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IBEROSFERA AS THE SPANISH FAR-RIGHT COLONIALIST APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

J. I. Gonzalez Cedillo

St. Petersburg State University Universitetskaya Emb. 7/9, St. Petersburg 199034, Russian Federation Saint-Petersburg University of Management Technologies and Economics Lermontovskiy Prospekt 44, St. Petersburg 190103, Russian Federation

Abstract

Aim. To expose the narratives used by the Spanish far-right party VOX to create an international ideological far-right.

Methodology. A discourse analysis of the document The Madrid Charter is done to obtain the main narratives used by VOX ideologues to expand their ideological and colonialist project to Latin America. **Results.** This analysis demonstrates the Madrid Charter is an ideological tool of the Spanish far-right to consolidate a political international of ultranationalist forces in Latin America in the creation of a multipolar world.

Research implications. European far-right internationalism can be studied as ideological colonialism that is accepted by clientelist non-European elites in Latin America.

Keywords: colonialism, Iberosfera, internationalism, far-right, fascism, Madrid Charter, VOX

ИБЕРОСФЕРА КАК ИСПАНСКИЙ ПРАВОРАДИКАЛЬНЫЙ КОЛОНИАЛИСТСКИЙ ПОДХОД К МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫМ ОТНОШЕНИЯМ

Гонсалес Седилло Х. И.

Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет 199034, г. Санкт-Петербург, Университетская наб., д. 7-9, Российская Федерация Санкт-Петербургский университет технологий управления и экономики 190103, г. Санкт-Петербург, Лермонтовский пр., д. 44, Российская Федерация

Аннотация

Цель. Разоблачить нарративы, используемые испанской праворадикальной партией ВОКС для создания международного крайне правого идеологического движения.

Процедура и методы. Проводится дискурс-анализ документа «Мадридское письмо» с целью получить основные нарративы, используемые идеологами партии ВОКС для распространения своего идеологического и колониального проекта на Латинскую Америку.

Результаты. Анализ демонстрирует использование «Мадридского письма» в качестве идеологического инструмента испанских праворадикальных сил для консолидации политического интернационала ультранационалистических сил в Латинской Америке в создании многополярного мира.

Теоретическая и/или практическая значимость. Европейский праворадикальный интернационализм можно изучать как идеологический колониализм, принятый клиентелистскими неевропейскими элитами в Латинской Америке.

Ключевые слова: ВОКС, иберосфера, интернационализм, колониализм, Мадридское письмо, праворадикальные силы, фашизм

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Introduction

The Spanish party VOX has positioned itself as the most relevant far-right political force in Spain in the last few years. With less than a decade from its foundation it is today the third political force in Spanish politics and sets the agenda in different topics in the Spanish Parliament. Its leader, the Spaniard Santiago Abascal is very active on social media and has successfully internationalized the party's platform to Latin America. The various previous attempts of European politicians to create a far-right international in the European Parliament have not been as successful as the Spanish project that exploits the region with historical, cultural and linguistic ties to Spain. Political reactionary elites in Spain and Latin America have found common enemies in feminism, leftist political parties and ideologies and social and ethnic minorities.

This work aims to expose the ideological discursive strategy of the Spanish far-right party VOX used to internationalize its ideology in the fight against what its leadership considers is communism and the cultural war in the Iberian-American region. This internationalization of the Spanish far-right ideology takes place in the old colonies of the Spanish empire – today independent countries - that VOX sees as naturally submitting to Spanish interests. The novelty of this work is the study of VOX ideological strategy of the Iberosfera concept as an ideological colonialist tool of the internationalization of the Spanish and European far-right through the Madrid Charter that can be studied as a continuation of the Francoist ideological approach "Hispanidad". Previous research of the Madrid Charter has focused on its role in the internationalization of VOX ideology, but it has not been exhaustive or detailed as this paper intends [7, p. 12–15]. Other farright movements in Europe could take the example of the Spanish and create documents and legal frameworks to internationalize their far-right ideology based on shared ethnic, cultural and historical characteristics of similar societies. The hypothesis of this work is that VOX has built an ideological colonialist network of far-right parties in Latin America as a strategy to position its far-right ideology in Spain and Europe by demonstrating its capabilities in ideological leadership. The object of study is the document Madrid Charter produced by VOX ideologues and that through a discourse analysis, the author of this paper tries to answer the question – what are the ideological elements of Spanish colonialist discourse in Latin America in the formation of its own international far-right? This research can be relevant for 1) the study and teaching of European far-right and fascist movements and their propaganda strategies and 2) decisionmaking for national security specialists that work on anti-propaganda strategies against foreign agents. Additionally, the results of this research provide arguments that expose actual attempts of sectors of the European far-right to meddle in national politics of regions they consider are historically significant to them.

To understand the success of the Spanish ideological far-right discourse and how it has contributed to the formation of a farright international in the Iberian-American region, other European similar attempts can be studied. Far-right political parties started to gain political power in the late 1990 - early 2000 and created alliances in their national parliaments in countries like Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, France, Bulgaria, Romania and Greece. These national successes and the enlargement of the European Union enabled the formation of far-right political internationals as parliamentary groups in the European Parliament in the coming years. In 2007 the group "Identity, traditions and sovereignty" was formed in the European Parliament by deputies from French, Romanian, Belgian, Austrian and Italian far-right parties, the granddaughter of fascist dictator Benito Mussolini, Alessandra Mussolini, was part of it [18, p. 78]. In 2009 the group "Alliance of European National Movements" was formed by Hungarian, British, French, Belgian and Italian far-right deputies [16, p. 26–27]. In 2015 the group "Europe of Nations and Freedoms" was formed by far-right deputies from France, Italy, Hungary, Belgium, Germany and Austria [9, p. 35–43]. This parliamentary alliance was replaced in 2019 by the "Identity Group" made up of French, Belgian, Finnish, Estonian, German, Czech, Dutch and Italian far-right deputies. Spanish representation had been missing in those years until VOX gained relevance after its foundation.

Efforts to create a political international of far-right ideology in the European Parliament have been based on constructed all-European exclusive nationalism and far-right populism. Nationalism refers to the ideology based on the loyalty of the individual to the nation, in this case to the perceived European dominant culture and indigenous ethnicities [10, p. 21–26]. European nationalists may also ask for loyalty to Europe against dependence on American military and economic power, Chinese world economic potential, and the influence of Russia's energy on politics [14, p. 70-72]. Political changes in Europe in the last decade exposed the need for a new third way different from the neoliberal-right and socially oriented-left political dichotomy, this third way maintained a center even during the most critical years of political extremism [15, p. 5–7]. This center contributed to weakening the consolidation of an international European far-right that VOX ideologues understood and in 2020 launched the Iberosfera project.

The Spanish case is different to previous attempts to internationalize the European far-right ideology not only because it is aimed at a non-European geographical area (French nationalists could have also done this in the Francophone zone of influence in Africa), it is different because VOX managed to create a term that attracts non-Spanish and non-Europeans in the American continent to their far-right ideology and accommodate it to their local realities. VOX took advantage of the reactionary internationalist movements of the Latin American far-right, pro-

duced by crises of the hegemonic order, that are anti-globalist, anti-multilateralist, neopatriotic, populist, and critic of international institutions [8, p. 25–31]. However, the question if VOX and other European parties with similar political platforms are illiberal rather than far-right can bother some in academia. Illiberalism has been defined as a post-liberal ideology that can be chosen after having experienced political, economic and cultural liberalism [5, p. 311-313]. The Spanish political system, though is in general democratic, has some aspects that are undemocratic, like the monarchical elements in the constitution that prevent citizens from criticizing the royal family and that failed to punish the former king (who was designated by Francisco Franco himself) after corruption scandals were exposed in 2020. The Spanish government and some corporations like Iberdrola have lobbied in Latin American parliaments to force their markets to provide benefits to the Spanish gas provider. Spain has today colonial territories in Africa and resists self-determination for the Catalan movement even with the use of force, having arrested political activists in recent years. Spain has not yet entirely experienced social and political liberalism, so it is not possible to call VOX ideology illiberal. Illiberal practices can happen in liberal democracies in Western Europe and the American continent, and these are generally pushed forward by far-right movements [5, p. 314]. Latin American countries have not yet experienced liberalism entirely either (neither economic, political or social), therefore the opposition ideologies to leftist and center governments that follow VOX cannot be considered illiberal. In this case, these are part of a far-right internationalist movement that may have some post-liberal ideologies in the economics, but that in most cases remain traditional conservative on social issues.

The Spanish far-right party VOX was founded in 2013 and rapidly gained popularity, its leadership has tried to exploit Spain's historical identity as the bridge between Europe and America to consolidate its own

far-right international. Other European internationals failed due to the egoistic attitude of its members, racism, internal fights for power, or the lack of votes in parliamentary elections. To avoid these mistakes, VOX created the Forum and the Madrid Charter as platforms to institutionalize their ideology with Latin America, these platforms do not depend on votes or political agreements between the participants. Some of the topics of interest of European far-right internationals, including VOX, are immigration of non-Europeans to Europe, the increase of Muslim populations and the perceived loss of exclusive European values.

The internationalization of VOX involves cooperation with other far-right parties in the European Parliament, and recently with Latin American parties through the Iberosfera project [11, p. 238-242]. Iberosfera is an ideological and geopolitical project announced in 2020 by S. Abascal as a response to what VOX calls the communist agenda of the São Paulo Forum and the Group of Puebla [12, p. 12–14]. The theory of VOX is that Latin America has fallen to narco communism and only the Spanish far-right can save it, S. Abascal sees himself as a modern conquistador who will liberate this region from leftist dictatorships. VOX and S. Abascal constantly refer to the historical reconquista of the Iberian Peninsula from Islamic rule in the XV c and the defense of Spanish colonialism in the New World as discursive elements of the political agenda [12, p. 39-42]. Both historical events are distorted by VOX ideologues to present a positive role of Spain as the savior and civilizer of societies under the supposed Islamic and Aztec cruelty. Modern Spanish ideological colonialism is justified as a needed liberating tool against the perceived communist takeover of the Spanish historical and cultural geographical space.

VOX and far-right ideological colonialism

Colonialism occurs when a more powerful actor excercises its influence or resources on another actor to gain resources it can-

not get itself through other means or to get political influence to advance geopolitical interests. Colonialism can be 1) violent if it uses methods of submission to control the colonized, though it can be 2) non-violent if the colonized agree to pass over their political will to the colonizer. The colonizer can be a foreign government, politicians or political parties, international corporations and organizations, but also individual actors with resources. Non-violent colonialism can create clients that will respond to the demands of the colonizer who will provide an ideological line or resources, economic integration, image support, while the colonized will allow the master to intervene in the national politics and rally against the master's enemies. Conventional political actors like political parties can engage in colonialist practices over foreign political parties to internationalize their political and ideological agenda in the globalized world.

VOX engages in non-violent colonialism as it calls Latin American political elites to submit voluntarily to the Spanish far-right anti-communist crusade by signing the Madrid Charter. The Spanish party has created a network of relations with Latin American parties that act as opposition to leftist or socialist governments accused by VOX of being narco communist, like that of Mexico and Venezuela. In July 2022 VOX Vice President Victor Gonzalez, VOX Eurodeputy Margarita de la Pisa and VOX local representative in Florida and active member of the U.S. Republican Party Maria Herrera visited Monterrey, the second largest city in Mexico, together with other Argentinian and Chilean politicians and ideologues as part of the three days conference "Iberosfera 2022". Speakers talked about the supposed cultural Marxist agenda of the internationalist left, the perceived destruction of Christian and family values, and against feminist activism and government policies. On their website, organizers of this conference announced the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) that took place in Mexico City in November 2022, which similarly exposes

far-right American colonialist interests in Mexico. The CPAC has been organized since the 1970's by American ultra conservatives in the U.S. and recently in other countries like Israel, Brazil and South Korea. This conference was organized in Mexico by the actor and ultra-Catholic activist Eduardo Verastegui, who in 2020 was appointed by ex-president Donald Trump as advisor to his administration for issues of the Hispanic community.

Characteristics of VOX colonialist project is ideologically internationalist based on ultra-Catholic, nationalist and anti-communist values, which matches the ideological line of the party as hispanist, supports a multipolar world order, religious nationalist, anti-communist, neoliberal, socially conservative, anti-indigenist, historical revisionist and anti-progressive [4, p. 10-20]. Latin American elites that voluntarily submit to VOX share this ideology, but also values like: 1) opposition to the socio-economic model of social spending [1, p. 141-144], opposition to redesigning the education system and redefinition of social structures, 2) support for neoliberal expansion of transnational corporations, privatizations, the open market economy and minimum State regulations [13, p. 295–301], 3) support for a libertarian economy, political and social system [17, p. 64-70], 4) support authoritarian rule to control the economy and society [4, p. 839]. The mentioned Iberosfera project of Spanish ideological colonialism was specifically created to promote the various discourses of the Spanish far-right in an internationalist institutionalized platform. By embracing this concept that is supposed to be a geopolitical imagined space, Latin American political elites have to sign the Madrid Charter with a list of commitments to fulfill and this means to accept the colonial ideological supremacy of VOX.

Iberosfera is not the first project of Spanish colonialist ideological project of the far-right to influence the region. After the establishment of the Francoist fascist dictatorship in 1939, the regime had to reconstruct international relations with Latin American countries and the concept of Hispanidad, developed some years before by R. de Maestu, served the interests of the new Spanish government. Hispanidad was used as a concept to bring Latin America closer to Spain through the appreciation of a common history, language and religion, which made it a soft power colonialist ideological tool [6, p. 61-62]. Ideological characteristics of "Hispanidad" had five directions: 1) anti-American, 2) anti-British, 3) anti-Communist, 4) anti-Panamericanist and 5) antiindigenist attitudes, this helped maintained ties of local conservative Latin American elites to the Spanish far-right in Europe [2, p. 63-65]. Hispanidad was also a religiousphilosophical ideology based on Spanish Catholicism that was not defined by ethnic or geographical elements [19, p. 75-79]. Hispanidad today is of limited political use, while Iberosfera has become the ideological reference of the local conservative elites to their Spanish and European aspirations.

The Madrid Charter and the Iberosfera concept

The Madrid Charter was published on October 26th, 2020, by VOX and serves as the founding document of the Forum of Madrid that is an international alliance of politicians, political parties and leaders of the Iberosfera that oppose the advance of the left in Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula, according to the website of the Forum. The Forum claims to defend liberty, democracy and the rule of law in the region, and it claims to fight against the far-left. This, and the policies the members of the various parties support, position the Forum of Madrid as a far-right international to counter the São Paulo Forum, a leftist international. On the website of the Forum of Madrid visitors can electronically sign the Madrid Charter by entering their data and e-mail.

The Forum of Madrid has two objectives:

1) to raise awareness at the international level of the consequences of the advance of what it calls the far-left, its ideological agenda

and of its failures as governments, 2) to counter the geopolitical influence of the São Paulo Forum and the Group of Puebla, progressive internationalist organizations that aim to defend freedom in the region. The farleft for VOX is represented by the Venezuelan, Nicaraguan and Cuban governments, as well as by the two mentioned internationalist organizations of progressive political parties and politicians from Latin America and Spain.

The Forum of Madrid provides study opportunities and scholarships in Spain in institutions that align to the political interests of VOX for Latin American politicians [3, p. 3–4]. Criticism of this is that these opportunities could be rather an ideological indoctrination of Latin Americans into VOX agenda to spread its political ideology.

The Madrid Charter is a one page document, in it the Iberosfera is defined as "a community of free and sovereign nations that share a deep cultural heritage and have a great economic and geopolitical potential to tackle the future", it has over 700 million inhabitants, "it has all the conditions to be a region of freedom, prosperity and equality before the law", as it claims that these nations have not been "doomed by any historical determinism"1. The Charter claims the region has been, however, kidnapped by communist totalitarian regimes controlled by the Cuban regime, the São Paulo Forum and the Group of Puebla that intend to expand their ideological agendas not only through Latin America but also through other world regions.

The Charter claims to have the support of various political and social leaders of different ideologies in the region that meet in their match to the common cause that is the fight against the supposed communist regimes. The Charter makes four claims: a) The advance of communism in the region "represents a serious threat for prosperity, develop-

ment, liberties and rights" of the people of the Iberosfera, b) "the rule of law, separation of powers, freedom of expression and private property" are all essential for having functional societies and must be protected, c) defense of liberties must be done not only by political institutions but also by civil society, mass media, academia and others, d) the future of the countries in the Iberosfera must be based on "respect to democracy, human rights, pluralism, human dignity and justice".

Claim "a" of the Charter focuses on the increase of center-left or leftist progressive governments in Latin America that began with the advent of Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador in Mexico in 2018, followed by Alberto Fernandez in Argentina in 2019, Pedro Castillo in Peru in 2021, Xiomara Castro in Honduras and Gabriel Boric in Chile, Gustavo Petro in Colombia and Ignacio Lula da Silva in Brazil in 2022 to the presidency of their respective countries after having been ruled by center-right or right-wing governments. Spain has also had a leftist government since 2018 under Prime Minister Pedro Sanchez from the Spanish Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Español, PSOE). These governments have had some social changes focused on the protection of unprivileged sectors of society like the poor, immigrants, women and other minorities. The Spanish, Argentinian and Mexican governments especially have taken feminist approaches to issues like abortion and violence against women that are seen by far-right sympathizers as a communist attack on traditional values. The Charter proposes then that this turn to the left of Iberian-American governments threatens freedom of expression and the rights of those who oppose these socially progressive policies as these claim that dissidence is punished with the government's tools of coercion, and it is censored by mainstream and government-controlled mass media. To them, the opposition is living in "woke" (progressive) dictatorships where only discourse that aligns to that of the leftist governments is allowed. Nevertheless, this is contradicted by the mere fact that the exis-

¹ Carta de Madrid: en Defensa de la Libertad y de la Democracia en la Iberosfera [Электронный ресурс]. URL: https://fundaciondisenso.org/carta-de-madrid/ (дата обращения: 05.05.2023).

tence and circulation of the Charter of Madrid has been signed by various politicians and leaders of the far-right and other rightwing organizations in the region, without any type of political persecution to those who signed it. There is also dissidence on social media platforms like YouTube, where activists create content that circulates throughout the region and that criticizes feminism and other left-wing movements. The "Iberosfera 2022" conference and the CPAC event that were organized in Mexico would have not been possible in societies under ideological leftist dictatorships.

Claim "b" tries to establish the idea that these leftist governments are threatening the rule of law in the region, taking as example the Cuban and Venezuelan governments. This claim can also be questioned, since the adoption of the new constitution in 2019, private property is recognized by the Cuban government, as well as other individual freedoms, which indicates this government is moving in the opposite direction of what the Charter claims. In Venezuela private property never ceased to exist after the Bolivarian Revolution of Hugo Chavez. In Spain, the Okupa movement that occupies abandoned buildings and houses is protected by Spanish law if the owner, usually banks and construction companies, has more than ten uninhabitated apartments. When private houses of regular citizens are occupied by mafias, police can intervene to protect the rights of the citizens affected. Occupation of private property is not promoted by the Spanish government. The rule of law in these countries exists and is not under threat by the left.

Claim "c" tries to create the perception that in countries governed by the left citizens are left alone against the government in the defense of their liberties, which is not very accurate as the opposition in these countries continues to have positions of power in their parliaments. In the Spanish case, VOX politicians and those of the right-wing Peoples' Party (Partido Popular, PP) keep a strong opposition to the ruling PSOE, the city of Madrid is even ruled by the PP together with

VOX after forming an alliance in the 2021 election. In Spain, Mexico and Argentina the opposition actively participates in mass media, academia and civil society, they produce content online, organize conferences, attend interviews on TV shows. Academics write books that justify the need of the turn to the right or even to the far-right, they lecture in universities and other platforms. All this is done without being bothered by leftist governments for having opposing ideologies.

Claim "d" presents the idea that, currently, in Latin America and Spain there is no respect for democracy, human rights, pluralism, human dignity and justice. This is something contradictory to the project the Charter proposes that is a turn to the right and that has been historically linked to abuses by the government, military and monopolistic capitalism in the region. Apart from the fascist dictatorships of F. Franco in Spain and of Augusto Pinochet in Chile, the region has been ruled by some repressive contemporary leaders that aligned with neoliberal international interests like Bolivian defacto president Jeanine Añez who in 2019 occupied the presidency after the coup that ousted democratically elected president Evo Morales. J. Añez' defacto and undemocratic government was recognized by the U.S., the European Union and Brazil. Her right-wing government initiated a persecution of politicians from E. Morales' socialist government, she was also later accused of the murder of indigenous protesters that defended the democratic election of E. Morales. In October of 2019 right-wing ex-president of Chile Sebastian Piñera faced criticism after the use of the police to reprimand peaceful protesters against increasing metro ticket prices and the mostly privatized social security system, over 180 protesters suffered injuries from rubber bullets in the eyes, thirty percent of them going blind. In May 2021 protests erupted in Colombia against the government of the right-wing ex-president Ivan Duque for the intention of his administration to increase taxes to alleviate the effects of the pandemic. The Colombian authorities used violence against the young protesters, and this resulted in the death of at least 70 of them, while some hundreds were injured. Others like the right-wing Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro have been accused of promoting political violence against his opponents, as well as praising the military dictatorship that ruled the country the last century. These are only some examples of contemporary leaders of the last three years in the region, whose administrations have not respected democracy, human rights, pluralism, human dignity or justice, and who represent the political ideological line that the Charter proposes must be back in power. Among others, the Charter has been signed by Bolivian politician Arturo Murillo, who served as minister in J. Añez' defacto government, Chilean ex-candidate to the presidency in 2022 José Antonio Kast Rist, whose father was a member of the German Nazi party and who himself has declared to be an admirer of the dictator A. Pinochet, and by Eduardo Bolsonaro, son of former Brazilian far-right president J. Bolsonaro.

Conclusion

Internationalization of the Spanish far-right by VOX ideologues has proved to be more successful than other attempts by European parties in Europe. VOX has benefitted from the historical and cultural links to Latin America that facilitate sharing values and political visions among the reactionary elites, something other European far-right internationalist projects lack. The Madrid Charter has served as an ideological source of the Spanish far-right to expand its ideological colonialist approach to international relations in the region they consider historically under Spanish cultural domination. The acceptance of this ideological colonialism by the Latin American reactionary elites of the far-right Spanish ideological interests of VOX have historical roots, whether it was to fight against independence movements to keep the Spanish empire, to guarantee the protection of Spanish business interests in the XX c. from revolutionary movements, or to fight perceived common ideological enemies, especially socialists and communists.

The perceived expansion of communism that worries VOX has to do with criticism from leftists Latin American governments and indigenist movements that question the Eurocentric role of Spain in the region. The Madrid Charter is the ideological attempt to balance that critical rhetoric of the left. Based on the discourse analysis of the Madrid Charter, it can be concluded the ideological elements of the Spanish colonialist discourse in Latin America consists of the following narratives: 1) there is an ideological war in the Iberian-Latin American region between the left and the right; socialists/ communists and nationalists, 2) leftist governments ruling countries in this region are corrupted, dictatorial and occupy all issues of the lives of citizens - a deep government that destroys individuality, 3) leftists governments aim at intentionally destroying societies and the economy in collusion with center and traditional conservatives that have embraced neoliberal globalism, 4) only far-right or true nationalist citizens of these countries can prevent the complete takeover of their governments by the communist international promoted by the Cuban, Nicaraguan and Venezuelan leftist governments, 5) the formation of an international far-right of Iberian-Latin American politicians and citizens is needed to fight the communist takeover.

From the Madrid Charter, it can be concluded that VOX has succeeded in the creation of an international far-right that has no supranational institutions like European far-right parties in the European Parliament, but that advances in the creation of its own international institutions like the Forum of Madrid. Politicians and ideologues from VOX continue to tour the region with the intention to call more people to their side of the ideological war. In December 2022 after a coup in Peru, the leftist elected president P. Castillo was jailed, and Dina Baluarte took his place. The new president of the Peruvian Congress is José Williams, of the far-right,

who signed the Madrid Charter in September 2022. VOX has lobbied far-right European deputies at the European Parliament to support the new Peruvian government. VOX seems to be successfully managing to fulfill its ideological role as the bridge between Europe and Latin America through the Madrid Charter as the tool to consolidate its own international far-right.

VOX has invited other European politicians of the far-right to sign the Charter, like Italian prime minister Georgia Meloni and Marion Maréchal, granddaughter of the French far-right politician Jean-Marie Le Pen, as well as other Portuguese, Swedish, Greek and Dutch politicians. The far-right ideals of VOX internationalist project are very much centered around a Catholic-Western European colonialist ideology, though other projects could be forumulated in the future in the continent, especially by far-right Eastern European parties that have

political and ideological colonialist interests in the region. Far-right parties from countries of the ex-socialist block in Eastern Europe and the Baltic could see in the Spanish success an inspiration to pursue their own ideological colonialist project of ultra-nationalism and anti-communism against leftist forces in which they may see a connection to their socialist past, the Soviet Union, and of course to modern Russia. As it is being done in Latin America, with the Madrid Charter being used as an ideological tool of colonialist meddling in the local politics of those countries, a similar project in Eastern Europe could be equally used against the interests of local societies. Policymakers have to come out with ideas and work out methods to prevent the proliferation of foreign nationalist ideological projects and their meddling in the national political life.

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INFORMATION ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Joel Ivan Gonzalez Cedillo – Researcher, teacher-researcher, Senior lecturer, St. Petersburg University of Management and Economics; assistant, St. Petersburg State University; e-mail: Ivangzz.ced@gmail.com

ИНФОРМАЦИЯ ОБ АВТОРЕ

Гонсалес Седилло Хоел Иван – исследователь, преподаватель-исследователь, старший преподаватель кафедры международных финансов и бухгалтерского учёта Санкт-Петербургского университета технологии управления и экономики; ассистент, Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет;

e-mail: Ivangzz.ced@gmail.com

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