

Mauro Vaiani

Disintegration as Hope

*“Tout le peuples ont péri jusqu'ici par manque de générosité:
Spart eût survécu plus longtemps si elle avait intéressé les Hilotes à sa survie;
Atlas cesse un beau jour de soutenir le poids du ciel,
et sa révolte ébranle la terre.”*

Marguerite Yourcenar, Mémoires d'Hadrien

1. A swing in human history

Hidden beyond the overcoming “globalization”, there is the surprising truth we are entering a disintegration age.

A vast community of political thinkers, who spent their life studying integration processes, most of them embedded in international organizations, could find this statement a little uncomfortable. They firmly believed the unification of Europe¹, of Northern America, of Latin America, if not of the entire world in a global state, were inescapable. As usual in political studies, it was not only a matter of scientific observation. A political prevision inevitably contains a certain internal push to self realize. The disintegration process seemed to many of them not only a real historical trend, powerful and lasting, but also a good, right, suitable destiny for mankind.

Now integration is tumbling before its opposite, the coming disintegration. It was not so unpredictable, for every human

1 Many European opinion leaders are treating international European issues as the European Union would shortly become a domestic political environment. See: Bardi, Luciano (2004), *The Europarties, Organisation and Influence*. Luciano Bardi, as host and chairman of ECPR 2007 at the University of Pisa, tries to lead the European debate towards a deeper comprehension of the European political crisis. See also <http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/events/generalconference/pisa/>.

civilization has already known integration alternating with disintegration eras.

The last and now over cycle of integration started about seven centuries ago, in XIV century's Europe, led by a group of European rising national states. The European powers became the incarnation of the Leviathan². They conquered the entire planet. Their civilization changed any other human culture. They involved any other political entity in a unified international scenario.

The integration process was fueled by ideologies leading to the establishment of a totalitarian state. Europe, America, Russia saw the rising of strong political movements, menacing their citizens' *habeas corpus* and economical, social, cultural, spiritual achievements of the Western civilization³. The Soviet Union became a totalitarian state at all, and so did most of states under its influence.

Competition among states, selected two final superpowers, USA and USSR. The integration process arrived to divide the world in two only blocks, each led by one of the final competitors.

The Cold War, with the planet divided by the Iron Curtain (and abysses, skies, still open to further competition), was for many aspects awful. The equilibrium was founded substantially onto the promise of "Mutual Assured Destruction". But, as clarified by Kenneth Waltz, it was also a maximum of stability, security for the international anarchical system. Internal integration of the two blocks was extremely high. Mutual interdependence was low. Both these conditions are ingredients of stability. Binary international politics was easy predictable. Most issues were comfortably arranged by compromise between the two main actors⁴.

2 Shennan, Joseph H. (1974), *The Origin of the Modern European State*.

3 Arendt, Hannah (1948), *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.

4 Waltz, Kenneth N. (1979), *Theory of International Politics*.

Mauro Vaiani, Disintegration as Hope

A temptation to break the peaceful coexistence existed.

One of the two final superpowers, USA or USSR, could take on the universal power, forming a global state, trying to do it – hopefully - without destroying the planet in a nuclear anti-Genesis.

Michael S. Voslensky wrote Soviet Union was seriously intentioned to conquer the planet⁵, despite the sharpest criticism to the dream of a united world reported among Red Army officers, on 1944, according the precious memories of Milovan Djilas⁶.

A global state would certainly turn into the greatest nightmare of human history. If its establishment was attempted, no matter if by a reborn Hitler or a Gandhi's reincarnation, universal civil war, never ending ideological and religious slaughters, extermination of racial, sexual and social diversities, would be easily predictable consequences⁷.

The peoples imprisoned in the Soviet Union arrived, forty-five years later, to the same conclusions of those Red Army officers. It was not worth to live under such a high and far bureaucratic authority. They woke up, shrugged, bucked off the parasites, the Soviet *nomenklatura*. The Wall of Berlin came tumbling down on 1989. The same Soviet Empire self-dissolved. On 1992 the 15 republics former members of the Soviet Union were all become fully independent states.

The pendulum of human history swung to global disintegration.

5 Voslensky, Michael S. (1980), *Nomenklatura*. On the early '80s, the reading of this book has been crucial for the precocious comprehension of the coming disintegration, by then very young students Adonella and Mauro Vaiani.

6 Djilas Milovan (1963), *Conversations with Stalin*.

7 Some important dystopian novels help us to understand the danger for individual and communitarian freedom, represented by a global state: Robert H. Benson, *Lord of the World*; Yevgeny Zamyatin, *We*; George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*; Ayn Rand, *Anthem*. *Si parva licet*, a contribution to the comprehension of the global state as a nightmare for mankind and a tomb for human rights, can be found in <http://www.sp.unipi.it/files/3535-1994-estratto-tesi-stato-o-regno-mondiale.pdf> and <http://www.sp.unipi.it/files/3534-1998-estratto-noi-stessi.pdf>.

After seven centuries of integration process, billions of human beings, individuals and communities, are again considering the political disintegration a strategy of surviving. For local communities, minorities and dissent groups, who are still captives of authoritarian political systems, in China, Pakistan, Iran, the coming disintegration means hope. For the most little and the weakest human communities, the disintegration age could be a chance of surviving.

2. Exploring what lasts and what changes

It will take time, energy and passion to understand how and why the integration process has come to an end.

Figures like Margaret Thatcher, Michail Gorbachev, Ronald Reagan, brother Roger Schultz⁸, John Paul II, but also the Internet Pioneers, like J. C. R. Licklider⁹, the great “free to choose” pioneer Milton Friedman, John Naisbitt¹⁰ and Shigeo Shingo¹¹, all of them protagonists of the historical swing, must be studied in depth and understood much better than it has been possible till now, along with the economical, social, cultural and spiritual movements they belonged to.

They did strongly and firmly believe that personal freedom and communitarian self-government were the good and right state of mankind. The state that man, leaded by his natural rationality,

8 He founded the ecumenical community of Taizé, in the south of Burgundy, France, in 1940. To comprehend the importance, in contemporary history, of the “Pilgrimage of Trust on Earth” promoted by this spiritual center, its web is worth a visit: <http://www.taize.fr/>.

9 <http://www.ibiblio.org/pioneers/>.

10 He is the legendary author of Megatrends (1982).

11 One of the founding fathers of the “lean thinking”. Read more in Womack, James P. (1996), Lean thinking.

will tend to, no matter how long, hard, narrow, full of attempts and errors, may be the way¹².

They believed the international anarchy is the necessary geopolitical environment to maintain these inalienable human rights, the only where, thanks to pluralism and competition among different political communities and systems, the human rights will ever find shelter from the returning menace of any possible “Big Brother”.

For the integration process and its totalitarian outcome were negating their fundamental belief, they bet their lives against those they considered forces of evil. They fought against all forms of totalitarianism, corrupted bureaucracies and arbitrary powers.

They were right, this is our opinion.

They won the bet, this is a fact.

Marguerite Yourcenar, exploring human history and family archives, stated once the contemporary man is substantially, one may say dramatically, other may say providentially, the same he was thousands years ago. A skeptical like Thomas and a traitor like Judah, are side by side of every Master, before and after Christ. It will be a little rhetorical but not completely useless to remind, here, how human history, along with cowardice, lie, cruelty, keep also giving some bright regularities.

No Jericho-styled walls are safe, for trumpets of rams' horns are very easy to gather in the biblical decisive number of seven.

None Goliath can ever feel sure, for a David with his sling is inevitably out there, hidden somewhere, among a crowd of apparently inoffensive shepherds.

12 Few other words can be more misunderstood than the adjective “Natural”. We use the expression “Natural Rationality” as stated by: Chiavacci, Enrico (1995), *Invito alla teologia morale (Introduction to Moral Theology)*.

Mauro Vaiani, Disintegration as Hope

Prometheus' spirit is still present through generations, to steal fire from Gods again and again, no matter how awful may be the punishment.

The fews are still challenging the many, as the 300 did at the Thermopylae.

A brand new Spartacus returns, on each time of slavery, to lead a revolt.

The human family keeps generating diversities that, in time of reasonable individual liberty, can become universally acknowledged genius, as Leonardo Da Vinci did.

Two or three, accordingly the Gospel of Matthew (18,20), are the quorum of a spiritual meeting. A little people of faith can endanger any throne or altar, putting “**down the mighty from their seats and exalt those of low degree**” (Luke, 1,52).

Each new human generation can keep, sometimes perhaps enlarge, its inalienable rights. First of all that of fighting for its own freedom, as individuals and families, as mates and groups, as communities and commonwealths.

Villages, cities, counties, territories which fit the spiritual and material needs of their inhabitants, exist among all the nations. Using Tocqueville's words, these grass roots entities “**seems constituted by the hand of God**”¹³.

Higher and farer authorities are inevitably much more provisional. They are rather borne than accepted. They deserve a certain grade of loyalty from their inhabitants, depending on political accidents, mainly danger of war.

Most of Tuscan people still agree to live united to the Italian Republic, to use the European Union coin, to find shelter under the NATO military umbrella, to give money to the United Nations' international solidarity programs. But they know well Tuscany

13 Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1-1-V-I
(<http://www.classicallibrary.org/tocqueville/democracy1/9.htm>).

existed for centuries before and without UN, NATO, EU, Italian Republic. They also believe Tuscany will still be there, the day after those higher and farer authorities would dissolve.

3. Not all that bad

A “disintegration process” is often portrayed as an age of crisis and darkness, decadence and fall. Ordinary people can probably suffer in time of disintegration, when a political system fall and a new equilibrium must be established, but it costs much more, in human lives and material goods, to build up a domination, than to let it fall down.

This evidence of geopolitical entropy is constantly censored, cause the prevailing prejudice in favor of “Empires”, considered higher grade of civilization, than independent cities, little republics, tiny states.

Some people can be nostalgic, in the present century, of Soviet Union, former Yugoslavia, socialist Somalia, British Empire, American protectorate, Austria-Hungary. But a realistic political analyze help us unrevealing another story.

If local authorities existed before the disintegration, they are continuing to operate as problem-solvers, despite higher and farer authorities have been thrown off.

If such local authorities didn't exist, or didn't work honestly and efficiently before, after the disintegration these local bodies should be rapidly constituted or reformed.

That's why local governments' performance and everyday quality of life in Russia (former Soviet Union), Montenegro (former Yugoslavia), Somaliland (former Somalia), India (former British Empire), Philippines (former American possession), can be today more or less the same they used to be, under the precedent regimes of political dependency, while, in time of independence,

things simply cannot be worse than before. Not *because* of independence, at least.

Ancient Etruscan, Phoenician, Greek independent cities, or medieval Italian, Hanseatic, free republican state-cities, or contemporary little Baltic republics, along with thousands of little and also micro-states, all over the ages and all over the worlds, had in the past and will have in the future nothing to envy to bigger and broader political systems.

Little government on a tiny territory very often means less taxation and more representation. Minor dimensions mean less authoritarianism inside and less aggressive attitude abroad. Much better than a big one, a little state can temper the advantage of isolation with the pleasure of openness.

4. Opportunities

“Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes... But when a long train of abuses and usurpations... evinces a design to reduce them [the People] under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.”¹⁴. The disintegration age is an opportunity for those who want freedom for ourselves and believe in freedom for all the mankind.

A crowd of old and new independent countries, much beyond the 2006 United Nations' 192 Member States¹⁵, will have to compete and improve, or will risk losing people – firstly the most gifted - in favor of more open and performing societies. If a little state become a prison, it will be easier to escape a little prison.

14 Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, 4th July 1776

15 On June 28th 2006 Montenegro was accepted as a United Nations Member State by General Assembly resolution A/RES/60/264.

When a state is declining, its regime has become unbearable, political reforms have failed, people can still “vote with their feet”¹⁶. It is another little, neither the least nor the last disintegration dividend.

“To see what is in front of one's nose needs a constant struggle” wrote George Orwell, but young people, women, members of persecuted minorities, they are fast to understand how their own personal life can be better in a disintegrating world.

Thanks to Internet and the new media, billions of human beings are rapidly understanding this time of change. The disintegration concept is spreading everywhere, as fast as a pandemic virus through Internet. Those who are connected, able to understand Special English¹⁷, well educated, daily informed, they will become protagonist. They will speak louder and the rising leaderships will have to listen. It won't be more easy to repress ancient aspirations of liberty and dreams of freedom. Each political system of planet Earth is challenged by the disintegration process.

China is the last great “prison of peoples”, to repeat the expression once used for ancient Austria-Hungary and Russia. But the disintegration **“is a fearsome trend for those holding the reins in Beijing.”** wrote Dru C. Gladney, in 1995¹⁸. The post-communist oligarchy demonstrated flexibility in the last decades, sharing the power with an increasing numbers of local and special authorities. The annexation of Hong Kong - without moving a single Chinese bowl in the former British Colony - can be a model for the next federalist evolution, especially if the promise of

16 History has already seen people voting with the feet, as it happened between West and East Germany on 1989. An Italian scholar have deepened the competition between many independent political communities in the Middle Age: Piombini, Guglielmo (2004), *Il medioevo delle libertà (The Middle Age of Liberties)*.

17 Simplified English used by Voice of America for non native English listeners. Read more at <http://www.voanews.com/>.

18 <http://www.sp.unipi.it/files/2803-disintegration-as-hope-02-2006-03-10-china.pdf>.

democracy in Hong Kong before 2012 will be realized. Something must fast change, anyway, for economical success will soon reveal a house built on sand, without religious freedom, *habeascorpus* for individuals, respect for nature, civic duty, effective local self-government, political pluralism.

The Indian Union, along with many other emerging democratic countries, blessed by immense internal diversities, will face hard times and political hazards, while central and local elites will fight for redistribution of power. They must find in their federalist Constitutions or in further federalist reforms the foundation of a renewed equilibrium, or the way to peaceful secession.

The European Union state forming process has already been stopped by people's choice in several national pools, in Denmark, Sweden, Holland, France. The Eurocracy is uselessness, if not dangerous, and its dismantling is question of time. The autonomous rich countries of Catalonia, Lombardy, Bavaria want a seat in the European Council, along with a representative in the European Central Bank's board of governors. Local communities (like Spanish, French, Italian cities and region), ethnic minorities (Brittany, the Basques, Wallonia), countries having low political self-government but strong identity (Scotland and Wales), German and Austrian *länder*, all these actors want to play a role. Without deep reforms, Europe Union will crack down. Europe will see endangered also its most important, historical achievement, the 60 years lasting peace, which made inter-European wars unconceivable.

All the artificial states created by the Europeans during their colonization of world, mostly in Africa, will break down in the coming time of disintegration. Nobody will miss or regret them, except the – not little - army of corrupted high officers, who will be hopefully obliged to retire by a new generation of African leaders.

Between November 2002 and July 2003, there has been the pandemic of SARS¹⁹. 8.000 persons were affected, more than 700 died. Chinese central authorities' red tape and censorship provoked an awful delay in effort to control the pandemic. WHO produced good statistical reports and helped diffusing papers and best practices. But what was really decisive to save human lives, was firstly, Internet and the modern media, that helped grass roots health operators to share news and views about the disease. Secondly, zealous local authorities, like in Hong Kong and Taiwan, played a key role, elevating control level, closing frontiers and imposing quarantines.

Very old, traditional, local countermeasures helped to control the pandemic. Very new, bureaucratic, centralist and international authorities failed or were counterproductive. This is a call to reflection.

The disintegration process will invest not only national, but also international *nomenklatura*. Thousands of international bureaucracies, hundreds of international organizations, are doing very little for the people. They are, on the contrary, deeply committed in maintaining and enlarging themselves.

5. Back where we started

When we think of a crowd of free men, each of them owner of his house and self entrepreneur of his job, we don't forecast neither chaos nor return to hobbesian "state of nature", where *homo homini lupus*. On the contrary, we imagine such an assembly is the best social base to build a self-governing community onto, inspired by principles of equality, mutual respect, civic duty.

Similarly, we have historical, not only philosophical, evidence that a crowd of free and independent states are able to gather, discuss and decide to establish a commonwealth, building

¹⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Severe_acute_respiratory_syndrome.

performing and lasting leagues, alliances, federations. The Hansa League and the Lombard League are two very famous happy examples, without forgetting the most ancient federation existing in the world, Switzerland, established on 1291 and living in uninterrupted peace since 1815.

The 26 Swiss confederated states are less big than most of American or English counties. The entire federation is a landlocked commonwealth of less than 8 millions inhabitants. But Switzerland is a record-country, for keeping friendship with neighbors, internal prosperity and freedom, working democracy, protection of diversities and minorities, along with scientific, ecological, cultural achievements.

The Union of the 13 Colonies established by the Founding Fathers on 4th July 1776, was directly inspired by these historical precedents. The confederation was the ideal of the original Thomas Jefferson's republicanism: a little federal government, strong independent states, effective local self-government, communitarian and individual rights.

Despite of these ideals, under the influence of the international integration process, to acquire and colonize new territories, to survive the Secession²⁰, to better compete with other much more integrated powers, the United States developed a big central government. They have eventually become the strongest political and military power of the entire planet.

What about the United States of America, 50 States and 4 “unincorporated organized Territories”²¹, in this coming time of disintegration? Will they dissolve, as their main rival, the Soviet Union? Or will they reform, inverting the integration trend, which led to restless expansion of federal agencies and bureaucracies? A

20 Pasolini Zanelli, Alberto (2006), Dalla parte di Lee (*On Lee's Side*), published with the help of Bruno Leoni Institute, <http://www.brunoleoni.it>.

21 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Territories_of_the_United_States.

return to origins is highly probable and, perhaps, suitable. The Constitution is elastic enough to bring the federal power back to concentrate on strategic international security issues, while the States and the Territories will have back full sovereignty. Local powers will be more responsible in solving problems at their own level. Individuals will resume their personal sphere of responsibility and rights.

6. Facing the enemy

The disintegration age is carrying profound changes in international political scenario, along with a good deal of anxiety, but all the theoretical *acquis* of international politics is not losing its representative and predictive capacity. We are on the way to understand which kind of new concert of powers will rise²², which old alliances or new coalition of willings will lead²³ a much more crowded international community of independent states.

We can learn something about the new scenario, looking out from near what our worst enemies are doing. How deal in time of disintegration, terrorists who are fighting their war on our open society? The answer is quite a good news: the disintegration process will help stopping them.

Islamofascism, or Nazislamism, as we prefer to say to emphasize the totalitarian outcome of this political stream, used to have a geopolitical target, conceived and appropriate to the time dominated by the integration process. They planned to conquer the power in an important Arabic, or Islamic country, to establish a modern Caliphate. From this stronghold, they would have recalled to unity and obedience firstly the Arab nation, secondly the Islamic

22 Richard Rosecrance, A New Concert of Powers, from Foreign Affairs, Spring 1992, <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19920301faessay5868/richard-rosecrance/a-new-concert-of-powers.html>.

23 Parsi, Vittorio Emanuele (2006), The Inevitable Alliance, Europe and United States beyond Iraq.

countries, thirdly the Islamic minorities living in China, India, Philippines, and beyond.

After the disappear of the Soviet Union, supposing the decadence of the Western civilization, forecasting the crisis of China under the weight of its internal contradictions, such new Caliphate would have become the new dominant superpower. Such *Ummah* would own strategic reserves of oil and gas. It would have 1 billion inhabitants, united by one religion, one language, absolute obedience. Many of their soldiers would be ready to become kamikazes, suicidal terrorists. Their long term vision would be the conquer of the rest of world not yet under Muslim control, *Dar al-Harb*, to realize the global *Dar al-Islam*, the universal submission.

This platform sounded as a promise of found again self esteem and political ransom to Arabic and Islamic peoples, humiliated by a century of Western domination. As every else ideological dream, it was powerful and fascinating in its naïve oversimplification of history, present and future of the world, firstly of Arabic world and of the complexity of contemporary Islamic countries.

Al Qaida recycled Panarabism, former Nazi and Communist influences which have long poisoned the Arabic political activism, an impotent anti-Americanism, a disgusting anti-Semitism. Could this regressive, reactionary, bloody Nazislamist cocktail survive the defeat of Communism, Nazism, totalitarianism in all its incarnations? Could the nightmare of a global Islamic state survive the dawn of the age of disintegration?

They tried. Somehow they are still trying, but they are coming too late. The disintegration bell is ringing globally. None will succeed to unify factions, sects, tribes, nationalities, the young people, women, queer community, all the diversities which are coming up for air also in the Arabic, Islamic world. Their world is

facing the same process questioning the unity of China, the unification of Europe, the federal powers of the United States of America.

It's easy to be pessimistic about the progresses of democracy in the Middle East, the Arabic and Islamic countries²⁴, but democracy can be just a people's choice casting machine. It is only dictatorship of the majority, without, firstly, a large and enlargeable sphere of individual freedom, sex and family matters included, as soon as possible followed by nationalities' independence, minorities' protection, local communitarian self-government, checks and balances among institutions, separation between state and churches, open economy and free market, effective local police corps, judiciary bodies not only independent but also free of any sectarian, religious prejudice. All these achievements, altogether, no matter how imperfectly they have been implemented, constitute the “Democracy” Churchill defined the “**worst form of government, except for all those other**”.

A fanatical group of anti-Soviet Afghanistan veterans, a team of well educated pilots belonging to the Saudi jeunesse dorée, a various range of maniac billionaires, corrupted clergymen, godfathers of cruel ideological factions, succeeded to put in act the worst act of terror in human history, on September 11th 2001, at New York.

They injured the capital of the globalized world, the lighthouse of human liberty, the symbol of the open society.

24 On 1991 first free elections in Algeria after the end of one-party system, were won by the Islamic Salvation Front and the country engulfed in a civil war. On 2005, after the “reformist” Khatami had served eight years as president of Iran, the people elected Ahmadinejad, a fanatical populist. On 2006 Hamas won the elections in Gaza and West Bank, leading the two Arab Palestinian territories to civil war and eventually to a *de facto* secession. This is not so surprisingly. The “bad gays” did not win elections only in Arabic, Islamic countries: in Zimbabwe the winner is Mugabe, in Venezuela Chavez, in Argentina he was the semi-fascist Peron. In glorious Germany and ancient Italy, cradles of Western civilization, the first outcomes of democracy were respectively Hitler and Mussolini.

Mauro Vaiani, Disintegration as Hope

It seemed to be a start, while it was their end.

On 2005, the Cedar Revolution of Lebanon was an open example of how Arabic, Islamic peoples can be attracted by a full “Democracy”, based firstly on national sovereignty and respect of individual rights. The country won't easy return to be the Middle East Switzerland, but Lebanon will not be more neither a Syrian colony nor a terrorists' shelter.

The 9/11 terror on America was much alike the bombing of London and Antwerp by German V-2 rockets. Powerful and fearful, but the last. A desperate reaction of a wounded, dieing beast.

Beirut people, notably women, young students, Muslim burghers, marching for independence from Syria and from terror, shot the beast to death.

After the 9/11 attack on America, USA and their allies went to fight abroad, against two rogue States, invading Afghanistan and Iraq. Those high-price decisions need a short comment.

We think that overthrowing the Taliban regime was necessary to make *tabula rasa* of a Nazislamist state and destroy Al Qaida's main shelters.

Regime changing in Iraq was a question of time. USA and Great Britain were in the area, since the 1991 first Gulf War, in an endless and expensive, political and military stalemate. Kurds, Shiites and other persecuted groups needed help. Strategic oil reserves were not secure. Saddam was financing suicidal attacks in Israel and, perhaps, terrorists all over the world. Weapons of mass destruction were not a remote possibility. It was a geopolitical Gordian Knot, needed to be cut. USA and United Kingdom were obliged, first or later, to do something.

The world is a better place without Saddam Hussein and Taliban regime. We also believe next generations will be more

generous than contemporary critics, while judging these geopolitical moves.

Despite of it, after having showed comprehension and support to former war decisions, the scientist, the man, must also leave a warning. The short term result of the two invasions is, by the way, we have two dictatorships less, but two countries more which are devastated by terror. And no end is in sight²⁵.

Are we, the Westerners, loosing the terrorists' war on us?

No, definitely they are.

Nazislamist survive and are menacing our way of life, more as an chaotic nebula of unconnected terrorist cells than as a network, as Al-Qaida pretended to be. In the coming years, perhaps alas decades, they will firstly keep fighting each other, secondly killing mostly their Arabic or Islamic mates, much more than bringing terror and death to us, "Jews and Crusades". Terrorist groups will be financed as pawns and killers by the Arabic, Islamic elites, struggling rather for power in their little independent state, emirate, clan, than for leading the still virtual Caliphate.

The international Arabic media will often talk of them, in the same way our Western media used to talk about Sendero Luminoso, the Sandinistas, ETA, IRA, RAF. Portrayed somehow romantically, as Apocalypse's knights could be, but considered totally alien to ordinary life, and, what is important, definitely fired by history, political dropouts, radical losers²⁶.

The war on terror is asymmetrical, not only for a Western army cannot easily prevent nihilist terrorists, willing to suicide exploding in kindergartens, with children inside. It is asymmetrical also because the "Terror" doesn't want to win. The terrorists want firstly to die, secondly to kill.

25 <http://noendinsightmovie.com/>.

26 Enzensberger, Hans Magnus (2006), *Schreckens Männer - Versuch über den radikalen Verlierer (Frightened Men – Essay on the Radical Loser)*.

Mauro Vaiani, Disintegration as Hope

How can we defend ourselves from such desperate suicide terrorists? We should learn from the history of modern countries fighting terror, firstly Israel²⁷, along with reminding some former experiences, like Mayor Giuliani's "zero tolerance" policy in New York City, or Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa's successes against Italian Red Brigades.

Preventing “radical losers” from blindly and randomly bringing death in our contemporary society, in our modern cities, airports, railways, need unremitting ground control, 24-7 style. International intelligence cannot stop terrorists born in the block. Local policemen, visible at any cross, yes, they can do something.

A great deal of cooperation from every citizen or visitor is required. Everybody, everywhere, every time, is supposed to show not only an identity card, but also open allegiance to our founding values, keeping in queue, being punctual at job or school, singing the national hymn, kissing the national flag, showing open condemnation of terror. If one cannot be totally sincere in this effort, he could at least be a little hypocrite, in change of a hope of security.

Such concentration of civic duty, mutual care, self-sacrifice can be reclaimed only by local strong leaders, belonging to the place, talking local dialects with local accent, sharing the same destiny of the families they are supposed to protect and to serve.

In other words, while Western leaders' mistakes, along with Afghani and Iraqi leaders' ones, must be understood and filed²⁸, it's time to explore opportunities brought by the age of disintegration.

In Afghanistan we can give power back to local authorities, tribes and clans. Each of them should start providing security on its

27 Nirenstein, Fiamma (2007), *Israele siamo noi (We are Israel)*.

28 For a wide retrospective of the Bush Administration's foreign policy, see: Yaron Brook and Alex Epstein, *Neoconservative Foreign Policy: An Autopsy*, <http://www.theobjectivestandard.com/issues/2007-summer/neoconservative-foreign-policy.asp> .

Mauro Vaiani, Disintegration as Hope

territory, against the surviving Talibans. No fear eventually Afghanistan would become a sort of “barbaric” Switzerland, composed of tens *de facto* independent Cantons. Most of them will remain our allies, we will keep helping them. Those who will choice realignment with Iran, Talibans, or Drug Smugglers, should be left to their own destiny.

Iraq is already marching in the right direction of maintaining weak, formal federal bends, while each local community is organizing its self-defense against criminal insurgents who slaughter without any mercy women and children, aged and handicapped people. Worst than Nazis. Worst than Bolsheviks liquidating Kulaki.

Fighting these monsters need more democracy, not less. Local responsible bodies should be elected in each village, district, province. Money and supplies must be distributed to local authorities. Will each province probably become a feudal stronghold of a faction? Will many people living in the wrong province, as Kurds living outside Kurdistan, Christians living outside Ninive, be obliged to migrate? Ethnic cantonization sounds very politically incorrect, but it is unquestionably quite better than ethnic cleansing.

Our modest proposal is to start following the international disintegration trend, instead of paying high prices in human lives and goods defending artificial or obsolete statehood. The disintegration will help the Westerners to see an end to what they started, and they haven't yet accomplished.

Fighting the “Terrorists' War on us” is not mainly a matter of new international alliances, another invasion, one more federal agency. It is a matter of having, the people, the nearest possible to their living places, an authority they can trust.

Afghani, Iraqi, European, American peoples, the entire humanity need rather good mayors than new rhetorics, bureaucracies, wars.

7. What are they doing for us?

In a time of disintegration, the international anarchy will demonstrate once more time to be the most ancient, durable, expression of a “natural rationality”, among human institutions. In the international anarchical system, “law and order” will emerge spontaneously by consensus, leadership will be assured by great powers or greater coalitions, compromises and adjustment will alternate to conflicts and wars. The world will remain a very human place, indeed.

The disintegration will liberate the individuals and the communities from the fear of asking themselves: what are the higher and farer authorities doing for us? Are they still serving or represent no more bearable weights?

Let's concluding our analyses, imagining, for a while, to be a Western citizen living in Italy. Let's try to understand why the Italian unitarian state, established on 1861, has become a *de facto* federal Republic, fast running toward further disintegration²⁹.

Let's imagine a strike of eurocrats in Bruxel. It can last for **years**. Nobody would miss them. Maybe entrepreneurs and citizens would eventually appreciate it. They would spare a little of EU regulation costs, growing like a tropical forest.

All the national bodies and employees, in Italy, can strike for **months**. Only the very poor aged people, whose miserable pension are payed by the national welfare agency, will realize, at the end of the month, the State has closed.

29 Luca Ricolfi (2007), *Le tre società – E' ancora possibile salvare l'unità dell'Italia? (Is it still possible to save the unity of Italy?)*.

Mauro Vaiani, Disintegration as Hope

If Regions and Provinces go on strike, one may realize it in few **weeks**, for they hold responsibility of planning most of public services, which are, anyway, normally provided by independent companies, rarely going on strike together with civil servants.

But, if civil servants of cities, towns, villages and rural communities, local policemen and firemen included, start striking, one starts suffering the consequences within **days**, if not **hours**.

The inhabitant of Italy, an ancient territory, very populated, rich of diversities and full of dramatic contrasts, may ask: are all these higher and farer bureaucracies serving, or they are hulks from Italian long and complicated history? Answering this question will produce further disintegration, wishing Italy could take fruitful inspiration from the roots of its modern civilization, the Communal Age.

The local authorities are natural organs of the human community, in order to secure individual rights, deriving its just power from the consent of the burghers. All higher and farer forms of government are artificial extensions, expecting a total recall from our time of disintegration, and hope.

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Pisa, August 2007

Mauro Vaiani, Disintegration as Hope

*Dedicated to Rudy Giuliani,
the Anti-Statesman³⁰
can be a good Mayor of America.*

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30 Fred Kaplan defined Giuliani “Anti-Statesman”, <http://www.slate.com/id/2172285/fr/nl/>), criticizing his statement appeared on Foreign Affair (<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070901faessay86501/rudolph-giuliani/toward-a-realistic-peace.html>). We agree with **Yeshua**, one reader, which replied: “**Giuliani, as Kaplan suggests, may have no real leverage for pushing these reforms, but his attitude about the situation is spot-on and should be repeated for the world.**”. In our opinion, America is full up of statesman, but the country needs a Mayor.