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New march on Rome Neoliberalism and the expansion of the far right in Europe and the USA

While Europe and the United States are constantly turning to the far right, Latin America and the Caribbean express an alternative and even opposite orientation. Both landslides, both in Brussels and the one south of the Rio Grande, are the result of the same crisis of the neoliberal system.



The triumph of the far right in Italy accentuated European electoral skepticism and reaffirmed the failure of the different forms of civilized neoliberalism, even those that are exhibited as civilizational expressions linked to progressivism. Giorgia Meloni won 27% of the vote, representing the neo-fascist *Fratelli d'Italia* party. Her alliance with

Silvio Berlusconi's *Forza Italia* and Mateo Salvini's *La Lega* will allow her to become the first woman to head the government on the peninsula. The september 25 election left as a central fact the increase in abstention, which reached its highest historical level: 36% of the electorate. Half of the young Italians under the age of 24 did not go to vote: there was no political discourse to challenge this generational group.

Meloni began political activism at the age of 15, within the fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) party, founded in 1946 by the followers of Benito Mussolini. After the dissolution of the MSI, he joined the National Alliance party, led by Gianfranco Fini, who characterized his group as post-fascist, considering it as a continuation and at the same time surpasser of the Social Movement. Between 2008 and 2011 she served as a minister in silvio Berlusconi's government and in 2012 she founded *Fratelli*, incorporating in her shield the identity emblem of the followers of the Duce, *the fiama tricolore*.

The motto of the political group is *God, homeland and family*. After being elected deputy in 2012, she applied to occupy the office of Parliament that was used for decades by MSI founder Giorgio Almirante. Unlike Germany, Italy did not problematize the nostalgic political discourses of the Third Reich or put legal impediments to restrict the extremist expressions of far-right organizations. Meloni's triumph in the eurozone's third largest economy will produce an emboldening of all far-right movements and a weakening of the political debate. This hollowing out is what allowed Meloni to define herself as a feminist, in open incoherence with the traditions of the collectives promoted by women. The neo-fascist leader has considered that [to be a feminist](#) is to be able to compete with men and achieve – despite their gender status – a social protagonism.

The structural cause of political scepticism and its contiguous right-wing bias of societies – both in Europe and in the United States – is the product of the abandonment, by progressivism and social democracy, of a popular representativeness based on concrete interests. The indifferentiation between neoliberalism and social rights left the great majorities without representativeness, precarious and impoverished by deregulation, rentierism and state lack of protection.

That vacant space was occupied with the promotion of a social terror heir to supremacist coloniality: the invasion of immigrants, the loss of Christian hegemony and the terror of ethnic substitution became the pillars of a public debate oblivious to the contradictions caused by globalization and the preeminence of financial speculation. The shift in the

political and economic character of the crisis was linked to the configuration of an enemy, both external and internal. A criminal and phantasmagorical invader capable of imposing a narrative in favor of order, based on a renewed xenophobic logic.

Colonial fear



After centuries of colonialism, hundreds of thousands migrate from their lands to escape famine and wars.

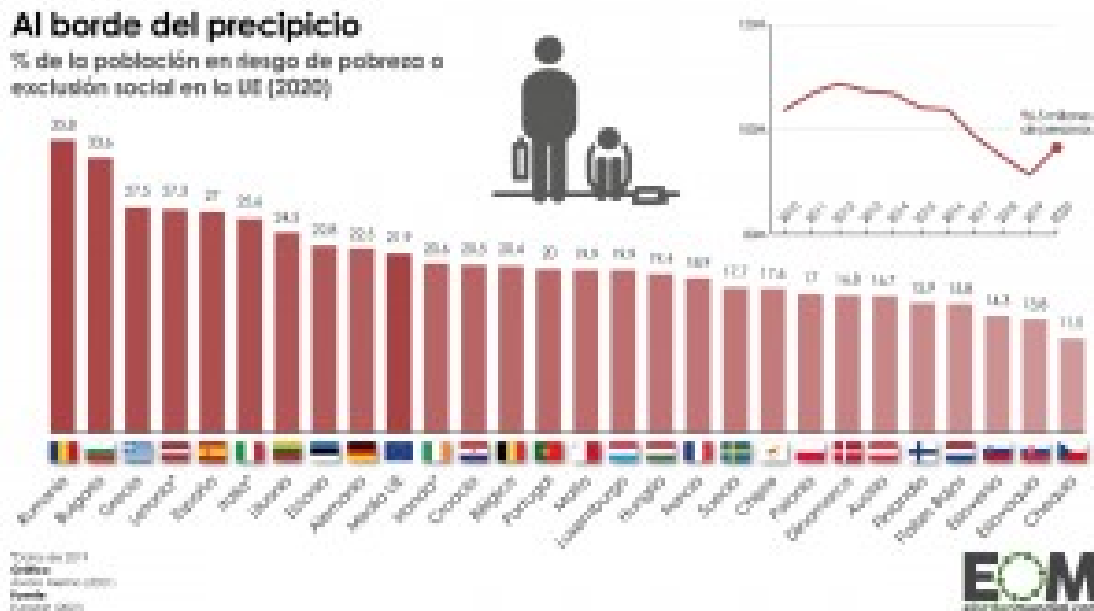
The vote of the radical right tripled from 2014 to the present while the educated lefts were in charge of instituting technocratic debates, or of recognition of particular identities – always with intellectualized language – incomprehensible to workers, the unemployed and those who perceive the growing inequality increased by inflation, and a permanent feeling of being alien to the normative configuration of the societies in which they live. Far-right parties grew in 18 of the 27 EU countries over the past two decades and exceed double digits in 15 of those countries.

In 2018 the political scientist Yascha Mounk described in *The People Against Democracy* the origins of political swallowing that leads to apathy, disconnection from the political system, authoritarianism and the demonization of collectives. "By basing electoral campaigns on pure moral condemnation affirming a reactive identity that only consists of warning about the perverse cataclysms that the ultra formations would bring, the traditional parties erect them as representatives of a real alternative." Franco Bifo Berardi, in a recent article entitled "[From Futuristic Futurism Fascism to Geronto-Fascism](#)", points out that there is very little substantive distance between the neoliberalism of Italian social democracy and Meloni's party. His reasoning leads him to

the following rhetorical question: "Why should we continue to believe in representative democracy if representative democracy has proven to be a deception against workers?" The references that Meloni characterizes as his enemies are the China of Xi Jinping, the Russia of Vladimir Putin and the Venezuela of Nicolás Maduro.

While Europe and the United States are constantly turning to the far right, Latin America and the Caribbean express an alternative and even opposite orientation. Both landslides, both in Brussels and the one south of the Rio Grande, are the result of the same crisis of the neoliberal system. In the case of Latin America – in a disorderly and not entirely coherent way – it is consolidated on the basis of a multicultural and plurinational exit of an inclusive nature: from Mexico to Argentina there are political movements opposed to the globalist scheme imposed by the tripod of real power supported by Wall Street, the transnationals and the military-industrial complex. For its part, the European response is based on the updating of [Carl Schmitt's](#) principle, which requires an enemy – internal and at the same time external – in order to bring together national forces to overcome and avoid class contractions.

Common denominators



Percentages of population excluded in the European Union.

The model of the invading foreigner, functional to the artificial dichotomy of civilization and barbarism, is a tributary of the Atlanticist present, for which the only possible sovereignties are those inherited from a colonial and imperial tradition. The dogmas that support the political gear of Donald Trump, Jair Bolsonaro, Giorgia Meloni, the French

Marine Le Pen, the Falangists of VOX, the Polish ruling parties of the Law and Justice party, the Germans of the AfD, the Macristas or ultraliberal Argentines or the neo-Nazis of Sweden are faithful followers of those who marched on Rome in 1923. The principles that animate them, beyond their financialist fascination, are:

- Xenophobic nativism
- Patriarchal authoritarianism
- Armamentism
- Punitive moralism
- Apoliticity
- Contempt for science and academia.

Essentialist nativism considers that states must be inhabited by an indigenous citizenship and that every foreign element – especially if it is migrant and poor – threatens the peaceful homogeneity of a society. Walter Benjamin described the Jew as the absolute other, that is, a different subject who lived inserted in a community in which he was considered a stranger, an implantation, a disorder of the uniform. That place is occupied today by the Maghreb and/or the sub-Saharan. They are the Jews of today: those who pollute white and colonial supremacism, and who – for that reason – are seen as the ones who threaten to replace the pure native Europeans. While Ukrainian refugees are received with compassion, Africans or Syrians are urged to drown in the Mediterranean because they question christian centrality with their mere presence, bring multiculturalism and blur values that they consider unquestionable.

Authoritarianism, on the other hand, is a useful orderly principle to limit the conflicts that arise from inequality, precariousness, lack of future and poverty. Patriarchal culture authorizes the explicit right to violence to overcome the chaos that comes with the proliferation of particular identities and diversities. Meloni announced that she will relaunch Italic motherhood through different social assistance programs, to prevent migrants from replacing the indigenous population that tends to decrease.

Armamentism, the positive valorization of the private possession of weapons and the deregulation of their commercialization is the material expression of the two previous dimensions, capable of intimidating and disciplining those who postulate changes or seek to disobey the homogeneity required.

Apoliticity is based on the cessation of public debate regarding the contradictions inherent in society: domination, subalternization and the distribution of income, income and wealth.

The denial of the construction of democracy, in its format of political debate and collective argumental construction, demands – for neo-fascisms – the de-historization of social facts: whoever knows the past has more elements to judge the present. Ergo, you just have to talk about the present and the future without making genealogical connections. That is the enmity of the radical right with critical thinking: they claim a supposed simplicity and a simplicity that conceals the will to eliminate all political rationality, empirical data or logical foundation.

Antonio Gramsci, arrested by order of Mussolini in 1927 and referred to as prisoner 7,047 of Turi prison, writes in prison that the central nucleus of fascism, euphemized and denied by its propagandists, is violence against workers and wage earners. Meloni has announced that he will promote a tax cut and that the existing ones will no longer be progressive: rich and poor will have to contribute the same: 15% regardless of income or wealth.

In her autobiography, the future head of government recounts a traumatic event from her childhood: playing with a candle, she set fire to the house in which she lived with her sister and mother. Some analysts consider this event prescient. And they link it with the fire that illustrates the shield of his *fratelli* organization, the *tricolore fiama* that *Il Duce* wore when he was arrested on April 27, 1945. The next day he was shot and his body was displayed upside down, hanging from a scaffold, in the Loreto Square of the city of Milan.



Antonio Gramsci.

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