

Summaries

Spanish geopolitics in Jaime Vicens Vives: Between the Republic and Franchism

by Mario G. Losano

The article describes the Spanish geopolitics in the XX century. In this context, geopolitics was a relevant although not central interest for one of the most important Catalan intellectuals, Jaime Vicens Vives (1910-1960). He discovered geopolitics through the works of Karl Haushofer. Then, on behalf of the Spanish Republic (an almost forgotten event), he started writing in Catalan a geopolitics of Catalonia from a left-wing point of view. Just before printing this book, the victory of Franco's Nationalists compelled him to transform it into a right-wing geopolitics of Spain, finally published in Spanish in 1940. After the end of the war he reconsidered the whole matter in a new book of 1950, where he stressed the possibility of a new imperial mission of Spain in the new world order. In the course of time his historiographic position became closer to those of Toynbee and Braudel, an evolution suddenly terminated by his death in 1960.

History, Ethics and Politics in Thucydides

by Giovanni De Grandis

The paper analyses Thucydides's views on history, ethics and politics trying to highlight how they affect each other. Thucydides has a tragic conception of history, according to which, notwithstanding the presence of some constants, human vicissitudes are open to unpredictability and chance. This view is closely related to Thucydides moral outlook, which is interpreted as a version of moral pluralism that recognises two mutually incompatible families of values: those related with greatness and success, and those stemming from compassion and pity. Coming to politics, it is argued that Thucydides's most valuable contribution lies in his penetrating analysis of the dynamics of power and in particular in his understanding of the fundamental importance of the dialectic between stabilizing and chaotic factors. Political thought should take account of those factors and that means that historical and empirical considerations should enter political theory no later than moral ideals and normative standards.

The position of Prince IX in Machiavelli's thought
by Giovanni G. Balestrieri

The ninth chapter of *The Prince*, dedicated to the analysis of the «civil principality», has during the last decades recalled on itself the increasing interest of the researchers, that have recognized in it one of the central passages of Machiavelli's political theory. Nevertheless, it can be affirmed without fearing to be denied that few other pages of the Florentine secretary have recorded so deep interpretative divergences as this chapter. The essay that we present wants to be a contribution to the explanation and to the exact conceptual determination of *Prince IX* through the comparison with *Discorsi I XL*, a text that, as it will appear, not only takes back, but above all widens the perspective from which the subject of the chapter of the *De principatibus* is considered. With the lens offered by *Discorsi I XL* it is possible to succeed in putting to fire with precision what was the intent that Machiavelli proposed himself stretching the ninth chapter. Intent that was not, as it is frequently repeated, to point out in the strategic alliance between prince and people the suitable political formula to go solve the Italian crisis, but more simply that to suggest the most effective means with which a prince, affirmed himself on the ashes of a republic, could consolidate his power.

The «Political» in the «Postpolitical Age».
Some Notes on the Theoretical Perspective of Chantal Mouffe
by Damiano Palano

This essay concerns the reflection of Chantal Mouffe about the «political» and the transformation of contemporary political systems. The paper reconstructs the main features of Mouffe's reflection, with special regard to the influence of Carl Schmitt and the concept of «agonistic democracy». For Mouffe, the friend/enemy opposition is the (not eliminable) hearth of the «political», but this opposition is not the only form of antagonism. From Mouffe's point of view, «agonism» is a different mode of manifestation of antagonism, which involves a relation not between enemies but between «adversaries», «friendly enemies»: friends because they share a common symbolic space but also enemies because they want to organize this common symbolic space in a different way. The «postpolitical» age removes the enemy (even the «friendly enemy») from the symbolic space of western democracy, and enemy is represented as *hostis generis humani*. For this paper, Mouffe's perspective offers an important contribution to contemporary political debate, but the study shows a danger in her interpretation of Schmitt's political theory. For the German thinker, the *amicus/hostis* opposition is rooted in a spatial conception of the «political», but Mouffe fails to consider this crucial aspect of Schmitt's reflection, with consequences on the image of the «postpolitical age». In fact, without a spatial ground and without attention to the contemporary «spatial revolution», she achieves a form of theoretical «voluntarism» and moves toward a moralistic vision of the moralization of politics.

Racism and Anti-Semitism: Similarities and Differences
by Francesco Germinario

Racism and anti-Semitism are outlined by a long-lived historiographical tradition. However, while both could be found during the Fascist and Nazi era, anti-Semitism is not a concept that can be found in any liberal country of the 19th and 20th centuries. Such controversial historiographical date makes it

necessary to mark a distinction between these ideologies. Both racism and anti-semitism provide for the hierarchisation and differentiation of the people. However, racism should be considered as a *preservative* ideology in a positive relation with modernity. In fact, racism deals with the defence of a civilisation from the *outside*. Contrarily, anti-Semitism should be considered as the ideology of *dissatisfaction* as it has a controversial, hostile relation with liberal modernity in the belief that modernity should be destroyed as a representation of *Verjudung*. Hence the destructive, *subversive* character of anti-Semitism, also outlined by the need of finding fulfilment in a totalitarian historical context.

*Political Science and Humanitarian Intervention After the Cold War:
A Research Agenda and Some Insights*
by Marco Mayer and Francesco Moro

The article seeks to provide a general framework to interpret humanitarian intervention with the « tools » of political science. It focuses on intervention where military force is directly applied and a phase of stabilization and reconstruction follows military operations. As such, it deals with six major cases: Kurdistan, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, East Timor and Kosovo. The central argument of the article is that a thorough understanding of humanitarian interventions is possible only by recurring to approaches and branches of political science that have been traditionally left out from the analysis of such phenomenon. The purpose of the article is to provide a first-cut but comprehensive approach to the analysis of humanitarian interventions, bringing in sometimes overlooked tools provided by literature political science, and to provide the basis for more thorough theoretical and empirical work on the subject. It should also shed light on relevant changes in the global security environment after the Cold War, focusing on the new opportunities, but also on the often overlooked constraints, to foreign intervention.