world toward radicalism⁶⁶. Major events include the Iranian revolution, the Afghan war with the Soviets, the Gulf War of 1991, and the global war on terrorism after September 11. Other factors are US support for Israel, its geopolitical and economic interests in the Middle East, and overall American imperialism.

In Europe, Muslims' status quo has been one of the main triggers for Islamic radicalism⁶⁷. A large segment of the Muslim population in Europe has been experiencing economic and social

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ "US Strategy in the Muslim World After 9/11". RAND. 2004.

http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB151/index1.html

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ Rosenthal, Justine. 2007. *State of the Struggle: Report on the Battle Against Global Terrorism*. Brookings Institution Press. Washington DC. In "Reversing Islamic Radicalization". 2007. PBS.

<http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/canada602/excerpt.html>

⁶⁶ "US Strategy in the Muslim World After 9/11". RAND. 2004.

http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB151/index1.html

⁶⁷ Anspaha, Katrine. 2008. "The Integration of Islam in Europe: Preventing the Radicalization of Muslim Diasporas and Counterterrorism Policy". ECPR Fourth Pan-European Conference on EU Politics. University of Latvia, Riga, Latvia. <http://www.jhubc.it/ecpr-riga/virtualpaperroom/026.pdf>

hardship. Unemployment, social exclusion, and discrimination promoted reaffirmation of Muslim identity, especially among young people. Discontented with their status quo, an increasing amount of Muslims started embracing radical Islam. Growing detached from the West and its values, Muslim communities witnessed the birth of “homegrown” terrorists and martyrs.

The Radicalization Process

Although threats from attacks carried out by foreign terrorists remain, attacks or thwarted plots against cities in Europe, Australia, and Canada after 2001 fitted a different paradigm⁶⁸. Rather than being directed from Al Qaeda abroad, these plots have been conceptualized and planned by “unremarkable” local residents/citizens who sought to attack their country of residence, utilizing Al-Qaeda as their inspiration and ideological reference point. Therefore, the new threat is represented by the “homegrown” terrorists’ phenomenon. According to the FBI’s definition, a homegrown Islamic terrorist is “A legal US person whose primary social influence has been the cultural values and beliefs of the United States, who has the intent to provide support for or directly commit a terrorist attack inside the United States.”⁶⁹ Broadly applied, such definition incorporates Muslims who were born and raised in Western societies, who embrace radical Islam and commit attacks against their home countries. Trademarks of such phenomena are Madrid’s March 2004 attack, Amsterdam’s Hofstad Group, London’s July 2005 attack, and Australia’s Operation Pendennis and The Toronto 18 Case, which thwarted attacks in, respectively, November 2005 and June 2006.

In this scenario, understanding the process of radicalization becomes vital. The most instrumental factor that fuels the radicalization process is ideology. Jihadist or jihadi-Salafi ideology is, in fact, the driver that motivates young men and women, born or living in the West, to carry out autonomous jihad via acts of terrorism against their host countries. Ideology guides movements, identifies the issues, drives recruitment, and is the basis for action. NYPD individuates four main stages in the process of radicalization:

- Stage 1: Pre-Radicalization
- Stage 2: Self-Identification
- Stage 3: Indoctrination
- Stage 4: Jihadization or Action

The first stage, pre-radicalization, is simply the starting point from which individuals begin their progression towards radicalization. It is the period of people’s life before they were exposed to and adopted Salafi-Islam as their own ideology. The majority of the individuals involved in these

⁶⁸ Silber. Bhatt. 2006. “Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat”. *NYPD Intelligence Division*. 5-10. http://www.nypdshield.org/public/SiteFiles/documents/NYPD_Report-Radicalization_in_the_West.pdf

⁶⁹ “The Radicalization Process: From Conversion to Jihad”. 2006. *Federal Bureau of Investigation. Intelligence Assessment*. <http://cryptome.org/fbi-jihad.pdf>

plots began as “unremarkable,” as they had “ordinary” jobs, had “ordinary” lives, and had little, if any criminal history⁷⁰.

The second phase, self-identification, is the moment in which individuals embrace radical Islam. Influenced by both internal and external factors, individuals begin to explore Salafi Islam, gradually gravitate away from their old identity, begin to associate themselves with like-minded individuals, and finally adopt Salafi ideology as their own. The catalyst for this “religious seeking” is a cognitive opening, or crisis, which shakes one’s certitude in previously held beliefs and opens an individual to be receptive to new world-views⁷¹.

In the third phase, indoctrination, individuals fully commit to the cause. In this stage an individual progressively intensifies his beliefs, wholly adopts jihadi-Salafi ideology, and concludes that action is the only way to support and further the cause. That action is militant jihad. This phase is typically facilitated and driven by a “spiritual sanctioner.” While the initial self-identification process may be an individual act, association with like-minded people is an important factor as the process deepens. By the indoctrination phase this self-selecting group becomes increasingly important, as radical views are constantly encouraged and reinforced⁷².

The fourth phase, Jihadization, is when individuals take action. In this stage, members of the cluster accept their individual duty to participate in jihad and self-designate themselves as holy warriors or mujahideen. Ultimately, the group begins operational planning for the jihad or a terrorist attack. These “acts in furtherance” include planning, preparation, and execution. While the other phases of radicalization may take place gradually, over two to three years, this jihadization component can be a very rapid process, taking only a few months, or even weeks to run its course⁷³.

It is fair to precise that each of these phases (summarized in Table 5, page 34) is unique and has specific signatures. All individuals who begin this process do not necessarily pass through all the stages. Many stop or abandon this process at different points. Although such a model is sequential, individuals do not always follow a perfectly linear progression. Individuals who do pass through this entire process are quite likely to be involved in the planning or implementation of a terrorist act⁷⁴.

⁷⁰ Silber. Bhatt. 2006. “Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat”. *NYPD Intelligence Division*. 5-10. http://www.nypdshield.org/public/SiteFiles/documents/NYPD_Report-Radicalization_in_the_West.pdf

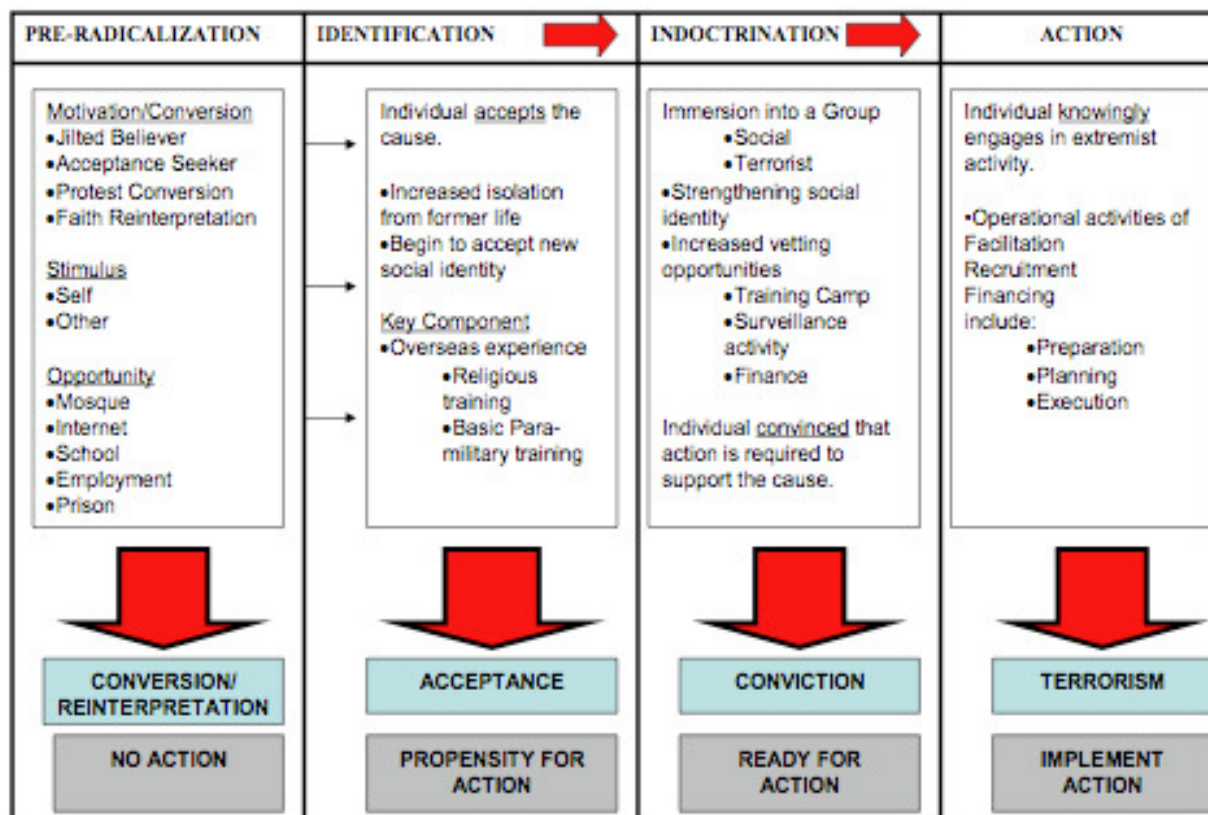
⁷¹ Ibid

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ Ibid

Table 5. The Process of Radicalization



Source: "The Radicalization Process: From Conversion to Jihad". 2006. *Federal Bureau of Investigation. Intelligence Assessment*. <http://cryptome.org/fbi-jihad.pdf>

General Trends in the Radicalization Process

There are various general trends that emerged from studies about homegrown radicalization in the West. First, in recent years Al Qaeda has served as a source of inspiration for homegrown radicalization and terrorism, but its direct command over terrorist activities has been rare rather than constant. Second, radicalization of Western homegrown terrorists seems to be a function of the people and the environment in which they live in. Unlike their Palestinian counterparts, transition from a Western-based individual to a terrorist is not triggered by oppression, suffering, revenge, or desperation. Rather, it is a phenomenon that occurs because individuals are looking for an identity and a cause, which are often found in radical Islam.

Third, Europe's inability to integrate second and third Muslim generations, made young individuals more vulnerable to extremism. Filling the gap between the secular West and their religious heritage, radical views, philosophy, and Salafi rhetoric have increasingly become fashionable among young Muslims. Fourth, technology has been one of the main drivers of radical Islam. The internet spreads radical Islam and Jihad at a logarithmic rate. Fifth, creation of hierarchical groups concur to reinforce individuals' commitment to extremist Islam (group link).

Sixth, internet accelerated the radicalization process in terms of how long it takes for an individual to become a terrorist. Also, internet access has produced a higher number of young radical Muslims, who are continuing to get younger. Seventh, all phases of the radicalization process represent a threat. Entering the process does not mean one will progress through all four stages and become a terrorist. However, it also does not mean that if one does not become a terrorist, he or she is no longer a threat. Individuals who have been radicalized but are not jihadists may serve as mentors and agents of influence to future terrorists.

The Terrorist Threat In Italy

In recent years Muslim extremism has become a real threat. Historically, Italy has served as a temporary base for extremists directed to combat areas, in need for logistical and financial assistance. However, according to the 2009 Italian Secret Services report, Italy is now a target⁷⁵. Radical visions of Islam continue to spread in Italian mosques, promoting support for terrorism. Violent rhetoric, recruitment, and financial aid feed the increasing Islamic terrorist threat, as shown by numerous arrests, attempted attacks, and several religious-driven murders. Future prospects of Islamic terrorist attacks on the Italian soil, Italian jihadists, and religious clashes need to be addressed immediately.

This reports aims to create an index of radicalization of the Muslim community in Italy. The following section compiles those elements that mainly point to NYPD phase 3 and 4, that is indoctrination and jihadization (please see pages 32 and 33). The index of radicalization is composed of dangerous or potentially dangerous contacts, radical social organizations, radical mosques and Koranic schools, radical social and religious leaders, organizations engaged in terrorist activities, financial and logistical support of terrorist activities, list of terrorist attacks or attempts of terrorist attacks on the Italian soil, Italian Jihadists, arrests on charges of terrorism, sentences, and expulsions, and cultural and religious-driven aggressions and murders.

Dangerous or Potentially Dangerous Connections

Iran

The European Islamic Center represents the main voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Italy. Located in Rome, the center is directly administered by Iran's ambassador to the Vatican State. Although it mainly appeals to Italian converts, the center supports Tehran Islamic government's domestic and international politics. Publicly condemning terrorism while promoting religious dialogue, ambassador Ali Akbar Naseri expressed his support for Iran's peaceful pursue of nuclear energy and for the Palestinian cause⁷⁶.

⁷⁵ "International Terrorist Threat" [Italian: "Minaccia terroristica internazionale"]. 2009. *Italian Government-Secret Services*. http://www.sicurezza nazionale.gov.it/web.nsf/documenti/capitolo_1.pdf

⁷⁶ Assaf, Tony. 2009. "Iran and Holy See, Together Against Terror" [Italian: Iran e Santa Sede, insieme contro terrore"]. *Zenit*. <http://www.zenit.org/article-20448?l=italian>

Saudi Arabia

In Italy there are three main organizations that are linked to Saudi Arabia: the Great Mosque of Rome, the Islamic Cultural Center in Italy, and the Muslim World League. Such organizations are strictly connected to each other, as the Great Mosque of Rome is the headquarter of the Islamic Cultural Center in Italy, which hosts the Muslim World League offices. Financially and logistically supported by Saudi Arabia, such organizations invigorate its legitimacy and its Wahhabi ideology.

Muslim Brotherhood

UCOII is the most important organization linked to the Muslim Brotherhood⁷⁷. Since its creation by a group of Muslim students already influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood (USMI), UCOII has been tagged as one of those radical organizations preaching a purist version of Islam. Although former UCOII's secretary Hazma Piccardo denied any direct ties with the Muslim Brotherhood⁷⁸, relations with such organization have been strong. First, UCOII has ties with FIOE, the Federation of Islamic Republics in Europe⁷⁹, a roof organization associated with the Muslim Brotherhood. Second, one of Piccardo's collaborators, Tariq Ramadan, is Hasan al Banna's nephew, whose grandfather founded the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928⁸⁰. Third, in 2007 The Alliance of Muslims in Italy, a UCOII satellite organization, invited to a conference in Brescia Salem Sheikh⁸¹. An inflammatory speaker, Sheikh is a renowned student and follower of Youssef Qaradawi, one of the most instrumental spiritual leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood and father of the theory of terrorism. The main person in charge of the conference was former UCOII's vice president Aboulkheir Bregheiche.

Radical Social Organizations

The Shiite Organizations

Alh Al Bait is a Shiite radical organization. Besides a purist version of Shiite Islam, the organization supports Iran and the principles of the Islamic Revolution. Among its vast publications, there are books such as Pure Islam and Imam Khomeini. Life, Struggle, Message. On Al Bait's website, there are several pictures of Imams and Ayatollahs, and others that inspire anti-Israel and pro-Palestinian sentiments. There is a clear invitation to boycott Israel, which is given by the picture of a crossed Israeli flag, juxtaposed to another photo of a Palestinian boy throwing a rock to an Israeli tank⁸². Further, the website defines the American attack on Iraq as satanic, and affirms Islam's superiority over the West in the section "Islam's Challenge."

⁷⁷ "UCOII". 04/10. CESNUR. http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_02.htm

⁷⁸ Lorenzetto, Stefano. 2005. "Panorama Interviews Picardo" [Italian: "Panorama intervista Picardo"] *Panorama*. <http://www.spazioforum.net/forum/index.php?showtopic=27167>

⁷⁹ Sacerdotti, Margherita. 2007. Report On Muslim Radicalization in Italy. Non Published Article. *ICT, Herzliya*.

⁸⁰ Lorenzetto, Stefano. 2005. "Panorama Interviews Picardo" [Italian: "Panorama intervista Picardo"] *Panorama*. <http://www.spazioforum.net/forum/index.php?showtopic=27167>

⁸¹ Sacerdotti, Margherita. 2007. Report On Muslim Radicalization in Italy. Non Published Article. *ICT, Herzliya*.

⁸² Ahl Al Bait Official website. 04/10. <http://digilander.libero.it/ahlabait/>

Similarly to Alh Al Bait, Imam Al Mahdi supports Iran and the Islamic revolution. To such regard, the organization publishes books entitled *The Islamic Government and The Greatest Struggle*. Al Mahdi's website evokes anti-Western and Israeli sentiments, as shown by a picture stating "Stop Zionism, Boycott Israel," and another one recalling Palestinian armed struggle⁸³. In addition to Khomeyni's and Khamenei's biographies and commentaries, the website offers sections about politics and current affairs, including Iranian President Ahmadinejad's speeches.

The Sunnis Organizations

UCOII is considered one of the most radical organizations in Italy. Apart from their ties with the Muslim Brotherhood, UCOII leaders have often been subject of controversy. After justifying Jihad and terrorist attacks against Italian soldiers in Nassirya, in 2006 UCOII published a manifesto in which it compared Israel to Nazism and denied the Holocaust⁸⁴. A firm rejectionist of Muslim assimilation of Western values, UCOII has been repeatedly accused of instigating racial hatred during sermons. Further, it was proven that UCOII's members had contacts with extremist members of the Swiss Al Taqwa Arab bank, which financed Bin Laden's terrorist warfare⁸⁵. It is believed that Al Taqwa Bank provided UCOII with financial support to strengthen its leadership in Italy. Today, UCOII is the largest Muslim organization in Italy and controls over 70% of mosques across the peninsula.

Numbering only a few hundred members, Adel Smith's Muslim Union of Italy stirred significant controversy in recent years. Subjugated to its leader's only voice, the organization received considerable amount of media coverage due to Smith's inflammatory remarks. Closely linked to extreme right movements, Smith showed support for Islamic extremism and the Iranian revolution. He wrote two books entitled *Islam Castigates Fallaci* and *Woe Unto You, Scribes and Pharisees. The Duty to Hate Israel*. The first book attacks former journalist Oriana Fallaci for her comments and beliefs about Islam and takes joy in her death from cancer. The second book is vehemently against the state of Israel, as its cover page features a dead Middle Eastern-looking child wrapped in an Israeli flag. Further, Smith arranged public demonstrations against Western culture, which he defined as Islamophobic, satanic, and "lesbo-feminist-gay"⁸⁶. Finally, Smith reached his peak of fame for his campaign against Catholic religious symbols in public schools, as he defined the cross as a small cadaver during Bruno Vespa's national TV show *Porta a Porta*⁸⁷.

⁸³ Islam Shia. Official Imam Mahdi Association website. 2010. <http://www.islamshia.org/english.php>

⁸⁴ "UCOII". 04/10. CESNUR. http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_02.htm

⁸⁵ Sacerdotti, Margherita. 2007. Report On Muslim Radicalization in Italy. Non Published Article. *ICT, Herzliya*.

⁸⁶ Adel Smith's Muslim Union of Italy Official website. 04/10. <http://www.adelsmith.altervista.org/>

⁸⁷ Buffa, Dimitri. 2003. "The Three Characters who Form the Islamic Party" [Italian: "I tre personaggi che formano il partito islamico"]. *Liberio*. <http://www.amislam.com/libero22.htm>

Radical Mosques and Koranic Schools

Mosques

According to an official governmental report dated April 2007, a number of mosques were tagged potentially radical. The Islamic Cultural Center of Italy, located inside the Great Mosque in Rome and headquarter of the Muslim World League is suspected to have ties with Middle Eastern extremists. The Villabate mosque, close to Palermo in Sicily, has been associated to the Jamaat Eddawa, a propagandistic community dedicated to spreading radical Islam. In Albiano Magra, Tuscany, Italian officials investigated members of the mosque for forwarding principles glorifying jihad and inciting hatred against Jewish people and America. In Milan, the Via Quaranta mosque has raised doubts for its extreme ideology. In Genoa, members of the Via Venezia mosque have expressed anti-Western feelings, supporting Hamas' cause. Members of the Muslim Brotherhood are known to take part in sermons in the Via Pallavicini mosque in Bologna. In Naples, two members of the Corso Lucci mosque have defined Italian politicians as liars, fools, and unbelievers, and praised jihad as the only means to fight Islam's enemies, including non-Americans and non-Jews⁸⁸.

In 2009, counter terrorism intelligence counted 108 radical mosques where hatred and violence are preached during sermons. The most radical mosques are located in northern regions, like Lombardy, Veneto, Piemonte, Emilia-Romagna, and Tuscany, which number respectively 12, 11, 10, 10, and 6 extremist centers. In Campania, Lazio, Umbria, Marche, radical worship places respectively amount to 8, 13, 3, 12. In the South, Puglia, Sicily, and Calabria count respectively, 8, 14, and 11 radical centers. Particularly radical are the mosques located in Turin, Cremona, and Varese, but also in Vicenza, Udine, Venice, and Latina⁸⁹.

Koranic Schools

Besides worship places, Koranic schools also began to raise doubts about their teachings. In Italy, 88 Koranic schools are currently spread across the peninsula. Most of them complement young Muslims' education brought by Italian public schools and meet sporadically. Nevertheless, some Koranic schools pose two main challenges. First, sometimes Muslim education supplants Italian public schools' education. For instance, The Viale Jenner's Koranic School was created for those families who are temporarily settling in Italy and eventually intend to return to their home countries. The school confers official degrees that are not recognized in Italy, but are valid in the students' countries of origin⁹⁰. By replacing Italian public schools'

⁸⁸ Polchi, Vladimiro. 2008. "Italy's Mosques: The Map of Risk" [Italian: "Moschee d'Italia; la mappa del rischio"]. *La Repubblica*. <http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2008/03/09/moschee-italia-la-mappa-del-rischio.html>

⁸⁹ Chiocci, Gian Marco. 2009. "Terrorism: Mosques where Hatred is Preached" [Italian: "Terrorismo: le moschee dove si predica l'odio"]. http://www.ilgiornale.it/interni/terrorismo_moschee_dove_si_predica_lodio/22-09-2009/articolo-id=384562-page=0-comments=1

⁹⁰ "The Islamic Cultural Institute". 04/10. *Peirone Center*. http://www.centro-peirone.it/Alhiwar/1999/4_99/alhiwar499_03.htm#SOMMARIO

education, the risk is to alienate Muslim children from their Italian counterparts, enlarging cultural gap.

The second challenge is given by controversial teachings some Koranic schools feature, like at the King Abdulaziz Saudi School, located in Rome. Attended almost exclusively by Arab children and teachers, students go to school for 12 years and use books rigorously wrote and published by Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Education. Since the first grade, Muslim children are taught that there is no religion other than Islam and whoever is not Muslim is destined to hell. To be friends with whoever is not Muslim is impossible and wrong, as those who do not believe in Allah are Islam's enemies. In particular, a book entitled Uniqueness and Word. Theology and Art of Chant raises the question of whether it is possible to love Jews and Christians, immediately followed by a suggested reading by extremist sheik Mohammad Bensadi El Kathani. Further, compensation for the killing of one Muslim amounts to 100 camels, whereas it only amounts to 50 if the individual is non-Muslims, 50 for a Muslim woman, and 25 for a non-Muslim woman. Finally, according to Sharia, it is fair to cut a thief's right hand off, and, if he commits crime again, it is then fair to cut his left foot off⁹¹.

Other Koranic schools reinforce ideas and practices listed above. They teach the only true religion is Islam, while every other religion is fake. As a matter of fact, the entire universe is composed of devils who all must embrace Islam or will end up in hell like Jews and Christians. Finally, a Muslim is not to be faithful and loyal to those who do not abide to Islam's laws and to Prophet Muhammad⁹². Issues of religious intolerance, gender equality, and different legal methods risk to create alienation and controversy between Muslims and local populations.

Radical Social and Religious Leaders

Hazma Roberto Piccardo

Former UCOII's secretary, Hazma Piccardo is considered one of the most radical leaders in Italy. In recent years he repeatedly showed hostility towards the West, Jews, Christians, and feminists, and was accused of justifying Jihad and Islamic terrorism. Despite the fact he never mastered ancient Arabic, Piccardo's edition of the Koran is the most widespread among Muslims in Italy, selling more than 100,000 copies. Five of Piccardo's commentaries to the Koran's Suras are a trademark of his hostility⁹³. Commentary to Sura IV states that Islam's oppressors, mustakbirun, are "orientalists, non-Muslim religious authorities, journalists and all those who contribute to disinformation campaign against Islam and Muslims. These people will

⁹¹ Giustiniani, Corrado. 2006. "Islamic Schools: Here are the Disputed Texts" [Italian: "Scuole islamiche: ecco i testi della discordia"]. <http://www.radicali.it/view.php?id=79376>

⁹² "Islamic Schools: students learn to be intolerant" [Italian: "Scuole islamiche: l'intolleranza si impara sui libri"]. 2006. *Il Giornale*. http://www.ilgiornale.it/interni/scuole_islamiche_lintolleranza_simpara_libri/28-11-2006/articolo-id=137018-page=1-comments=1

⁹³ Allam, Magdi. 2004. "Distortions, Intolerance, and Prejudices: This is how the Koran is Betrayed in Italy" [Italian: "Distorsioni, intolleranza, pregiudizi: cosi' il Corano e' tradito in Italia"]. *Corriere della Sera*. http://www.corriere.it/Primo_Piano/Cronache/2004/10_Ottobre/14/magdi.shtml

be ferociously punished, while it is possible that Allah, in His infinite mercy, may forgive the oppressed.” Commentary to Sura XVI, 9, openly condemns Western society, as:

Contemporary secular society witnessed to the spreading of the dangerous belief which equally weights every path to spiritual life, provided they fit into a coherent and ethical framework that respects the thoughts of others. This resulted into a moral and spiritual catastrophe, which can be seen in ‘developed Western cultures,’ where man turned into beast thirsting for power and wealth, ready to trample on anything to achieve material wellness, only aspiring to consume as much as he is able to.

Thus, the only way to fight a power-driven war launched by Christians and Jews is Islam. In commentary II, 109, Piccardo warned Muslims about a Jewish and Christian-led struggle against Islam. Such confrontation is not due to religion, but due to issues of power. Strong in its ethics, Islam is nowadays the only hope for freedom from every human domination. If one serves Allah, he can serve no man, ideology, things, passions, and illusions⁹⁴. Later in Sura II, 120, Piccardo refers to an inevitable clash of civilization as he writes that Jews and Christian look down on Muslims who dedicatedly follow their religion, do not get excited for a movie star, do not provoke fights on football referee’s calls, and do not rebel to God when human laws go against His will. It is no accident that Christians, Jews, capitalists and Marxists, liberals and radicals, and feminists and homosexuals do not like this type of Islam⁹⁵. In commentary of Sura CIX, Piccardo argues about the impossibility for any “bargain of God’s commands, religious syncretism, and doctrinal conciliation between different religions.” Instead, commentary to Sura V, 14, talks about a divine punishment inflicted to Christians. According to Piccardo, divisions within Christianity are simply God’s punishment. As a result of its decision to come to terms with modernity and society’s dynamics, the Catholic Church, has been slowly losing its appeal, rituals, authority, and legacy, which are only surviving due to extended media coverage of its charismatic figures. Finally, commentary to Sura V, 5, invites Muslim to caution about mixed marriages, portraying Western women morally inferior to Muslim women⁹⁶.

Openly against violence and Jihad, Piccardo justified Al Qaeda’s attack on Italian soldiers in Nassirya, Iraq, in 2003, in which 17 Italian soldiers and 5 Iraqis lost their lives. Piccardo affirmed that, “Objectively, those who attacked Italian soldiers in Iraq are to be considered as warriors, not as terrorists, otherwise it is similar to colonial war times, when savages were not even granted military recognition.⁹⁷” In an interview released to an Italian magazine in 2005, Piccardo first condemned violence of any kind, but then legitimized suicide operations in fighting oppression. While at war, he went on, everyone uses the best means he has, like decapitations. Besides, according to him, the video in which Nick Berg is decapitated is fake. When asked about his anti-Jewish remarks in his version of the Koran, Piccardo refrained by

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵ Ibid

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ Battistini, Francesco. 2004. “Italian Muslims and Kidnapping: It’s Madness, But There Is A War Down There” [Italian: “I musulmani d’Italia ed il sequestro: ‘Una follia, ma laggiu’ c’e’ la guerra”]. *Il Corriere della Sera*.

http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2004/settembre/24/musulmani_Italia_sequestro_Una_follia_co_9_040924_023.shtml

saying that his convictions were wrong, but he then stated that Israel has no right to exist⁹⁸. Although he assured that Islam is, by definition, moderate, he proudly said that there is only one God and that homosexuality is not tolerated in Islam. Finally, he did not deny UCOII's invitation of extremist sheik Wagdy Ghoneim, who theorized the Holocaust, defined Jewish people as monkeys' descendants, and stated that whoever does not convert to Islam becomes either a cat or a mouse. When asked of the reasons why UCOII supported Ghoneim's Saudi TV channel Iqra, Piccardo replied defining him as a "alim," a wise master⁹⁹.

Luigi Ammar De Martino

Luigi Ammar De Martino is the president of the Ahl Al-Bait Shiite organization. De Martino is also the publisher of a magazine entitled Pure Islam, openly supporting the Iranian revolution and its radical principles. In particular, De Martino expressed his support for Hezbollah, their proximity to Iran, and their struggle against Israel. In a number of Pure Islam, De Martino wrote that "Hezbollah's struggle, in all these years, has been fought in the name of religion in a clear, defined, and precise way, and, it is no accident that Hezbollah's guide is also our guide: Seyed Ali Khamenei, Wali Faqi of Muslims, whom we salute."¹⁰⁰ In an interview released with a local radio in 2006, De Martino defined Israel as a Zionist government, which he hoped would be overwhelmed by men and history. When asked what he would tell Muslims around the world, De Martino proudly stated that Islam is a doctrine of liberating oppressed people. Provided that Jerusalem is the symbol of oppression, he then invited Muslims around the world to fight oppression by any means¹⁰¹.

'Abdur Rahman Rosario Pasquini

'Abdur-Rahman Rosario Pasquini is the prominent leader of the Center of Milan and Lombardia. Since the 80s Pasquini has been the editor for Calamo Editions and has been publishing a magazine called Islam Messenger, whose articles often attacked Christianity and Western decadent ways. Averting all forms of violence, Pasquini nevertheless declared that followers of other religions are Adam's sons who are tricked by man's enemy¹⁰². Islam is the path for real liberation of man from other man's power, as nobody, except for God, is entitled to be man's Lord.

Adel Smith

Adel Smith is the leader of the Union of Muslims in Italy. As already mentioned, in recent years Smith showed his hostility towards Christianity, Western values, journalist Oriana Fallaci, gays and feminists, and Israel. In an interview released in 2006, Smith declared that being far from

⁹⁸ Lorenzetto, Stefano. 2005. "Panorama Interviews Piccardo" [Italian: "Panorama intervista Piccardo"] *Panorama*. <http://www.spazioforum.net/forum/index.php?showtopic=27167>

⁹⁹ Ibid

¹⁰⁰ De Martino, Luigi. 2000. "Lebanese Liberation". *Pure Islam*. Issue 5, 1-2. May June. Cited in "Shiite Islam in Italy" [Italian: "L'Islam scita in Italia"]. 4/10. CESNUR.

http://www.cesnur.org/religioni_italia/i/islam_13.htm

¹⁰¹ De Martino, Luigi. 2006. "Interview with Luigi Ammar De Martino." *IRB*.

<http://www2.irib.ir/worldservice/ItalyRADIO/intvste/indexp2.htm>

¹⁰² "Who is Rosario Pasquini?" [Italian: "Chi e' Rosario Pasquini?"]. 4/10.

<http://www.edizionidelcalamo.com/ar/ar.htm>

Islam means to stand in darkness. Islam is the future and whoever sides with forces who demonize Islam is tricked by powerful forces that do not follow justice, but their own selfish interests, like the Roman Church and the Popes¹⁰³.

Imams

Following 2003 Al Qaeda's terrorist attack on Italian soldiers in Nassirya, Iraq, controversy arose about several Imam's comments and interpretation of such events¹⁰⁴. For instance, Imam Amar Sahouane from the Piazza Larga al Mercato mosque in Naples justified terrorism, alluding to Bin Laden's struggle. According to his sermon, provided that the West is causing more casualties than two world wars did, Muslims have the right to defend themselves. If the West is not going to change its policy, Italy and other Western countries will be attacked by Muslim brothers who are united under the leadership of well known leaders. Abdellah Labdidi, Imam of the Er Rahma mosque in Fermo (Ascoli Piceno), argued that, according to Sharia, it is legitimate to massacre Westerners, but not other Muslims. To him, 9/11 attacks cannot be linked to jihad because Al Qaeda fighters do not kill innocent people. Instead, it was the CIA who was responsible for the attacks, which were meant to incriminate and demonize Islam. Thus, it is legitimate to attack American, English, and Italian invaders, as defensive Jihad is intrinsic to the Koran. In Bologna's El Nur mosque, Egyptian Imam Said Mahdi Nasr glorified martyrs as "the Prophet amply rewarded their sacrifice because they died for a just cause and now are in heaven, in God's glory." In Carmagnola, close to Cremona, Imam Abdul Qadir Fadallah Mamour affirmed that, "Bin Laden is going to keep striking Italian soldiers until the government will withdraw them from Iraq. All Italians are at risk."¹⁰⁵

The 2004 kidnapping of two Italian civilians in Iraq nourished quarreling about some Imams' views. According to Abu Shwaima, Segrate's Imam, "It is not up to us to decide. It's up to the UN to draw the line between resistance and terrorism. Even Italian Partisans during WWII took hostages and put bombs in public places."¹⁰⁶ Abdel al Shaari, leader of the Viale Jenner mosque said that the level of ferocity has long surpassed its peak. When military occupation becomes unbearably ferocious, on the other side people reply with equal ferocity. Bouriqui Bouchta, Turin's Imam, who had previously led demonstrations for veils' legacy, expressed doubts about the kidnapers' identity¹⁰⁷. In fact, Muslims have to abide to particular rules when they fight.

¹⁰³ Smith, Adel. "Interview with Adel Smith". *IRB*.

<http://www2.tribune.com/worldservice/ItalyRADIO/interviste/indexp2.htm>

¹⁰⁴ Allam, Magdi. 2003. "Hatred-driven Sermons in some Mosques" [Italian: "Sermoni d'odio in alcune moschee"]. *Il Corriere della Sera*.

http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2003/novembre/30/Sermoni_odio_alcune_moschee_Opportuna_co_0_031_130003.shtml

¹⁰⁵ "Ministry Pisanu expels Carmagnola's Imam" [Italian: "Il Ministro Pisanu espelle l'Imam di Carmagnola"]. 2003. *La Repubblica*.

<http://www.repubblica.it/2003/i/sezioni/cronaca/imanarresti/espulso/espulso.html>

¹⁰⁶ Battistini, Francesco. 2004. "Italian Muslims and Kidnapping: Madness, but There is a War Down There" [Italian: "I musulmani d'Italia ed il sequestro: 'Una follia, ma laggiu' c'e' la guerra'"]. *Il Corriere della Sera*.

http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2004/settembre/24/musulmani_Italia_sequestro_Una_follia_co_9_040924_023.shtml

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

For instance, burning weapons are not allowed, it is not permitted to touch women, and car bombs are legitimate only if they kill soldiers. Abu Imad, Viale Jenner's die hard Imam who was jailed after Egyptian leader Sadat's murder, affirmed that Muslims could not have kidnapped the two Italian women. As a matter of fact, he confessed that he would not have been surprised if CIA had turned out to be behind such kidnappings¹⁰⁸.

Between 2005 and 2009, tension remained high. In Turin, radical Imams like Mohamed Kohalia, Bouriki Bouchta, and Abdul Qadir Fadallah Mamour constantly urged Muslims not to integrate with Jews and Christians and rebel to the Pope. Jihad-inspired sermons and violent rhetoric later costed the three Imams their permanence in Italy. Nabil Bayoumi, Imam of Bologna's An-Nur mosque, endorses his theory by which "In Israel there are no civilians and not even children are innocent, kamikazes are not all to be incriminated, especially those coming from Palestine."¹⁰⁹ Osama Bin Laden's statements, he believed, are to be supported when he says that America and its bootlickers must leave Arab countries. Similarly, Ponte Felciano's Imam Mostapha El Korchi invited believers to "beat Italian children until blood comes out." In Rome, at the Centocelle mosque, Imams Abdel Samie Mahomud Ibrhim Moussa and Andulwahab Hussein Gomaa have been fired due to extreme sermons in remembrance of martyrs. In Naples Imam Amar Sahounane justified terrorist attacks on Italian soldiers as a response to ancient Christians' Crusades. In Pordenone, the mosque's Imam was suspected to have inspired young Sanaa's murder, assassinated because she was dating an Italian Christian. Finally, already famous for his anti-Semitic remarks and religious intolerance, Verona's Imam Wagdy Ghoem firmly explained that it is fair "to rule women and beat them up because women are as stupid as beasts, and, like sheep, they need a shepherd."¹¹⁰

Radical Organizations Engaged in Terrorist Activity

The Islamic Cultural Institute of Viale Jenner

The Islamic Cultural Institute is the top suspect for Islamic terrorism. Located in Milan in Viale Jenner, the center has been under investigation since 1995. According to the FBI, the institute actively supported militants from the Jama't al Islamiyya terrorist group, responsible for the killing of former Egyptian president Mubarak¹¹¹. Also, Ramzi Youssef, one of the 1993 Twin Towers' bombers, had previously been spotted in the institute. When the war on Bosnia broke out, Milan's institute recruited fighters and suicide bombers to send to the Balkans. Its Imam, Anwar Shaban, successfully evaded capture, but died in combat in Bosnia. At the end of the 1990s, the Islamic institute was one of the key neuralgic centers for jihadist activities in Europe, leading US authorities to considerate it as one of the main Al Qaeda's outposts in Europe¹¹².

¹⁰⁸ Ibid

¹⁰⁹ Chiocci, Gian Marco. 2009. "The Mosques where Hatred is Preached." [Italian: "Le Moschee dove si predica l'odio"]. *Il Giornale*. http://www.ilgiornale.it/interni/terrorismo_moschee_dove_si_predica_lodio/22-09-2009/articolo-id=384562-page=0-comments=1

¹¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹¹ "Mosques and Terrorism" [Italian: "Moschee e terrorismo"]. 4/10. <http://www.magdiallam.it/node/884>

¹¹² Vidino, Lorenzo. 2008. "Islam, Islamism, and Jihadism in Italy". *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*. Vol.7. Hudson Institute. <http://www.currenttrends.org/research/detail/islam-islamism-and-jihadism-in-italy>

The intersection with Milan's immigrant criminal underworld made the institute particularly important. Hundreds of documents forged by a cluster of Moroccan worshippers were used by Al Qaeda militants worldwide. Money made by members of Milan's networks through drug smuggling, petty thefts, and other minor criminal activities was sent, along with zakat funds (believers' church funds), to jihadist outfits in North Africa and Afghanistan. By the late 1990s, volunteers from various European countries were sent to Afghanistan. Between 2000 and 2002 the Milanese institute provided logistical support to the global Al Qaeda network. In 2001, the American authorities had reason to believe the institute had ties with a Bin Laden's coverage company, which officially exported honey¹¹³. Such connection was proven by some interceptions and by one repentant witness's declarations. When the war in Iraq broke out, Milan's role became increasingly instrumental, especially under the leadership of Imam Abu Imad. Even months before the war in Iraq began, recruiters from the institute began to send volunteers to Iraq, where they joined forces with the Kurdish Islamist group Ansar al Islam. Italian officials estimate that no fewer than 200 militants were recruited throughout Europe, 70 of them from Italy alone¹¹⁴. Forged Italian documents, the trademark of Milan's Islamic institute, were found on foreign fighters in Iraq. Due to strict surveillance and monitoring, the Islamic institute was forced to decrease its radial activities in Milan, but exponentially increased its influence to other local mosque networks in Lombardia, Emilia-Romagna, and Toscana. Recently, controversy about the Milanese institute resurfaced as a moderate women leader was attacked in front of its main offices, more than 400 of its members caused urban problems by praying on the sidewalk, and Mohamed Game, the first suicide bomber in Italy, was proven to be a sporadic member of the institute¹¹⁵.

Mosques Engaged or Suspected to Engage in Terrorism

Under the leadership of its former Imam Abu Omar, the Via Quaranta mosque in Milan has been one of the most prominent mosques involved in terrorism. Abu Omar actively recruited funds and fighters to send to the Balkans in the 90s. Starting in 2002, he provided with funds and fighters Ansar al Islam-led training camps in Iraq¹¹⁶.

Cremona's mosque has been deeply connected to terrorism. One of its leaders, Ahmed El Bouhali was a firm promoter of Jihad and Islamic terrorism. A fighter against the Soviets in Afghanistan in the late 80s, El Bouhali promoted Salafi ideology and had strong ties with other Salafi cells in Belgium, France, and Great Britain¹¹⁷. El Bouhali was one of the main founders of the Moroccan Islamic Jama'a, a military group against Morocco's King Hassan II. Italian officials found in his house multiple Al Qaeda war brochures and other material praising Jihad. In 1998, Belgian and Italian authorities arrested and then released El Bouhali and his pupil Mourad

¹¹³ "Mosques and Terrorism" [Italian: "Moschee e terrorismo"]. 4/10. <http://www.magdiislam.it/node/884>

¹¹⁴ Vidino, Lorenzo. 2008. "Islam, Islamism, and Jihadism in Italy". *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*. Vol.7. Hudson Institute. <http://www.currenttrends.org/research/detail/islam-islamism-and-jihadism-in-italy>

¹¹⁵ "Mosques and Terrorism" [Italian: "Moschee e terrorismo"]. 4/10. <http://www.magdiislam.it/node/884>

¹¹⁶ Fiorentini, Roberto. 2006. "Here is the Map of Those Imams Who Recruit Terrorists." [Italian: "Ecco la mappa degli Imam che reclutano terroristi"]. *La Padania*. <http://www.amislam.com/padania14.htm>

¹¹⁷ Ibid

Trablesi, accused on charges of financing Islamic terrorism. After the investigation, El Bouhali disappeared and supposedly deceased in 2001 in Afghanistan¹¹⁸. El Bouhali successor, Trablesi, was also accused of fostering radical Islam for years. In 2002 some of the mosque's members were accused of planning terrorist attacks on Cremona's cathedral and Milan's subway. Further, along with Trablesi, Mohamed Rafik was accused of being one of the main ideologists behind the 2003 Casablanca terrorist attacks¹¹⁹. Before 2003, Rafik recruited funds for Chechnya and the Balkans, distributed propagandistic material, and installed deep connections with German Muslim groups who amassed funds for Ansar Al Islam.

Florence's mosque has also been linked to terrorism¹²⁰. Cremona's Imam Mohamed Rafik has also been Florence's mosque for many years. Preaching fundamentalist visions of Islam, Florentine police taped one of Rafik's calls in which he pressured a Tunisian believer to become a martyr in Iraq. Rafik's successor, Rachid Maamri was ready to ship to Baghdad in 2004. Highly inspired by Egyptian jihadists who launched the first attacks in their home country, for years Maamri indoctrinated members of the mosque.

Bergamo's and Brescia's mosques were run by Najib Rouass. Although he was never actively involved in combat situations, Rouass relentlessly sustained Jihad, inviting believers to join armed struggle and praying Allah that missiles may fall on Christian children's heads¹²¹.

Another mosque suspected of engaging in terrorist activity is located in Varese, close to Milan. As a former fighter against the Soviets and Orthodox Serbs, Majid Zergout led Varese's mosque until 2005. Connected to El Bouhali and Abu Omar, Zergout was accused of fostering Jihad and being one of the main organizers of 2003 Casablanca massacre¹²².

Italian officials' investigations show that all the above listed mosques and Imams have been in contact with one another.¹²³

Other mosques have been suspected to be involved in terrorist activity. For instance, the Islamic Center of San Marcellino, the largest mosque in Campania, close to Naples, has been under investigation four times since 2005¹²⁴. In 2009, Naples' police dismantled a network that provided illegal immigrants with logistical support. Apart from economic assistance, the mosque provided immigrants with fake passports and documents. The mosque has been suspected to serve as a base for Islamic extremists.

¹¹⁸ Ibid

¹¹⁹ Ibid

¹²⁰ Ibid

¹²¹ Ibid

¹²² Ibid

¹²³ Ibid

¹²⁴ "Here are the Mosques Where Extremists are Hidden" [Italian: "Ecco le moschee dove si nascondono gli estremisti"]. 2009. *Il Gionale*.

http://www.ilgiornale.it/interni/ecco_moschee_che_nascondono_estremisti/23-04-2009/articolo-id=345810-page=1-comments=7

Vicenza's mosque has been under investigation. Its Yemenite Imam has been suspected to have ties with extremists who would be connected to the Venetian Via dei Mille mosque¹²⁵.

Run by the Muslim Brotherhood-inspired Samir Khaldi, the Centocelle mosque in Rome has been under investigation after London's bombings for hosting during prayer one of the attackers¹²⁶.

Gallarate's Imam, Mohamed el Mahfoudi, was prosecuted on charges of having ties with individuals strictly connected to Bin Laden. The Imam was finally released from his accusation.

Financial and Logistical Support of Terrorist Activities

Funds

Even before 9/11, Italy has played a relevant role in providing jihadists with financial and logistical support¹²⁷. In 2000, Italian officials broke into Sami Ben Khemais Essid's house in Busto Arsizio, close to Milan. Along with his friend Imed Ben Bechir, who owned a company named Work Service, he actively recruited and transferred funds to jihadists in Chechnya. What caught investigators' attention was the fact that such company produced nothing, had no employees, no clients, but counted more than 200 million former Liras. On different accounts, Saber received copious amounts of money, some of which was sent abroad. Saber sent 7 millions to London and 60 millions to Dubai. Police also found multiple copies of fake passports, 40 propaganda cassettes, featuring warfare and casualties from Chechnya¹²⁸.

Apart from several Imams who singlehandedly recruited both fighters and funds to send to combat areas, strict control and international monitoring have hindered large companies from providing Jihad with large funds. Nevertheless, Italian officials have reason to believe that large Zakat donations actively supported Jihad and terrorist activities in Chechnya, Afghanistan, and Iraq¹²⁹. Officials encountered a number of difficulties in tracking Zakat movements. Nonetheless, officials are sure about Viale Jenner's Islamic Institute's role in offering financial support to global Jihad. By providing hot meals, books, and halal meat, it is estimated that the Institute's annual revenue amounts to 400,000 Euros¹³⁰. Along with other minor companies like General Service, Service Scarl, Nafissa Service, and Work Service, the Institute has been involved in the production of fake work VISAS, needed to request permanent VISAS. Regular

¹²⁵ Chiocci, Gian Marco. 2009. "The Mosques where Hatred is Preached." [Italian: "Le Moschee dove si predica l'odio"]. *Il Giornale*. http://www.ilgiornale.it/interni/terrorismo_moschee_dove_si_predica_lodio/22-09-2009/articolo-id=384562-page=0-comments=1

¹²⁶ Ibid

¹²⁷ Colaprico, Piero. 2001. "Jihad's Treasure Map in Italy" [Italian: "La mappa del tesoro della Jihad in Italia." *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/ambasciata/tesoro/tesoro.html>

¹²⁸ Ibid

¹²⁹ Allam, Magdi. 2003. "Mosques' Money for Allah's Fanatics" [Italian: "I soldi delle moschee per i fanatici di Allah"]. *Il Corriere della Sera*.

http://archivistorico.corriere.it/2003/settembre/24/soldi_delle_moschee_per_fanatici_co_0_030924009.shtml

¹³⁰ Ibid

immigrants have been able to buy fake work VISAS for 2,500 Euros, but immigrants who favor Islamic causes could buy it for 700 Euros. By doing so, Viale Jenner was able to increase its annual revenue and finance Islamic terrorism. In September 2002, Italian police stopped a car coming from Bologna's El Nur mosque. The car contained 4,500 Euros, the same amount of money from the Zakat. Such donations were destined to Viale Jenner's Imam, Abu Imad, apparently, in order to finance a foreign terrorist operation named "Football match."¹³¹

During 2003 springtime, police stopped repeated money transfers from Germany directed to Mourad Trabelsi, Cremona's Imam. Although the amount of money was not copious (from 1,500 to 3,000), it was constantly transferred to Drissi Nouredine's account, who then sent it to Ansar Al Islam's camp in Iraqi Kurdistan¹³². As already mentioned, due to strict monitoring, after 9/11 the most efficient way to financially support Jihad has been through Zakats' donations. In such instances, Imams have been playing a central role in collecting and transferring funds. In 2010, however, Eurojust, European society for judicial cooperation, dismantled an illegal network linked across France, Great Britain, and Italy¹³³. Through illegal immigration and drug dealing, such company actively financed Islamic terrorism. The company's five members have been accused of facilitating a number of Pakistanis' and Afghans' entrance in Italy. First, they provided immigrants with fake documents, then they shipped them to Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Great Britain, and Norway. The companies five members all live in Milan's outskirts.

Weapons

A further threat Islamic terrorism poses is its recent connection to local Mafias. Especially in Naples, Islamic extremism has represented a lucrative business for Camorra's local clans. In Naples, low quality weapons lose value and fall into disuse, but in Algiers, or other cities afflicted by Islamic extremism, such weapons are precious. As a result, since 1995 Naples' port has become a solid base for extremist coming from Maghreb¹³⁴. Provided with housing, false documents, and weapons, several Muslim extremists stopped in Naples on their way to the Balkans and other European destinations. In 2005 and 2006, Italian authorities dismantled illegal networks that linked Milan, Rome, Naples, Marseille, and Algiers. In particular, Neapolitan police discovered a connection between Camorra and GIA, the Salafi Islamic Algerian Group. Once landed in Naples, GIA members were offered shelters, jobs as peddlers, fake documents, and weapons. After a short time, Camorra would arrange GIA members' safe arrival to Marseille, Algiers, and Tunis¹³⁵.

¹³¹ Ibid

¹³² Ibid

¹³³ "Funding Islamic Terrorists" [Italian: Finanziamento a terroristici"]. 2010. *Il Giornale*. http://www.ilgiornale.it/interni/finanziamenti_terroristi_islamici_5_arresti_italia_francia_e_gran_bretagna/12-05-2010/articolo-id=444942-page=0-comments=1

¹³⁴ D'Errico, Ezio. 2002. "Camorra's Weapons to Islamic Terrorists" [Italian: "Armi della camorra a terroristi islamici"]. *Il Corriere della Sera*. http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2002/settembre/20/Armi_della_camorra_terroristi_islamici_co_0_0209209401.shtml

¹³⁵ Corbo, Antonio. 2005. "Napoli as a Meeting Place for Terrorists" ["Napoli crocevia di terroristi"]. *La Repubblica*. <http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2005/07/13/napoli-crocevia-di-terroristi-sono-in-affari.html>

Although it was not directly connected to any terrorist group, a shipment of armaments to Iran from Italy concerned officials. By cooperating with English and Romanian authorities, on March 3, 2010, Italian officials dismantled weapons trafficking from Italy to Iran. Though its purpose of use remains unclear, authorities have reason to believe most of the confiscated material could have supported international terrorism. Milanese police sequestered a great amount of tracer bullets, explosives from Eastern Europe, and a highly inflammable mixture of chemical material, used as ammunition, booster explosive, or incendiary bomb. Police also found parachutes, a helicopter, aviators' helmets, and 120 scuba diving jackets intended for military equipment¹³⁶.

List of Terrorist Attacks or Attempts of Terrorist Attacks on the Italian soil

Chronology of Terrorist Attacks or Attempts of Terrorist Attacks in Italy

2001

English authorities believed that, in April, five North Africans linked to al Qaeda were planning two major terrorist attacks. In cooperation with a German Salafi cell, the first attack was meant to strike Strasbourg. The second attacked was planned against US embassy in Rome by using biological and chemical weapons. In particular, terrorists were planning to transport cyanid inside tomato sauce containers and spread it in the US embassy's internal fan circuits¹³⁷.

2002

In December 2002, Cremona's Salafi cell planned a terrorist attack on the city's cathedral and Milan's subway. The main planners were Boughanemi Faical, El Bouhali Ahmed, El Kisir Mostafa, Hassari Mohamed, Khamlich Khalid, Laagoub, Rafik Mohamed, Rouass Naijb, Trabelsi Mourad, Khir Romdhane Ben Othmane, Hamraoui Kamel Ben Mouldi, Drissi Noureddine, Akremi Mohamed, Ben Ayed Mohamed Ridha, and Habachi Mohamed Habibi¹³⁸. From 1998 to 2004 the cell had been engaged in proselytism, recruitment of funds and kamikazes to send to Afghanistan and Iraq. During perquisitions, Italian officials found brochures praising Jihad, a document signed by Osama Bin Laden, and money payments made to the order of a terrorist training camp in Iraqi Kurdistan. Cremona's cell was, indeed, linked to international terrorist organizations, like al Qaeda, Ansar al Islam, Jamma Islamia, and the Algerian GIA.

2006

Discovered only in June 2009, in 2006 five Muslims from Maghreb planned to bomb Bologna's San Petronio cathedral and Milan's subway¹³⁹. The potential bombers wanted to strike Milan

¹³⁶ "Weapon Trafficking to Iran" [Italian: "Traffico d'armi verso l'Iran"]. 2010. *Il Corriere della Sera*. http://milano.corriere.it/milano/notizie/cronaca/10_marzo_3/operazione-contro-traffico-armi-iran-1602585746633.shtml

¹³⁷ "Cyanide Attack Thwarted Against US Headquarters in Rome" [Italian: "Sventato attacco al cianuro contro la sede USA a Roma"]. 2001. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/ambasciata/times/times.html>

¹³⁸ "Terrorism". 2005. *Rai News 24*. <http://www.rainews24.rai.it/it/news.php?newsid=52164>

¹³⁹ "They Were Planning Terrorist Attacks in Milan and Bologna". 2009. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/2009/06/sezioni/cronaca/magrebini-arrestati/magrebini-arrestati/magrebini-arrestati.html>

right before 2006 elections and cripple Prime Minister Berlusconi's legacy. As for Bologna, the church features a blasphemous image of the Prophet Muhammad, who is portrayed in Hell. The terrorist group was active in Syria, Morocco, and Algeria, and some of its members were in contact with al Qaeda's leading figures in Iraq and Chechnya. Apart from one Moroccan untraceable member, the group was composed of Houcine Tarkhani, Mohammed Ben Hedi M'sahel, Amine Ghayour, and Laredj Ameer¹⁴⁰. Houcine Tarkhani was born in Tunisia in 1967, and in past years has been already condemned for terrorism in his home country. Afraid of being expelled from Italy, where he lived, in 2006 Tarkhani fled the country helped by his boss Sabri Dridi. Three years later he was arrested on a rubber dinghy on his way to Sicily, where he was recruiting illegal immigrants for global Jihad. Born in Tunisia in 1969, M'shael was the main planner for Milan's attacks. He himself declared to leave Damascus to integrate himself with Iraqis al Qaeda's mujahiddins in 2005. M'shael also asserted his connections to Algerian fighter Abu Salah from Chechnya, who was then in contact with Osama Bin Laden. The other two members of the terrorist group were Moroccan 30 year-old Ghayour and his Algerian peer Ameer. They both played minor roles in the planning of the attacks, but actively recruited funds through illegal businesses. Italian officials showed that the Maghreb group intended to strike other European targets too. For instances, French Secrete Services' headquarters in Paris and its adjacent bar were potential targets, and so was Denmark.

2008

On December 2, Abdelkader Ghaffir and Ilami Rachid got arrested on charges of terrorism¹⁴¹. Moroccans, respectively 31 and 42 years old, both Ghaffir and Rachid lived in Milan. Ghaffir worked as a construction worker, while Rachid as a welder. The two Moroccans were both engaged in the "Pace of Marcherio" Islamic center, where Rachid was a preacher. Commonly considered moderate, the center would witness heated fundamentalist sermons during week nights. Rachid introduced his first born son to Osama Bin Laden's figure, forcing him to address him as "uncle Osama." Further, Rachid even named his second born son Osama. Wiretapping exposed Rachid's and Ghaffir's pride in taking part to al Qaeda's struggle against the West. "There is no need to reach Afghanistan, we can fight the infidels here as well," Rachid once said to his companion, stating that, "[we] need something big to enter history." By something "big" Rachid meant attacks on military bases, Milan's City Hall, Esselunga's supermarket, and Mistral Bar in Seregno. Neither weapons nor funds were found, but wiretapping showed Rachid's clear intention to obtain them to carry out attacks. The two aspiring kamikazes were not officially affiliated to any terrorist organization.

2009

On October 12, 2009, Mohamed Game carried a suicide bombing at the Santa Barbara Police Station, in Via Parrucchetti in Milan¹⁴². At 8 o'clock Game blew himself up in front of the police

¹⁴⁰ Piccirilli, Maurizio. 2009. "Al Qaeda Group Captured" [Italian: "Catturato gruppo di Al Qaeda"]. // *Tempo*. http://iltempo.ilssole24ore.com/2009/06/05/1032516-pronti_colpire_milano.shtml

¹⁴¹ "They Were Planning Terrorist Attacks." [Italian: "Progettavano attacchi terroristici"]. 2008. *La Stampa*. <http://www.lastampa.it/redazione/cmsSezioni/cronache/200812articoli/38745girata.asp>

¹⁴² "Kamikaze Strikes Military Base" [Italian: "Kamikaze si fa esplodere contro caserma"]. 2009. *Il Giorno*. http://ilgiorno.ilssole24ore.com/milano/cronaca/2009/10/12/245453-andate_dall_afghanistan.shtml

station, but the bomb did not entirely detonate. Officials affirmed that a complete detonation of the bomb would have caused a massacre. Instead, the bombing slightly hurt a guard and Game himself. The bomber reported serious injuries, as his hand was amputated. A 35 year-old Libyan, Game was a legal immigrant living in Milan, with no former connections to terrorist organizations. He sporadically attended Viale Jenner's congregation.

2010

Inspired by Game's attempted suicide attack, Mohammed Takoullah was stopped before he could take action on February 20, 2010¹⁴³. At age 38, Moroccan Takoullah lived in Treviglio, close to Milan, and was a steady member of Viale Jenner's Islamic center. Investigations at the Milanese Islamic institute showed Takoullah's interest in following Game's steps. Takoullah intended to attack both military institutions and people who showed disrespect for Islam, like politician Daniela Santache', guilty of insulting the Prophet Muhammad on TV shows.

On April 29, 2010, Italian police arrested two Moroccan university students in Perugia, both charged with the accusation of terrorism¹⁴⁴. Their names are Mohammed Hlal and Ahmed Errahmouni, respectively 27 and 22 years old. Hlal was a student majoring in International Communication at the Language and Italian Culture Faculty, while Errahmouni was majoring in Mathematics and Physics. Italian police had been monitoring the two students for more than a year. Taped conversations and online tracking showed the two students' clear intention to commit to Jihad's cause. Prior to their arrest, both students repeatedly logged on extremist websites and Hlal suspiciously turned his mobile phone off, as if he was preparing to take action. Hlal was planning to assassinate Pope Ratzinger and earn his way to heaven. According to Italian authorities, both Hlal and Errahmouni are 'lone terrorists', self-made terrorists who, through internet, singlehandedly joined Jihad. So far, investigators have not found any connection with major extremists groups yet.

Assessment

Attacks or attempted terrorist attacks present some commonalities between them. First, perpetrators all came from Northern African countries, like Morocco, Tunisia, and Egypt. Second, they were all relatively young, as their age is between 22 and 45 years old. Third, mosques played an instrumental role in shaping the subjects' radical views.

Interestingly, however, there are some significant differences in terrorist activity before and after 2006. From 2001 to 2006, there were only three instances in which terrorists chose Italy as a target. Their modus operandi revolved around foreign theaters of war, like Iraq and Afghanistan. It is no surprise that members of terrorists organizations operating in Italy had ties

¹⁴³ "Terrorism: Viale Jenner's Member Expelled" [Italian: "Terrorismo: Espulso fedele viale Jenner"]. 2010. *Il Giornale*. http://www.ilgiornale.it/milano/terrorismo_espulso_fedele_viale_jenner/21-02-2010/articolo-id=423855-page=0-comments=1

¹⁴⁴ Haver, Flavio. 2010. "Two Moroccan Boys Were Expelled" [Italian: "Espulsi due ragazzi marocchini"]. 2010. *Il Corriere della Sera*. http://archivistorico.corriere.it/2010/maggio/14/Espulsi_due_ragazzi_marocchini_Quell_co_9_10051402_0.shtml

with Al Qaeda and other Al Qaeda related groups, like the Algerian GIA. Some of them even had overseas experiences in training camps or actual combat areas, where they fought as mujahideens. Once in Italy, terrorists engaged in martyrs' recruitment, proselytism, training, and fund raising for years. Their organizations were hierarchically structured, as every member had a different function.

Starting 2008, however, terrorists changed their target and modus operandi. Unlike previous years, Italy became the main target of terrorist activity. In three years, four terrorist attacks were planned, one of which was partially successfully carried out. In these four cases, terrorists were "homegrown" radicals, seemingly well integrated into Italian society, with ordinary jobs, ordinary lives, and no criminal history. They espoused Jihad on personal levels, mainly through the Internet. They were not linked to any terrorist organization and they were not part of a larger radical group. Instead, terrorists operated alone, or with one other partner.

Italian Jihadists

Along with Great Britain and France, Italy plays an instrumental role in jihadists' recruitment. According to officials, from 2006 to 2009, at least 29 suicide bombers who torn Afghanistan and Iraq were recruited in Italy, mostly between Milan and Cremona¹⁴⁵. Further, Italy became one of the leading countries in providing kamikazes with fake documents. In fact, American troops found more than 70 fake Italian passports in Kurmal, Iraq. Officials believe such passports were produced and given to newly jihadists at the Islamic Cultural Institute of Viale Jenner in Milan¹⁴⁶.

From 2000 to 2006 there have been 12 main recruiters¹⁴⁷. Imam Abu Imad, Jousni Jamal, and Bouhaya Maher Ben Abdelaziz came from Viale Jenner's institute. Mohamed Daki used to live in Reggio Emilia, but had connections with the Islamic cell in Hamburg, Germany, where he was in contact with the 9/11 planner Ramzi Binalshib. Daki's task was to procure fake documents for kamikazes shipping to Iraq. Imams Abdel Qadir Fadlallah Mamour, Bourika Bouchta, and Khohaila came from mosques in Turnin. Imam Samir Khaldi came from Rome, while Abou Britel El Passim recruited in Bergamo, close to Milan. Imams Trabelsi and Rafik, and Laagoub Abdelkader came from Cremona's mosque.

A fair amount of suicide terrorists recruited in Italy came from Milan. Milan's most known martyr is Abu Farid Al Masri. Previously responsible for the killing of Coptic Christians, on August 19, 2003 Marsi bombed Bagdad's Canal Hotel, UN's headquarter in Iraq. The car bombing killed Brazilian UN special envoy Sergio Vieira de Mello and 22 people. Milan resident Lotfi Rihani reportedly died in September 2003 when he, along with two other Tunisian passengers, struck U.S. forces with a car laden with explosives. Both living at 11, Cefalonia

¹⁴⁵ Meotti, Giulio. 2009. "Italian Jihad". *Il Foglio*. <http://www.ilfoglio.it/soloqui/1939>

¹⁴⁶ Vidino, Lorenzo. 2008. "Islam, Islamism, and Jihadism in Italy". *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*. Vol.7. Hudson Institute. <http://www.currenttrends.org/research/detail/islam-islamism-and-jihadism-in-italy>

¹⁴⁷ Meotti, Giulio. 2009. "Italian Jihad". *Il Foglio*. <http://www.ilfoglio.it/soloqui/1939>

Street, Algerians Fahdal Nassim and his younger brother carried out suicide attacks that killed two American soldiers. Saadi Kamal Morchidi, a 24-year-old Moroccan living at 4, Bolgeri Street, had served on the board of a Viale Jenner's front kamikaze-recruiting company called "General Service." Morchidi died in October 2003 during an attack against Baghdad's Rashid Hotel. Another suicide terrorist was Habib Waddani, who lived at 30, Bolla Street. Finally, Mohamed Khalifa and Mohamed Ben Amor also lived in Milan and died in suicide operations in Iraq.

Along with Milan, Cremona played a major role in martyrs' recruitment¹⁴⁸. Although their residency remains uncertain, five kamikazes were believed to be strictly related to Cremona's terrorist cell. Laagoub Abdelkader, former librarian of Cremona's mosque, was in possession of videos that showed martyrs' actions in Iraq. Such videos were also found on the website www.intelcenter.com and were used to recruit suicide bombers for Iraq and Afghanistan¹⁴⁹. Among numerous kamikaze's videos, five Ansar Al Sunna's martyrs caught Italian authorities' attention. The first martyr was Zarwa Al Kurdi, who killed 20 American soldiers in a car bombing. Prior to his attack, Al Kurdi had encouraged Muslims around the world to engage in Jihad, as an obligation for all those who love Allah. The second martyr was Abu Abdullah, who bombed Turkey's embassy on October 14, 2003. In his messages, Abdullah asked Muslims for financial assistance to support Jihad. The third martyr was Abu Saleh, who carried out a suicide bombing against the pro-American National Union of Kurdistan in Karkun on November 20, 2003. The attack provoked dozens of casualties, as officials believed Saleh's target was Vatican's ambassador, who was expected on that date. The fourth kamikaze was Abutabet Al Muhajer who bombed an American military base on December 9, 2003. Previously, Al Muhajer animatedly invited Muslims to attack Rome as he predicted that, "Rome will be invaded and conquered." The last martyr was Abu Hafs who bombed Iraq's Ministry of the Interior, also on December 9, 2003. In the strike, 30 people died and 660 were wounded.

Finally, 8 Guantanamo detainees come from Italy¹⁵⁰. Some of the fighters lived permanently in Italy, like Mohamed Aouzar from Turin or brothers Younes and Radwan Chekkouri from Milan, whose third brother was Viale Jenner's former librarian.

Assessment

For years, Italy has been exporting kamikazes to foreign theaters or war, like Afghanistan, Chechnya, and the Balkans. The outbreak of the war in Iraq, in 2003, turned Italy into one of the major providers of martyrs. Mosques and Islamic centers have been the main triggers in martyrs' recruitment. For instance, from 2000 to 2006, out of the 12 main recruiters 9 were Imams.

Martyrs were usually in their twenties and the majority of them came Northern Italy, particularly from Milan. In this picture, the Islamic Cultural Institute of Viale Jenner has been playing an instrumental role in providing global Jihad with fighters. It is no coincidence that in

¹⁴⁸ Ibid

¹⁴⁹ "Here is How They Taught Kamikaze's Cult" [Italian: "Cosi' insegnavano il culto dei kamikaze"]. 2005.

<http://jibthearchive.wordpress.com/2005/02/08/cosi-insegnavano-il-culto-dei-kamikaze/>

¹⁵⁰ Meotti, Giulio. 2009. "Italian Jihad". *Il Foglio*. <http://www.ilfoglio.it/soloqui/1939>

Milan, the epicenter of Islamic radicalism, 8 martyrs were recruited and shipped to Iraq, where other 5 martyrs came from the nearby Cremona. At the Guantanamo penitentiary, 8 detainees come from Italy, two of them connected to Milanese Viale Jenner Institute. Further, from 2006 to 2009, at least 29 kamikazes were recruited in Italy, mostly between Milan and Cremona.

Arrests on Charges of Terrorism, Sentences, and Expulsions

Chronology of Arrests

1992

Italian authorities arrested and expelled Omar Tariq and Abu Jafar. They were respectively the president and a member of the Union of Muslim Students, and were both members of UCOII. They were arrested and expelled for public security reasons¹⁵¹.

1998

Belgian and Italian police arrested and then released Cremona's Imam Ahmed El Bouhali and his pupil Mourad Trabelsi on charges of counterfeiting documents. Despite the fact authorities did find false documents, evidence was not sufficient to prosecute El Bouhali and Trabelsi on charges of terrorism¹⁵².

2001

On April 5, Italian authorities arrested five North African individuals on charges of terrorism between Milan and Busto Arsizio. They were accused of being part of al Qaeda and planning two major terrorist attacks. In cooperation with a German Salafi cell, the first attack was meant to strike Strasbourg. The second attacked was planned against US embassy in Rome by using biological and chemical weapons. In particular, terrorists were planning to transport cyanid inside tomato sauce containers and spread it in the US embassy's internal fan circuits¹⁵³.

On April 7, four people were arrested on charges of financing Jihad. Sami Ben Khemais Essid, the so-called Samer, was the boss of a Salafi extremist group. The cell was engaged in recruiting martyrs and providing Jihad with copious amounts of funds. Later on, Khemais would be accused of being the head of a major subversive organization which plotted terrorist attacks against US embassy in Rome¹⁵⁴.

Between October 10 and November 6, Tarek Maaroufi, Meehdi Kammoun, Mokhtar Bouchoucha, Tarek Charaabi, Adel Ben Soltane, Lased Ben Heni, Mohamed Ben Belgacem

¹⁵¹ Sacerdotti, Margherita. 2007. Report On Muslim Radicalization in Italy. Non Published Article. *ICT, Herzliya*.

¹⁵² Bandera, Sperangelo. 2004. "From Sleeping Cell to Subversive Outbreak" [Italian: "Da cellula dormiente a focolaio eversivo"]. *Il Corriere della Sera*. http://archivistorico.corriere.it/2004/febbraio/25/cellula_dormiente_focolaio_eversivo_co_5_040225018.shtml

¹⁵³ "Islamic Terrorist Cell Dismantled" [Italian: "Smantellata cellula del terrorismo islamico"]. 2001. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/ambasciata/ambasciata.html>

¹⁵⁴ "Jihad's Treasure Map in Italy" [Italian: "La mappa del tesoro della Jihad in Italia"]. 2001. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/ambasciata/tesoro/tesoro.html>

Aouadi and Riadh Jelassi were arrested¹⁵⁵. They were accused of creating a terrorist cell in Milan and in Lombardia, linked to Al Qaeda. The cell's members were accused of praising and fostering Jihad, counterfeiting documents, facilitating illegal immigration of extremists, and trafficking conventional and biological weapons.

On December 19, Riizk Amid Farid was arrested at the Gioia Tauro port, while he was hiding inside a ship from Egypt to Canada¹⁵⁶. Inside the container where Farid was hiding, police found several fake documents of three foreign airports, two mobile phones, and a brand new personal computer. Though he had no previous suspicious connection, investigators had reason to believe Farid was connected to Islamic terrorism.

2002

On September 12, 15 Pakistanis were arrested in Gela, Sicily¹⁵⁷. They were accused of being members of Al Qaeda. Though the 15 Pakistanis were not planning any terrorist attacks on the Italian soil, they were found in possession of fake documents and suspect papers and notes. Further, they were traveling on a Tongan boat along with other 7 Romanian sailors, but had no apparent reason to be there.

On October 4, three Egyptians were arrested in Anzio on charges of terrorism and illegal possession of explosive material¹⁵⁸. Police found a carrying-explosive belt, notebooks, faxes, notes written in Arabic. Initially, investigators were not able to assess whether the presumed kamikazes were preparing a terrorist attack. Nevertheless, notebooks which belonged to two of the three Egyptians, Shalabej Madi and El Gammal Salah, supposedly featured contacts with other terrorist cells in Italy. As inquiries continued, investigators discovered the three men's potential plan to bomb the American Military Cemetery in Anzio.

2003

In collaboration with Italian Secret Services, on February 17, 2 CIA kidnapped Hassan Mustafa Osama Nasr, or Abu Omar, former Imam of Viale Jenner's Islamic Cultural Institute and Via Quaranta Mosque¹⁵⁹. Omar was transferred to Germany and then to Cairo, where he was interrogated and tortured. Omar was suspected to have ties with Islamic extremist organizations. The CIA thought Omar would display extremely top secret knowledge that would be useful to US officials on the edge of a war with Iraq. Omar was then released in April.

¹⁵⁵ "Milan, Terrorism Investigation" [Italian: "Milano, inchiesta terrorismo"]. 2001. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/ambasciata/arresti/arresti.html>

¹⁵⁶ "Man Arrested in Calabria" [Italian: "Uomo arrestato in Calabria"]. 2001. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/ambasciata/egiziano/egiziano.html>

¹⁵⁷ "Terrorism, in Gela 15 Pakistanis Were Arrested" [Italian: "Terrorismo, a Gela arrestati 15 pakistani"]. 2002. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/petronio/pakistani/pakistani.html>

¹⁵⁸ "Terrorism: Egyptian Arrested" [Italian: "Terrorismo: preso egiziano"]. 2002. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/petronio/egiziano/egiziano.html>

¹⁵⁹ "The Kidnapping, Investigations, 007" [Italian: "Il rapimento, l'inchiesta, gli 007"]. 2006. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/2006/07/sezioni/cronaca/arrestato-mancini/abu-omar-storia/abu-omar-storia.html>

On April 1, 6 people were arrested, four of them in Milan and 2 in Cremona on charges of terrorism¹⁶⁰. The individuals arrested in Cremona were Imam Mourad Trabelsi and a 26 year old extremist. The subjects arrested in Milan were Egyptian El Ayashi Radi Abd El Samie Abou El Yazid, under the alias Merai, Somalian Ciise Maxamed Cabdullaah, and Iraqi Kurds Mohammed Tahir Hammid, AKA Abdelhamid, and Mohammed Amin Mostafa. El Yazid and Caddullaah both lived in Milan and were respectively 31 and 29 years old. Hammid and Mostafa both lived in Parma and were both 27 years old. Such subjects were accused of raising funds and recruit Jihadists to send to Afghanistan and Iraq. Further, they created a cell in Milano's Via Quaranta Mosque, which was linked to Ansar Al Islam. In Cremona, Imam Trabelsi and the 26 year old extremist were accused of recruiting new fighters for Jihad and raise funds to send to combat areas.

Between May and October, two other individuals related to Cremona's mosque were arrested¹⁶¹. In May Abu Ali was taken into custody, while Mohamed Rafik was arrested in October. Ali used to be Cremona's mosque's librarian, but actively recruited and sent fighters to Iraqi Kurdistan. In 2002 he himself went to Kurdistan where he ran a Ansar Al Islam's training camp. Mohamed Rafik was former Florence and Cremona Imam. He was accused to preach Jihad, instigate Muslims against Christians, and recruit kamikazes.

On June 24, police arrested five Tunisians and one Moroccan citizen on charges of terrorism¹⁶². They were accused of financing and supporting Islamic terrorism, counterfeiting documents, and facilitating illegal immigration. The group was also suspected for the theft of a boat in Genoa's port in 2002, which contained 40 tons of morphine. Lastly, investigators proved the group had connections with some Guantanamo's detainees, and extremists in Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Arab Emirates, Oman, Turkey, Egypt, United States, Great Britain, France, Spain, Bulgaria, and Belgium. In addition to the 6 people who were arrested, 14 other people were sued. The incarcerated men were Mohamed El Mahfoudi, Youssef Abdaoui, Ben Mohamed Abdelhedi, Kamel Darraji, Ben Ahmed Loubiri and Ben Mohamed Coabaane Trabelsi. Imed Jammali, instead, managed to escape. Gallarate's Imam, El Mahfoudi, was arrested on charges of counterfeiting documents for illegal immigrants, which he would sell for 2,000 or 3,000 Euros. Arrested in Varese, Tunisian 37 year old Abdaoui, had already been investigated for terrorism and car stealing in Bologna and Naples. Apparently, Abdaoui was the main coordinator of the dismantled cell. Tunisian 38 year old Abdelhedi, instead, was responsible for trafficking fake documents. He was arrested in Savona, close to Genoa. Darraji, 36 years old from Tunisia also, was in charge of bureaucratic regulations. He was arrested in Busto Arsizio. Loubiri, age 42, had connections with foreign terrorist organizations and dealt with financial

¹⁶⁰ "Milan, 4 Men Arrested" [Italian: "Milano, arrestati 4 uomini"]. 2003. *La Repubblica*.

<http://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/terroislam/terroislam/terroislam.html>

¹⁶¹ Bandera, Sperangelo. 2004. "From Sleeping Cell to Subversive Outbreak" [Italian: "Da cellula dormiente a focolaio eversivo"]. *Il Corriere della Sera*.

http://archivistorico.corriere.it/2004/febbraio/25/cellula_dormiente_focolaio_eversivo_co_5_040225018.shtml

¹⁶² "Terrorism: 6 Al Qaeda's Supporters Were Arrested in Milan" [Italian: "Milano, arrestati a Milano 6 fiancheggiatori di Al Qaeda"]. 2003. *La Repubblica*.

<http://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/terroislam/arresti/arresti.html>

resources. One of his most important connections was Ramzi Binalshib, the twentieth Twin Towers' high-jacker. Finally, at age 37, Tunisian Trabelsi was one of the main administrators of the organization. On September 12, 2002, Trabelsi also appeared in an Al Jazeera video, in which he was associated to international terrorists.

On October 21, police arrested 30 year old Moroccan Mohamed Raouiane and other two members of the Varese mosque¹⁶³. Prosecuted by an arrest warrant from Morocco, Raouiane had no previous connections with extremists in Italy. Before his capture, he turned into a more devote Muslim. As a trait of his commitment, Raouiane started selling religious material inside the mosque and began to wear traditional clothes. He was accused of sponsoring Jihad in Iraqi Kurdistan and of being connected to German extremists, also linked to al Qaeda.

On November 29, three people were arrested on charges of terrorism¹⁶⁴. Officials stopped Abderraazak Mahdjoub, a Moroccan, and a Tunisian citizen, while Mullah Fouad and Bentiwaa Farida Ben Bechir, a woman living in Padova, managed to escape. The subjects were accused of being part of a terrorist cell directly linked to Ansar Al Islam and Al Zarkawi, which they would provide with fighters, funds, satellite mobile phones, and fake documents. Further, Mahdjoub's capture was important to investigators because it showed his connection to Ansar Al Islam's fighters responsible for Istanbul 2003 attacks.

2005

On December 23, three Algerians were arrested in Campania¹⁶⁵. Yamine Bouhrama, Khaled Serai, and Mohamed Larbi were part of the Algerian Gsps, the Salafi group for Algerian Predication and Struggle. They were accused of maintaining close ties with the main organization in Algeria, raise funds, and counterfeiting documents. Bouhrama had suspicious connections in Greece, Turkey, France, and Great Britain. Larbi had connections to the cell that was dismantled in Manchester, England in 2003.

2006

On April 20 Italian officials arrested 8 people in Aversa, close to Naples¹⁶⁶. Of the people arrested, 2 were Italians and 6 Algerians, while 4 people managed to vanish. The two Italians were Nicola De Biase and Antonio Campanello, respectively employee at the registering office and immigrants' employer. The 8 people arrested were accused of covering and financing a

¹⁶³ Del Frate, Claudio. "Islamist Arrested" [Italian: "Islamico arrestato"]. 2003. *Il Corriere della Sera*. http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2003/ottobre/21/Islamico_arrestato_riapre_caso_moschea_co_5_0310210_09.shtml

¹⁶⁴ Guastella, Giuseppe. 2003. "They Could Cause A Massacre Like in Nassiriya" [Italian: "Potevano fare una strage come a Nassiriya"]. *Il Corriere della Sera*. http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2003/novembre/29/Potevano_fare_una_strage_come_co_0_031129008.shtml

¹⁶⁵ "Three Algerians Arrested in Campania" [Italian: "Tre algerini arrestati in Campania"]. 2005. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/2005/l/sezioni/cronaca/carabinieri/carabinieri/carabinieri.html>

¹⁶⁶ Palumbo, Nicola. 2006. "Terrorism, Arrests in Aversa" [Italian: "Terrorismo: Arresti ad Aversa"]. *Corriere di Aversa e Giuliano*. http://www.corrierediaversaegiugliano.it/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1016&Itemid=45

Salafi organization, which operated in Naples, Aversa, Marseille, and Algiers. By counterfeiting documents, the Aversa cell facilitated illegal immigration and terrorists' flow among the four cities.

During the spring Italian officials dismantled a Salafi terrorist cell in Bologna¹⁶⁷. Linked to Al Qaeda, the cell was accused of planning terrorist attacks in Bologna and Milan. Linked to Al Qaeda, the group was mainly composed of Moroccan and Tunisian citizens living in Italy.

2007

On July 21, Perugia's Imam Mostapha El Korchi and other two members of his congregation were arrested on charges of terrorism¹⁶⁸. El Korchi was accused of preaching violence against Christians, support Jihad, and train future terrorists. Officials were able to show that El Korchi taught classes on terrorism and how to become a martyr. Videos, brochure, and websites glorifying and showing Jihadist operations were used to indoctrinate members of the congregation.

On November 6, 20 subjects were arrested between Milan and Reggio Emilia on charges of terrorism¹⁶⁹. The subjects in questions were accused of creating a Salafi cell, meant to recruit martyrs. The cell, however, had no intention to carry out attack in Italy, but its scope was to send suicide attackers to Afghanistan and Iraq. During perquisitions, Italian officials sequestered brochures about gorilla warfare techniques, electronic ignition systems, and types of poisons. Chaouuki Belhaj Meftah, a 24 year old Tunisian, was ready to ship to Afghanistan as a martyr. Reggio Emilia's police considered Meftah was one of the most dangerous subjects among the 20 people who were arrested.

2008

On August 9, five people were arrested in Bologna on charges of terrorism¹⁷⁰. One person managed to escape. Mostly composed of Tunisian members, the group was accused of recruiting kamikazes for Jihad. Two members of the organization were also charged with fraud as they provoke car accidents on purpose to use the money for supporting subversive operations.

¹⁶⁷ "They Were Planning Terrorist Attacks in Milan and Bologna" [Italian: "Preparavano attentati a Milano e Bologna"]. 2006. *La Repubblica*.

http://www.corriere.it/Primo_Piano/Cronache/2006/03_Marzo/21/marsiglia.shtml

¹⁶⁸ "Terror School in Perugia" [Italian: "Scuole del terrore a Perugia"]. 2007. *RAI NEWS 24*.

<http://www.rainews24.rai.it/news.php?newsid=72153>

¹⁶⁹ "Islamic Terrorism, 20 Arrests in Italy" [Italian: "Terrorismo islamico, 20 arresti in Italia"]. 2007. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/2007/11/sezioni/cronaca/terrorismo-islamico/terrorismo-islamico/terrorismo-islamico.html>

¹⁷⁰ "Counter-Terrorist Raid in Bologna" [Italian: "Blitz antiterrorismo a Bologna"]. 2008. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/2008/08/sezioni/cronaca/terrorismo-bologna/terrorismo-bologna/terrorismo-bologna.html>

On August 19, 2008, Varese's Imam Abdelmajid Zergout was arrested on charges of terrorism¹⁷¹. The Imam had already been incriminated and then released by Italian authorities, but was arrested again following a Rabat's warrant. Moroccan authorities accused Zergout of financing and recruiting kamikazes, and promote Jihad against Rabat's government. Morocco requested Zergout's immediate extradition.

On December 2, two Moroccans were arrested in Milan¹⁷². They were accused of planning terrorist attacks in the same city, spread fundamentalist visions of Jihad, and recruit martyrs. Respectively 42 and 31 years old, Ilami Rachid and Adbelkader Ghaffir planned to bomb Giussano police station, Milan's City Hall, Esselunga's parking, and Mistral bar in Seregno.

2009

On June 4, Bolognese police issued arrest warrants for five members of a terrorist cell that was planning attacks in Bologna and Milan¹⁷³. The five members were accused of planning San Petronio's and Milan's subway bombings. The cell was part of a major Algerian extremist organization called Salafi Group for Predication and Struggle, which is linked to Al Qaeda. Apart from Italy, the cell was planning attacks in France, Spain, and Denmark and actively recruited martyrs to send to Iraq and Afghanistan. Tunisian Houcine Tarkhani was the only member of the cell who was arrested. Tunisian Mohamed Ben Hedi M'Sahel and Moroccan Amine Ghayour were both already jailed in Morocco. Algerian Laredj Ameer was already in jail in his home country. The last member of the cell, a Moroccan citizen, was untraceable.

2010

On March 3, seven people were arrested for illegal arms trafficking from Italy to Iran¹⁷⁴. Of the seven people arrested, 5 were Italians and two Iranians. Two further Iranians Hamir Reza, e Bakhtiyari Homayou managed to vanish. The Italians were Alessandro Bon, Daniela Maffei, Arnaldo La Scala, Raffaele Rossi Patriarca, and Guglielmo Savi. Bon, Maffei, and Savi owned three cover companies, while Patriarca met with Iranian military officials interested in buying the armaments. The two Iranians were Nejad Hamid Masoumi and Ali Damirchiloo, both suspected to be Iranian secret agents. Working as a journalist, Masoumi was arrested in Rome while Damirchiloo was arrested in Turin. Though its purpose of use remains unclear, authorities

¹⁷¹ Corvi, Luigi. 2008. "Terrorism: Varese's Imam Was Arrested" [Italian: "Terrorismo, arrestato l'Imam di Varese"]. *Il Corriere della Sera*. http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2008/agosto/19/Terrorismo_arrestato_Imam_Varese_co_9_080819036.shtml

¹⁷² "Terrorism: They Were Planning Terrorist Attacks" [Italian: "Terrorismo, progettavano attentati"]. 2008. *La Repubblica*. [http://www.repubblica.it/2008/12/sezioni/cronaca/terrorismo-attentati/terrorismo-attentati.html](http://www.repubblica.it/2008/12/sezioni/cronaca/terrorismo-attentati/terrorismo-attentati/terrorismo-attentati.html)

¹⁷³ Piccirilli, Maurizio. 2009. "Al Qaeda's Group Captured" [Italian: "Catturato gruppo di Al Qaeda"]. *Il Tempo*. http://iltempo.ilsolo24ore.com/2009/06/05/1032516-pronti_colpire_milano.shtml

¹⁷⁴ "Weapons Trafficking to Iran" [Italian: "Traffico d'armi verso l'Iran"]. 2010. *Il Corriere della Sera*. http://milano.corriere.it/milano/notizie/cronaca/10_marzo_3/operazione-contro-traffico-armi-iran-1602585746633.shtml

have reason to believe most of the confiscated material could have supported international terrorism. Milanese police sequestered a great amount of tracer bullets, explosives from Eastern Europe, and a highly inflammable mixture of chemical material, used as ammunition, booster explosive, or incendiary bomb. Police also found parachutes, a helicopter, aviators' helmets, and 120 scuba diving jackets intended for military equipment.

On May 12, five people were arrested in Italy, Great Britain, and France on charges of financing Islamic terrorism¹⁷⁵. Eurojust, the European Organization for Judicial Cooperation, stopped two people in Italy, one in Milan and one in Rome, two in Great Britain, and one in France. Although three people were arrested abroad, all of them lived in Italy. These five people were accused of being involved of facilitating illegal immigration and drug smuggling to finance terrorism. Investigators showed that these people helped a number of Pakistani illegal immigrants to enter Italy through Iran, Turkey and Greece. Once in Italy, immigrants were shipped to Germany, Sweden, Belgium, and Great Britain.

Sentences and Expulsions

1992

Italian authorities arrested and expelled Omar Tariq and Abu Jafar¹⁷⁶. They were respectively the president and a member of the Union of Muslim Students, and were both members of UCOII. They were arrested and expelled for public security reasons.

2003

On November 17 Ministry of the Interior Giuseppe Pisanu expelled Abdul Qadir Fadl Allah Mamour¹⁷⁷. Carmagnola's Imam was expelled for issues of public disturbance and State security, given his public support for Jihad and Islamic terrorism. In 2007, in his own country, he founded the Senegalese Islamic Party, an Salafi extremist political party.

2005

For the first time in Italy, on July 13, four defendants were proven guilty on charges of terrorism¹⁷⁸. More precisely, the defendants were accused of planning terrorist attacks against Cremona's cathedral and Milan's subway. Former Imam Mohammed Rafik was condemned to 4 years and 8 months in jail, Kamel Hamroui to 3 years and 4 months, Najib Rouass to 1 year and 4 months, and Mohammed Hammid Thair to 1 year and 11 months. Romdhane Ben Khir was released.

¹⁷⁵ "Funds to Islamic Terrorists" [Italian: "Finanziamenti a terroristi islamici"]. 2010. *Il Giornale*. http://www.ilgiornale.it/interni/finanziamenti_terroristi_islamici_5_arresti_italia_francia_e_gran_bretagna/12-05-2010/articolo-id=444942-page=0-comments=1

¹⁷⁶ Sacerdotti, Margherita. 2007. Report On Muslim Radicalization in Italy. Non Published Article. *ICT, Herzliya*.

¹⁷⁷ "Minister Pisanu Expels Carmagnola's Imam" [Italian: "Il Ministro Pisanu espelle l'Imam di Carmagnola"]. 2003. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/2003/i/sezioni/cronaca/imanarresti/espulso/espulso.html>

¹⁷⁸ "Terrorism: First Sentences in Brescia" [Italian: "Terrorismo, prime condanne a Brescia"]. 2005. *Il Corriere della Sera*. http://www.corriere.it/Primo_Piano/Cronache/2005/07_Luglio/13/brescia.shtml

On September 6, Turin's Imam Bouiriqi Bouchta was expelled from Italy, in compliance with Minister of the Interior Giuseppe Pisanu's counter terrorism laws¹⁷⁹. Guilty of expressing support for Bin Laden, Bouchta was repeatedly accused of preaching violence and racial hatred. Along with his expulsion, a week earlier Tunisian Litayem Amor Ben Chedli, was expelled from Como. Chedli was the Como Islamic Cultural Association's vice president.

On December 10, Mohammed Daki was expelled from Italy¹⁸⁰. Daki was trial for being an active member of the Cremona's terrorist cell, which planned to bomb the city's cathedral and Milan's subway.

2006

During springtime, 7 people from Maghreb were expelled. They were accused of planning terrorist attacks against Bologna's cathedral and Milan's subway¹⁸¹.

2007

On June 29, four members of the Cremona terrorist cell were proven guilty on charges of international terrorism¹⁸². Boughanemi Faical was condemned to 7 years in jail, Nouredine Drissi to 6 years, Mourad Trabelsi to 6 years, Khalid Khamlich to 5 years and 6 months. Laagoub Abdelkader and Ahmed El Bouhali were acquitted. According to US intelligence, El Bouhali supposedly deceased in Afghanistan in 2001 fighting with the Talibans.

On October 24, Mohammed Daki, Maher Bouyahia, and Ali Ben Saffi Toumi were found guilty on charges of terrorism¹⁸³. Daki, who was in Morocco during the trial as the was expelled in 2005, was sentenced to 4 years in jail, Bouyahia and Toumi to 6 years. The defendants were accused of plotting terrorist attacks against Cremona's cathedral and Milan's subway

On December 20, Viale Jenner's Imam Abu Imad and other 10 defendants were proven guilty on charges of terrorism¹⁸⁴. Imad was condemned to 3 years and 8 months in jail, while the

¹⁷⁹ "Turni: Imam Bouchta Was Expelled" [Italian: "Torino, espulso l'Imam Bouchta"]. 2005. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/2005/h/sezioni/cronaca/allertaitalia2/Imamtorino/Imamtorino.html>

¹⁸⁰ "Daki Was Expelled and Sent Back to Morocco" [Italian: "Daki espulso e mandato in Marocco"]. 2005. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/2005/l/sezioni/cronaca/daki1/daki1/daki1.html>

¹⁸¹ "They Were Planning Terrorist Attacks on the Subway" [Italian: "Preparavano attentati al metro"]. 2009. *Il Corriere della Sera*.

http://milano.corriere.it/milano/notizie/cronaca/09_giugno_4/arrestati_magrebini_attentati_metropolitana_bologna-1501428172914.shtml

¹⁸² "Terrorism: Islamic Cell Condemned" [Italian: "Terrorismo, condannata cellula islamica"]. 2007. *Gazzetta di Mantova*. <http://gazzettadimantova.gelocal.it/dettaglio/terrorismo-condannata-cellula-islamica/1332389>

¹⁸³ Liso, Oriana. 2007. "Terrorism, Daki Was Condemned" [Italian: "Terrorismo, condannato Daki"]. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/2007/10/sezioni/cronaca/condanna-daki/condanna-daki/condanna-daki.html>

¹⁸⁴ "Milan: Viale Jenner's Imam Was Condemned" [Italian: "Milano, Imam di Viale Jenner condannato"]. 2007. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/2007/12/sezioni/cronaca/Imam-condannato/Imam-condannato/Imam-condannato.html>

other defendants were condemned from 2 to 10 years. Imad and the defendants were accused of recruiting Jihadists. The court's sentence was confirmed on April 29, 2010.

2008

On January 8, Turin's Imam Mohammed Khohaila was expelled on charges of terrorism¹⁸⁵. Moroccan, 40 years old, the Imam was accused of preaching and justifying Jihad against American and the UN, incite religious hatred against Christians, and have connections with Islamic extremists abroad.

On February 19, the so-called Poderaccio's Imam was arrested and expelled¹⁸⁶. Ignoring an expulsion warrant issued in Crotona in 2006, the Imam was arrested on charges of being an illegal immigrant.

On June 3, Ministry of the Interior Roberto Maroni expelled Essid Sami Ben Khemais¹⁸⁷. Khemais, called Saber, was accused of being an Islamic terrorist. After serving a 6 year and 8 months sentence, he was expelled for security reasons.

On December 13, former Cremona's Imam Mourad Trabelsi was expelled from Italy¹⁸⁸. After serving a sentence issued in 2003, Ministry of the Interior Roberto Maroni expelled Trabelsi for security reasons.

2009

On March 22, Ministry of the Interior Roberto Maroni expelled Moroccan Mohammed Essadek and Tunisian Sghaier Miri¹⁸⁹. Respectively 39 and 34 years old, Essadek and Miri were not planning any concrete terrorist attacks in Italy, but legitimized martyrdom and were connected to al Qaeda members.

On December 20, Perugia's court condemned Moroccans Mostapha El Korchi, Mohamed El Jari, and Safika Driss¹⁹⁰. El Korchi was condemned to 6 years in jail, El Jari to 4 years, and Driss to 3

¹⁸⁵ Numa, Massimo. 2008. "The Imam Who Wanted Jihad Was Expelled" [Italian: "Espulso Imam che voleva la Jihad"]. *La Stampa*.

<http://www.lastampa.it/Torino/cmsSezioni/cronaca/200801articoli/5632girata.asp>

¹⁸⁶ Corvi, Luigi. 2008. "Terrorism: Varese's Imam Was Arrested" [Italian: "Terrorismo, arrestato Imam di Varese"]. *Il Corriere della Sera*.

http://archivistorico.corriere.it/2008/agosto/19/Terrorismo_arrestato_Imam_Varese_co_9_080819036.shtml

¹⁸⁷ "Tunisian Saber Was Expelled" [Italian: "Espulso il tunisino Saber"]. 2008. *La Repubblica*.

<http://www.repubblica.it/2008/06/sezioni/cronaca/espulso-saber/espulso-saber/espulso-saber.html>

¹⁸⁸ "Cremona; Former Imam Trabelsi Was Expelled" [Italian: "Cremona; ex Imam Trabelsi espulso"]. 2008.

La Repubblica. <http://www.repubblica.it/2008/11/sezioni/cronaca/velo-islamico/espulso-Imam/espulso-Imam.html>

¹⁸⁹ "Two Presumed Islamic Terrorists Were Expelled From Italy" [Italian: "Espulsi dall'Italia due presunti terroristi islamici"] 2009. *Panorama*. <http://blog.panorama.it/italia/2009/03/22/espulsi-dallitalia-due-presunti-terroristi-islamici/>

¹⁹⁰ "international Terrorism" [Italian: "Terrorismo internazionale"]. 2009. *Il Giornale*.

http://www.ilgiornale.it/interni/terrorismo_internazionale_6_anni_allImam_perugia/cronaca-justizia-

years and 6 months. As issued by Perugia's Court, after serving their sentences the three radical Moroccan citizens will be immediately expelled. El Korchi and his two companions were accused of preaching Jihad and train future martyrs for conventional and biological warfare.

2010

On February 21, Mohammed Takoullah was expelled on charges of terrorism¹⁹¹. Moroccan, age 38, Takoullah defined Mohamed Game's terrorist attack against a Milanese police station as religiously legitimate. He then planned a terrorist attacks against other military bases and politician Daniela Santache', guilty of insulting Islam on TV.

On April 29, Moroccans Mohamed Hlal and Ahmed Arerahmouni were expelled on charges of terrorism¹⁹². Respectively 27 and 22 years old, Perugia university students were planning attacks against Pope Ratzinger. Once landed in Morocco, local authorities acquitted them.

Assessment

Since 1998¹⁹³, more than 126 people were arrested on charges of terrorism. Arrests showed several common main patterns. First, except for one case, all activists were men. Second, subjects were relatively young, in the age range between 20 and 50. Third, except for seven incarcerated Italians, the great majority of the subjects came from Northern African countries. Overall, the main charges against the activists were planning terrorist attacks abroad and in Italy, martyrs' recruitment, fund raising, facilitation of illegal immigration, counterfeiting documents, arms trafficking, and fostering Jihad and religious hatred.

Similarly to the terrorist activity's trend (please, see page 48), there are substantial differences between arrests carried out before and after 2006. From 2001 to 2006, arrested subjects were principally linked to Al Qaeda, Ansar Al Islam, the Algerian GIA, and other subversive groups in the West and the Muslim world. Conjointly with the outbreak of the war in Iraq and growing Islamic extremism, the period between 2001 and 2006 registered the highest rate of arrests for terrorism. That is, out of more than 120 people at the end of 2010, 82 were arrested before 2006. From 2001 to 2003, the number of people taken into custody piqued to 54,18 of which were arrested each year. For the most part, terrorists planned attacks mainly abroad, recruited martyrs and funds, offered protection, weapons, and financial aid to other terrorists on their way to foreign destinations. Cells were hierarchically organized and were composed by numerous members.

[terrorismo-lmam_perugia-condannati-egiziani-jihad-terrorismo/19-10-2009/articolo-id=392138-page=0-comments=1](http://www.ilgiornale.it/milano/terrorismo_espulso_fedeles_viale_jenner/21-02-2010/articolo-id=423855-page=0-comments=1)

¹⁹¹ "Terrorism: Viale Jenner's Believer Was Expelled" [Italian: "Terrorismo, espulso fedele di Viale Jenner"]. 2010. *Il Giornale*. http://www.ilgiornale.it/milano/terrorismo_espulso_fedeles_viale_jenner/21-02-2010/articolo-id=423855-page=0-comments=1

¹⁹² Haver, Flavio. 2010. "Two Moroccan Boys Were Expelled" [Italian: "Espulsi due ragazzi marocchini"]. // *Corriere della Sera*. http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2010/maggio/14/Espulsi_due_ragazzi_marocchini_Quell_co_9_10051402_0.shtml

¹⁹³ Two people were arrested in 1992, but from 1992 to 1998 arrests on charges of terrorism were a rare phenomenon.

After 2006, terrorists were rarely linked to major international organizations. Conjointly with the topping and the impairment of Al Qaeda leadership in Afghanistan and Iraq, between 2006 and 2010 only 44 people were arrested. The only exception was 2007, when 23 people were incarcerated for martyrs' recruitment. Contrary to the period before 2006, terrorists began to plan attacks against Italy, were more likely to foster violent rhetoric on local levels, and facilitated illegal immigration and arms trafficking. Finally, cells decreased in size and organization, as there was a shift from vertical organizations to "homegrown" terrorists.

As for expulsions and sentences, up to current days 22 were expelled and 25 people were condemned. The year 2006 registered the highest expulsion rate, when 7 people were forced to leave Italy. Due to logistical and bureaucratic difficulties, the first subjects to be condemned on charges of terrorism only in 2005. In 2007, however, the amount of condemned people piqued, as 18 terrorists were proven guilty.

Cultural and Religious-Driven Aggressions and Murders

The last indicator of Muslims' radicalization in Italy is showed by instances of religious and cultural extremism, which often resulted into aggressions and murders. Women and daughters are the most common targets, while fathers or predominant males are the perpetrators. Religious-driven beatings and murders rise issues about Muslim integration, cultural clashes, and incompatible ways of life.

Chronology of Cultural and Religious-Driven Aggressions and Murders

2002

On January 4, Abdelbaki Hakmi murdered his wife Kabira. Since they moved from Morocco, 36 year old Hakmi used to rebuke with his wife for adopting Western ways of life¹⁹⁴. A passionate but jealous husband, Hakmi was not able to stand her wife "dressing like a prostitute" anymore. Blinded with rage, the man stabbed Kabira to death. She was guilty of wearing tight revealing clothes. When police found him he had a small copy of the Koran in his pocket.

Starting in April, internationally famous journalist Oriana Fallaci was openly threatened by several Muslims¹⁹⁵. Following her 2001 book *Anger and Pride* and an article entitled "Oriana Fallaci on anti-Semitism," anonymous threatening letters were sent to her. Guilty of defaming Islam, Adel Smith's Union of Muslims in Italy Association declared that Fallaci wrote her own death sentence. After her death from cancer, Adel Smith wrote a book entitled *Islam Castigates Fallaci*.

¹⁹⁴ "Turin; Wife Killed For Being Too Western" [Italian: "Uccide la moglie perche' troppo occidentale"]. 2002. *Il Quotidiano*. <http://quotidianonet.ilsole24ore.com/2002/01/04/2881160-TORINO-Uccide-la-moglie-troppo-occidentale-.shtml>

¹⁹⁵ Ostellino, Piero. 2002. "Threats to Fallaci" [Italian: "Le minacce alla Fallaci"]. *Il Corriere della Sera*. <http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2002/aprile/26/MINACCE ALLA FALLACI co 0 020426116.shtml>

2005

On June 11, Moroccan Mohammed Idaaf attempted to murder his Italian wife Antonella Trovato¹⁹⁶. Idaaf, 26 years old, confessed that he was jealous of Antonella going out by herself. Further, he did not tolerate the fact she was looking for a job, since he believed a wife had to depend on her husband. Such insubordination caused Idaaf to beat his wife several times. As registered in her diary, Hina wrote that Idaaf beat her up because she went out alone. During one of their fights, Idaaf attempted to stab Antonella. As she screamed for help, Idaaf threw her out the window. Neighbors, who already called the police, then saw the man kicking his wife on the ground. Fortunately, Antonella survived and Idaaf was arrested.

2006

On August 14, Mohammed Saleem assassinated his daughter Hina for being a bad Muslim¹⁹⁷. Hina, 20 years old, was a dynamic young girl who wanted to determine her own destiny. She worked at a pizza place and dated Beppe, a 33 year old Italian man. When Hina decided to move in with Beppe, her relation with her father Mohammed deteriorated. His desire was for Hina to return to Pakistan to marry one of her cousins, but every attempt to make her leave Italy failed. Even on the night of her execution Hina was given another chance to leave the country. As she refused, her father, her father-in-law, and her uncle cut her throat and buried her in the back yard. Police found her wrapped in a white sheet, which Muslims use to veil their dead. Finally, Hina was buried facing Mecca.

2007

On July 2, Dounia Ettaib was assaulted by two men close to Viale Jenner's institute in Milan¹⁹⁸. The two aggressors did not harm her, but threatened her, inviting her to "give up [her] cause or else." Dounia is the president of a small Muslim women's association, which sided with Hina Saleem, the 20 year old girl assassinated by her father for not being a devote Muslim. After the assault, Dounia was granted with an escort.

2009

On September 7, following repeated beating and threats by her parents, a girl attempted to commit suicide¹⁹⁹. Her Bangladeshi parents were accused of beating their daughter for years because she wanted to live like a Western girl. The parents forced her to wear boy clothes and cut her hair short. They would beat her if she came home late and threatened her multiple times to send her back to Bangladesh were she would marry an older man. Scared of losing grip over her future, the girl attempted to commit suicide.

¹⁹⁶ Ponte, Meo. 2005. "Moroccan Throws His Wife Off the Balcony" [Italian: "Marocchino getta la moglie dal balcone"]. *La Repubblica*. <http://www.repubblica.it/2005/f/sezioni/cronaca/trrooc/trrooc/trrooc.html>

¹⁹⁷ Vallini, Nunzia. 2006. "Murder For Refusing to Marry A Cousin" [Italian: "Uccisa perche' non voleva sposare un cugino"]. *Il Corriere della Sera*.

http://www.corriere.it/Primo_Piano/Cronache/2006/08_Agosto/14/pakistana.shtml

¹⁹⁸ Foschini, Paolo. 2007. "Took Hina's Defenses" [Italian: "Difese Hina"]. *Il Corriere della Sera*.

http://www.corriere.it/Primo_Piano/Cronache/2007/07_Luglio/02/hina_scorta.shtml

¹⁹⁹ "Daughter Beaten For Being Too Western" [Italian: "Picchiano la figlia perche' troppo occidentale"].

2009. *Il Giorno*. http://ilgiorno.ilsole24ore.com/milano/2009/09/07/228430-picchiano_figlia_troppo_occidentale.shtml

On September 15, 18 year old Sanaa Dafani was murdered by her father El Ketawi Dafani²⁰⁰. El Ketawi, a Moroccan living and working in Pordenone, killed his daughter for dating an older, Christian Italian man. Blinded with rage for his daughter's relation with an infidel, El Ketawi waited for Sanaa and her boyfriend in front of the restaurant where she used to work. Once they arrived, the man assaulted them, stabbing Sanaa to death and wounding her boyfriend. He was then arrested.

On September 21, Daniela Santache' was assaulted by some Muslims in front of the Ciak Theater in Milan²⁰¹. Santache', an Italian politician, was actively demonstrating against veil imposition, as she had previously engaged in heated debates over veil's legacy and human rights in Islam. The aggressor, who was later identified, pushed Mrs Santache' on the ground, calling her a prostitute, saying she would die the following day, and that she disgusted him.

In Pavia, on October 7, a 15 year old girl pressed charges against her father for domestic violence²⁰². Her father, who opposed her daughter's relationship with an Italian peer, repeatedly beat her up and threatened her of death. Escaped from home, the girl went to the police.

2010

On February 3, a 18 year old Moroccan-Italian girl sued her father for beating and locking her inside his house²⁰³. The girl, who was born and raised in Modena, told investigators that her father did not accept her adoption of Western ways of life. According to him, the girl was guilty of ditching mosque and veil, have tight jeans, wear makeup, and go clubbing. When the girl told his father she was dating an Italian man, the man stalked his daughter, waited for her outside her school, and forcefully dragged her to his apartment where he beat her and locked her inside a room. Escaped from the apartment, the girl went to the police.

On April 22, in Ventimiglia, close to Genoa, two Moroccan brothers beat to pulp their 35 year older sister²⁰⁴. Respectively 33 and 41, the two brothers did not stand the fact their sister went out with friends, did not have stable relationships, and often went clubbing. Alarmed by the

²⁰⁰ "Daughter Murdered For Loving an Italian Man" [Italian: "Uccide la figlia perche' ama un italiano"]. 2009. *Il Quotidiano*. http://quotidianonet.ilsole24ore.com/2009/09/16/232136-figlia_giovane_italiano.shtml

²⁰¹ Alfano, Manila. 2009. "Santache's Battle" [Italian: "La battaglia della Santache'"]. *Il Giornale*. http://www.ilgiornale.it/interni/la_battaglia_santanche_ho_paura_ma_vado_avanti/22-09-2009/articolo-id=384556-page=0-comments=1

²⁰² "Pavia; Daughter Beaten For Dating an Italian Man" [Italian: "Pavia, picchia la figlia che frequenta italiano"]. 2009. *Il Giornale*. http://ilgiorno.ilsole24ore.com/cronaca/2009/10/07/242865-pavia_picchia_figlia.shtml

²⁰³ Salinaro, Pier Luigi. 2010. "A Moroccan Beats and Locks His Daughter" [Italian: "Un marocchino picchia e rinchiude la figlia"]. *La Gazzetta di Modena*. <http://gazzettadimodena.gelocal.it/dettaglio/modena-un-marocchino-picchia-e-rinchiude-la-figlia:-devi-seguire-il-corano-lei-scappa-e-lo-denuncia/1848078>

²⁰⁴ "Beaten By Her Family For Being Western" [Italian: "Picchiata dalla famiglia per la sua vita alla occidentale"]. 2010. *Primo Canale*. <http://www.primocanale.it/news.php?id=68182>

girl's screams, a neighbor called the police. After officials brought the girl to the hospital, the two brothers were sued.

On April 24, a Roman woman sued her husband for physical and sexual abuse and kidnapping of her three-year old child²⁰⁵. Married to an Egyptian living and working in Rome, the woman was forced to wear the veil. When she once refused to wear the veil in front of her husband's friends, he beat her, raped her, threatened her to death, and then kidnapped her three-year old child during a trip to Egypt to visit his relatives. Afraid of losing her child forever, the woman went to the police, who arrested the Egyptian man.

On May 6, a 44 year old Moroccan father was arrested on charges of domestic violence against his wife, son, and daughter²⁰⁶. Bari's police stopped the father as he was mercilessly beating his 20 year old daughter, guilty of dating an Italian man and adopting Western ways of life. His 16 year old son once was forced to run away from home, as his father would not condone the son's earring. According to investigators, the man had systematically beaten and threatened his wife and his children for years.

In Modena, on May 21, a 15 year old Moroccan-Italian girl ran away from home after repeated beatings²⁰⁷. Her mother beat and threatened her young daughter for not wearing the veil and smoking. After the mother scalded her daughter's hand with a knife, the girl ran away from home. She was given to the town's Social Services' custody.

Assessment

Cultural and religious-driven aggressions and murders are remarkable indicators of Muslim radicalization in Italy. In spite of its scarcity, collected data show a significant "Honor Killing" trend. According to Human Rights Watch's definition, honor killings are:

Acts of violence, usually murder, committed by male family members against female family members, who are held to have brought dishonor upon the family. A woman can be targeted by individuals within her family for a variety of reasons, including: refusing to enter into an arranged marriage, being the victim of a sexual assault, seeking a divorce, even from an abusive husband, or (allegedly) committing adultery. The mere

²⁰⁵ Frignani, Rinaldo. 2010. "You don't Wear the Veil" [Italian: "'Non porti il velo;' violenta la moglie e le rapisce il figlio di tre anni"]. *Il Corriere della Sera*. http://roma.corriere.it/roma/notizie/cronaca/10_aprile_29/non-porti-velo-violenta-moglie-rapisce-figlio-1602926060335.shtml

²⁰⁶ "Children Beaten For Being Too Western" [Italian: "Picchia i figli perche' troppo occidentali"]. *La Repubblica*. http://bari.repubblica.it/cronaca/2010/05/06/news/picchia_i_figli_perch_troppo_occidentali_arrestato_padr_e_padrone_magrebino-3852358/

²⁰⁷ "Beaten By Her Mother For Being Too Western" [Italian: "Picchiata dalla madre perche' troppo occidentale"]. 2010. *La Gazzetta di Modena*. <http://gazzettadimodena.gelocal.it/dettaglio/picchiata-dalla-madre-perche-troppo-occidentale-quindicenne-magrebina-fugge-di-casa/2021626>

perception that a woman has behaved in a way that “dishonors” her family is sufficient to trigger an attack on her life²⁰⁸.

According to such a trend, evidence shows women and daughters are the most common targets, while fathers or predominant males are the perpetrators. In the 15 presented cases, not even one Muslim adult is subject to aggression. Violence is domestic and it is the result of predominant males’ perceived sense of shame and dishonor, which is mainly caused by wives and daughters. The main reasons that trigger violence are the rejection of traditional Muslim values, the acquisition of Western style of life, and dating of non-Muslims. Though this study refrains from correlating Islam and honor killings, cultural and religious-driven aggressions and murders rise issues about Muslim integration, cultural clashes, and incompatible ways of life.

PART FOUR: CONCLUSION

Main Findings

The purpose of this project is to create an index of radicalization of the Muslim community in Italy. Such a project refrains from making broad generalizations and assumptions about Muslims and Islam. Neither does it address discussion about clash of civilization, theology, and integration. Rather, the purpose of this study is to present evidence which provides a better understanding of the process of radicalization Muslim communities are undergoing in the West. Italy is no exception, as indicators show increasing radicalization of its Muslim community.

As for dangerous or potentially dangerous contacts, Iran administers the European Islamic Center in Rome. Saudi Arabia backs up the Great Mosques of Rome, the Islamic Cultural Center of Italy, and the Italian section of the Islamic Worldwide League. The Muslim Brotherhood is deeply connected to UCOII, which controls almost all the mosques and organizations in the country.

Dangerous or potentially dangerous contacts can promote radicalism. It is no surprise that the Muslim radical community is composed of 4 main organizations, 108 mosques, and 22 leaders, 4 of which are Italian. Radical mosques are spread out throughout the country, including important cities like Milan, Rome, Turin, Florence, Naples, Venice, and Genoa. Further, some Koranic schools like the ones in Rome and Milan promote religious and racial hatred against non-Muslims.

As for terrorism, 11 mosques are directly or indirectly engaged in terrorist activity. These mosques are located in Milan, Cremona, Florence, Bergamo, Varese, Brescia, Naples, Vicenza, and Rome. Since 2001, Islamic terrorists attempted to strike Italy 6 times. Only once, in 2009, the first attack on a military base was partially successfully carried out. Further, from 2006 to

²⁰⁸ “Integration of the Human Rights of Women and the Gender Perspective: Violence Against Women and Honor Crimes”. 2001. *Human Rights Watch*. <http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2001/04/05/item-12-integration-human-rights-women-and-gender-perspective-violence-against-women>

2009, at least 29 suicide bombers were recruited in Italy and 70 fake Italian passports were found by American troops in Kurmal, Iraq. Kamikazes were sent to Iraq and Afghanistan by 12 main recruiters.

Finally, since 1992, more than 126 people were arrested on charges of terrorism, 25 were condemned, and 22 were expelled. Moreover, since 2002 cultural and religious-driven aggressions and murders amounted to 15, 9 of which happened in the last two years.

Another worthwhile finding is Milan's role. Hosting more than 100,000 Muslim inhabitants, Milan is the epicenter of Islamic radicalism in Italy. The city is home to radical mosques like the one in Via Quaranta and the one in Gallarate. Most importantly, the Islamic Cultural Institute of Viale Jenner, that is the most radical and dangerous organization in Italy, is located in Milan. It is no accident that the only Islamic terrorist attack was carried out in Milan and 4 out of the 6 attempted attacks were meant to target the city. Further, 8 people who died as martyrs in Iraq lived and worked in Milan, and 5 other kamikazes came from the nearby city Cremona. Finally, 2 Guantanamo's detainees have ties with the Milanese Islamic Cultural Center of Viale Jenner.

The main conclusion this studies reaches is that radicalization represents a real threat for Italy's national security and must be addressed immediately.

Future Research

The research process that was conducted over the period of two months at the IDC center was a tremendous opportunity to become more knowledgeable about Muslim radicalization in Italy. However, research could have gone even better if provided with advanced governmental and investigative tools. Future researchers, governmental, and investigative agencies should work together to allow statistics and personal information to be used. In particular, the Italian Secret Services should make accessible a list with every name, background, and personal information about Muslim radicals. By doing so will researchers be able to create a database and assess any correlation between social factors and radicalism, and level of integration and terrorism. For instance, did Italian jihadists have "good" jobs? How was their socio-economic status? How integrated were they? Is there a correlation between the level of integration and radicalism? Are more integrated Muslims less likely to turn to Jihad than less integrated Muslims? Extremism can be a completely independent phenomenon, but, if any tangible factors (socio-economic status, level of integration, financial opportunity) can be connected to it, then officials may be able to predict and stop the process of radicalization.

APPENDIX

Table 6. List of Websites, their affiliation, featuring of newsletter/forum, and languages.

Website	Affiliated association	Newsletter/ Forum	Languages
www.islam.it	Islamic Cultural Center of Milan and Lombardy (under construction)	-	-
www.islam-online.it	Al-Hikma Editor	-	Italian
www.arab.it	-	-	Italian
www.corano.it	Islamic Cultural Center of Bologna	-	Italian, Arabic
www.islamitalia.it	(under construction)	-	-
www.islam-guide.com/it	-	Comments	Italian, Arabic, French, English, German, Chinese, Japanese, Russian, Spanish
www.musulmano.org	-	Newsletter/ Forum	Italian, Arabic, French, English, German, Spanish
www.minareti.it	-	Newsletter/ Forum	Italian
http://digilander.libero.it/ahlal bait/	Ahl al Bait Islamic Association	-	Italian
www.islamshia.org	Imam Al Mahdi	Newsletter/ Forum	Italian, Arabic, Farsi
http://italian.irib.ir/	IRB	-	Italian
www.islam-ucoii.it	UCOII	-	Italian
www.alhuda.it	Islamic Cultural Association of Italy	Newsletter/ Forum	Italian
www.centroislamicoculturale.it	Islamic Cultural Center of Italy	-	Italian

Website	Affiliated association	Newsletter/ Forum	Languages
www.lega-musulmana.it	Muslim World League	-	Italian
www.wics-it.org	World Islamic Call Society	-	Italian
www.coreis.it	COREIS	-	Italian
www.amimuslims.org	Italian Muslim Association		Italian, Arabic, French, English
www.amislam.com	Muslim Assembly of Italy	-	Italian
www.adelsmith.altervista.org	Adel Smith's Muslim Union of Italy	-	Italian
www.giovanimusulmani.it	Young Muslim Association of Italy	Newsletter/ Forum	Italian

Table 7. List of the Mosques in Italy. Source:
<http://www.piazzabrembana.com/aprile/moschee.htm>

CITY	ADDRESS
Torino	Via Berthollet 24
	Via Baretto
	Corso S.Martino 2
	Corso G.Cesare 6
	Via Saluzzo 18
Novara	Via L.Da Vinci 12
Alessandria	Via Verona 72
Vercelli	V.co Spalti 7 (SANTHIA)
Trino (VC)	Via Carmine 5
Nizza Monferrato (AT)	Via Crova 5
Casale Monferrato (AT)	Via F.Ili Cervi
Mondovì	Via Cuneo 48B
Genova	Via Venezia 10

Savona	Via Aglietto ang.V.Maccioci
Cengio (SV)	Via P.Garello 89/1
Albenga (SV)	P.zza S.Francesco
Imperia	Via S.Lucia 64
San Remo	C.so Inglesi 214
Milano	Via Padova 38
	Viale Jenner 20100
Segrate (MI)	Via Cassanese-V.Cervi
Pieve Emanuele (MI)	Via dei Pini 12
Pavia	Via San Fermo 5
Vigevano (PV)	Via Mulini 16
Mortara (PV)	Vic.lo A.Vespucci 4
Brescia	V.lo Stazione 43
	V.lo del Moro
Como	Via D. Pino 5
	Via Borgo Vico 23
Varese	Via XXV Aprile 26
Bergamo	Via Manzù 2(Curno)
Cremona	Via Massarotti 4
Piadena (CR)	Via N.Bixio 1
Mantova	Str.Mantovanella 37, Via Gambarara 35
Padova	V.Pontevicodarzese 154
Arcole (VR)	Via Nuova 2/a

Vicenza	Via Dei Mille 6/10
Schio (VI)	Via Venezia 62
Cassola (VI)	Via Zanella 4
Treviso	Via Mazza 4
Resana (TV)	Via V.Veneto 14
Cornuda (VT)	Via 30 Aprile 1945 ,22
Badia Polesine (RO)	Via Pesa Vecchia 53
Udine	Via R.Battistig 19
Cordenons(PN)	Via Nogaredo 11
Trento	ViaVivaldi 14/1
Dro (TN)	Via Roma 16
Cles (TN)	Via F.Filzi Pal.Elena Neg.15
Rovereto (TN)	Largo Posta 13
Trieste	V.Ireneo della Croce 3
Firenze	P.Scarlatti 1
Pisa	Via Belledonne 16
Santa Croce (PI)	Via Ghibellina 68/r
Colle Val d'Elsa (SI)	P.B. Scala 13
Concordio C.(LU)	Via Civitale 45
Arezzo	Via Lungotevere 14
Prato	V.lo Gherardacci 5
Piacenza	Via Nova 33
Bologna	Via Massarenti 221/7
Imola (BO)	Via Verdi 21/a
Cesena (FO)	Via Dandini 50/52
Ravenna	Via Scaletta 13/15
Faenza (RA)	Via Azzurrini 7/a
Rimini	Via Bertani 36/a
Parma	Borgo Cocconi 26
Modena	Via delle Suore 213
Sassuolo (MO)	Via V.Veneto 14
Sassuolo (MO)	Via Morale 78

Reggio Emilia	Via Adua 72
Ferrara	Via Scandiana 5
Perugia	Via della Acacia 72
Perugia	Via dei Priori 73
Citta di Castello (PG)	Via Spluga 1
Foligno (PG)	Piazza della Pace
Ancona	Via Maggini 274
Trodica (MC)	Via Dante 245
Roma	Via della Moschea
	Via dei Frassini
	Via G.Peano 36
	Via Urbana 19
Ostia (RM)	Via Tagaste 119
Latina	Via Romagnosi 65
Frosinone	Via Maria 320
Campoli (TE)	Via Nazionale 45 Floriano
Napoli	Corso A.Lucci 58
	Vico Piazza Nuova 10
	P.zza Larga al Mercato 35
Marano di Napoli	Via Marano Pianura 14
Poggio Marino (NA)	Via Maglio 58
Mirabella Eclano (AV)	Via Variante di calore

Aversa (CE)	Via S.Maria 10
Bellizzi (SA)	Via Keplero
Reggio Calabria	Via Della Libertà 28
Bari	Via F.Nitti 15
Barletta	Via Canosa 42
Catania	Via Serravalle 36
Palermo	Via Loreto 3
Messina	Via Torr.Trapani 3
Modica (RG)	Via Scala 2
Vittoria	Via Cairola 72

Table 8. List of Islamic Centers in Italy. Source: <http://www.arab.it/almarkaz.html>

CITY	NAME	ADDRESS
Acqui Terme (AL)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	133, v. Nizza Acqui Terme (AL) 15011
Agrigento (AG)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	37, v. F.Sala Agrigento (AG) 92100
Alba (CN)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	91, c.so Piave Alba (CN) 12051
Albenga (SV)	MOSCHEA ARRAHMA	38, p. S. Francesco Albenga (SV) 17031
Albenga (SV)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	P.zza S. Francesco Albenga (SV) 17031
Alessandria (AL)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	72, v. Verona Alessandria (AL) 15100
Ancona (AN)	CENTRO ISLAMICO CULTURALE DELLE MARCHE	274, v. Maggini Alessandro Ancona (AN) 60127
Arcole (VR)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	2/A, v. Nuova Arcole (VR) 37100
Arezzo (AR)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	14, v. Largo Tevere Arezzo (AR) 52100

Arzignano (VI)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	20, v. Beltrame Arzignano (VI) 36071
Asti (AT)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO	84, v. Venti Settembre Asti (AT) 14100
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	153, c.so. Alessandria Asti (AT) 14100
Avenza (MS)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	c/o Casa Culture Avenza (MS) 54033
Aversa (CE)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	10, v. S. Maria Aversa (CE) 81031
Badia Polesine (RO)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	53, v. Pesa Vecchia Badia Polesine (RO) 45021
Bagnoli di Sopra (PD)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	62, v. Giuseppe Mezzoni Bagnoli di Sopra (PD) 35023
Barletta (BA)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	42, v. Canosa Barletta (BA) 70051
Barletta (BA)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	v. Nazareth Barletta (BA) 70051
Bazzano (BO)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	v. Milano Bazzano (BO) 40053

Bellizzi (SA)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	v. Keplero Bellizzi (SA) 84092
Bologna (BO)	CENTRO DI CULTURA ISLAMICA	221/7, v. Massarenti Bologna (BO) 40138
Bologna (BO)	CENTRO DI CULTURA ISLAMICA	CP 2125 Bologna (BO) 40138
Borgomanero (NO)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	6 v. E. Fermi Borgomanero (NO) 28021
Borgoricco (PD)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	17 v. G. Dandolo Borgoricco (PD) 35010
Brescia (BS)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO DI BRESCIA	43, vc. della stazione Brescia (BS) 25122
	MOSCHEA DI BRESCIA	7/n, vc. Moro Brescia (BS) 25122
Calcinato (BS)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	22, v. Tarello Calcinato (BS) 25011
Carpi (MO)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	v. Chiesa San Marino Carpi (MO) 41012

Carrara - Avenza (MS)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	c/o Casa Delle Culture Carrara - Avenza (MS) 54033
Casale Monferrato (AL)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	8, P.zza D'Armi Casale Monferrato (AL) 15033
Casale Monferrato (AL)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	v. F.lli Cervi Casale Monferrato (AL) 15033
Caserta (CE)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	80, v. Dei Verdi Caserta (CE) 81100
Cassola (VI)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	4, v. Zanella Cassola (VI) 36022
Castiglione Distiviere (MN)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	2614, v. Kennedy Castiglione Distiviere (MN) 46043
Catania (CT)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	36, v. Serravalle Catania (CT) 95100
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	20, v. Calì Catania (CT) 95100
Cengio (SV)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	89/1, v. P. Garelli Cengio (SV) 17010
Cesena (FO)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	50/52, v. Dandini Cesena (FO) 47023

Ceva (CN)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	4, p.zza Card. Adriano Ceva (CN) 12073
Città di CasTello (PG)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	1, v. Spluga Città di CasTello (PG) 06012
Cles (TN)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	15, v. Fabio Filzi Pal. Elena Neg. Cles (TN) 38023
Colle di Val D'elsa (SI)	CENTRO ISLAMICO CULTURALE	13, p. scala Bartolomeo Colle di Val D'elsa (SI) 53034
Como (CO)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	23, v. Borgo Vico Como (CO) 22100
Como (CO)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	5, v. Domenico Pino Como (CO) 22100
Cordenons (PN)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO	11, v. Nogaredo Cordenons (PN) 33084
Cornuda (TV)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	22, v. XXX Aprile 1945 Cornuda (TV) 31041
Creazzo (VI)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	CP 120 Creazzo (VI) 36050

Cremona (CR)	CENTRO ISLAMICO CULTURALE DI CREMONA	4, v. Massarotti Angelo Cremona (CR) 26100
Crevalcore (BO)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	711, v. Del Papa Crevalcore (BO) 40014
Cuneo (CN)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	30, v. Fossano Cuneo (CN) 12100
Curno (BG)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	2, v. Manzu' Curno (BG) 24035
Desio (MI)	ISLAMIC SOCIETY	18, v. Verga Desio (MI) 20033
Dro (TN)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	16, v. Roma Dro (TN) 38074
Faenza (RA)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	7A, v. Azzurrini Faenza (RA) 48018
Ferrara (FE)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	5, v. Scandiana Ferrara (FE) 44100
Firenze (FI)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO	1/r, p. degli Scarlatti Firenze (FI) 50125
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	76, v. Ghibellina Firenze (FI) 50100

Foligno (PG)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	p.le Pace (ex fiera) Foligno (PG) 06034
Fornacette (PI)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	34, v. Enrico Fermi Fornacette (PI) 57021
Frosinone (FR)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	32, v. Maria Frosinone (FR) 03100
Gambarara Mantova	CENTRO ISLAMICO	37, str. Mantovanella Gambarara Mantova (MN) 46100
Genova (GE)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	10/10A, v. Venezia Genova (GE) 16100
Guidizzolo (MN)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	116, v. Saiore Birbesi Guidizzolo (MN) 46040
Imola (BO)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	21/A, v. Verde Imola (BO) 40026
Imperia (IM)	CENTRO ISLAMICO CULTURALE IMPERIA	64, v. Santa Lucia Imperia (IM) 18100
La Spezia (SP)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	365, v. Lunigiana La Spezia (SP) 19100
Latina (LT)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	65, v. Romagnosi Latina (LT) 04100

Livorno (LI)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	20, v. G. Oberdan Livorno (LI) 57100
Lodi (LO)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	v. Lodi Vecchio Lodi (LO) 26900
Lodi (LO)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO	12, v. Rossetti Francesco Lodi (LO) 26900
Lodi (LO)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO	12, v. Rossetti Francesco Lodi (LO) 26900
Marola (VC)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	16, v. Cedri Marola (VC) 36023
Marsciano (PG)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	13, v. C. Poerio Marsciano (PG) 06055
Martinsicuro (TE)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	6, v. Loepardi Martinsicuro (TE) 64014
Messina (ME)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	3, v. Torr. Trapani Messina (ME) 98100
Mestre (VE)	ORGANIZZAZIONE ISLAMICA CULTURALE INTERNAZIONALE	81, corso del Popolo Mestre (VE) 30172

Milano (MI)	ISTITUTO CULTURALE ISLAMICO ICI	50, vl. Jenner Edoardo Milano (MI) 20159
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	38, v. Padova Milano (MI) 20138
Mirabella Eclano (AV)	MOSCHEA CENTRO ISLAMICO	v. Variante Di Calore Mirabella Eclano (AV) 83036
Modena (MO)	MOSCHEA CENTRO ISLAMICO	213, v. delle Suore Modena (MO) 41100
Modica (RG)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	2, v. Scala Modica (RG) 97015
Mondovi (CN)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	48 b, v. Cuneo Mondovi (CN) 12084
Montecchio Maggiore (VI)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	16, v. Verdi Montecchio Maggiore (VI) 36075
Mortara (PV)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	4, vic. A. Vespucci Mortara (PV) 27036
Napoli (NA)	ASSOCIAZIONE ISLAMICA ZAYD IBN THABIT	7, via Corradino di Svevia Napoli (NA) 80100
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	58, corso A. Lucci Napoli (NA) 80100

	CENTRO ISLAMICO	10, vc. Piazza Nuova Napoli (NA) 80100
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	35, pzza. Larga al Mercato Napoli (NA) 80100
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	14, v. Marano Pianura Marano di Napoli (NA) 80016
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	4, v. Rossini Poggio Marino (NA) 80040
Nizza Monf. (AT)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	26, v. Crova Nizza Monf. (AT) 14049
Novara (NO)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	9, v. Precerutti Novara (NO) 28100
Novi Ligure (AL)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	65, v. Cavour Novi Ligure (AL) 15067
Omegna (VB)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	67, v. De Angelas Omegna (VB) 28887
Ostia - Lido (Roma)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	119/121, v. Tagaste Ostia - Lido (Roma) 00121
Padova (PD)	LA MOSCHEA DI PADOVA	156, v. Ponte Vigodarzere Padova (PD) 35133

	LA MOSCHEA DI PADOVA	88, v. S. Biagio Padova (PD) 35121
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	17, v. G. Dandolo Borgoricco Padova (PD) 35100
Palermo (PA)	CENTRO CULTURALE ARABO AL FARABI	29, v. Ricasoli Bettino Palermo (PA) 90139
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	3, v. Loreto Palermo (PA) 90100
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	v. Federico II Palermo (PA) 90100
Palermo (PA)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	13 A, v. C. Guastella Palermo (PA) 90127
Palermo (PA)	ISLAMIC CENTER	6, v. co Guascone Palermo (PA) 90100
Perugia (PG)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	72, v. Dell'Acacia Perugia (PG) 06100
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	73, v. Dei Priori Perugia (PG) 06100
Piacenza (PC)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	33, v. Nova Piacenza (PC) 29100
Piadena (CR)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	1, v. N. Bixio Piadena (CR) 26034

Pieve Emanuele (MI)	ISTITUTO CULTURALE ISLAMICO ICI	12, v. dei Pini Pieve Emanuele (MI) 20090
Pisa (PI)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO	16, v. delle Belle Donne Pisa (PI) 56125
Poggibonsi (SI)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	v. Ugo Foscolo Poggibonsi (SI) 53036
Prato (PO)	ISTITUTO CULTURALE ISLAMICO	5, vc. Gherardacci Prato (PO) 59100
Ravenna (RA)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	13115, v. Scaletta Ravenna (RA) 48100
Reggio Calabria (RC)	CENTRO ISLAMICO CULTURALE	28, v. della Liberta' Reggio Calabria (RC) 89123
Reggio Emilia (RE)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	CP 243 Reggio Emilia (RE) 42100
Reggio Emilia (RE)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	15/A, v. Monari Reggio Emilia (RE) 42100
Resana (TV)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO PACE	14, v. Vittorio Veneto Resana (TV) 31023

Rho (MI)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	62, v. Lainate Rho (MI) 20017
Rimini (RN)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	Via Giovanni XXIII N° 100 Rimini (RN) 47037
Roma (Roma)	CENTRO ISLAMICO CULTURALE D'ITALIA	vl. Della Moschea Roma (Roma) 00197
	ISTITUTO CULTURALE ISLAMICO	119, v. Tagaste Roma (Roma) 00121
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	4, v. Dei Frassini Roma (Roma) 00172
	CENTRO ISLAMICO EL FATH ROMA E LAZIO	76 g, v. della Magliana Roma (Roma) 00100
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	19, v. Urbana Roma (Roma) 00100
	CENTRO ISLAMICO AL MANAR	19, v. Giuseppe Cataldo Roma (Roma) 00100 Zona Torre Angela - Casilino
Ronca Delle Ormelle (TV)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	22, v. Dante Ronca Delle Ormelle (TV) 31010

Rovereto (TN)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	13, Largo Posta Rovereto (TN) 38068
Sanremo (IM)	CENTRO ISLAMICO CULTURALE	214, c. Inglesi Sanremo (IM) 18038
Santa Croce (PI)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	68/R, v. Ghibellina Santa Croce (PI) 56029
Santhia' (VC)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO	7, vc. Spalti Santhia' (VC) 13048
Sassuolo (MO)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	14, v. V. Veneto Sassuolo (MO) 41049
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	78, v. Morale Sassuolo (MO) 41049
Savona (SV)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	v. Aglietto ang. v. Maccioci Savona (SV) 17100
Scafati (SA)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	v. Nazario Sauro Scafati (SA) 84018
Schio (VI)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	62, v. Venezia Schio (VI) 36015
Segrate (MI)	CENTRO ISLAMICO AL MARKAZ AL ISLAMI	1, v. Cassanese Segrate (MI) 20090

	CENTRO ISLAMICO DI MILANO E LOMBARDIA	3/5, v. Cassanese Segrate (MI) 20090
	MOSCHEA ALRAHMAN CENTRO ISLAMICO DI MILANO	1, v. Cassanese Segrate (MI) 20090
Teramo (TE)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO IN ABRUZZO	45, v. Nazionale Floriano S'ONOFRIO (TE) 64017
Torino (TO)	MOSCHEA DI TORINO	31, v. Baretti Giuseppe Torino (TO) 10125
	ISTITUTO ISLAMICO D'ITALIA MOSCHEA DELLA PACE	6, c. Giulio Cesare Torino (TO) 10152
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	2, c. S. Martino Torino (TO) 10100
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	18, v. Saluzzo Torino (TO) 10125
Torino (TO)	ISTITUTO ISLAMICO D'ITALIA	CP. 297 Torino (TO) 10100

Tortona (AL)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	Ex. Cas. Passalacqua Tortona (AL) 15057
Trento (TN)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	14/1, v. Vivaldi Trento (TN) 38100
Treviso (TV)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO	4, v. Mazza Treviso (TV) 31100
	CENTRO ISLAMICO	12, Strada Zermanese Treviso (TV) 31100
Trieste (TS)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO DI TRIESTE E DELLA VENEZIA GIULIA	3, v. Ireneo della Croce Trieste (TS) 34126
Trino Verc. (VC)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	5, v. Carmine Trino Verc. (VC) 13039
Trodica (MC)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	245, v. Dante Troica (MC) 62010
Udine (UD)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO	19, v. Battistig Udine (UD) 33100
Urbino (PS)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	32, v. Monte Nerone Urbino (PS) 61029

Verona (VR)	CENTRO CULTURALE ISLAMICO	2, v. Arcoli Verona (VR) 37100
Vicenza (VI)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	6/10, v. Dei Mille Vicenza (VI) 36100
Vigevano (PV)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	16, v. Mulini Vigevano (PV) 27029
Vittoria (RG)	CENTRO ISLAMICO	72, v. Cairola Vittoria (RG) 97019
Vittoria (RG)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	151, v. Como Vittoria (RG) 97019
Vobarno (BS)	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE ISLAMICA	v. de Zoboli Vobarno (BS) 25079