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The right-wing radical vision of a multipolar world: Specifics of anti-globalist rhetoric of leaders of contemporary right-wing politicians in the EU and the United States

Abstract. The study was devoted to the analysis of the specifics of the anti-globalist rhetoric of contemporary right-wing politicians in the European Union and the United States in the context of their vision of a multipolar world. The purpose of the study was to identify key elements and features of the anti-globalist discourse of right-wing political forces, and its influence on the development of an alternative vision of the world order. The main findings showed that the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians is characterised by a complex combination of economic, political, and cultural aspects. It was revealed that the key elements of this rhetoric are criticism of international trade agreements, opposition to immigration, Euroscepticism, and calls for the protection of national sovereignty. It was established that the vision of a multipolar world in the discourse of right-wing politicians is presented as an alternative to global liberalism and American hegemony, focusing on the principles of national sovereignty and balance of power. The analysis showed significant differences in approaches to anti-globalist argumentation between politicians of different countries, due to the specifics of national political cultures and historical context. In particular, in France, anti-globalist rhetoric is closely linked to the idea of protecting national identity, in Italy it focuses on criticising EU fiscal rules, and in the United States it has taken the form of "economic nationalism". The study found that the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians has significant mobilisation potential, resonating with feelings of discontent and uncertainty in certain segments of the population. However, it was established that this rhetoric often ignores the positive aspects of globalisation and may contradict the international obligations of countries. The results helped to better understand the mechanisms of development and spread of anti-globalist sentiments, and their impact on political processes in the EU and the United States

Keywords: economic nationalism; sovereignty; populism; identity; Euroscepticism; migration policy; protectionism

Introduction

In the current political landscape of the European Union and the United States of America, there is a significant increase in the influence of right-wing and right-wing radical political forces. This phenomenon is of particular interest in the context of globalisation processes and their impact on the establishment of a new world order. The growth of electoral support for right-wing parties and movements in different countries of the world indicates profound transformations in socio-political life and requires a thorough analysis. The phenomenon of the "New Right", which was formed in the second half of the 20th century, has acquired a new meaning in the context of modern geopolitical challenges. The ideological platform

of these political forces, which combines elements of traditionalism, nationalism, and Euroscepticism, resonates with a significant part of the electorate in the EU and the United States. This necessitates the study of the specifics of their rhetoric, in particular, in the context of anti-globalist sentiments. Anti-globalism as a phenomenon appears not only as a reaction to the economic and cultural consequences of globalisation, but also as a complex set of ideas covering issues of national identity, sovereignty, and alternative models of the world order. In this context, the concept of a multipolar world, which is actively promoted by the leaders of modern right-wing political forces, deserves special attention. Consequently, there is a need

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for a comprehensive analysis of the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians in the EU and the United States, identifying common features and features of their vision of a multipolar world.

The analysis of the scientific literature on the research topic reveals a significant interest of the academic community in this issue. However, a review of available research papers shows that this topic remains insufficiently studied and requires further comprehensive research. In the context of investigating the impact of anti-globalisation processes on education and policy, it is worth paying attention to the paper by F. Rizvi (2022). The researcher explores the complex relationships between globalisation, education, and political processes, emphasising the need to rethink the role of education in the context of growing anti-globalist sentiments. This study provides an important foundation for understanding the broader context in which right-wing radical rhetoric is formed. Developing the topic of the challenges of globalisation, M.A. Khan *et al.* (2021) analyses the impact of anti-globalist tendencies on the international liberal order. Their study highlights the growing tension between globalisation processes and nationalist movements, which is a key aspect for understanding the rhetoric of right-wing politicians.

An important contribution to understanding the relationship between geopolitics and far-right ideology was made by A.R. Ross (2024). His study reveals how geopolitical factors influence the development and dissemination of right-wing radical ideas, which is crucial for analysing the vision of a multipolar world offered by modern right-wing politicians. In this context, the study of by F.A. Agwu (2021) deserves special attention, examining the paradox of a globalised world in the face of growing populism and nationalism. The researcher analyses the complex relationships between global processes and local reactions to them, which helps to better understand the background of the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians.

An interesting case study is presented by E. Diodato (2023), exploring the evolution of the foreign policy agenda of the populist Five Star Movement in Italy. This study demonstrates how populist movements adapt their rhetoric and policies to suit the national context, which is an important aspect for understanding the specifics of right-wing rhetoric in different EU countries. S.H. Hosseini *et al.* (2022) emphasise the need for integrative theory to analyse right-wing populism from a global perspective. Their paper highlights the importance of considering various factors when studying right-wing radical movements and their rhetoric.

An important contribution to understanding the worldview of the radical right was made by R. Abrahamson *et al.* (2024). Their research reveals key aspects of the ideology and worldview of right-wing radicals, which is crucial for analysing their vision of a multipolar world. In the context of the historical development of right-wing radical ideas, it is worth paying attention to the study by M. Rose (2021). The researcher analyses the influence of five key thinkers on the establishment of modern radical right-wing ideology, which helps to better understand the intellectual roots of contemporary right-wing rhetoric. Ultimately, S. Destradi (2023) offers conceptual and regional perspectives for the global resurgence of right-wing forces.

This paper provides an important theoretical framework for analysing right-wing radical movements in various regions of the world.

The literature review shows that there is a significant body of research devoted to various aspects of right-wing radical ideology, anti-globalism, and the concept of a multipolar world. However, most of these studies focus on certain aspects of the problem, without providing a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between the right-wing radical vision of a multipolar world and the specifics of the anti-globalist rhetoric of modern right-wing politicians in the EU and the United States.

The purpose of the study was to comprehensively analyse the specifics of the anti-globalist rhetoric of the leaders of contemporary right-wing politicians in the EU and the United States in the context of their vision of a multipolar world. To achieve this goal, the following tasks were set:

1) to analyse the history of the establishment of the "New Right" and to investigate the electoral support of modern right-wing political forces in various EU and US countries;

2) to consider anti-globalism as a socio-political phenomenon and its influence on the political discourse;

3) to identify common features and specifics of the anti-globalist rhetoric of modern right-wing politicians in the EU and the United States in the context of their vision of a multipolar world.

Materials and Methods

The study of the specifics of the anti-globalist rhetoric of the leaders of modern right-wing politicians in the EU and the USA was based on a comprehensive analysis of a wide range of sources and the use of a number of complementary methods of scientific knowledge. The source database is based on official documents, public speeches and statements by right-wing EU and US politicians for the period 2015-2024. In particular, the election programmes and manifestos of such parties as the National Rally in France, Alternative for Germany, the Italian Lega and the Brothers of Italy, and the Republican Party of the United States were analysed. Special attention was paid to investigating the public speeches of key figures of the right-wing movement, including Marine Le Pen, Matteo Salvini, AfD leaders, and Donald Trump.

To understand the context of the development of anti-globalist rhetoric, international agreements and documents were studied, which often became the object of criticism of right-wing politicians. These include the North American Free Trade Agreement (1992) or NAFTA, the Paris Agreement (2015), the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (2020), or the USMCA. The national legislation of the EU and the USA in the field of immigration policy was also analysed, including the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (2023) programme in the USA and Title 42 (2020). An important source of information was the reports and analytical materials of international organisations, in particular the World Bank, on the impact of globalisation on economic development and poverty (Trade has Been..., 2023). These data helped to compare the rhetoric of right-wing politicians with objective indicators of the impact of globalisation on various aspects of public life. Official election results in the studied

countries, including presidential and parliamentary elections in France, Italy, Germany, and the USA, were used to track the dynamics of electoral support for right-wing forces.

The study analysed and compared the main topics of anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians in different countries, including criticism of trade agreements, immigration policies, supranational institutions, and the vision of the world order. Special attention was paid to identifying common features and national characteristics in approaches to anti-globalist argumentation. To understand the impact of anti-globalist rhetoric on the development of specific policy decisions, a number of cases were examined, including the US withdrawal from the climate agreement (Pompeo, 2019) and subsequent return to it (Blinken, 2021), and changes in US immigration policy during the Trump administration.

An important aspect of the study was the relationship between the economic transformations caused by globalisation and the growing support for right-wing populist parties. For this purpose, the economic indicators of the regions most affected by deindustrialisation and economic restructuring were analysed and compared with the election results. In particular, the influence of such factors as the migration crisis of 2015 in Europe, the presidency of D. Trump in the US, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the Russian invasion of Ukraine on shaping an anti-globalist discourse was analysed.

For a more visual presentation of the results of the study, a comparative table was developed that summarises key aspects of the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians in the United States, France, Italy, and Germany. This table visualised common features and differences in approaches to criticism of globalisation and international institutions in different national contexts. It is important to note that the study considered the complexity and variability of anti-globalist rhetoric, which can vary depending on the specific political context and events. Therefore, the results of the analysis represented general trends, but did not claim to fully reflect the full variety of anti-globalist arguments in each country.

Results

Establishment and development of the “New Right” in the EU and the USA. The “New Right” movement began to form in the second half of the 20th century as a reaction to the deep socio-cultural and political-economic transformations that took place in Western societies. The origins of this movement can be traced back to the 1960s, when large-scale social and cultural shifts were taking place in Europe and the United States, leading to a rethinking of traditional values and ideologies. R.E. Klatch (2023) notes: “the 1960s were a period of deep division in American society, when the clash between liberal and conservative values reached its peak, setting the stage for the development of new political movements, including the “New Right”.

The establishment of the “New Right” movement was the result of a complex interweaving of social, economic, and cultural processes that unfolded over several decades after the Second World War. This process can be considered as a chain reaction to the profound transformations of Western society. The initial impulse was the growing influence of left-wing ideas in the post-war

period (1945-1970s), especially in the academic and cultural environment. This has led to a gradual erosion of traditional conservative values that previously dominated public discourse. In response, a new conservative ideology began to form, which sought to adapt to the changed conditions. The rapid modernisation of society in the 1960s and 1970s deepened the crisis of traditional conservative values. The sexual revolution, the civil rights movement, anti-war protests – all of these phenomena challenged established norms and created a sense of disorientation among conservative segments of the population. Against this background, large-scale economic transformations of the 1970s and 1990s unfolded, associated with deindustrialisation and the transition to a post-industrial society. These processes have led to significant changes in the labour market, increased unemployment in traditional industrial regions, and increased social inequality. This created a favourable ground for the spread of new right-wing ideas among those social groups that felt “lost” to economic change. The intensification of globalisation processes in the 1970s and 1980s, which led to the erosion of national borders and identities, was a catalyst for the consolidation of the “New Right” movement. A sense of threat to national identity and sovereignty has mobilised conservative forces around the ideas of protecting traditional values and countering globalisation.

Thus, the movement of the “New Right” was established as a reaction to a complex of interrelated processes: from cultural changes and left influence to economic transformations and globalisation. This ideology offered a new vision of conservatism adapted to the challenges of the post-industrial era, which allowed it to gain significant support among various segments of the population dissatisfied with the consequences of modernisation and globalisation. H.V. Milner (2021) emphasises: “the economic transformations associated with globalisation and technological change have created a favourable ground for the growing popularity of right-wing ideas, especially among those social groups that felt lost from these processes”.

It is important to note that the establishment of the “New Right” movement took place in the context of the general shift of the political spectrum to the right, which has been observed in many Western countries since the late 1970s. This process was associated with the economic crisis of the 1970s and disillusionment with Keynesian economic policies, which led to the growing popularity of neoliberal ideas.

The transition from the Keynesian model to the neoliberal one in the 1980s created a paradoxical situation where economic liberalism combined with cultural conservatism established the ideological basis for the “New Right” (Fraser, 2023). In Europe, an additional factor contributing to the development of the “New Right” movement was the intensification of European integration processes in the 1990s and 2000s. This raised concerns about the preservation of national sovereignty and cultural identity, which has become one of the key elements of the rhetoric of right-wing political forces.

The ideology of the “New Right” was established as a comprehensive response to the challenges of globalisation and modernisation that Western societies faced in the late 20th – early 21st centuries. This ideology is based on the

desire to preserve national identity and traditional values in the face of rapid socio-cultural changes. The central element of the ideology of the “New Right” was the concept of ethno-cultural identity. They consider it as the fundamental basis of the social structure that ensures social cohesion and stability. This directly leads to criticism of multiculturalism and mass migration, which, according to the “New Right”, threaten to destroy national identity. As a result, they advocate restricting immigration and insist on the assimilation of immigrants into the dominant culture.

The desire to preserve national identity is also manifested in Euroscepticism and criticism of supranational institutions. The “New Right” sees the processes of European integration as a threat to national sovereignty, which can lead to loss of control over key aspects of national policy. In the economic sphere, this is expressed in support for protectionist measures. Unlike classical liberals, the “New Right” advocates active state intervention in the economy to protect national producers and jobs. This is a direct consequence of their anti-globalist stance and criticism of the negative effects of globalisation on national economies.

An important aspect of the ideology of the “New Right” is the emphasis on traditional values and conservative social policies. This is reflected in supporting the traditional family, opposing the legalisation of abortion and same-sex marriage, and emphasising the role of religion in public life. Such views are developed as a reaction to liberal social trends that, according to the “New Right”, undermine the traditional foundations of society. The emphasis on security and the rule of law is a logical continuation of their concerns about preserving national identity and social stability. In the face of growing terrorist threats and crime, often associated with migration processes, the “New Right” is in favour of tougher security measures and tougher law enforcement policies.

The ideology of the “New Right” is an integral system of views, where each element is logically connected with the others. Criticism of multiculturalism, Euroscepticism, economic protectionism, conservative social policies, and an emphasis on security stem from the central idea of preserving ethno-cultural identity. All these elements form a comprehensive response to the challenges of globalisation and modernisation, offering an alternative vision of social development focused on preserving national identity and traditional values.

R.E. Klatch (2023) emphasises: “the ideology of the “New Right” appeared as a reaction to the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s, seeking to restore traditional values and national identity in a globalised world”. It is important to note that the ideology of the “New Right” is not monolithic and can have different manifestations in different national contexts. For example, in the USA, the “New Right” focuses more on economic liberalism and religious conservatism, while in Europe, more attention is paid to issues of national identity and criticism of European integration. The ideology of modern right-wing movements is the result of a complex interaction between traditional conservatism, neoliberalism, and populism, leading to the development of new political configurations that challenge established ideological categories (Fraser, 2023).

During the period 2013–2023, there was a significant increase in electoral support for right-wing political

forces in many EU and US countries. This phenomenon is the result of a complex interaction of various factors, including economic transformation, the migration crisis, growing social inequality, and disillusionment with traditional political elites. Growing support for right-wing forces in Europe is closely linked to the economic transformations caused by globalisation and technological change. The regions most affected by deindustrialisation and economic restructuring show higher levels of support for right-wing populist parties (Milner, 2021).

The analysis of electoral trends in key EU and US countries in recent years shows a complex and dynamic picture of the growing influence of right and extreme right forces, although this process is not linear and meets significant resistance. In France, there is a gradual but steady increase in support for extreme right-wing forces. The National Rally led by Marine Le Pen has made significant progress, receiving 23.3% of the vote in the 2019 European parliament elections and 41.5% in the second round of the 2022 presidential election. However, the results of the 2024 legislative elections showed that French voters still prefer more moderate forces. The broad left-wing coalition won the largest number of seats in parliament, while the National Rally, although significantly increased its representation to more than 140 seats, remained in third place (2024 French legislative era, 2024).

In Italy, the right turn was sharper. In the 2019 European Parliament elections, the Lega Nord won 34.3% of the vote, and in the 2022 parliamentary elections, a coalition of right-wing forces, including the Brothers of Italy, the Lega, and Forza Italia, won a majority in Parliament. This led to the establishment of the most right-wing government in the post-war history of Italy (Italy: PM Meloni established..., 2024).

In Germany, the growing support for far-right forces is of particular concern, given the country’s historical context. Alternative for Germany (AfD) won 11% of the vote in the 2021 federal election, becoming the third-largest faction in the Bundestag. The results of the October 2023 land elections in Hesse and Bavaria showed a further increase in support for the AfD, which received more than 18% in Hesse and more than 14% in Bavaria. This shows that the party has established itself as a political force throughout Germany, not just in the eastern lands (Sudha, 2023). Sweden is also experiencing an increase in the influence of right-wing forces. The Swedish Democrats won 20.5% of the vote in the 2022 parliamentary elections, becoming the second-largest party in Parliament. This reflects the pan-European trend of increasing right-wing sentiment amid the migration crisis and economic problems (Polk, 2022).

In the US, the situation is slightly different, but it also shows a shift to the right. The Republican Party under the influence of D. Trump has become significantly radicalised. However, D. Trump lost the 2020 election, receiving 74 million votes, indicating significant support for his policies. In the 2022 midterm elections, Republicans won a majority in the House of Representatives, making it difficult to implement the Joe Biden administration’s agenda (Knowles *et al.*, 2022).

A common trend in all these countries is the growing support for right-wing and far-right forces against the background of voter dissatisfaction with traditional parties, economic problems, the migration crisis, and

globalisation processes. However, it is worth noting that this growth is not unhindered and meets significant resistance from other political forces and civil society. The results of the 2024 French election and the reaction to the growth of the AfD in Germany show that a significant part of the electorate still supports more moderate forces.

This dynamic creates a complex political situation in many countries, where traditional parties are forced to adapt their positions to counteract the growth of the extreme right, while at the same time trying to solve real problems that concern voters. The further development of these trends will depend to a large extent on the ability of governments to effectively address economic and social problems, and on the ability of society to resist populist rhetoric and defend democratic values.

M.W. Svolik *et al.* (2023) emphasise: “Electoral success of right-wing forces in Europe poses serious challenges to liberal democracy. There is a tendency to erode democratic institutions and norms, especially in countries where right-wing populists have gained power”. It is important to note that the electoral success of right-wing forces has led to significant changes in the political landscape of many countries. In particular, this was reflected in: (1) the shift of political discourse to the right, especially in matters of Immigration and national identity; (2) the strengthening of Eurosceptic sentiments and criticism of European

integration; (3) the growing popularity of protectionist economic ideas; (4) increased attention to security issues and the fight against terrorism.

The electoral success of right-wing forces is a symptom of the deep crisis of the neoliberal model of globalisation. They reflect the desire of a significant part of society to regain a sense of control over their lives and future in the face of global uncertainty. Summing up, it can be stated that the development of the “New Right” in the EU and the USA is a complex and multidimensional process that reflects deep transformations in the socio-political life of Western democracies. This movement emerged as a response to the challenges of globalisation, cultural modernisation and the crisis of traditional ideologies, offering an alternative vision of social development that combines elements of traditionalism with adaptation to new realities.

To better understand the dynamics of right-wing movements in key EU and US countries over the past decade, it is advisable to present a comparative analysis in the form of a structured table (Table 1). The table summarises the main characteristics of the leading right-wing parties, their leaders, key ideological foundations, electoral success and influence on the political discourse in the respective countries. This information allows tracing both general trends and national features of the development of right-wing movements in Western democracies.

Table 1. Comparative analysis of the development of right-wing movements in key EU and US countries (2013-2024)

Criteria	France	Italy	Germany	USA
Leading right-wing party	NR	BI/Lega	AfD	RP
Key leaders	Marine Le Pen	Giorgia Meloni, Matteo Salvini	Alice Weidel, Tino Chrupalla	Donald Trump
Basic ideological foundations	Anti-immigration policy, Euroscepticism, economic protectionism	Anti-immigration policy, Euroscepticism, economic nationalism	Criticism of immigration policy, Euroscepticism, conservative values	Economic nationalism, immigration restrictions, conservative social values
Electoral success	41.5% in the second round of the 2022 presidential election; >140 seats in parliament in 2024	Right-wing coalition forms government in 2022	>18% in Hesse and >14% in Bavaria in the 2023 land elections	74 million votes in the 2020 presidential election; majority in the House of Representatives in 2022
Influence on political discourse	Shifting discourse to the right on immigration and national identity issues	Strengthening Eurosceptic sentiments, emphasis on “Italian values”	Normalisation of radical right-wing ideas in public discourse	Polarisation of society, strengthening of anti-immigration rhetoric
Key challenges for democracy	Erosion of the “Republican front” against the far right	Attempts to restrict the independence of the judiciary and the media	Growing support in the western lands	Undermining trust in democratic institutions, spreading conspiracy theories

Source: compiled by the author

The electoral success of right-wing forces in many EU and US countries indicates a significant resonance of their ideas among the general population, especially those social groups that feel lost from the processes of globalisation and economic restructuring. However, the growing influence of right-wing forces creates serious challenges for liberal democracy and the established political order, which requires a deep rethinking of traditional approaches to politics and social development.

Anti-globalism as a socio-political phenomenon. At the end of the 20th – beginning of the 21st century, in

response to the strengthening of globalisation processes and their negative consequences, a new socio-political phenomenon was formed – anti-globalism. This phenomenon has become a public response to the intensification of global economic, political, and cultural transformations, reflecting growing concerns about their impact on various aspects of people’s lives and the functioning of states. A. Azedi & E. Schofer (2023) defines anti-globalism as “a set of ideas and practices aimed at countering the negative consequences of globalisation and protecting national interests”. It is important to note that

anti-globalism is not a monolithic movement, but rather unites various ideological trends and social groups that are critical of the processes of globalisation.

Anti-globalism should be seen not simply as a reactionary movement, but as “a complex phenomenon reflecting the profound socio-economic and cultural transformations associated with globalisation” (Walter, 2021). This position helps to better understand the causes of the emergence and spread of anti-globalist sentiments in different countries of the world. The conceptualisation of anti-globalism is revealed through an interconnected system of key aspects that form a holistic vision of this socio-political phenomenon. The anti-globalist movement is based on criticism of the neoliberal model of globalisation, which, according to its supporters, leads to uncontrolled liberalisation of international trade and financial markets. This criticism is directly related to the next aspect – the protection of national sovereignty, since the strengthening of global economic processes is seen as a threat to the political and economic autonomy of national states.

The environmental aspect of anti-globalism arises as a reaction to the negative impact of global economic growth on the environment. Anti-globalists point out that the pursuit of profit on a global scale often leads to disregard for environmental regulations and depletion of natural resources. The cultural aspect of anti-globalism is closely related to the previous ones, since economic and political globalisation is accompanied by cultural unification. Anti-globalists oppose this process, emphasising the importance of preserving national identity and cultural diversity.

The demand for social justice appears as a logical consequence of criticism of neoliberal globalisation. Anti-globalists argue that the current model of globalisation leads to an uneven distribution of its benefits, enriching the narrow elite at the expense of the majority of the population. They therefore insist on the need for a more equitable distribution of the benefits of global economic integration. Thus, these five aspects – economic, political, environmental, cultural, and social – form the interconnected system of views that underlies the anti-globalist movement, reflecting its comprehensive approach to criticism of modern globalisation processes.

V. Gautam (2021) notes that “anti-globalism should not be seen as a complete denial of globalisation, but rather as a demand for its reform and humanisation”. This important clarification helps to understand that many anti-globalist movements do not seek isolation, but alternative models of global integration. The criticism of globalisation by anti-globalist movements is a complex, multidimensional system of arguments that cover various aspects of public life. This criticism unfolds in five main areas: economic, political, environmental, cultural, and social, which are closely interrelated and reinforce each other.

Economic criticism is fundamental and often serves as a starting point for other areas. It focuses on growing inequality both between and within countries. A. Dür *et al.* (2020) emphasise that globalisation has led to the concentration of economic benefits in the hands of a small number of multinational corporations and financial elites, while a significant part of the population is experiencing negative consequences. This inequality is compounded by

the instability of national economies due to their dependence on global financial markets. Financial globalisation has increased the vulnerability of national economies to external shocks (Walter, 2021). In addition, the loss of jobs in developed countries due to the transfer of production to countries with cheaper labour is becoming a source of social tension. O. Butzbach *et al.* (2020) point out that labour arbitration strategies often used by multinational corporations lead to deindustrialisation and job losses in developed countries.

Economic problems, in turn, lead to political consequences. Political criticism of globalisation focuses on the weakening of national sovereignty and democratic institutions. V. Gautam (2021) notes the growing influence of international organisations and multinational corporations on shaping national policies that undermine democratic legitimacy. This is compounded by the uneven distribution of power in global institutions. The structure and decision-making processes in organisations such as the WTO (World Trade Organisation), the IMF (International Monetary Fund), and the World Bank are often criticised for underrepresenting the interests of developing countries (Azedi & Schofer, 2023).

Economic and political globalisation have a direct impact on the environmental situation. Environmental criticism focuses on the negative impact of economic growth on the environment. The intensification of global trade and production leads to increased greenhouse gas emissions and depletion of natural resources (Walter, 2021). In addition, there is a problem of “environmental dumping”, when production is transferred to countries with less stringent environmental standards, which leads to a general deterioration of the environmental situation in the world.

Cultural criticism of globalisation is a reaction to the processes launched by economic and political globalisation. It focuses on the threat to cultural diversity and national identity. V. Gautam (2021) highlights the concern of many societies about the loss of traditional values and cultural characteristics under the influence of global mass culture. Commercialisation of culture and its subordination to market logic are considered as negative consequences of globalisation, leading to the loss of cultural authenticity.

The social critique of globalisation is the culmination of all previous aspects, accumulating their consequences and reflecting their impact on people’s daily lives. This criticism focuses on the deterioration of working conditions and the erosion of social guarantees, which is a direct result of global economic competition. In the pursuit of increased competitiveness, companies often resort to lower labour costs, which leads to stagnant wages, reduced social packages, and increased labour exploitation. This problem is particularly acute in developed countries, where high social standards formed over decades are under threat.

The growth of social instability and insecurity is becoming an inevitable consequence of these processes. Employees face the constant threat of losing their jobs due to outsourcing or automation, which increases the sense of economic uncertainty (Herrigel, 2020). This, in turn, leads to psychological stress, a decrease in the quality of life and undermines the social cohesion of society. This social criticism of globalisation is most palpable for ordinary

citizens and therefore has the greatest potential to mobilise anti-globalist sentiments. It directly affects the vital interests of people and therefore can cause the strongest emotional reaction. However, it is important to note that this criticism often ignores the potential benefits of globalisation, such as job creation in developing countries and overall global poverty reduction. Therefore, for an objective analysis, it is necessary to consider both negative and positive aspects of globalisation processes.

Thus, the criticism of globalisation by anti-globalist movements is a complex, interconnected discourse, where economic, political, environmental, cultural and social aspects are closely intertwined, forming a complete picture of the negative consequences of globalisation processes. This multidimensional criticism reflects the complexity and inclusiveness of the impact of globalisation on various spheres of public life.

Anti-globalist ideas, gaining more and more resonance since the beginning of the 21st century, have had a deep and multifaceted impact on the development of political discourse in many countries of the world. This influence manifests itself through a number of interrelated processes that demonstrate a causal relationship between the spread of anti-globalist sentiments and the transformation of the political landscape.

The first and most obvious consequence was a change in the rhetoric of traditional political parties. Faced with growing voter discontent with the negative aspects of globalisation, these parties were forced to adapt their programmes and discourse. This has led to the strengthening of protectionist and nationalist elements in their political platforms, which were previously typical only for marginal political forces. In parallel with this process, there was an increase in the popularity of populist movements. These movements, both on the right and on the left, have effectively used anti-globalist sentiments to mobilise the electorate. They offered simpler and more radical responses to the complex challenges of globalisation, which resonated with the feelings of frustration and uncertainty of many voters.

The change in political discourse has led to a rethinking of economic policy. Growing scepticism about the absolute benefits of free trade has prompted a revision of international trade agreements that consider national interests. This, in turn, reinforced protectionist trends in the economic policies of many countries, which was a departure from the dominant neoliberal paradigm of previous decades. At the same time, there has been increased attention to the social consequences of globalisation. Political debates have increasingly focused on the need to compensate for the negative effects of globalisation on individual populations. This has led to the development of new social protection and retraining programmes aimed at mitigating the negative effects of global economic competition. Criticism of global institutions within the framework of anti-globalist discourse has led to a change in approaches to international cooperation. There was a need to rethink the formats of international cooperation and reform such organisations as the WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank. This reflects a growing desire for fairer and more balanced global governance. Anti-globalist sentiments have also increased attention to issues of national identity and culture. The cultural aspects of globalisation

have become an important element of political debate, especially in the context of migration policy. This has led to increased discussions about the preservation of national cultures and identities in the context of global cultural homogenisation. Ultimately, anti-globalist criticism has contributed to the growing importance of environmental issues in political discourse. The integration of environmental issues into *mainstream* political debate has been a response to criticism of the negative environmental impacts of globalisation. This has led to increased attention to sustainable development and environmental responsibility at the national and international levels.

It is important to note that the impact of anti-globalist ideas on political discourse is not uniform and varies depending on the specific national context. The institutional characteristics of different types of capitalism influence the perception and political articulation of anti-globalist sentiments. This leads to a variety of forms and intensities of anti-globalist tendencies in different countries.

Thus, the spread of anti-globalist ideas led to a complex transformation of political discourse, which covered a wide range of issues – from economic policy to cultural identity and ecology. This transformation demonstrates the profound impact of the anti-globalist movement on shaping modern political reality and outlines new challenges for global governance in the 21st century.

Specifics of anti-globalist rhetoric of contemporary right-wing politicians. The anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians in the EU and the US in the period 2015–2024 demonstrates a number of common features that reflect common trends in the development of right-wing populism in Western democracies. This rhetoric was formed as a response to the challenges of globalisation and the growing discontent of certain segments of the population with its consequences. One of the key elements of this rhetoric is criticism of international trade agreements. In the United States, for example, during his 2016 presidential campaign and subsequent presidency, Donald Trump actively criticised NAFTA (1992), calling it “arguably the worst trade deal ever signed anywhere in the world” (NAFTA may be..., 2017). This rhetoric led to the revision of the agreement and the signing of a new one – the USMCA (2020).

In the European Union, similar rhetoric can be seen in the statements of leaders of right-wing parties regarding EU trade relations. For example, Marine Le Pen, the leader of the French National Rally, has repeatedly criticised the EU’s trade policy, saying that it destroys French industry and agriculture (French farmers..., 2017). Another common element is criticism of immigration policy. In the United States, this was reflected in the rhetoric of D. Trump on building a wall on the border with Mexico and restricting immigration from Muslim countries. In the EU, similar statements can be heard from the leaders of such parties as Alternative for Germany, and the Lega in Italy. These politicians often refer to immigrant crime statistics, and such statements are often exaggerated or manipulative (Diaz, 2019; Fact check: False..., 2024).

Criticism of supranational institutions is also an important aspect of anti-globalist rhetoric. In the context of the EU, this is reflected in Euroscepticism and criticism of Brussels. In the US, this rhetoric is directed against

organisations such as the UN, WTO, and IMF. For example, in his speech at the UN General Assembly in 2019, D. Trump said: “The future does not belong to globalists. The future belongs to the patriots” (Watson, 2019). Despite the common features, the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians has its own characteristics in different countries, which is conditioned by the specifics of national political cultures and historical context.

In France, for example, anti-globalist rhetoric is closely linked to the idea of protecting national sovereignty and cultural exclusivity. Marine Le Pen often appeals to the concept of “Frexit” – France’s exit from the EU, arguing that it is necessary to protect national interests. She also criticises the cultural aspects of globalisation, particularly the impact of English on French culture (Seitz, 2020). In Italy, the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians such as Matteo Salvini often focuses on economic aspects, particularly criticism of EU fiscal rules. Salvini has repeatedly stated the need to revise the Maastricht criteria that limit the budget deficit and public debt of EU member states (Macchiarelli *et al.*, 2020) in Germany, the anti-globalist rhetoric of Alternative for Germany is often associated with criticism of the EU’s refugee policy. The party actively opposed the refugee distribution quotas introduced by the EU in 2015, arguing that they were a threat to national security and identity (Havela, 2022).

In the USA, the Republican Party’s anti-globalist rhetoric influenced by D. Trump has become particularly acute. It included not only criticism of international agreements and organisations, but also calls for “economic nationalism” and “America First” policies. This rhetoric has led to concrete political actions, such as the US withdrawal from the Paris Agreement (2015) (Pompeo, 2019) (the country later re-joined the agreement in 2021 under the Biden administration).

In addition, the anti-globalist policy of D. Trump has had a significant impact on the US immigration system. As noted by N. Licata (2023), the Trump administration has introduced a number of tough measures to restrict immigration, including a ban on entry from citizens from several predominantly Muslim countries, cuts to programmes for refugees and asylum seekers, and attempts to repeal the DACA (2023) programme.

Although the administration of J. Biden came to power with promises to repeal many of these policies, it faced serious challenges in trying to reform the immigration system. In particular, the record number of migrants on the southern border of the United States forced the Biden administration to partially retain some restrictive measures from the era of D. Trump, such as Title 42 (Title 42, 2020), which allows quickly deporting migrants for public health reasons. This situation demonstrates the difficulty of rejecting anti-globalist policies, even when

the new administration intends to do so. The immigration crisis has become a serious political challenge for J. Biden, forcing him to balance the promise of a more humane approach to immigration with the need to control the situation at the border.

An important aspect of the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians is their vision of the world order. Many of them advocate a multipolar world, opposing its ideas of global liberalism and American hegemony. In Europe, this vision often manifests itself in the desire for greater EU autonomy from the United States and NATO. For example, Viktor Orban, the Prime Minister of Hungary, has repeatedly stated the need for a “strong Europe” and criticised the over-reliance on the United States for security (Durakçay, 2023).

In the USA, this rhetoric was manifested in the statements of D. Trump on the need to reconsider the role of the United States in the world. He criticised “endless wars” and called for a reduction in the US military presence abroad. This position is reflected in the National Security Strategy of the United States of America (2017), which emphasised the “America First” principle.

The idea of a multipolar world also includes a desire for closer relations with Russia. Many right-wing politicians in the EU, including Marine Le Pen and Matteo Salvini, have advocated normalising relations with Russia and criticised EU sanctions imposed after the annexation of Crimea in 2014. However, the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 significantly complicated this position (Coticchia & Verbeek, 2023). It is important to note that the vision of a multipolar world in the discourse of right-wing politicians often contradicts the principles of international law and the existing international obligations of their countries. For example, calls to leave the EU contradict the Lisbon Treaty, which defines the procedure for a member state to leave the EU (Article 50..., 2017). This rhetoric also often ignores the economic realities of a globalised world. For example, World Bank research shows that global trade has contributed to a significant reduction in global poverty (Trade Has Been..., 2023). However, these facts are rarely mentioned in the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians.

For a more visual representation of the specifics of the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians in key EU and US countries during 2015-2024, it is advisable to refer to a comparative analysis. Such an analysis helps to identify both common features and national specifics in approaches to criticism of globalisation and international institutions, and to trace the impact of this rhetoric on domestic political processes. Below is a table summarising key aspects of the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians in the United States, France, Italy, and Germany, demonstrating the diversity of approaches and their implications in different national contexts (Table 2).

Table 2. Comparative analysis of anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians in key EU and US countries (2015-2024)

Criteria	USA	France	Italy	Germany
Key political figures	Donald Trump	Marine Le Pen	Matteo Salvini	AfD leaders
Main topics of anti-globalist rhetoric	Criticism of trade agreements, immigration, and international organisations	Euroscepticism, defence of national sovereignty, criticism of immigration	Criticism of EU fiscal rules, Euroscepticism, anti-immigration rhetoric	Criticism of EU refugee policy, protection of national identity

Table 2. Continued

Criteria	USA	France	Italy	Germany
Key political figures	Donald Trump	Marine Le Pen	Matteo Salvini	AfD leaders
Attitude towards the EU	Criticism, calls for greater autonomy of European allies	Calls for "Frexit"	Criticism, but without direct calls for an exit	Criticism, calls for EU reform
Attitude to international organisations	Criticism of the UN, WTO, and NATO	Criticism of the EU, a more positive attitude towards the UN	Criticism of the EU and its institutions	Criticism of the EU, a more neutral attitude towards other organisations
Vision of world order	"America First", critique of globalism	Multipolar world, greater autonomy of Europe	Multipolar world, a critique of American hegemony	Preservation of national sovereignty within the reformed EU
Key policy actions	Withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement, NAFTA review	Participation in elections with a Eurosceptic programme	Counteraction of EU fiscal rules while in government	Opposition to the open door policy on refugees
Impact on national policy	Significant influence on the Republican Party and its policies	Growing support, but without winning national elections	Periodic participation in government coalitions	Increased representation in parliament, impact on the immigration debate

Source: compiled by the author

Summing up, it can be stated that the anti-globalist rhetoric of modern right-wing politicians in the EU and the United States demonstrates both common features and national characteristics. It reflects the growing discontent of certain segments of the population with the consequences of globalisation and the desire for greater national control over economic and political processes. However, this rhetoric often contradicts the international obligations of countries and ignores the positive aspects of globalisation.

Discussion

The results of the analysis show that the anti-globalist rhetoric of contemporary right-wing politicians in the EU and the USA is characterised by a complex combination of economic, political, and cultural aspects. Key elements of this rhetoric are criticism of international trade agreements, opposition to immigration, Euroscepticism, and calls for the protection of national sovereignty. However, there are certain national specifics in the approaches of right-wing politicians of different countries to anti-globalist argumentation.

Analysing the economic aspects of anti-globalist rhetoric, it is worth paying attention to research by I. Colantone *et al.* (2021), who consider the phenomenon of "rollback" against globalisation. Their conclusions about the relationship between the economic consequences of globalisation and the growing support for populist parties correlate with the results of the analysis. In particular, the identified link between deindustrialisation and increased anti-globalist sentiment is confirmed by an analysis of electoral trends in the regions most affected by global economic competition. However, one can argue with approach of I. Colantone *et al.* (2021), who focus mainly on economic factors. The analysis shows that the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians is more complex, including cultural and political aspects, which allows for a deeper understanding of the motivation of voters.

Considering the political aspects of anti-globalist rhetoric, it is advisable to compare the results obtained

with the conclusions of K. Freistein *et al.* (2020). Their study of the language strategies of Donald Trump and Matteo Salvini reveals similar patterns in the use of anti-globalist metaphors, which is also confirmed by the analysis. In particular, the revealed tendency to personify globalisation as an "enemy" of national interests can be traced in the rhetoric of many right-wing politicians in the EU and the USA. However, it is possible to extend the perspective of K. Freistein *et al.* (2020), who focus on linguistic analysis. The study examines the impact of this rhetoric on the development of specific political decisions and the transformation of the political landscape, which allows assessing the real consequences of using such language strategies.

An analysis of the cultural aspects of the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians reveals interesting parallels with research by A. Graff & E. Korolczuk (2024). Their analysis of the gender dimension of right-wing criticism of globalisation resonates with the identified tendencies to appeal to traditional values and national identity. One can agree on the importance of the gender dimension, which is emphasised by A. Graff & E. Korolczuk (2024), however, cultural criticism of globalisation by right-wing politicians has a broader spectrum, including issues of language, religion and national traditions. This expansion of focus helps to better understand the complexity of the cultural aspect of anti-globalist rhetoric.

An important aspect of the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians is their vision of the world order. In this context, it is worth paying attention to the study by D. Tu & L. Zamecki (2022), which analyses the approaches of European right-wing populist parties to relations with China. Their conclusions about the desire of right-wing politicians to diversify international partnerships as an alternative to globalisation are confirmed by their analysis. In particular, the identified tendency to support the idea of a multipolar world among right-wing EU politicians correlates with the authors' analysis. However, it is possible to expand their approach to relations with China. The analysis shows that the vision of a multipolar world in the

rhetoric of right-wing politicians has a broader context, including criticism of American hegemony and the desire for greater autonomy in Europe.

Analysing the specifics of anti-globalist rhetoric in the United States, it is advisable to consider the results obtained along with the study by G. Campani *et al.* (2022). Their analysis of the rise of Donald Trump's right-wing populism and his anti-immigration discourse is largely supported by the study. In particular, the identified link between middle-class economic dissatisfaction and support for anti-globalist rhetoric correlates with the conclusions of G. Campani *et al.* (2022) on "radicalism in middle America". However, their approach focused on internal factors can be supplemented. The analysis shows that the anti-globalist rhetoric of D. Trump has also had a significant impact on US foreign policy, in particular on relations with international organisations and trading partners, which expands the understanding of the consequences of this rhetoric.

Considering the psychological aspects of anti-globalist rhetoric, it is worth paying attention to the research by R. Samuels (2023). His psychoanalytic approach to understanding the right-wing rejection of globalisation offers an interesting perspective that complements the results of the analysis. In particular, R. Samuels detected the tendency to project internal fears and insecurities onto external threats correlates with an analysis of the rhetorical strategies of right-wing politicians. The importance of the psychological mechanisms emphasised by R. Samuels can be agreed upon, but at the same time it is worth noting that the analysis shows how these mechanisms are transformed into political strategies and influence the development of public opinion, which helps to better understand the practical consequences of these psychological processes.

The analysis of the mobilisation potential of anti-globalist rhetoric presented in this paper finds parallels with the study by C. Unrau (2023). His analysis of the mobilisation of resentment in alter- and anti-globalist movements resonates with the identified tendencies of emotional appeal in the rhetoric of right-wing politicians. However, it is possible to extend the perspective of C. Unrau (2023), who focuses on grassroots movements. The analysis shows how such strategies for mobilising resentment are used at the high political level, shaping electoral strategies and influencing political decision-making. This helps to better understand the relationship between grassroots movements and political elites in shaping anti-globalist discourse.

Considering the impact of anti-globalist rhetoric on foreign policy, it is worth comparing the results obtained with the study by A. Hamdy (2023). The analysis of the influence of right-wing populism on US foreign aid policy during the Trump era correlates with the identified trends towards rethinking the US role in the world. However, it is possible to supplement the approach by A. Hamdy (2023), focused on external assistance. The analysis shows that the impact of anti-globalist rhetoric on foreign policy has a broader spectrum, including issues of trade, security, and international institutions, which allows assessing the complex impact of this rhetoric on international relations.

Analysing the role of anti-globalist rhetoric in the development of new approaches to the international order, it is advisable to refer to the study by J.C. Morse (2023). His

concept of "rules and resistance in the era of anti-globalisation" is consistent with the identified tendencies to criticise existing international institutions and search for alternative models of global governance. One can agree with the importance of a theoretical understanding of these processes, as proposed by J.C. Morse (2023), but the analysis shows how these ideas are transformed into specific political strategies and rhetorical techniques of right-wing politicians. This helps to better understand the practical implications of theoretical concepts in the real political process.

Thus, it can be stated that the results of the analysis largely correlate with the conclusions of other researchers regarding the nature and influence of anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians. The study offers a more comprehensive view of the problem, combining the economic, political, cultural, and psychological aspects of anti-globalism in a single analytical framework. This allows us to better understand the mechanisms of development and spread of anti-globalist sentiments, and their impact on political processes in the EU and the United States.

Conclusions

The study draws a number of important conclusions about the specifics of the anti-globalist rhetoric of the leaders of modern right-wing politicians in the EU and the USA in the context of their vision of a multipolar world. Analysis of the history of the establishment of the "New Right" showed that this movement was formed as a reaction to deep socio-cultural and political-economic transformations in Western societies of the second half of the 20th century. The ideology of the "New Right" has emerged as a comprehensive response to the challenges of globalisation and modernisation, offering an alternative vision of social development focused on preserving national identity and traditional values.

A study of electoral support for modern right-wing political forces in various EU and US countries has revealed a significant increase in their influence over the past decade. This growth is the result of a complex interplay of economic, social, and cultural factors, including the effects of the economic crisis, migration processes, and disillusionment with traditional political elites. Consideration of anti-globalism as a socio-political phenomenon has demonstrated its complex nature, covering economic, political, environmental, cultural, and social aspects. Anti-globalist ideas have had a profound impact on the development of political discourse, leading to a rethinking of economic policies, increased attention to the social consequences of globalisation, and changing approaches to international cooperation. An analysis of the anti-globalist rhetoric of modern right-wing politicians in the EU and the USA revealed a number of common features, including criticism of international trade agreements, opposition to immigration, Euroscepticism, and calls for the protection of national sovereignty. There are certain national specifics in the approaches of right-wing politicians of different countries to anti-globalist argumentation. An important aspect of the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians is their vision of a multipolar world order. This vision contrasts with the ideas of global liberalism and American hegemony, offering an alternative model of international relations based on the principles of national sovereignty

and balance of power. The study showed that the anti-globalist rhetoric of right-wing politicians has significant mobilisation potential, resonating with feelings of discontent and uncertainty in certain segments of the population. However, this rhetoric often ignores the positive aspects of globalisation and may run counter to the international obligations of countries.

A limitation of the study is its focus on selected EU countries and the USA, which does not allow it to fully cover the global context of anti-globalist trends. Prospects for further research include analysing the impact of anti-globalist rhetoric on specific political decisions and

international relations, and studying the interaction between right-wing and left-wing anti-globalist movements. In addition, an important area of future research is to analyse the impact of global crises, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, on the evolution of anti-globalist rhetoric and the vision of a multipolar world.

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Conflict of Interest

None.

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