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REPORT 05 | CEU-CEFAS

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# Executive summary

Democracy in Latin America is on the verge of an expiration date. After the democratic transition of most of the countries in the region in the 1990s -with exceptions such as the Castro dictatorship in Cuba-, this process has never been completed in its full splendor. The young democratic systems, which have taken their political inspiration from the United States and European thinkers, have -and have had since they were born- an enemy at home: Marxism and the radicalism of the left that has been built in Latin America. Hatred of capitalism, the free market, liberal economics and universal principles, such as the protection of the family, are now the “fascist” enemy to be beaten by leaders such as Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, as he himself explained at the São Paulo Forum in 2023.

So, how can this democratic deterioration be halted to prevent the radical left from destroying democracy in the region -with the strategic investment of China- and doing so from within, from within the institutions themselves? The answer lies in the commitment that conservatives must make. It is time to fight the political, cultural and economic battle at the international level.

The aim of this paper is to explain why it is necessary to fight this battle for Latin America, why conservatives should be interested in what is happening in the continent and the most illustrative consequence is the United States with the migration crisis on its border with Mexico. This is just an example: according to data from the U.S. border patrol, in 2022, the year in which Gustavo Petro became president of Colombia, 125,200 Colombians arrived at the U.S.-Mexico border requesting asylum: 20 times more than the previous year. That is the diagnosis of the problem, the solution is an international alliance.

To structure the action plan of this conservative coalition, it is necessary to propose a common agenda, which should, above all, be based on consolidating all democratic institutions and the separation of powers. In addition, respect for religious freedom, freedom of expression and academic freedom must be promoted, as well as the defense of the family as the nucleus of society. Part of the ideological agenda of the Latin American Marxist left has focused its policies on the activity of human beings outside the family and has diverted its meaning through gender ideology. The construction of an egalitarian society, as promoted by Marx, is

transferred to the biological sphere by annulling any difference between a man and a woman. On this basis, the concept of family is altered and replaced by Marxist conventions of personal relations in society.

The other point of the common action plan is economic. The allies must commit to work together to strengthen a system that guarantees market freedom and advocates an austere, efficient and non-clientelist state. The approach of concrete policies to fulfill these objectives that have just been outlined will depend on the peculiarities and needs of each country, but they should be piloted around these general approaches.



# How is the Latin American left destroying democracy? Strategies

Ideology and politics go hand in hand. That is why the strategy of the Marxist left is, to a certain extent, effective. On the one hand, they have managed to establish ideological frameworks and spaces such as the São Paulo Forum or the Puebla Group. These are also useful instruments when they are the political minority. Once in government, strategies concentrate on state institutions, which they use to achieve their ends. Two clear examples are the attempt at constitutional reform in Chile in 2022 and the reform of the Mexican Electoral Law proposed by Andrés Manuel López Obrador. The extreme cases are the dictatorships or authoritarian governments of Cuba, Venezuela or Nicaragua.

## Ideological battle: from the Frankfurt School to the São Paulo Forum

It is necessary to go back to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 to understand why the São Paulo Forum was born and what its ideological background is, which, in turn, dates to 1923 at the Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany. At the Institute of Social Studies, they began to develop Marxist ideas until the Nazis closed it 10 years later, in 1933. It was then that the “Frankfurt School” moved to Columbia University in New York. And, with them, came the radical Marxist roots into the heart of American universities and society. Its spread to the rest of the American continent was only a matter of time. The Marxist contamination would later become irreversible (Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy. The Frankfurt School and Critical Theory).

The Frankfurt School left aside the more economic postulates of Marxism. Its aim was more profound. It gave a Marxist interpretation to behaviors and characteristics of human nature: identity or social and family relations. Herbert Marcuse was the philosopher who established the reasoning of the Frankfurt School in the United States (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. 2013). His critical theory of individual liberation put on the table the rupture of the social consensus between the individual and what made him human. According to Marcuse in ‘Eros and Civilization’ (1955), “the aim of the revolution must not be merely the replacement of

the dominant class by another, but the birth of a new man” (Basallo, Alfonso. 2022. Roots and philosophical referents of the woke culture. *New Magazine*). But there is no new man, the soul is the basis that persists even beyond the body, there is no way to take away from man everything that makes him man and give him new attributes. To say that it is possible, dehumanizes man, and that is precisely what this new existential Marxism that took hold in the Latin American left since the late twentieth century has tried to do.

With the fall of the Berlin Wall, the disintegration of the Soviet Union and, with the third generation of the Frankfurt School already infiltrated in the American mentality, Latin American communism had to find a way to survive in a moment of crisis. Communism as an economic model had proven to be a failure. The solution was a socio-existential communism and, from that moment on, to run for elections with populist proposals that would be difficult to reject by a people immersed in poverty. Once in government, the true communist agenda was revealed, which sought to collectivize a society that first had to be rationally alienated. And the São Paulo Forum was born with the impetus of Fidel Castro and a new generation of leftist leaders in Latin America. Thus came the summer of 2023 and, during the spread of a democratic disease in the continent, the president of Brazil, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, rescued the essence of Marcuse and the Frankfurt School in a discourse that seeks to break the ties of man with part of his own essence, even with the family.

The President of Brazil said that the right wing has been able to have an easier time than the left wing to implement its discourse, “with a fascist discourse”. To which he then added: “Here in Brazil we are faced with a discourse of customs, a discourse of family, a discourse of patriotism. Here we are faced with a discourse that people must, historically, learn to fight”. There are no hidden messages, nor is it necessary to read between the lines. This is a clear and direct statement of intent. The defense of the family is seen by the radical left as a fascist element and, if their goal is to fight everything fascist, so is fighting against the traditional concept of family. But why attack the family? If the family is seen as a capitalist organization, it must be eliminated based on Marxist grounds (Hafera, Brenda. 2023. The Young Leaders Program summit at The Heritage Foundation).

Capitalism is based on private property ownership, and with wealth and property comes inheritance. The family also becomes a capitalist organization the moment the children, not the mass -the proletariat- inherit the wealth and property of their parents. Hence a marriage and a family, becomes an institution that naturally prolongs the life of the capitalist system. Seen from that point of view, it goes against the Marxist essence (Thompson Karl. 2023. *The Marxist Perspective on The Family*. *Revise Sociology*). From Lula da Silva’s reasoning, cataloguing a discourse in defense of the family as fascist, it can be deduced that for him the family is an institution in which the autonomy of a man does not take precedence over the common good of the family. To this is added an implicit attack on the human and existential value of the family in the formation of the person. If there is no family to educate him, the State takes care of it and that is the open door to ideological indoctrination.

Likewise, communist pride is fed by a sentiment that is not only anti-capitalist, but also profoundly anti-American. At the inauguration of the São Paulo Forum, the Brazilian president was very proud to be called a communist.

“We are not offended by being called communists, we would be offended if we were called Nazis or fascists or neofascists”. According to *The Black Book of Communism* (page 4, introduction), 65 million people were killed by communist rule in China, 20 million in the Soviet Union, 2 million in North Korea, 2 million in Cambodia, 1.7 million in Africa, 1.5 million in Afghanistan, 1 million in Eastern Europe, 1 million in Vietnam, 150,000 in Latin America and 10,000 more in regions where the communist party was not in power. In total, in the world, there are almost 100 million victims of communism. Lula da Silva says it is not an insult to be called a “communist”. Nazism killed 6 million Jews, about 20 million people in total including the Soviets and other minorities (*Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*).

Despite the clarity and political background of these messages, the São Paulo Forum received hardly any media attention either in the United States or in the European Union. Quite the opposite happened in Latin America, where the official television channels of regimes such as Cuba and Venezuela broadcast the event and Lula’s speech extensively. TeleSur, Granma or Prensa Latina did so. In addition to the ideological connotations of the Forum, in geopolitical terms it sought to consummate the alignment of Latin America with China through a profound anti-American sentiment. The United States, in short, is the capitalist enemy to beat and China the partner to do so. Chinese diplomats participated in the inauguration of the Forum, just as they later attended another scenario of Marxist ideological propagation: the Puebla Group.

## Ideological battle: the Puebla Group

Spain, “the mother country”, is not only a source of socio-cultural inspiration for its former colonies. In political terms, the Spanish left and left-wing populism has been able to build stronger ties with Latin America than the center-right. The mind behind this ideological export is former Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero.



José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (PSOE) with Raúl Castro (EFE / El País), with Evo Morales (Panam Post) and Hugo Chávez (EFE)

The Puebla Group was born in a WhatsApp chat led by Zapatero after he hit it off with Hugo Chávez personally and politically. Chávez, for example, was singled out in 2012 by Human Rights Watch for abuse of power in Venezuela and for incurring in human rights violations in the country. The 2012 report documents how the Chavista government has accumulated power to “intimidate, censor, and initiate criminal prosecutions against critics of its administration and those it considers opponents in a variety of cases linked to the

judiciary, the media, and civil society,” the 133-page document states (Human Rights Watch, 2012. Venezuela: concentration and abuse of power under Chávez). According to the then Americas director of Human Rights Watch, José Miguel Vivanco, “for years, President Chávez and his supporters have girded building a system that gives the government a free hand to threaten and punish Venezuelans who interfere with its political agenda” (Human Rights Watch, 2012. Venezuela: concentration and abuse of power under Chávez).

Despite warnings from international organizations, the Marxist, Chavist and Castroist ideology was implemented in the Puebla Group, an organization that groups 150 politicians and academics from 18 countries (Montero, Andrés. 2023. Puebla Group, bastion of charlatans, condemned and fugitives. El Debate). Among its members are politicians convicted of corruption: Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and Rafael Correa. However, this does not seem to condition the left that proclaims itself the enemy of corruption. The Marxist left has a goal, and it was clearly expressed at the summer meeting of the Puebla Group by Rafael Correa, the former president of Ecuador, “we are in a moment of dispute and unity is more necessary than ever”. But while the São Paulo Forum has opted to establish a more ideological cultural battle, the speeches of the Puebla Group have revealed another front that will remain open in the West: the settlement of China, politically and economically, throughout Latin America.

Correa insisted on “de-dollarizing” the region’s economy and Delsy Rodríguez (Vice President of Venezuela with Nicolás Maduro) insisted on the same idea while greeting the Chinese Ambassador in Mexico. For Latin American Marxism, there is a “cognitive war against their region” and the way to “progress” is to ally with China to bury the dollar and stand up to their enemy: the United States and its capitalist system. Evo Morales, for example, used his five-minute speech at the Group’s summer meeting to explain that imperialism is synonymous with “evil empire” because “from the empire they attack humanity”. And, despite the depth of these messages, the media in the United States and the European Union have decided not to give it the media relevance it has. These are messages that have been able to propagate in Latin America but have not been able to be fought from the rest of the West. Behind are totalitarian ideologies and practices.

## Cuba, Venezuela and Nicaragua: dictatorships and authoritarian governments

The political panorama in the region is completed by the authoritarian governments that are still in place: the longest-lived in the continent, Cuba, but also Venezuela and Nicaragua. After gaining independence from Spain in 1898 and breaking away from the United States in 1959, Cuba entered an authoritarian and dictatorial drift that today keeps the island as one of the countries with the lowest economic capacity. According to the economic freedom ranking available on the Heritage Foundation website, in 2023 Cuba ranks 175th with a score of 24.3 (5 points less than the previous year). The regional average is 58.6 and the world average is 59.3 points. In addition, it is the country with the least economic and market freedom in the Americas.

Cuba has managed to maintain a communism practically extinct in the rest of the world thanks to a long-term ideological campaign. That is one of the differences between the Marxist left and a large part of the democratic conservatives. Communism is not implanted thinking in electoral cycles, but in the idiosyncrasy of a new society through education, its social relations and its way of surviving economically. Existential and intellectual alienation is the key to the growth of the extremist seed. And to sow it, it is necessary to annul any kind of individual freedom in terms of property. The public is what is ideologically moldable. The lack of choice and cultural appropriation of education is the way to create anesthetized societies that blindly trust their State.

Fidel Castro and his revolution made education a priority after 1959. He made the entire population literate. A priori, nothing to criticize, but the content of the educational programs of the Cuban system is more consistent with the propaganda model than with a correct description of history, for example. In the history books published by the Cuban regime there is a clear ideological bias when it comes to explaining the historical processes that took place between 1898 and 1959. History, although it is true, does not have a 100% objective storytelling because every conflict is a polyhedral reality. But, in the history books of secondary and high school in Cuba, the United States is described as the cruel imperialist lord that is determined to finish with the independence and with the freedom of the Cubans. With an educational system at the disposal of the regime, freedom of expression was buried. Communism invested in having a strong intelligence agency that could repress any attempt to band together under freedom of expression, a right that is still violated by the regime.

In addition, the country is living in a sustained food crisis. In the aftermath of the pandemic, food shortages have worsened to levels not seen on the island since the “special period” following the disintegration of the Soviet Union. As then, the food supply in Cuba is not sufficient to supply the population. The latest Human Rights Watch report on the violation of rights in Cuba highlights how this economic crisis is severely impacting the social and economic rights of Cubans (Roth Kenneth. Cuba: Events of 2021. Human Rights Watch).

The Global Information and Early Warning System on Food and Agriculture (GIEWS) estimates that the area planted in Cuba will remain below average levels in 2023. The staple and essential food in the Cuban diet is rice and this is one of the crops most affected by the lack of chemical fertilizers. In 2023, according to FAO (the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization), only 68,000 hectares of the 200,000 hectares estimated for the year will be able to be planted with rice.)

In addition to the economic problems, there is political persecution, especially after the protests of July 2021. The regime’s response to the legitimate right of Cubans to demonstrate peacefully was a historic repression: arbitrary arrests, speedy trials without sufficient legal guarantees or even violent practices, according to Human Rights Watch. And it is precisely this violation of rights that goes hand in hand with the lack of freedom of expression on the island. The regime controls all media outlets and the information or entertainment content they disseminate. It was not until December 6, 2018, that the internet was accessible to Cuban citizens from the mobile network. Access to the network and its contents had been restricted for decades on the

island to further alienate the population. On that social base of negativity for a different future in the country, uncertain and opposite to the one they know, it is difficult for the success of a robust opposition capable of overthrowing a dictatorship that has known how to sow fear in its population. Once again, the radical communist left survives by the roots, because its strategy has never been short term, but a slow and progressive social project that erodes the moral ground on which the ideological plague expands.

Cuba is the most illustrative example of dictatorial regimes in the continent, but not the only one. Hugo Chavez came to power in Venezuela in 1998 and with him began the authoritarian transformation of the country. A disciple of Fidel Castro, he managed to form with the Cuban leader a Marxist axis in the region since the beginning of the 21st century. Chávez won the elections promising a profound political restructuring in a complicated moment. Venezuelans no longer believed in the traditional parties and the anguish of the “Caracazo” in 1989 was still present, the protests and looting that left hundreds of dead according to official figures, thousands according to other independent studies (López Maya, Margarita. 2003. The Venezuelan “Caracazo” of 1989: Popular Protest and Institutional Weakness. *Journal of Latin American Studies*. Cambridge University Press. Vol.35, No.1, pp.117-137).

Chávez was the young military man who arrived to change that course, but his leadership led to a disastrous destiny in terms of respect for human rights and the rule of law. A priori, some of his measures brought back a certain tranquility to the country, but others had a deep totalitarian undertone. The man who tried to come to power in a coup d'état that failed, once in office by democratic means, decided to eliminate the Senate in order to make a sort of cleansing of the institutions. 2002 was, in any case, the year in which Venezuela fully entered into totalitarianism, and it did so because of Chávez's fear. In 2002 the economic crisis was deep, and the people took to the streets.

The revolts -and the attempted looting of the Venezuelan presidential residence- led Chávez to order the intervention of the military. But he was the one who ended up arrested and replaced by an interim president. However, the coup plotters went too far too fast, and the coin turned again. New demonstrations brought Chavez back to power and from then on, he armored himself in power with international alliances such as that of Fidel Castro.

From then on, everything Chavez saw as political or economic opposition, would be repressed because in his eyes it was a direct attack to the project he defended. Thus, politics became polarized, and the Venezuelan president embarked on a path to get the military forces on his side. After the death of the Venezuelan leader in 2013, Nicolás Maduro, Chávez's last vice-president, came to power. Willing to continue carrying out the communist agenda of his mentor and predecessor, Maduro maintained alliances with Cuba and the rest of the Marxist movements and leaders in the region.

His economic formula to respond to the crisis the country was going through was to print money. After the continuous fall of exports, Maduro decided to print even more money and the inflation generated by his response was sinking the country economically into a poverty that does not correspond to the level of natural



wealth of the country. Venezuela has the largest oil reserves in the world (more than 300 billion barrels) and, despite this, it does not manage to produce as much as it could. In a day, it produces only one tenth of the daily production of the United States, according to the International Energy Agency.

Fed up with the economic crisis and the increase in crime in the country, on February 12, 2014, the Venezuelan opposition led massive protests. The opposition leader, Leopoldo López was arrested 6 days later accused of conspiracy. Two days later, the Maduro regime consummated its persecution of international journalists and press freedom by revoking the accreditation of CNN journalists, for example. And at the end of that year, Barack Obama, then President of the United States, imposed sanctions on Venezuela for not respecting the human and civil rights recognized in the United Nations Charter.

But Venezuela's democratic collapse came in 2015, two years after Chavez's death. Legislative elections led to the opposition taking control of the National Assembly. With the opposition in "control" of the legislative branch, the war of powers began, first with the executive and then with the judiciary, at the service of the government. In May 2016 Maduro declared a state of constitutional emergency and in 2017 the Supreme Court of Justice ruled in favor of removing the opposition from power in the Assembly, although he was later forced to back down due to strong social and international pressure. Maduro's next step to try to impose his will over the democratic mandate of society was to create a new institution tailor-made to shield him: the Constituent Assembly. The body was a substitute for the National Assembly which had been left in the hands of the opposition after the elections.

Faced with the uncontrollable political instability of his government, Maduro calls elections in 2018 (false, according to the then US Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo). The political heir of Chávez won with 68% of the votes according to the tally of the state-run media and institutions. The chronology continues and in 2019 the president of the National Assembly, Juan Guaidó, declares himself interim president of Venezuela, a decision backed by the United States and some 50 other countries. At this point, the chronological enumeration of the events that have marked Venezuela's history up to this point is not simply a description of the historical narrative, it is a tangible representation of the tentacles of a regime that has not become fully a dictatorship but is indisputably authoritarian and undemocratic. De facto, this repressive political path has been accompanied by the instruction manual for communists. In this "manual" are detailed the human and civil rights that must be violated to establish a regime that masquerades as a "savior of the common good and class equality".

The objective is to perpetuate itself in power with the excuse that it is the best way to strengthen a State that will defend all citizens, the most vulnerable. The system "godifies" the State and, consequently, shields its representative before the citizens: the president. To control a society, it is first necessary to extirpate all its moral ties, such as religion. That is why we see cases of religious persecution in countries like Nicaragua or, recently, Cuba. When you take away the ability of a believing society to practice their faith and secularize their customs, you can replace their moral guide by "daddy state". It is the State that is going to watch over

them and protect them against everything, therefore, you leave that society vulnerable and willing to accept whatever the State (or its representative) considers politically correct. It is the indoctrination of the mind to empty it of morality and critical capacity.

This has led in Venezuela, Cuba or Nicaragua - to be analyzed below - to the repression of dissidence, the violation of freedom of expression and assembly, extrajudicial executions, arbitrary arrests and the political destruction of the opposition. These are the means to achieve the alienation of society. In Venezuela, for example, the government's crusade against any kind of legitimate opposition continues. That is what Maduro is doing with the center-right opposition, María Corina Machado, sanctioned until 2030 and disqualified from holding office. Neither she nor the United States believe that this sanction is legitimate, and she hopes to be able to run for elections against Maduro and the Chavismo thanks to the mediation of political actors such as the United States.

Nicaragua is another example of authoritarianism in the region and, consequently, of persecution of the political opposition. In the country's recent history, President Daniel Ortega has managed to turn his mandate into an authoritarian and personalistic regime. In 2014, the parliamentary majority of the Sandinista National Liberation Front approved in the National Assembly the modification of dozens of constitutional articles and endorsed the indefinite reelection of the president. With no legal and time limit to be able to run in elections, the president of Nicaragua is shielding himself in a posture that, de facto, ends up being totalitarian because it kills loyal competition with the opposition. It breaks with the democratic essence of a representative process under equal conditions, especially at the structural and resource level to face an electoral campaign.

In 2018, President Daniel Ortega carried out a reform of the social security system whereby workers would have to pay 7% of their salary (until then they contributed 6.25%), employers 22.5% (compared to the 19% they were paying until then) and, in addition, retirees would have to pay 5% of their pension (CNN Español. 2018 What is happening in Nicaragua? Keys to understanding the Social Security reform). This decision provoked a strong social response with demonstrations and consequent abuses of force and the disruption of regime militias. By the end of the year, some 400 people had died in the protests (Jaramillo, Mauricio. 2023. Nicaragua, una deriva autoritaria que se confirma. Rosario University. Vol.9, No.88). With this background and the arrival of the coronavirus pandemic, censorship and, above all, self-censorship was imposed in the country. Fear of repression and cancellation silenced a good part of the social base of the Nicaraguan opposition.

2021 was elections year, and 14 candidates opposed to Daniel Ortega were disqualified or even imprisoned. One of those imprisoned candidates was Felix Maradiaga and he was in prison until February 10, 2023, when the Ortega regime released 222 political prisoners (Maradiaga among them) and put them on a plane to the United States, but as 222 stateless persons. Once in the United States, Spain offered to grant nationality to these political prisoners. Maradiaga continues to oppose, but from intellectual outreach outside Nicaragua.



“The main battle is the battle of ideas,” he commented, “and we are losing the battle because we are losing the narrative.” Maradiaga explained at a conference in Washington DC in November 2023 that the Latin American left has been able to think in the long term and not in electoral cycles because “they want to create a new world”. To counteract this, Maradiaga has called on the United States to shake off the guilt of having forgotten Latin America and become involved in its full democratic maturation because the Marxist elements of authoritarianism are already reaching U.S. society and institutions.

## Mexico: political-electoral reform

Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO) wants to change the basis of democratic power: the electoral law. His first proposal to modify the functioning of the Mexican electoral system involved changing 18 constitutional articles and 7 transitory laws (Yáñez, Brenda. 2023. Las claves de los planes “A”, “B” y “C” de AMLO a favor de una reforma electoral. Expansión). The President of the Republic is willing to dismantle the National Electoral Institute, a body created to ensure the impartiality and proper development of the electoral processes in Mexico. The reform, therefore, is not electoral. It is political. The consequence of the implementation of the measures discussed below is to take away the autonomy of the institution that organizes the elections so that the electoral process will once again fall largely on the Ministry of the Interior, as in the 80’s, before the country’s democratic evolution.

It was an autonomous electoral institute what returned Mexico to democratic normality after decades of single party rule. The transformation is political because what it seeks is to change, in a sufficiently radical way, the system of democratic representation under an idea difficult to refute: to lower the costs of the state and democratic apparatus and save up to 15 billion Mexican pesos.

Article 41 of the electoral reform proposed the suppression of the Local Electoral Institutes, the institutions that guarantee and organize the electoral processes at the local level, the closest to the citizens when exercising their right to vote. Likewise, the first proposal contemplated the disappearance of the State Electoral Courts to grant all judicial oversight power to a single court, the Electoral Court of the Judiciary. The election model would be popular.

Andrés Manuel López Obrador proposed that the judges of such court be elected by the people. And this leaves several points to consider. Most citizens of voting age do not have the necessary education and knowledge to decide whether one judge or another is the most qualified for the position. Forcing judges to do “electoral campaigning” does not depoliticize justice, quite the contrary. The reform is summarized in a drastic change because of the reduction from 11 to 7 electoral councilors and the elimination of funding to political parties to carry out their ordinary activity when there is no campaign. And since these proposals required changing dozens of constitutional articles, a two-thirds majority was necessary to make the modifications. On December 6, 2022, the plenary of the Chamber of Deputies rejected the measure. It was time, then, to move on to plan B.

## Plan B

After the failure of a constitutional reform to weaken the institution that oversees the proper functioning of electoral democracy, AMLO presented a new battery of proposals that did not require a change in the country's constitution. In November 2022, the President of the Republic presented the secondary law reforms he wanted to make in order to, as he explained, lower the cost of elections in Mexico and avoid fraud. The new proposal contemplated changing 6 secondary laws, for which a two thirds majority in the nation's Congress was not necessary. The norms in question were: General Law of Institutions and Electoral Procedures, General Law of Political Parties, General Law of the System of Means of Contestation in Electoral Matters, General Law on Electoral Crimes, Federal Law of Popular Consultation and the General Law of Social Communication (Yáñez, Brenda. 2023. Las claves de los planes "A", "B" y "C" de AMLO a favor de una reforma electoral. Expansión).

Andrés Manuel López Obrador's plan "B" was still betting on a reduction of INE's personnel, especially administrative staff and its local offices; in addition, the departure of 84.6% of the National Electoral Professional Service (Mexican Congress. 2022. Analysis of the current text and the proposed text of the constitutional reform initiative proposed by the Federal Executive). Thus, the system will be deprived of qualified and trained personnel to organize an electoral process from the local base.

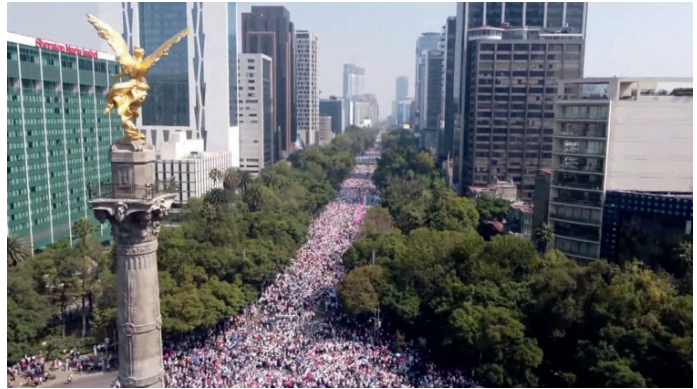
In the political aspect of the reform, it was allowed that in a coalition of parties, votes could be distributed among the parties so that those with worse results could maintain certain parliamentary influence, even though the citizens have not granted it to them with their votes. Therefore, this possibility directly alters the sense of the vote of the citizens, it kills the definition of democracy because a political pact can give power to a party without the consent of the voters. It is a rupture of the democratic social contract that is signed on election day.

This practice had already been dismantled in Mexico by order of the Supreme Court of Justice. It was the "eternal life clause" and recovering it meant modifying Article 12 of the General Law of Electoral Institutions and Procedures. The goal was to avoid the disappearance of a party, regardless of its result at the elections, because votes could be transferred between different parliamentary groups to prevent the smallest party from disappearing from the system or running out of funds allocated for its ordinary activity or campaigns. For the opposition, for PAN senator José Alfredo Botello, the president's party wants to "steal the 2024 presidential election" by distributing votes in a coalition (Gerardo Mejía, José. 2023. Senate approves AMLO's electoral plan B without the "eternal life clause" for political parties. LatinUS). The Senate did not approve this clause, but senators did approve the rest of the reform.

The setback for Andrés Manuel López Obrador's plans came from the streets and, in 2023, from the Supreme Court of Justice. Tens of thousands of people demonstrated in Mexico on February 26, 2023, with banners full of slogans such as: "INE is untouchable" or "My vote is untouchable". They all wore white and pink, the colors of the electoral institution threatened by AMLO, and filled the Zócalo, Mexico's main square with more than 20,000 square meters.



Source: CNN



Source: El País

Organizations opposed to AMLO united under the acronym of the National Civic Front to try to tip the balance in the struggle for public support. At the same time, the judicial struggle intensified, and Mexico witnessed a war of powers: the executive attacking the judiciary for enforcing the law. In 2023, the minister instructing the case in Mexico's Supreme Court, Javier Laynez, pushed for the temporary halt of a part of the Mexican president's Plan B because "it deals with the possible violation of the political-electoral rights of the citizenry" (Tele-mundo. March 25, 2023. A judge suspends "Plan B" of President López Obrador's electoral reform).

The president's response, against the healthy separation of powers, was: "I thought we could improve the Judiciary, but no, it is rotten", assured AMLO in his morning appearance on May 9, 2023 (Raziel, Zedryk. 2023. López Obrador lashes out at the Supreme Court after overthrowing 'plan B': "El Poder Judicial está podrido". El País). In June the final answer was revealed. By majority, the Mexican Supreme Court invalidated the electoral reform of the president of the republic for violating the democratic process. The court agreed with the opposition and determined that the government had not given enough time to the parliamentarians to read the reform and determine their vote in the session that was to approve or reject it in the chamber, therefore, the executive maneuvered to circumvent the parliament's control over its laws and violate the democratic procedure.

But the fact that these changes have not yet been fully implemented does not mean that the left has lost its ability to try to control and change democratic institutions. This proposal is simply a wake-up call of what they can do with the State's own mechanisms to neutralize a democratic society with critical capacity. AMLO went for an electoral reform, but Gabriel Boric went to the base of the democratic coexistence system: the Constitution.

## Chile: an attempt at constitutional reform in 2022

"Chile is a social and democratic State under the rule of law. It is plurinational, regional and ecological" (Chapter I, Article 1). So begins the Chilean Constitution; and continues: "its democracy is inclusive and parity". This is how the draft constitution prepared by the left defined the Republic of Chile. The 1980 text needed only two words to define Chile: "democratic republic". The parity included in the definition of the country marks the intentions of the text. The draft advances in parity and establishes that women must

occupy at least 50% of the positions in the organs of the State (Chapter I, Article 6). The concept of ‘meritocracy’ is destroyed and replaced by the ideological quota.

While the first wave of feminism in 1848 was led by “suffragettes”, the women who fought for the right to vote, the second wave in the twentieth century sought wage equality and equal employment opportunities for men and women (Hafera, Brenda. 2023. The Young Leaders Program summit at The Heritage Foundation). The radicalization of the movement as we know it today came with the third feminist wave, completely absorbed by the sexual revolution of the late 20th century. Feminism became radicalized and lost its original purpose when it became linked to the ideological and sexual conception that made abortion a feminist right, as well as gender self-determination. Following this line, where for self-proclaimed feminists, abortion is now a woman’s right (even though the first feminists rejected it), the draft of the new constitution in Chile intended to shield abortion as a right contemplated in the text and protected by it.

The 1980 Constitution explicitly states that “the law protects the life of the unborn”. In this sense, the constitution in force since then has placed value on life from the moment of conception and during pregnancy. In contrast, the 2022 draft details that “the State guarantees its exercise without discrimination [sexual and reproductive rights], with a focus on gender, inclusion and cultural belonging; as well as access to information, education, health and the services and benefits required for it, ensuring to all women and people with the capacity to gestate the conditions for a pregnancy, a voluntary interruption of pregnancy, a voluntary and protected childbirth and maternity. It also guarantees its exercise free of violence and interference by third parties, whether individuals or institutions” (Chapter II, Article 61).

Chile intended to shield abortion as a constitutional right, even though the majority of society does not defend this idea in such a radical way, even if the results of the polls are interpreted in a biased way. According to the June-July 2023 poll of the Chilean Public Affairs Center, 30% believe that abortion should be an option for women in any case. The draft of the new constitution of 2022 does not establish any concrete assumption, beyond the woman’s will, to abort. Therefore, it allows it in any case and following simple arithmetic rules, 70% of Chileans do not believe that abortion should be an option for women under any circumstances, without analyzing the motivation. The radical left is supported by the fact that 19% believe that abortion should always be forbidden. By the same arithmetical logic, this implies that 81% are in favor of abortion not always being forbidden. The differentiating factor is that here there are certain circumstances that could, from a medical point of view, justify an abortion in the case of serious illness or imminent risk to the life of the mother. Another “woke” statement founded in the text, or biased by gender ideology, is the definition of mother: “women and people with the capacity to gestate”. Only women have the biological capacity to gestate. It is biologically incorrect to differentiate a woman from a person with the capacity to gestate. It is only a political response to a movement that seeks to empty of meaning basic concepts such as what it means to be a woman or a man.

In addition, the draft in question eliminates the Senate. In the processing and construction of laws, a chamber reviews and validates, or not, the norms that come out of parliament. The Chilean left wanted to eliminate this function of legal and democratic review and supervision. Leaving legislative power in the hands of a single chamber reduces the legal and political quality of the bill, which has no counterweight beyond the agreement of the deputies.

According to the 1980 Constitution (Chapter V, Article 49), the exclusive powers of the Senate are: “to give or withhold its consent to the acts of the President of the Republic, in the cases required by the Constitution or the law”, it also has the power to “declare the inability of the President of the republic or the President elect when a physical or mental impediment disqualifies him for the exercise of his functions; and to declare likewise, when the President of the Republic makes resignation from his office, whether the reasons that originate it are or are not founded and, consequently, to admit or reject it”. In any case, the Senate is designed as a control chamber that the Left intended to make disappear.

The constitutional draft rejected by 61.9% of Chilean society in 2022 was, moreover, statist and, for example, intended to eliminate private ownership in the administration of water, a good that was to be recognized as inappropriate. It is, therefore, a Marxist constitution that seeks to legalize the attack on private property and the destruction of the mechanisms of the free market without the excessive intervention of the State. The goal, therefore, is to unprotect the person, the citizens, making them more and more dependent on the State. It is the collectivization of the person under the false purpose of achieving a subjective and non-consensual common good.

On December 17th, after four years and two failed constitutional drafts, the Chilean electorate decided to keep the 1980 Constitution in force again. The vote was clear: 55.76% voted against the proposal drafted by a Constitutional Council with a right-wing majority and preferred to keep the Charter designed during the regime of Augusto Pinochet, reformed in 1989 and 2005. Already on 4 September 2022, Chileans had resoundingly rejected the radical text proposed by another body, the left-dominated Constitutional Convention.

The double constitutional rejection (2022 and 2023) leaves behind a failed process that originated in the violent attempt by the left to erode the constitutional order and break with the exemplary transition to democracy that took place in Chile after the authoritarian regime of General Pinochet.





# Why is a conservative Spain (EU)-United States-Latin America coalition necessary?

Socialists, Marxists or communists have historically been better than conservatives at forming international alliances and coalitions for a basic question of ideological principles: conservatives have been protectionist, domestic and more patriotic in the defense of national tradition. Progressivism, on the other hand, has sought growth in globalism, gradually annulling the uniqueness of a nation. But without going to that extreme, it is time for conservatives to ally with each other because the challenges and threats they face are no longer domestic. They are common to the entire Western societies, especially in Latin America, a region forgotten by the European Union and, recently, by the United States.

## Economic potential

From Mexico to Argentina, the continent's natural resources are a source of attention, to say the least, for the rest of the West. Latin America can be an even more valuable ally for the European Union and North America. It concentrates approximately 20% of all the world's oil reserves, more than 30% of the world's primary forests and 25% of strategic metals for industrial and technological manufacturing. In fact, natural resources account for just over half of all exports from the region. From a strategic point of view, Latin America is a good commercial asset: 65% of the world's lithium reserves, 49% of silver, 44% of copper, 33% of tin and 22% of the world's iron reserves (ECLAC. 2014. Natural resources: situation and trends for a regional development agenda in Latin America and the Caribbean). Brazil, for example, is the second country in the world with the most iron, behind Australia and ahead of China.

The practical use of these figures has not only economic but also geopolitical connotations. To minimize Western dependence on China or Russia, one can look more to Latin America. With 65% of the world's lithium reserves, the region has the capacity to manufacture batteries, cell phones, computers and electric cars. During and after the pandemic, the strategic manufacturing crisis generated with China can be avoided in the medium-term future with greater investment in Latin American production. This will require more

infrastructure. And it is precisely in this area that China has taken the lead over both the United States and the European Union. What began as an economic influence is going to become a political influence on the doorstep of the U.S. border.

## Containment of China's economic interference in Latin America

Since the beginning of the 21st century, China has consciously invested in Latin America with a long-term economic plan that the United States and the European Union have taken 20 years to fully understand. The gradual but constant Chinese investment in the continent has been accompanied by geopolitical negligence on the part of Washington and Brussels, but especially on the part of the United States, which chose not to strengthen relations with the countries below Mexico.

China, on the other hand, saw an opportunity in this political detachment from the United States and in 2008 laid the foundations of what would be its strategy with Latin America and the Caribbean in a “white paper”. The document speaks generically of strengthening economic, political, cultural, social and security and justice cooperation.

Until then, China had been an important economic partner, but in this sort of “declaration of intent” it took a step towards future political collaboration at the legislative and partisan level. One of Beijing's goals was to increase the Communist Party's presence in the region through events, forums and alliances. Likewise, collaboration was to be extended between the Chinese People's Congress and Latin American parliaments. This political alliance continues to develop today, as explained above in the purposes of the Puebla Group and the São Paulo Forum.

Consequently, what started as an economic alliance that evolved into a political one ends up being an ideological influence. This is where China's deployment of its Confucius institutes plays a fundamental role. A priori, they are a platform like the Spanish Cervantes Institute, which seeks to promote the learning of Chinese culture and language. But behind this project is the Chinese government and, according to independent and non-profit organizations such as Human Rights Watch, these Confucius institutes censor topics, contents or points of view that go against the postulates defended by the Chinese government and the Communist Party of China. Therefore, they are another propaganda apparatus of Beijing and, in Latin America alone, there are 44 of them. There are others 18 classes associated with these institutes that also operate in secondary and primary schools.

In addition to the injection of communist ideology and the Chinese narrative, there is a growing anti-American sentiment, fostered by this propagandistic task of the left supported by China and by the socio-cultural and political neglect of the United States, Spain and the rest of the European Union. Latin American public opinion does not see China as a threat to its interests, quite the contrary. According to a 2019 Pew Research Center survey, 51% of the Brazilian population, half of Mexicans and 47% of Argentines have a favorable



opinion of China. For reference, 60% of Americans distrust China and 53% of Spaniards as well. China has been able to become a key player in the Latin American economy, society and politics because it has known how to penetrate the continent with strategic investments, those that the United States and Spain let go.

China's plan is not to inject money into the countries of the region, but to invest in strategic assets that will ensure a long-term position in a region on which it depends in terms of natural resources. A large part of the minerals and natural resources that the Asian country imports are purchased in Latin America. That is why it has decided to invest in infrastructure. In Peru, for example, it has built a mega-port that is on its way to becoming the most important gateway to and from Latin America's southern hemisphere on the route to Asia. China is also investing in lithium extraction and hydroelectric power plants (Agobian, Jorge. November 2023. China's footprint continues to grow in Latin America. Voice of America). With the injection of money in the continent's reducing infrastructures, not only does it improve the economic development of the area, but it also helps to generate employment, and this translates into an improvement in the lives of societies living in a situation of poverty or little economic development. Since the beginning of the century, bilateral trade between China and Latin America has increased 36-fold (Puig de la Bellacasa, Eduardo & Moya, Guillermo. April 2023. China's influence in Latin America. CEU-CEFAS p. 9).

This is how Beijing has been able to fill the vacuum that the United States and the European Union have left in Latin America, the forgotten corner that is also the West. China's influence in the region should be one of the geopolitical priorities of the United States, Spain and the other 26 EU member states. In the coming years, if the West fails to curb China's ideological, political and economic expansion in Latin America, the United States will be left in a position of incalculable geopolitical weakness. China, its greatest rival and political threat, will not only be on the other side of the Pacific, but directly on its southern border. Spain also has a historical social influence in Latin America that it has not known how to manage and which, if not encouraged, could end up breaking the social ties it still has with its former territories in the Americas.

In addition to China's influence, there is also that of Russia. As heir to the Soviet Union, Russia has maintained its ideological ties with many countries in the region, especially Cuba, Nicaragua and Venezuela. Throughout the 21st century this alliance has been maintained, but the war in Ukraine has been another turning point. Politically isolated by the great powers of the West, Vladimir Putin has resorted to his allies in Latin America to reinforce his ideological propaganda with a more radical agenda and focused on positioning himself in the continent in the face of his struggle with the United States over the war in Ukraine. It has been reported that Cuban citizens have joined the Russian ranks to fight in the Donbas. In exchange, Russia has deepened its commercial alliance (Malamud, Carlos & Núñez Castellano, Rogelio. November 2023. Russia in Latin America, a year and a half after the invasion of Ukraine. Real Instituto Elcano). In Cuba, Russia maintains military positions that are key to drawing the world geopolitical map.

Ideologically, Russia has also reinforced its propaganda campaign in the region through Russia Today and the proliferation of news with a clearly pro-Russian bias in the explanation of the invasion of Ukraine. A report by Transparencia Venezuela has analyzed how cooperation between Moscow and Caracas has evolved since the war began and the conclusion is an exponential increase, above all, of cooperation in communication, propaganda and media. The most disseminated messages through official media responded to the same narrative that whitewashed the figure of Vladimir Putin in front of the West and the United States (Amaya, Víctor. 2022. Russia and Venezuela, allies to disinform. Transparencia Venezuela).

This type of disinformation campaigns designed by Russia, and the progressive Chinese interference in the Latin American economy and politics, are the perfect combination to aggravate the vulnerabilities of a society drowned by citizen insecurity, by economic crises prolonged in time and by a drug trafficking so far uncontrollable.

## Deterioration of the rule of law. Crisis at the southern border of the United States

This economic crisis in Latin America has historically fostered a migratory flow to the United States, largely illegally across the border with Mexico. But insecurity and economic problems are compounded by the repression from which millions of people continue to flee from countries with dictatorial or authoritarian governments such as Cuba, Venezuela or Nicaragua. According to a report by InterAmerican Security Watch (October 2023), between 2022 and 2023 a record number of Cubans and Venezuelans have sought asylum at the Mexican border after arriving there illegally. According to the U.S. border police, more Cubans have emigrated between 2022 and 2023 than between 1965 and 1973 in the so-called “freedom flights”. Back then, after the triumph of Fidel Castro’s revolution, some 270,000 Cubans emigrated to the United States. In fiscal years 2022 and 2023 the number of Cuban asylum seekers reached almost 425,000 (Bazail-Eimil, Eric. 2023. Record-breaking numbers of Cuban migrants entered the U.S. in 2022-23. Politico).

Venezuelans, for the first time since records have been kept, have surpassed Mexicans in the number of migrants entering the United States through its southern border. At the close of fiscal year 2023, most people apprehended at the border for attempting to cross illegally were Venezuelan. In September 2023, 54,833 Venezuelans were apprehended at the border with Mexico, more than twice as many as a month earlier: 22,090 arrests in August and 33,749 in July 2023 (The Associated Press. October 2023. Venezuelans surpass all other nationalities in illegal U.S. border crossings. OPB).

These two specific cases, Cuba and Venezuela, demonstrate how the deterioration of a country’s democracy also influences the flow of migration. The repression of human rights and individual liberties, together with an economic crisis that worsened with the pandemic due to mismanagement, have been the key

factors that have led to this increase of immigrants at the U.S.-Mexico border. In FY 2023, 2.5 million people have sought asylum at the border and that is a record (PutzelKavanaugh, Colleen & Ruiz Soto, Ariel. October 2023. Shifting Patterns and policies Reshape Migration to U.S.-Mexico Border in Major Ways in 2023. Migration Policy Institute).

But 2023 has seen a profile shift in most people attempting to illegally enter the U.S. Until then, a large proportion of asylum seekers were single adults or arrived alone in that part of the country. In 2023, according to official U.S. Border Patrol data, while single adults continue to make up the majority, the number of families arriving at the border seeking asylum has grown (they now account for 33.18% of the total, up from 23% in 2022). Regardless of age, origin is another factor that has changed in recent years. It is no longer only Mexicans, Central Americans or Latin Americans who cross the border, but also Chinese, Indians or Russians. Between 2022 and 2023, for example, U.S. border authorities have counted an increase of 24,000 Chinese immigrants at the border seeking asylum (U.S. Customs and Border Protection. 2023).

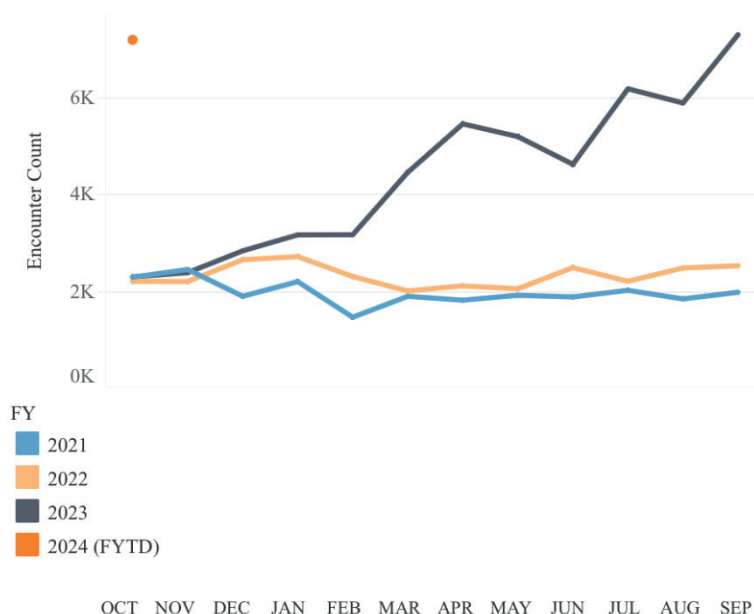


Chart of Chinese immigration growth at the southern border of the United States (U.S. Customs and Border Protection. 2023).

In Latin America, on the other hand, an increase in illegal immigration through the Darien jungle has been detected after decisive political moments. For example, in 2021 6,200 Colombians arrived irregularly at the U.S.-Mexico border. Gustavo Petro became the president of Colombia on June 19, 2022. That year, 125,200 Colombians requested asylum in the United States. That is 20 times more than the previous year. And from January to August 2023, the entire 2022 total has already been surpassed: 126,200 Colombians have sought asylum at U.S. border (U.S. Customs and Border Protection. 2023).

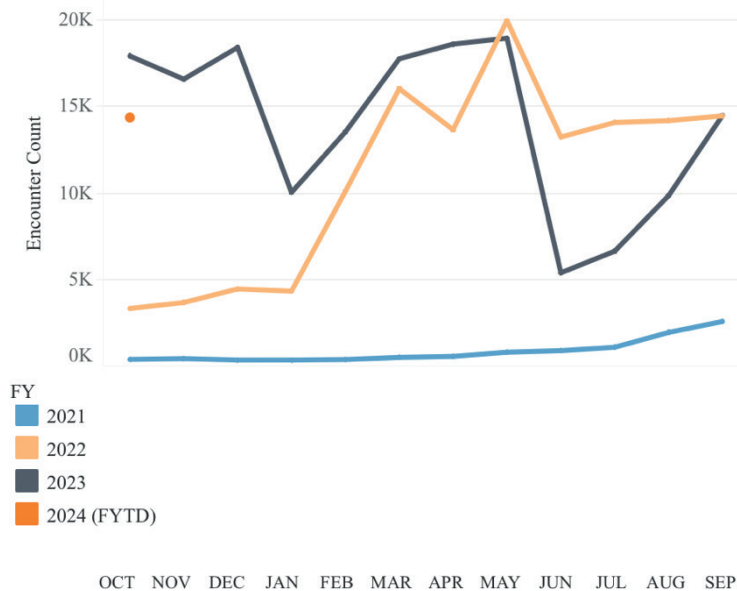


Chart of growth of Colombian immigration at the southern border of the United States (U.S. Customs and Border Protection, 2023).

In addition to the massive influx of immigrants, there are shortcomings in the protocol for admission and asylum processing. Immigrants who arrive undocumented or with documents that may be false, have in their favor the difficulty the U.S. government has in verifying that the person is not who he or she claims to be. This lack of collaboration in terms of security leads to an increase in crimes, especially in Texas, linked to immigrants who have crossed the border and to the infiltration of Mexican cartels. Especially in the state of Texas, Americans and legal residents face an increase in human smuggling, violent episodes, robberies, kidnappings (Rodriguez, Selene. November 2023. At the southern U.S. border, there's less security and more lies. Texas Public Policy Foundation). To this is added the trafficking of fentanyl (a drug that is already the main cause of overdose deaths in cities such as New York, San Francisco or Baltimore).

The United States is therefore facing a security and public health crisis that could be avoided or controlled if there were greater cooperation with Mexico. Although the current president of Mexico does not consider this alliance important. Andrés Manuel López Obrador rejects that the fentanyl crisis in the United States has its origin in Mexico and assures that it is more a behavior of young people willing to get high. But a BBC report claims that authorities in both Mexico and the United States have detected how a network of Mexican and Chinese cartels has been established to manufacture fentanyl and then send it to the United States.

Politically, Joe Biden's policy has proven ineffective in controlling the flow of illegal immigration because it has sent the opposite message to the rest of the world. The U.S.-Mexico border functions as a market under the rules of supply and demand. The only way to control demand is to cut supply, to make entry into the country more complicated, and that sends a different message than Biden. Without forgetting that it is largely families who cross one of the most dangerous jungles in Latin America to seek a better opportunity in the United States, the illegal migratory flow puts the very identity of the United States as a country -as well as its security- at risk.

To begin with, no citizen from a country outside of Latin America should be able to use the southern border as a point of illegal entry into the country (say Chinese, Indian, Turkish or Romanian, to name a few). Greater collaboration is imperative with countries like Mexico that should be the first barrier to people crossing the country for the sole purpose of reaching the United States. And asylum policies should return to their beginnings when they were only granted to those who could prove they were victims of political persecution.

For the United States, this is not only a political crisis, but also an economic crisis that ends up being paid for by taxpayers, taxpaying Americans. Chicago, for example, one of the cities that receives asylum seekers like New York, plans to spend 255.7 million dollars in 2023 to finance the stay of “aliens”, immigrants without papers. This is precisely why it is necessary to scrutinize the work of non-profit organizations that receive funding from the U.S. government.



# Conservative coalition model

Conservatives in the West hemisphere face common challenges and threats. It is the result of the internationalization and globalism of the communist left. Their ideological agenda has expanded internationally while conservatives, by their very nature, have concentrated on their domestic development. The migratory crisis just described in the United States is comparable to that suffered by Spain on its border with Morocco or Italy in the Mediterranean. A political-strategic alliance between the conservative leaders of the European Union, Latin America and the United States must translate into a single public ideological and political agenda to confront the common threats of communist radicalism.

The first paradigm shift must be the relationship with Latin America and its full political recognition as part of the West. If the goal is to influence Latin American politics to promote and develop democracy in a still unstable region, the first line of action is in society. And that is where Spain must regain its influence in its former territories in the Americas. Although Latin America now looks to the United States as the primary bearer of financial security and wealth, Spain remains the moral and social reference for a population that shares language, culture and the predominant religion with its “mother country”. If the conservative movement in the United States wants to influence Latin American society in defense of the family, life and the Catholic religion, it must establish a social coalition with Spain. The left understood this years ago and did so with the Puebla Group, for example.

It is time for an alliance of leaders, not just conservative academics. A Europe-Ibero America-United States alliance must be founded with the goal of active politics to confront the ideological indoctrination that the Marxist left has been carrying out since the turn of the century. Conservatives need an international organization with common foundational values such as the defense of the family, life from conception, the free market, private property, freedom of expression without social censorship, no state interventionism and the curbing of illegal immigration.

A good starting point is the Madrid Forum, an initiative of the Disenso Foundation to confront the Marxist ideological agenda. Its objective is to generate political awareness and critical thinking at the international

level about the ideological agenda of the extreme left. Precisely for this purpose, it is focusing its work in Latin America through regional forums and the elaboration of political reports.

There are allies in Latin America: Argentina with Javier Milei and Paraguay with Santiago Peña are two starting points. If an international conservative alliance is not put in place, China will continue to gain economic strength and social influence in Latin America and the United States will be surrounded and cornered by its main competitor to the west, south and east of its territory.

The axis of this coalition must be structured between Spain, Argentina, Paraguay, Ecuador, Mexico and the United States. Paraguay's geographical position between Brazil and Argentina, the two largest countries in South America, makes it a good test scenario to start promoting big Western investment in infrastructure to boost its economy. The same would happen with Ecuador, a country bordering Colombia and Peru, therefore, key to curb drug trafficking by land and sea with its direct access to the Pacific and proximity to the Panama Canal. In addition, Ecuador may be the contrast to Peru. China has focused in recent years on investing in Peruvian infrastructure, the United States and Europe can strengthen their presence in Ecuador, in the neighboring country, to launch the political message of presence and economic aid. Mexico, on the other hand, is the essential partner of the United States to control the migratory flow and its gateway to the rest of the continent.

Although geopolitical decision making depends on the government in power at any given time, it is necessary to begin to weave ties with the purposes among the conservative leaders of the countries mentioned above. The goal is to have established positions in the continent and at the same time to outline common ideological agendas that can be developed simultaneously with economic investment. It is not a project for electoral cycles; it is social education designed to yield results in the medium and long term. By then, the moral values intrinsic to human nature, which the Marxist left has tried to dynamite with its collectivization of the human being, will have already taken root.

To structure the action plan of this coalition, it is necessary to set out a common agenda, which should, above all, be based on consolidating all democratic institutions and the separation of powers (especially after the attempts at constitutional reform in several countries in the region, see the case of Chile explained above). In addition, respect for religious freedom, freedom of expression and academic freedom must be promoted, as well as the defense of the family as the nucleus of society. Part of the ideological agenda of the Latin American Marxist left has focused its policies on the activity of the human being outside the family and has diverted its meaning through gender ideology. The construction of an egalitarian society, as promoted by Marx, is transferred to the biological sphere by annulling any difference between a man and a woman. On this basis, the concept of family is altered and replaced by Marxist conventions of personal relations in society.

From an economic perspective, it is recommended to readjust public spending and follow a responsible and anti-inflationary monetary policy to avoid situations such as the one Argentina has suffered most of the year 2023 with inflation above 142%. It is also proposed to encourage foreign investment and guarantee legal certainty.



The main objective is to reduce as much as possible the intervention of the State to guarantee the free circulation of capital and goods in the market, which should be governed only by the law of supply and demand, and not by the intervention of the State acting as a company. At the same time, it is also recommended to open a new negotiation channel to be able to reach trade agreements under these premises with MERCOSUR.

The approach of concrete policies to meet these objectives will depend on the peculiarities and needs of each country, but they should be piloted around these general approaches. A good example is the roadmap of the president of Argentina, Javier Milei. His first measures in government promote an audit of the accounts of all ministries to reduce superfluous spending in the administration. He also abandons state interventionism, for example, in the construction and maintenance of infrastructure. It curbs public works tenders and instead encourages private investment. Its main objective has been to recover fiscal balance, and this has already been endorsed by the International Monetary Fund.

Although a common and priority policy for the proposed conservative coalition is to counteract the ideological bias that has taken hold of higher education and curricula at both the university and lower levels. This is a common threat that has also been abducted by gender ideology. Especially at the middle-higher education levels, social re-education is needed to dismantle the theory of social victimization of minorities and to awaken the conscience of a youth abducted by years of ideological education. Precisely for this reason it is necessary to start the action plan at the lower levels with a scrutiny and revision of textbooks, free choice of centers and, in certain cases, also of teachers.

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