



EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION IN PROGRESS

THE DANGER OF A POLITICAL “CIVIL WAR” LOOMS WITHIN THE WEST

From now on, nothing is right between Donald Trump and the Europeans. The rupture is consumed for good.

During two days in La Malbaie, in eastern Canada, G7 participants, and especially Europeans, had to face Donald Trump's threats and impulsiveness. The American President has once again flip-flopped against his European, Japanese and Canadian allies. On Saturday night, Donald Trump announced on Twitter his withdrawal from the G7 leaders' joint statement. Long before the summit, it was already clear that this two-day meeting would be a "G6+1", with Donald Trump going it alone. While everyone tried to save appearances by convincing themselves of their union, Donald Trump finally proved that, this was definitely not his ambition.

Donald Trump has bluntly criticized Canadian Justin Trudeau showing thereby his total contempt for his G7 allies. That means in plain English/ commercial war and confrontation in line with his electoral priority: *America first*.

A few minutes before Trump sent out his inflammatory tweets, his hawkish national security adviser, John Bolton, appeared to anticipate them by sending a tweet of his own, deriding the G7 summit he had just attended. “*Just another G7 where other countries expect America will always be their bank. The President made it clear today. No more,*” Bolton said.

Trump's last-minute turnaround on the G7 proved a win for Bolton's unilateralist approach to US foreign policy.

His aggressive tweets definitely represent a blow to Emmanuel Macron and Angela Merkel, who believed they had negotiated a deal to smooth over tensions on US-European trade.

Donald Trump's comment: *Why should I, as President of the United States, allow countries to continue to make Massive Trade Surpluses, as they have for decades, while our Farmers, Workers & Taxpayers have such a big and unfair price to pay? Not fair to the PEOPLE of America! \$800 Billion Trade Deficit;*

And add to that the fact that the U.S. pays close to the entire cost of NATO-protecting many of these same countries that rip us off on Trade (they pay only a fraction of the cost-and laugh!). The European Union had a \$151 Billion Surplus-should pay much more for Military!

Put bluntly: nothing seems right between Trump and the European leaders. Right from the start, Trump has never concealed his support for nationalist and eurosceptic Marine Le Pen who was received with deference and sympathy at the *Trump Tower* by the presidential candidate.

And now, on top of it all, the American ambassador in Germany intends to *support the "conservatives" in Europe*. Berlin asked Richard Grenell for explanations after his statements in an interview with the US alt-right news website Breitbart on 4 June. Richard Grenell, who has been stationed in Berlin for less than a month, has stated unequivocally. *I absolutely want to support other Conservatives across Europe, other leaders. I think that Donald Trump's election allowed people to say that they cannot allow the political class to determine who will win or who should be a candidate before the election takes place, (...) We experience an awakening of the silent majority, those who reject the elites and their bubble. [A movement] led by Trump,"* he added.

TRUMPIAN ONSLAUGHT TO UNDERMINE EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY.

Steve Bannon tells French far-right "history is on our side"

Oddly enough, Steve Bannon is on a far-right mission *to radicalise Europe*. Natalie Nougayrède, Guardian staff columnist comments: *Don't be fooled by Bannon's split with Trump. He's leading a Trumpian onslaught to undermine European democracy itself.*

President Trump's former chief strategist has visited Europe twice in the past four months, touring several capitals. He has been spreading the gospel of the "national populist revolt", and he sees Europe as fertile ground for his global crusade.

Italy's current politics are a gift to him. But he has also been applauded by audiences in Prague, Budapest and France.

It's easy to dismiss Bannon as an isolated maverick, a man who was chucked out of the White House last August before being fired by Breitbart in January. (...) His trips across the Atlantic are part of an ideological struggle between "nationalists" and "globalists", a battle that he is seeking both to frame and to escalate. (...) What's clear is that Bannon has been busy

nurturing relationships with some of the most disruptive forces in Europe. And he was interested in the continent long before Trump launched his bid for power.

In 2014 Bannon chose a Vatican palace as the venue to set out his worldview, before an audience composed of ultra-conservative Catholic groups. In Budapest he was recently introduced on stage as “a great thinker”. In Italy he hailed the new far-right populist coalition as a “historic alliance”. In Prague he called the postwar liberal order a “fetish”. Earlier this year, in northern France, he attended a gathering around Marine Le Pen, where he electrified the crowd with these words: “Let them call you racist, xenophobes, nativists, homophobes, misogynists – wear it as a badge of honour!”

What exactly is Bannon’s plan? Who’s financing him? How might his activities play into next year’s European parliament elections (2019)? Most journalists who have met him in Europe focus on Trump or US politics. That leaves aside the scope of his brand of “all-right” transatlanticism. Is he just an opportunist seeking the limelight wherever populists win? **Or could Bannon be the advance guard of a Trumpian onslaught against the European project itself?**

Trump’s hostility to the EU is hardly a secret. We know he has no idea what the European project is fundamentally about. His policies leave little doubt that he wouldn’t care if it disintegrated altogether. It’s interesting that Bannon’s travels to Europe coincide with a brewing transatlantic trade war, the ticking clock of Brexit, and the struggling efforts of EU leaders to stave off another eurozone crisis.

In fact, we’d be fools to think Bannon is just an attention-seeking clown. He’s far from stupid. And he’s worth listening to, as a means of understanding how what has bound the US and Europe since 1945 is unravelling. While in Europe, he said Trump’s 2017 Warsaw speech – in which the president declared that “**the fundamental question of our time is whether the west has the will to survive**” – was “**the most important of his presidency**”. **Think about it.** That speech contained nothing less than a redefinition of the west as a nationalist, Christian entity pitted against barbarians.

Bannon doesn’t expressly call for the demise of the European project. Rather, he expects it to mutate, following the dismantling of its single currency and the defeat of liberal and universalist values, into “a **confederation of free and independent states**”. **Bannon has spoken of a “brave new world” starting in Europe.** He says Europe needs to worry about ‘the new axis of China, Turkey and Persia against the judeo-Christian world’.

*Last week, shortly after Bannon's latest European tour, I met Poland's secretary of state for European affairs, Konrad Szymański, on the sidelines of a conference in Tallinn. Szymański, whose national conservative government rolled out the red carpet for Trump last year, didn't want to say much about Bannon. But he did insist on **the need for Europe to reconnect with "1950s-1960s traditions" and "a more communitarian sense of national identity"**.*

Bannon's Gramsci-style culture war against "elites", and his exhortations to be "very aggressive about confronting Brussels", have an eager potential audience in Europe, not least in its central and eastern regions.

*Perhaps the influence one man wields shouldn't be exaggerated. But Bannon did, after all, help get Trump elected, and now it looks like he's laying the groundwork for the emergence of a kind of "alt-right International". **He's working to undermine European liberal democracies in the name of an insurgent ideology that blends ultra-nationalism, the defence of "workers' rights", and protectionist reflexes.** In Europe he behaves almost as a spokesman for Trump. He says Europe needs to worry less about Russia, and more about "the new axis of China, Turkey and Persia against the judeo-Christian world".*

*Bannon and his European allies embody everything Emmanuel Macron – Europe's liberal flag-bearer – recently warned against when he spoke of the danger of a **political "civil war" within the EU**. The title of Bannon's talk in Budapest was "Trump's America First and its impact on central Europe". He may come across as an eccentric, a rabble-rouser, even an entertainer. We should be tracking his tactics and his moves, not just his sarcasms. Otherwise we risk sleepwalking to disaster.*

IS LIBERAL DEMOCRACY OVER?

Are Western liberal democracies in mortal danger? An unthinkable question a few years ago. Today, it is haunting the minds of many European and American intellectuals. The question of borders, the weakening of the role of the State, the migration crisis or the rise of islamism. These are all phenomena that fuel the unease of democracy in the west. A malaise of which the result of the Italian legislative elections is the latest symptom.

The approach of U.S. President Donald Trump, who does not hesitate to take hostile action against his allies if it is in his interest, is unprecedented. We Europeans must swiftly learn from it.

Paradoxically, US President Donald Trump seems more disposed towards North Korean dictator Kim Jong than towards his European, Japanese and Canadian allies, leaders of democracies with whom his country is supposed to share a community of interests and values.

European leaders left La Malbaie, Quebec with the feeling of a deep fracture within the Western camp, caused by the protectionist policy and the outbursts of anger of an increasingly irrational American president.

This summit, many of whom feared it would be more of a G6+1 than a G7, actually turned into a G6-1. (Le Monde)

The American President hates multilateral meetings, to which he prefers man-to-man face-to-face meetings. He despises the European Union and is not willing to hide it, including from his "friend" Emmanuel Macron. Donald Trump, explained on Fox News his economic adviser, Peter Navarro, *had better things to do than to go to Canada to sign a socialist communiqué.*

"EUROPE MUST BECOME A PROMISE AGAIN"

In partnership with the German weekly "Die Zeit", "Le Monde" publishes this dramatic appeal by Navid Kermani, German writer and orientalist in favour of Europe and Emmanuel Macron's proposals for its refoundation

On Sunday 3 June, Angela Merkel gave the first hints of how the German government will react to the proposals for a "sovereign, united and democratic Europe" presented in September 2017 by Emmanuel Macron. The public opinion does not seem to have understood the importance of the German response, given Europe's existential crisis.

(...) Germany will make a few minor concessions to its neighbour - it would be too embarrassing to say no to everything - but German political parties have so far not even declared themselves willing to accept supranational lists in European elections, let alone to take measures restricting national sovereignty.

As for the re-foundation of Europe that Emmanuel Macron has called for, no one should talk about it after the end of June.

We Germans prefer to continue sailing on sight, even if, customs barriers are raised by the United States, even if the government alliance of the extreme left Eurosceptic and the extreme rightists in Italy are opening the ground under our feet.

We risk losing Europe when we do not believe in it ourselves, when we reduce it to its economic utility, when we take markets and money as arguments instead of conceiving unification as the great central political project of European enlightenment.

*(...) Not all Member States would probably approve a Franco-German initiative that would result in a real and profound transformation of Europe. In this case, those who stand firm to the goal of a united Europe and are prepared to put to the people's vote a modified and better treaty, and to fight for their assent, must take the lead role. A community of this type would start again to exert an immense attraction, especially on young people including and precisely in the countries whose governments today base their image on the rejection of Europe. because the nationalists will not be able to keep their promises and will come out the losers of the episode. Europe must stop being the scapegoat behind which each government hides to justify its own failure. **Europe must once again become a promise.***

*(...) In his Sorbonne speech, Emmanuel Macron did not provide a convincing solution to all the problems. At least he will have identified a few shortcomings with the necessary clarity and outlined the dimensions of the most urgent reforms, speaking of a **re-foundation of the European Union.***

The Germans act as if the only concern of the French President was to plunder their wool stockings. The Germans blame the nationalism of others and oversee to what extent their own arguments seem nationalistic to the rest of Europeans.

If the German response to the French proposals were to be too weak, too anxious, too selfish, not only would the essential shortcomings of the European Union remain after the summer, but the hope that one day Europe would seriously tackle these shortcomings would disappear.

If after the 2019 election the pro-European camp were no longer to have a majority in the Strasbourg Parliament - and this is conceivable in the event of low participation- the European institutions would be practically incapable of working. If, on top of that, the euro fails because of the foreseeable debt crisis in Italy, the European Union can no longer be saved in its existing form and will eventually collapse under the weight of particular national interests that have proved irreconcilable.

Our generation, including Angela Merkel, would thus have destroyed the most politically valuable entity ever formed on this continent, by overcoming wars and genocides: the project of European unification.

The coming weeks will tell us whether Angela Merkel will go down in history as a great European or not. Germany cannot decently refrain from seizing the opportunity offered by Emmanuel Macron's unlikely victory in France.

THE SOLUTION FOR THE EU: GETTING STRONGER BUT HOW?

We Europeans must now learn from this deep crisis. Without yielding to the grandiloquence of the so-called end of the west, we must face the new reality, that of a first-rate partner, the United States, that does not hesitate to take hostile measures against them.

The only solution for the EU, in an increasingly turbulent global environment, is to strengthen itself.

No one knows what format the G7 summit to be hosted by France in 2019 in Biarritz will take, but one thing is imperative: that Europe needs to be united - and not just in words. (Le Monde)

Emmanuel Macron has been constantly proclaiming his European commitment since the beginning of his presidential campaign. His mad ambition is to repeat the same feat in the 2019 European elections. He will not succeed without the unconditional support of the German Chancellor and the Benelux governments. But that won't prove enough.

The European Commission in Brussels has made the great mistake of neglecting the essential: the European public opinion, our common values and the common culture that ought to convey them.

Euronews has failed to unify and federate a European public opinion and so has *Arte* (only 3% of the French and German audience) and there is still no such thing as one European folk. It has been Eyes of Europe's conviction for more than two decades that it is time for some form of European educational system to tackle the challenge of challenges: expressing the Voice of Europe in the same efficient way as *Voice of America* has been voicing western liberal values for decades.

National and regional education systems have failed overall in Europe. Education in its national or regional conception opposes peoples and cultures more than it brings them closer together.

The example of Belgium, my country, the most European of all European partners, should make us reflect. By entrusting education to the French-speaking and Flemish communities, the federal state has created a gap between Flemings and Walloons that is no more to be overbridged. Belgium, one of the founding states of the European Union, now risks evaporating into two competing nations.

Eyes of Europe, an auto-active educational platform, aims to offer one and the same European education in English and in real time to all young Europeans in Portugal, Romania, the Netherlands, Luxembourg you name it.

It is high time that Eyes Of Europe proved that Jean Monnet was right to think that *"if he had to do it over again, he would start with culture"*.

[MARC GUIOT](#)

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