

Nationalism is war, not only our past but can be our future
(François Mitterrand, 17 January 1995)

Elon Musk relaunched, in the night between Saturday and Sunday on X, the idea of a European nationalist movement '*to make Europe bigger*' using the MEGA (*Make Europe Great Again*) slogan exploited by Viktor Orban for the six months of the rotating presidency of the Council of the European Union that he has been allowed by the cowardice of all the European institutions (European Council, Commission and European Parliament) with the sole exception of the Court of Justice, which had pointed out the risks of this presidency but which has no power to take away the powers of a member State that violates the Rule of Law.

As we know, the slogan is intended to ape the *Make America Great Again* (MAGA) message at the heart of the presidential campaign of Ronald Reagan who governed the United States from 1981 to 1989 during a political phase characterised by a conservative supply-side economic policy (*Reaganomics*) and increased military spending (*Strategic Defence Initiative*) and which was relaunched by Donald Trump in 2016 and then in 2024.

The idea of a worldwide alliance of nationalist movements starting from Europe was pursued before Elon Musk by Steve Bannon who worked for the creation of a network of far-right parties, who was an advisor to Donald Trump in 2017, who was arrested and charged with conspiracy and money laundering, and who was pardoned by Donald Trump just hours before the end of his term.

We do not sufficiently realise that the nationalism of States cannot be fought and defeated with a geopolitically superior form of nationalism by imagining a world controlled by regional integration organisations in which each defends its (supra)national interests, its economic and productive competitiveness, its finance, its strategic security, i.e. in which the principle of absolute sovereignty transferred from within States to within regional integration organisations prevails.

We must think carefully about what François Mitterrand said to us in Strasbourg on 17 January 1995 a year before his death when he invited us to '*overcome our history*', warning us that '*if we fail to overcome it, we must know that a rule will impose itself: nationalism is war, war is not only our past but can also be our future*'.

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The image of the world today is one of chaos, and since politics has a horror of emptiness, the division of the world between Soviet imperialism and American hegemony has given way to a Sino-US bipolar system that undermines multilateralism with a globalisation governed by big capital and aggressive finance, of which Elon Musk is the example.

Having definitively ended Soviet imperialism with Russia progressively relegated to the role of a regional power, bipolarity is now strategically, politically, economically and technologically represented by the hegemony of the United States and the global power of China, which uses the imperialist geopolitical tool against the Global South and the force of its trade and technology to impose its model of State capitalism on the world.

The interdependence of domestic and foreign policy in the United States should make us aware that the traditional US tendency towards isolationism 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 until 2028 because sovereigntist impulses have meanwhile increased worldwide.

The European response to Donald Trump's *'Make America Great Again'* programme cannot therefore be the equal and parallel slogan *'Make Europe Great Again'* by replacing the nationalism of States with an improbable and dangerous European nationalism and by unifying the sovereignty of the various patriots with the idea of a sovereign European homeland destined to increase international chaos and conflicts.

Rather, the road to take 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 ensure competitiveness, in international cooperation with countries exporting raw materials and labour that includes a welcoming and inclusive migration policy, in lifelong learning and intergenerational solidarity.

All this requires a substantial multi-year budget financed by own resources and common debt to invest in European public goods and not in a set of national projects as was the case with the NGEU.

Also within the framework of strategic autonomy is the creation of a common military instrument as envisaged by the European Council in 1999 to achieve all the objectives of the Petersberg Missions of a humanitarian and rescue, peacekeeping and crisis management nature, including those of peace restoration (peace-keeping, peace

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building and peace enforcement), inspection of compliance with international treaties and the fight against terrorism.

The creation of this instrument will not require increased expenditure except for industrial investment in innovative technologies but effective interoperability between national armed forces and between intelligence services.

By 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 in the fight against disinformation, in the priority given to ethical finance, in the fair management of migration 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 in its international dimension of the fight against absolute sovereignties.

Rome, 4 February 2025

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