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## *The deal-oriented world order*

*Calculated rule-breaking. Under Donald Trump, the US is pursuing a libertarian-conservative agenda of unfettered capitalism. On the ideology of "Trumpism"*



*"I am your warrior, I am your justice." Donald Trump, the warrior of capital (New Orleans, February 9, 2025)*

On September 25, 2015, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution entitled "Transforming Our World," which, as Agenda 2030, attempts to give concrete form to the rules-based global order. It is conceived as an action plan for people, the planet, and prosperity. Its goal is to ensure universal peace in greater freedom. A world order encompassing all states, founded on international law, and advancing its capitalism under American leadership—that was the ideal of rules-based globalism, which the Trump administration is now putting an end to.

Looking at this world order today, the ideal of a world of states regulated by international law and committed to common principles can no longer be spoken of. The USA, as the dominant creator and driver of global capitalism, not only questions its rules, but also emphatically

makes it clear that it sees them as an attack on its sovereignty and national security. The rejection of the rules-based world order occurs simultaneously on several levels: multilateral institutions and processes are rejected; considerations of international law are not taken into account in foreign policy decisions. National interests take precedence over principles of international law in every respect. US sovereignty has top priority in all matters of international conflict resolution, and "the world" must provide the necessary support for this.<sup>1</sup> By withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement, the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, the withdrawal from UN organizations, the withdrawal from the UN Human Rights Council, the rejection of any international jurisdiction, the threat of punishment for "anti-American" rulings, and other actions, the US under the Trump administration is making it clear that the rules of the world order are intended solely to serve the standards of a world domination that prioritizes American interests.

### **Deal and dealer**

The sheer force of the military power with which the USA is equipped as guarantor of the rules-based world order it has created ensures that this claim is not an exaggerated self-perception, but rather an ideological declaration of war for the entire world of states.

The "America First" principle means anything but restraint on the part of the world's leading power when it comes to global governance. The recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital, the plans to depopulate the Gaza Strip, the consideration of annexing Greenland, the seizure of the Panama Canal, and the vision of making Canada an American federal state are just a few of the indications of a "globalism" that defines the principle of sovereign statehood somewhat differently.

When, on the basis of the overwhelming imperialist power of the USA, its president describes the "deal" as the principle of his negotiation and conflict resolution program, this does not reflect the peasant cunning of a particularly skilled negotiator, but rather sheds light on the ruthlessness with which national interests will in future be addressed (whether asked or not) to the world of states and are expected to follow American-defined cost-benefit calculations. The term "deal" also points to the fact that strategic partnerships must be measured by whether they are sufficiently advantageous for the American people in terms of a cost-benefit analysis. In this respect, the Ukraine deal with Russia also points to far more than the fact that the costs of waging war for the USA are to be imposed on the European partners.

The upheaval of the international order in the name of deals and apparent pragmatism reveals a missionary zeal that indicates that people with conviction are at work here. The relentlessness with which the Trump administration is proceeding in its reordering of the

world betrays an idealistic and ideological motivation that goes far beyond the economism of advantageous deals. Some aspects of this ideological program will be discussed in more detail below.

### **The final battle**

When announcing his 2024 presidential candidacy, Donald Trump used the phrase "final battle." In this battle, he said, "either the deep state will *destroy* America, or we will destroy the *deep* state," adding his intended role: "I am your warrior, I am your justice... For those who have been wronged, who have been betrayed... I am your retribution."

From the perspective of Trump and the Make America Great Again (MAGA) movement, the USA is on a direct march toward unfreedom. Responsible for this is a state that, through its bureaucracy, hampers its citizens and endangers individual freedom. Trump sees himself as the figurehead of a "culture war" whose mission is to save the future of civilization. The MAGA movement's opponent in the culture war is a platform whose anti-freedom values are symbolized by the "deep state": immigration into the social systems, genderization, "climate hysteria," contempt for family and church, globalization of politics, disregard for private property, taxation of citizens, etc. The culture warriors counter this with the view that freedom in all areas is the best. On the ruins of the state, according to the idea conveyed in the Kulturkampf, a new order is to be built which, on the basis of a "natural order" guaranteed by the institutions of family, church and nation, realizes the freedom that is increasingly stolen from individuals by the welfare state, migration, taxes, fiat money and other devilry approved by the state.

It is easy to see the material core that shapes this concept of freedom: private property and the associated right to increase it without state restrictions is synonymous with the freedom granted to the individual in a capitalist society. Trumpism thus stands in the tradition of right-wing populism that defines itself as libertarian-conservative and adopts a program formulated in an article in the Rothbard-Rockwell Report titled "Right Wing Populism: A Strategy for the Paleo Movement." Accordingly, the strategy of right-wing populism, which is primarily directed against the existing state and its elites, includes eight main points: First, taxes should be radically reduced. Second, the welfare state should be radically abolished. Third, privileges for protected minorities should be abolished. Fourth, the streets should be made safe again. Fifth, the poor and vagrants should be removed from the streets. Sixth, the central bank of the United States, the Federal Reserve, should be abolished. Seventh, an "America First" program should be implemented. And eighth, traditional family values should be

defended; the state should stay out of family matters, and parents should retain control over the upbringing of their children.<sup>2</sup>

The unconditional validity of the freedom of private property includes the open acknowledgement of social inequality and is at the same time a program of struggle against social democratic or socialist conceptions of social justice, which, from the perspective of libertarian ideology, can only be brought about through state-orchestrated redistribution, which in turn presupposes the interference with the freedom of private property.

### **Freedom and Nation**

In its first days in office, the Trump administration, as announced, comprehensively eliminated programs for diversity, equality, and inclusion. The goal is to restore values that correspond to the "natural order" of society and that programs of "wokeness" and "gender mainstreaming" would contradict. The "natural order" of society is represented by the institutions of family, church, and nation, which are religiously based (by the Bible) and supposedly correspond to the human will for freedom. Trumpism sees the traditional form of the family, in which men and women are supposed to constitute a social form based on stability and continuity, as threatened by egalitarianism in gender relations, thus believing that a natural social foundation of the people is in jeopardy. The values that make a free, capitalist society viable, according to the culture-warrior idea, are represented by family and religion, which are the antipodes of nihilism, relativism, gender, social justice, and equality. The natural order of society is hierarchical, and this hierarchy applies not only to male-female relationships, but also to the religious order of a society represented by the church, which ultimately takes shape in the nation as a union of a freedom-loving people. Everything that goes under the banner of "socialism" is an enemy of this "natural order" of society.

The Kulturkampf, waged in the name of the natural order of society, broadly identifies the enemies of freedom who attempt to change society towards socialism through social redistribution, state (statist) rules and regulations, and "ideologically" motivated interventions in private property:

In this respect, the "welfare state" is a prime example of supposedly misguided social redistribution. The "party" of the welfare state is paid for by the taxpayer, and the declared goal of the welfare state is defined as making citizens dependent on the state. "Social politicians always find a new gap in justice that still needs to be filled, because their own actions constantly create new injustices," says Alice Weidel. The expansion of the welfare state, which "ultimately only feeds the bureaucracies and clientele" that depend on it, must therefore be fought.<sup>3</sup> The fundamental conviction that state subsidies create the very problems

they claim to combat is formulated by the Spanish economist Huerta de Soto: "The plans against poverty create more poverty. The only way out is more freedom."<sup>4</sup>

From a libertarian perspective, the fight against climate change is also a prime example of misguided state interventionism. The reversal of Joe Biden's green policy is one of Donald Trump's most important campaign promises. The US must become the "cheapest energy location in the world." To achieve this, new gas and oil fields must be developed and the corresponding power plants built. Libertarians believe that no measures should be taken to combat climate change whose costs exceed the potential benefits.

From a libertarian perspective, state interventionism is particularly evident in the issue of migration. Not only does the state tolerate and support "immigration into the welfare state," it also finances crime, which the state is increasingly depriving citizens of the resources to combat. The common distinction between legal and illegal migration is actually irrelevant to practical measures against migration: Trump's border patrol commissioner, Tom Homan, announced that he would immediately begin searching for illegal immigrants, especially criminals: "We will focus on those who endanger public safety," Homan told CNN. At the same time, he made clear that migrants who have not committed crimes should also be deported.

The Kulturkampf against the supposedly socialist statist can also be understood as a correction of the Left's decades-long dominance of society. With anti-discrimination laws, the Left attempted to deprive citizens of control over the protection of their property; with central banks, they attempted to accelerate the printing of paper money to ever-expand state measures and thus expropriate citizens; and with an expansive legal system, they pursued the idea of creating a social order that is diametrically opposed to the idea of private property as the regulating force of a free society.

Those who, with the cultural Marxist idea of equality and justice, cultivate a "state totalitarianism" that seeks to become independent of traditions and institutions such as church and family in order to control all of society are thus marked as enemies. Trumpism seeks to restore freedom to the oppressed people, and this, of course, requires considerable state power. This is reflected in the "America First" agenda, which not only aims to reorganize the world of states, but also simultaneously seeks to wage war with the Western world's value system dominated by cultural Marxism, a struggle that lives up to the missionary mandate of the MAGA movement. The fact that the rules-based world order, of all things, represents the

ideas that the MAGA movement opposes is one of the paradoxes currently plunging the European world of states into crisis.

### **The geopolitical mission**

From a European perspective, Trump's foreign policy follows the model of a "bazaar." Western values are trampled upon, and the focus is solely on business. Trump's global order can be characterized as follows: "The focus is therefore on the self-interest of states, or rather, those at the head of state, who combine political with their own economic interests. They view international politics as a competition for resources, in which the law of the strongest prevails. Negotiations are preferably between individual states, and alliances are entered into only for deals. At the next opportunity, they act against each other again. The 'rules-based world order,' international legal norms, and treaties are invoked when they serve to enforce their own goals, but do not form the basis of their own actions," summarizes Silvia Stöber for the "Tagesschau."<sup>5</sup>

While the US has in the past only respected international norms and treaties when it served its own interests, it is not entirely true to say that the deals that are the sole focus of the conference are entirely without a missionary mandate. At the Munich Security Conference, US Vice President JD Vance, to the astonishment of those present, did not want to talk about security policy at all; he was concerned with something else: "And you know, one of the things I wanted to talk about today is, of course, our shared values." What worries him most is not the threat from outside, but the threat from within, and by this, Vance means Europe's retreat "from some of its most fundamental values, values that it shares with the United States of America." His examples: A former EU Commissioner expressed enthusiasm about the Romanian government's annulment of the presidential election; in Germany, police conducted raids against citizens who posted anti-feminist content; in Sweden, a Christian activist was convicted for participating in Koran burnings; In Great Britain, the government charged an army veteran for praying silently for three minutes 50 meters from an abortion clinic; and, in general, political decisions had led to the approval of "mass immigration," which in turn resulted in terrorist attacks like the one in Munich. Finally, Vance addressed the German debate about the "firewall": Such a wall should not exist in democracies, he said, because elected politicians must be respected.

Vance reminds the assembled European security elite of the essence of freedom, which is ennobled by respect for democratic ideals particularly dear to right-wing populism: the preservation of the family, the fight against migration, the celebration of biblical living, and

the unhindered spread of the message of ethnic nationalism. From this perspective, the value system of liberal Europe is characterized by the disintegration of the moral order constituting a nation, which finds expression in the preservation of traditional categories of gender, race, sexuality, culture, and society. From this perspective, a Europe succumbing to statism symbolizes a turn to the sworn enemy of freedom: socialism, against which Trumpism is declaring war globally. This struggle requires—what else—"peace through strength." Knowing that ideological supremacy can only be achieved through military superiority, the violence of America First is a guarantee of freedom.<sup>6</sup> When Trump contentedly concludes that in his first term in office he "completely rebuilt US military power and helped America achieve such global strength" that "peace broke out all over the world and we had peace through strength," this is anything but the proclamation of a new "isolationism." Trump knows that his program of global liberal capitalism under American leadership can only be secured and enforced through force, and he believes he can make sufficient force available. A challenge not only for the value-oriented allies in Europe.

The question of whether Trumpism represents a new form of fascism has little educational value. The MAGA movement fights for a free world in which the traditional values of family, religion, and nation are once again fully recognized. The ideal of a white "race" whose dispossession by non-whites must be reversed is quite familiar to parts of the movement.

### **Morality and violence**

The MAGA movement sees itself as a movement with a mission that sees the spirit of a capitalism free of all restrictions as being in conflict with the spirit of regulatory statehood. This is to be corrected through a different practice: the creation of societies that devote their entire existence to the capitalist accumulation of property. And the movement openly states that those who lack the will or resources to do so do not deserve the prosperity that capitalism promises. Mass deportations, the starvation of undesirable states, the appropriation of foreign territories, and deals based on blackmail are necessary means of bringing the American dream of freedom closer to the world. The connection between morality and violence is demonstrated almost textbook-like by the example of the increase in prosperity through America First, and it is of little use to accuse violent fanatics of being fascists. Where would that get us with all the Hofreiters, Strack-Zimmermanns, etc.?

In this respect, the Left could also learn from Trumpism and its analysis. Billionaires are not a "threat to democracy," as Left Party leader Jan van Aken argues, but rather committed supporters of popular rule for the purpose of increasing private property. Musk and others are



not further expanding their "antisocial policies" but rather see social welfare as guaranteed solely through unrestricted capital accumulation. And the MAGA movement doesn't want to run the USA "like a corporation."<sup>7</sup> Those who only criticize Trumpism for making the rich even richer are simply countering it with the alternative morality that the poor should also be considered and that the abolition of welfare violates the principle of social justice. This falls far short of the force of a MAGA mission that wants to see all these ideals consigned to the dustbin of history.

Notes:

1 The 2017 US National Security Strategy states bluntly that a world that supports American interests and reflects American values will make America more secure and more prosperous ( [National Security Strategy](#) , p. 4).

2 See <https://www.rothbard.it/articles/right-wing-populism.pdf>

3 Alice Weidel: Counterwords: Thoughts on Germany, Kulmbach 2019, pp. 93 and 95

4 Jesús Huerta de Soto: Socialism, Economic Calculations and Entrepreneurial Function, Berlin 2013, p. 32

5 <https://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/Amerika/usa-trump-welt-Order-basar-100.html>

6 To the annoyance of the European allies, the view of sorting the world into good and evil is no longer founded on the morality of international law and the rules-based world order. Against this backdrop, attempts have been made to advance European imperialism in America's shadow and to nurture the EU into a global economic power. Trumpism puts an end to this. The fact that peace in Ukraine is also being put on the agenda is driving European geostrategists completely crazy. Their peace union must reposition itself as a war union and, if possible, send its own troops to Ukraine, while keeping the option of attacking Russia open. Because for Europe, peace with Putin is treason.

7 <https://www.die-linke.de/start/presse/detail/jeder-milliardaer-ist-eine-faehr-fuer-die-demokratie>