



## Yanis Varoufakis: After 2025, Europe Is Changed Forever

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**Yanis Varoufakis:** Hello, I'm Yanis Varoufakis with a message on behalf of DiEM25, with our collective DiEM25 wishes to each and every one of you for 2026. 2025 was a pivotal year. We knew it would be, and we knew it a decade ago. This is why we added the number 25 to our movement's name and logo back then. Because we knew that having failed to democratize, Europe would descend into a cesspit of xenophobia, economic stagnation, rampant inequality, discontent, and therefore neofascism, state repression, and yes, warmongering. That's why we created DiEM25 in the first place. Not out of vanity, not so much because we believed we would succeed in democratizing the European Union and thus save the EU from itself – no, our real purpose was to create a transnational movement of like-minded radical humanists, radical progressives, whose duty would be together to pick up

Europe's pieces once Europe's rulers drove Europe into the rocks, as they did. That moment is now.

Even we, who had predicted how Europe's policies of austerity for the many and massive money printing for big finance and big business would bring on a postmodern version of the 1930s. Even we are rubbing our eyes at the sight of the extent of the warmongering that poisons the minds of Europeans. Last month, Germany's defense minister, Boris Pistorius, told us, he told the German people, that they already had our last summer of peace, his government going on to release an app that helps Germans locate their nearest bunker. Another man with great daddy issues, NATO Secretary General Mark Rutte, declared that we are Russia's next target, and we must be prepared for the scale of war our grandparents or great-grandparents endured. Seriously? Professional soldiers chimed in. Sir Richard Knighton, the United Kingdom's chief of defense staff, called on Britain's sons and daughters to be ready to fight. A French general, Fabien Mandon, encouraged the people of France to prepare to lose its children, to suffer economically because defense production must take precedence. Really? And to cap it all, Europe's foreign and defense policy chief Kaja Kallas, the former Estonian Prime Minister, who had not so long ago outrageously declared Europe's objective to be the breakup of Russia into multiple ethnic meaning states. My goodness. Well, she went on better or worse by revising history with an even more outrageous statement: the statement that Russia had never been attacked by a European nation, as if Hitler and Operation Barbarossa never happened.

DiEM25 's analysis had foreshadowed that a long time ago. We had predicted that since our generations 1929, yes, the banking disaster of 2008, ever since 2008, austerity for the masses and money printing for the very few would fashion a new great stagnation, a new xenophobia, a new environment in which the illusion of a peaceful, civilized Europe would evaporate, unveiling what? A dark Europe that went to war with its people by desperately seeking enemies beyond its borders. Since 2016, DiEM25 has been showing Europeans an alternative path. We called it the Green New Deal for Europe. And we ran with it in European and national elections after 2019. Though we had little electoral success, our Green New Deal for Europe was an important contribution, because even today it still shines as a guide to the path not taken, to the path that Europe could and should have taken, but didn't, because it was not in the interests of the oligarchy running Europe to follow that path.

Now, fast forward to 2025: the year DiEM25 had warned would shatter everyone's illusions. The year of a disintegration of the European Union's financial, political, geostrategic, and ethical facade. And by golly, 2025 did not fail to disappoint. In fact, it proved even more poignant than we at DiEM25 had foreshadowed. How? By delivering three almighty blows that changed everything. The first blow was that Russia won the Ukraine war over Europe's combined leadership, who'd idiotically committed rhetorically to a Ukrainian victory they were unwilling even to bankroll, let alone send troops to deliver. Now with its strategy in tatters, Europe is exposed as a self-deceived victim of its own hubris. Think about it. To achieve the victory over Russia they craved, they would have to approve spending they considered too expensive. So what did they do? They settled on the worst possible strategy

for Ukraine and for Europe, sending just enough equipment to Ukraine to prolong the bleeding without altering the war's course. Their real incentive, with zero concern for Ukraine or its people, Europe's leadership had banked on a never-ending Ukrainian war to justify its only remaining growth strategy. I call it military Keynesianism, a last-ditch stand against Europe's deindustrialization, a deindustrialization that was almost inevitable after the inane handling of the inevitable Euro crisis, 10, 15, 20 years ago. That plan, military Keynesianism using Ukraine as an excuse, is now also in ruins.

The second blow was that China won the trade and the tech war against the United States, leveraging its monopoly over rare earths and mobilizing its stupendous whole nation system toward technological autarchy. Europe, having dutifully imposed on China the sanctions dictated by the White House, has now been left with the worst of all worlds. Increasingly shut out of the lucrative Chinese market for its high-value goods, yet receiving none of the lavish subsidies and the onshoring benefits of Biden's now rescinded defunct inflation reduction act. By choosing to act as a strategic subcontractor to the United States, the European Union leadership accelerated Europe's own de-industrialization. This was not a loss in a trade war, it was a geopolitical checkmate. And Europe, well, Europe featured only as the losing side's pawn.

The third blow was the ease with which Trump won his tariff war against the European Union. At the end of their meeting at one of Trump's golf clubs in Scotland, choreographed by Trump's men to maximize her humiliation, Ursula von der Leyen, the president of the European Commission, struggled to portray a surrender document as a landmark agreement between America and Europe. Tariffs on European exports to the United States jumped from half a percent to 15% and in some cases to 25% and even 50%. Meanwhile, longstanding EU tariffs on US exports were canceled.

Last but definitely not least, Mrs. Von der Leyen committed to \$700 billion of European investment in the United States on US soil. Money that can come only from diverting mainly German investments to chemical factories in Texas and car plants in Ohio. This was more than a bad deal. You know what it was? It was an unprecedented colonial style capital extraction treaty, one that formalized Europe's transition from an industrial competitor in the United States to a supplicant. These three shocks form a synergistic trilogy of horrors. Europe's defeat in Ukraine has revealed its strategic blind spots and it has punctured its military Keynesian project. Trump's acquiescence to China's President Xi has triggered a flood of Chinese exports to the European Union. The shakedown in Scotland has cost Europe its accumulated capital and any lingering hope of parity.

This emerging G2 world resembles a gladiatorial arena where the European Union and the United Kingdom now wander aimlessly in this new harder, colder world order. Europe's oligarchs, Europe's failing ruling class, Europe's lumpen bourgeoisie, panic stricken, are ready to destroy what is left of Europe's social fabric to save themselves. They will warmonger till the cows come home. They will demonize every foreigner who is not loaded with money. They will use austerity to turn us against each other to buy time for themselves.

They will use fear to turn one proud people against another proud people. They will use loathing to turn communities against themselves. They will embrace every authoritarian measure to silence dissent. They will embrace every form of misanthropy to maintain their fading power.

Already we have seen how they never encounter a war they don't like. We saw the panache with which they made Europe complicit to Israel's never-ending genocide of the Palestinian people. We witnessed their readiness to demonstrate that they are as keen to humiliate migrants and asylum seekers as the next racist bigot. Is this not the time for the rest of us to do something about it? If not in 2026, then when? Do what, I hear you ask. Well, how about resisting them to begin with? Resistance is existence, the Palestinians have taught us decades ago. More recently, they also taught us its inverse: that existence in itself can be a form of resistance. We know what needs to be done.

DiEM25 has demonstrated through our Green New Deal for Europe how we can push huge investments into good quality green jobs, how we can socialize our money, democratize our workplaces, and lift locals up without putting foreigners down. We know all this, and we also know that our rulers would rather see the planet burn than allow for any of this to happen. Which means one thing: first we resist them. Then we resist some more. Only then will we have earned the right to dream of a future that is once again something to look forward to. So this is DiEM25's message for 2026, our message for the next decade, all the way to 2035: Let us resist. And let us make our resistance not only effective and creative, but also fun, joyous, inspiring, together. Happy New Year, and of course, carpe diem.

**END**