MOVIMENTO EUROPEO
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The answer to '*Make America Great Again*' is written in the Ventotene Manifesto

The image of the world today is that of chaos, which, as we know from its origins, was not disorder but an empty or open space from which the universe was then born.

Since politics has a horror of emptiness, the division of the world between Soviet imperialism and American hegemony is now giving way to a Sino-US bipolar system that undermines multilateralism in a world where globalisation governed by the capitalism had apparently allowed the emergence of the network of so-called non-aligned countries in the years 1960s.

During the Cold War, Soviet imperialism had not renounced using the method of brutal violence when one of the satellites tried to challenge its power as happened in Budapest in 1956 and Prague in 1968.

US hegemony was no different when it came to being instrumental in supporting the brutality of the colonels in Greece in 1967 and the generals in Chile in 1973 or in complicity with dark plots in the western sphere of the planet.

Soviet imperialism and US hegemony then confronted each other directly and indirectly for years in the wars in Indochina and East Asia.

US hegemony manifested itself in Europe when George W. Bush decided to abandon the Helsinki Agreements of 1975 and the Charter of Paris of 1990 by extending NATO's area of action and influence on Russia's borders at the Prague Summit in 2002, thus anticipating the accession of Central European Countries to the European Union.

Having definitively ended Soviet imperialism, with Russia destined to be progressively relegated to the role of a regional sub-power despite Vladimir Putin's bellicose arrogance, bipolarism is now strategically, politically economically and technologically represented by the hegemony of the United States - which has never renounced prioritising their interests guaranteed by the federal model whoever sits in the Oval Office of the White House - and the global power of China, which uses the geopolitical imperialist tool of the Global South and the force of its trade and technology to impose its model of state capitalism on the world.

From this point of view, it is very likely that the foreign policy of the United States of the second Donald Trump will not undergo substantial changes with three very relevant exceptions concerning the renunciation of Ukraine's territorial claims in the regions occupied by Russia and the decision to leave the heavy burden of post-war reconstruction to the Europeans, the abandonment of the fight against climate change and the consequent renunciation of the 2015 Paris agreements, as Donald Trump himself did back in 2017, and an aggressive trade policy that will, however, have to take into account WTO rules and the fact that in international relations one normally responds tooth for tooth, i.e. duty for duty, while the policy of rejecting illegal immigrants already tightened by Joe Biden last June will be made more radical.

The foreign policy of the second Donald Trump will be made easier by the fact that the Republicans control the House of Representatives and the Senate at least until the mid-term parliamentary elections in November 2026 as well as 27 out of 50 governors and a majority of the Supreme Court justices in a system of 'lame' democracy in which the traditional federal model of *checks and balances* has been annulled.

The interdependence of domestic and external policy should make us aware of the fact that the traditional tendency towards US isolationism, long characteristic of the culture of the Democrats rather than the Republicans, is accompanied with Donald Trump by the sovereigntist ideology that has already exerted a strong influence in the world between 2016 and 2020 and will exert it even more between 2025 and 2028 because sovereigntist impulses have meanwhile increased worldwide on the right but also on the left.

It is not up to us to pass judgement on the vote of US voters. We would like to emphasise the fact that the vote of young people, Latinos and second-generation immigrants that went in the majority in support of Donald Trump is due to the Democrats' inability to explain how the system of power in the United States works, to clarify the concrete added value of civil rights protections for all minorities, and to present themselves as an alternative not only to the broad Trumpian hegemony but also to the shortcomings of the presidency of Joe Biden and his administration with a media campaign conditioned by the fact that Kamala Harris was an expression of that administration and that she only dared to break the umbilical cord with her president on 6 November 2024.

We can only hope that in the world of US *liberals*, a self-critical reflection will soon begin, first cultural and then political, involving the movements, academia, research, student associations, the world of work and sustainable production, and with the aim of elaborating alternative ideas in view of the mid-term elections in November 2026 and then the presidential elections on 8 November 2028.

Within this framework, it would be useful if forms of participatory or deliberative democracy such as those that have developed in Canada, Iceland, Ireland, Belgium, France and the Netherlands, that have found a European expression in the Conference on the Future of Europe or that are partially applied in the United States through the tool of *blockchain* against corruption, lack of transparency, disinformation and declining participation in local elections in the federal states, would also be imagined in the United States.

The European response to Donald Trump's '*Make America Great Again*' programme, which was inspired by a similar slogan of Ronald Reagan in 1980, cannot be the equal and parallel slogan '*Make Europe Great Again*' by replacing the nationalism of States with an improbable and dangerous European nationalism and the sovereignism of the various patriots with the idea of a sovereign European homeland destined to increase international chaos and conflicts.

Rather, the path to follow is that of a growing European strategic autonomy in research, in the development of new technologies, starting with renewable and alternative energies and the infosphere, in social and environmental convergence as an objective to guarantee competitiveness, in international cooperation with countries that export raw materials and labour human resources, in lifelong learning and in intergenerational

solidarity, knowing that all this requires a substantial multiannual budget financed by true own resources and by common debt to invest in European public goods and not in a set of national projects as happened with the NGEU.

Strategic autonomy also includes the creation of a common military instrument as envisioned by the European Council in 1999 with the *Helsinki Headline Goal* with a deployment of forces (which were then envisioned at 15 brigades and 180.000 personnel and not the laughable 5,000 personnel of the Strategic Compass adopted in May 2022) to achieve all the objectives of the Petersberg Missions of a humanitarian and rescue nature, peacekeeping and crisis management, including *peace building* and *peace enforcement*, inspection of compliance with international treaties and the fight against terrorism, in the knowledge that the creation of this instrument will not tend to require greater expenditure, with the exception of industrial investment in new technologies, but effective interoperability between national armed forces and intelligence services.

Giving substance to a sustainable project of international governance and shared sovereignty - inspired by the 2030 Agenda and based on the Pact for the Future adopted by the United Nations Summit of 22 September 2024 by filling its silences (LINK) in the fight against disinformation, in prioritising ethical finance in the fair management of migratory flows and in the fight against climate change - the European response to Donald Trump's sovereigntyism and Xi Jinping's imperialism must rediscover and relaunch the political and cultural value of the Ventotene Manifesto (LINK) in its international dimension of the fight against absolute sovereignties.

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