

Rootedness, borders and anti-capitalism to counter a “totalitarian” globalist left ideology: Ecology in the metapolitics of the French far right today

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Abstract: This article looks at the metapolitics of the French far right, a sphere of organisations and personalities that are waging a counter-hegemonic cultural fight, thought to be a precondition to political change. In France, singularly an incubator for a green nationalist narrative, this so-called “Gramscianism of the right” is today embodied by countless media outlets. This article critically analyses the content on “ecology” of selected materials from this sphere, in order to shed light on the main discourses around this topic. This research reveals a diversity of approaches towards ecology, coherent with the variety of trends present in the far-right metapolitics. From remains of climate denialism to right-wing co-optations of degrowth, it revolves around an opposition to immigration, symbol of a wider left globalist ideology that threatens European identity. Such an ecology thus requires rootedness and the acknowledgment of natural limits that apply as much to nature as to humans.

Keywords: Metapolitics, French far right, Integral Ecology, Gramscianism of the Right, Right-wing Décroissance

Introduction

Climate change mitigation is facing yet another obstacle: in the last decade, countries around the world have experienced a significant rise of far-right populist parties. While the majority openly display a climate denialist line, France seems to be an incubator for a green nationalist narrative expressed primarily by the *Rassemblement National* (Malm and The Zetkin Collective, forthcoming 2021). The party’s manifesto for the last European elections, tailored by Hervé Juvin, a European MP since then, wishes to create a “European ecological civilisation”: the protection of identity and the environment go hand in hand through localism and rootedness in a closed territory (Rassemblement National, 2019); a notion summarized by Jordan Bardella as: “the best ally of ecology is the border” (Landrieu, 2019). The party-politics billboard is however only the tip of the far-right iceberg.

At the end of the 1960’s, the intellectual movement *Nouvelle Droite* was launched around its think-tank GRECE¹ and the figure of Alain de Benoist. Moving away from street activism and parliamentary politics, it undertook the intellectual path of “metapolitics”. The underlying belief of the movement is that cultural and ideological change is a precondition to political transformations, therefore advocating for a “Gramscianism of the right” (GRECE, 1982; Bar-on, 2013; Dohet 2016; Keucheyan, 2017; Savatier 2017; Camus, 2019). This “battle of ideas” is a strategy that has gained power throughout the years and is today waged through a plethora of media outlets (from magazines to websites and videos), generated by an interconnected network of leading figures and mother

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¹ In English: Research and study group on the European civilisation. (Groupement de Recherche et d’Etudes sur la Civilisation Européenne)

organisations. A “*Fachosphère*” in expansion (Albertini and Doucet, 2016; François, 2018), the metapolitical enterprises of cultural reconquest contribute to the normalisation of far-right narratives, eventually assisting their success in election polls, in a latent dialectical relation with the party-politics actors.

What are the discourses around ecology emerging from this sphere? This article especially draws on the works of Stéphane François (2009, 2016a, 2016b), Zoé Carle (2017) and Paul Guillibert (2019), some of the few scholars who have investigated the ecological dimensions of the French far right. This subject of study is diverse and so are the ecological approaches. Whether it derives from Christian or neo-pagan, nationalist or pan-europeanist, anti-capitalist or national-liberal inspirations, ecology is used to reinforce variations of identitarian, “rooted” and “human” conceptions of ecology used to justify profoundly ethno-differentialist, anti-egalitarian and conservative visions of the world (François, 2009, 2016a, 2016b; Carle, 2017; Schlegel, 2018; Guillibert, 2019; Vincent, 2019; Forchtner, 2019).

Furthermore, ecology as a theme challenges the traditional left/right divide as it provides a diagnostical common ground for critics of capitalism on both ends of the political spectrum. Degrowth is a good example that illustrates this tension (Cazenave, 2018; François, 2019) as it has succeeded in bringing about controversial collaborations such as those between the French degrowth philosopher Serge Latouche and Alain de Benoist, also a *décroissance*² proponent (de Benoist 2018[2007]). Every so often, Latouche comfortably spreads degrowth ideas through de Benoist’s media outlets such as *Krisis* (Latouche, 2018), *Éléments* (Latouche, 2017) or in Thibault Isabel’s *l’Inactuelle* (Latouche, 2019), an author of the same circles. Yet, many degrowth scholars have repeatedly denounced right-wing co-optations of degrowth. They emphasize the fundamental differences and incompatibilities between movements such as the Nouvelle Droite and the degrowth movement, especially in terms of equality, justice, solidarity, democracy and wider intersectionality (Flipo et al., 2012; Lepesant, 2012; Demaria et al., 2013; Eversberg, 2019); values traditionally considered left-wing. This study of recent selected materials from the metapolitical sphere thus aims to understand and expose dangerous narratives around what far-right interpretations of ecology entail.

Image 1: "When the Rassemblement National goes green", illustration made by the author, original photo retrieved from the RN's official images.



² French word for “degrowth”.

Methodology

This article presents the results of a thematic analysis conducted on a purposive sample of 64 articles and 2 videos, using both inductive and deductive coding (Lapadat 2010; Krippendorff, 2018). Some actors openly state to have chosen a metapolitical strategy such as Marion Maréchal, the Le Pen niece (Belaïch, 2018; Soullier, 2019), or the New Right. With the help of the far-right map of La Horde (2019), an anti-fascist organisation, I considered the other sources to similarly belong to the realm of metapolitics, as I believe they participate in the ideological crusade of the far right. The material comes from 12 sources combining online content and printed articles, published between January 2019 and the end of February 2020 (See Table 1 for a summary and Annex 1 for details).

Table 1: List of sources

	Source (name and subtitle or motto)	Type of source	Type of material	Number of material analysed
1	Boulevard Voltaire - Freedom guides our steps	Information website	online	12 articles
2	L'incorrect - Silence him!	Magazine	online	5 articles
3	Causeur - Especially if you disagree	Magazine	paper	8 articles
4	Les identitaires - Laboratory of ideas for the defense of the European civilisation and Génération Identitaire	Organisations	online	5 articles, 1 video
5	Eléments - For the European civilisation	Magazine	paper	6 articles
6	Polémia - Foundation for identity, security and European freedoms	Organisation	online	11 articles
7	Action française - All that is national is ours	Organisation	online	4 articles
8	Dreuz.info - Your morning breath of air to cope better with the lies of the media	Information website	online	3 articles
9	Limite - Integral ecology magazine	Magazine	online	8 articles
10	Institut Iliade - for the long European memory	Organisation	online	2 articles
11	Egalité et reconciliation - Left-wing labour and right-wing values	Organisation	online	1 video
Total				64 articles, 2 videos

Main findings

As mentioned above, the sources gathered for the purpose of this article are far from being homogeneous. Intrinsic ideological divisions regard issues such as religion, sovereignty, the economy and progress. Trying to draw clear lines between overlapping categories is not the goal of this article; rather, it is to bring up common recurrent themes on what those actors have to say on “ecology” on the one hand, and of their own vision of it on the other. Here follows a critical summary of the predominant discourses brought to light in the analysis.

“Climanipulation ?” (6.1) : reason over the “Thunbergian dogma” (6.7)

Despite the widespread acknowledgment of climate change, one can still find a statement such as “the causal link between climate changes and human activity is not clearly proven” (3.4). Several highly

problematic classic denialist arguments remain, questioning and undermining the consequences of a global warming: warmer temperatures are rather enjoyable, CO2 benefits humanity and the weather has always changed anyway (3.4; 3.7; 6.5; 6.6; 8.2; 12.1); there are too many uncertainties and we would need a balanced debate on the potential implications (1.4; 3.2; 3.7; 6.5); the so-called climate emergency is perceived to be “an apocalyptic faith” (3.1), unnecessarily catastrophist, a new “eco-religion”: the “ecologism” (1.4; 2.4; 3.4; 4.1; 4.2; 6.7; 6.10; 6.11; 7.3; 7.4; 8.1). According to the Identitarians, it is as if “the planet replaces God, which humans have deeply offended. They then need to do penance” (4.1); ecology is a new moralism trying to control people’s lives and thoughts, burdening them with illegitimate culpability (1.5; 3.1; 4.2; 6.7). Greta Thunberg is a violently targeted villain: the “great priestess” (6.10), a “climatic guru” or a “shaman” (6.7). How does this rebellious, “prepubescent” school-striking young girl dare to tell us what to do? (1.2; 1.6; 6.7). One should not be seduced by an emotional discourse of fear, but stick to reason, pragmatism, scientific rationality and common sense (2.3; 3.1; 3.7; 6.4; 6.7).

“Green is the new red” (2.4)

Greta Thunberg is however seen as a mere symbol of a greater power at work: “who is behind Greta?” (6.11). Some claim that she is a propaganda puppet, a “marketing product” of green capitalists who manipulate her for their economic interests (2.1; 5.1; 6.6; 6.7; 7.3); especially renewable energy entrepreneurs whose wind turbines destroy the cultural landscape (2.1; 2.4; 6.2). At a greater scale, she is seen as an ambassador of the “green alarmist doxa”, spreading the ideology of the left at large (4.2; 6.6). A simple proof is her intersectional approach on the climate crisis: racism, colonization, patriarchy, capitalism; i.e a confusing neo-marxist mishmash typical of far-left globalists holding the European white man responsible for all evils (1.1; 3.1; 4.2; 4.3; 6.4). Two arguments emerge from this premise. First, ecology is yet another guilt strategy already burdening the European memory (1.1; 4.1; 6.5): “ecology is the punishment imposed by the world superclass to the Westerners” (1.5). Second, ensuing from this logic is the notion that ecology is both the tool and the path to the implementation of a communist dictatorship (2.4; 6.11; 8.3): “When will we get a little green book?” (6.11). Totalitarian measures are deployed such as the enforcement of taxes and norms, the silencing of divergent opinions to impose its “ideological deliriums” like post-coloniality, neo-feminism and gender theory (1.4; 1.5; 1.11; 2.4; 3.1; 4.1; 6.4; 6.8; 8.2; 12.1) - which feeds the myth of Cultural Marxism. Ecology is being instrumentalized for the implementation of a “world government” (6.5; 6.6; 12.1), a term worshipped by conspiracy theorists.

“Demographics is the world’s major ecological issue” (6.4)

But conspiracy or not, globalism is seen as a dangerous “no-borderist” ideology (6.1; 6.2; 6.3; 7.4) epitomized in the case of so-called “climate refugees” (4.1; 6.5). This brings us to a central tenet of the far right: a strong hostility to immigration, particularly fueled by the Great Replacement theory according to which the European peoples are going extinct due to an unstoppable and organized wave of mass immigration, conceptualized by Renaud Camus and celebrated by many. Leftist ecology is here portrayed as another “great replacement” (4.1), a “diversion” (4.2: 6.6), distracting and diverting the attention from both the “migratory invasion” (4.1) and the taboo of a rampant population growth; the two major ecological challenges of our time (1.11; 3.4; 6.4; 6.8). Reviving Malthusianism with a classical touch of racism, the blame is to be put on overpopulation, especially generated by the African and Asian continents, which eventually translates into increased immigration towards Europe (1.12; 6.3; 6.4; 6.6; 6.8). This constitutes a fertile ground for green nationalism as the best remedy to protect our territory from ecological disaster is the border (7.4). It is presented on the one hand as a necessary

tool to keep Africans in Africa, where they produce less CO₂ than they do once they adopt a European lifestyle (2.4; 6.2; 6.5). On the other, it aims to protect nature by preserving human diversity (1.11; 6.3; 10.1) from the globalist homogenization, in line with the paradigm of ethno-pluralism or ethno-differentialism which advocates the incompatibility of different cultures and therefore the need to avoid mixing by keeping every people in their natural environment – arguably a form of cultural racism. In essence, ecology is seen as a tool for safeguarding identity and reconnecting with one's territory.

“An authentic ecology” must reconnect “the physical link that binds Man to his land” (2.5)

The other side of the anti-immigration coin is the key principle of rootedness. In opposition to the destructive fluid, liquid globalized world, a true ecology is one that is “rooted”, laying the ground for a trendy “localism” (2.5; 3.1; 4.4; 6.2; 6.4; 7.4; 9.1). The local is as much social as geographical. The individuals need to belong to a community, first and foremost embodied by the natural family core, which can ensure the transmission and therefore the protection of heritage, tradition and history; i.e major components of what is understood as identity (2.5; 4.1; 4.2; 5.4; 7.4; 10.1). While today's dominant ecology seems to be willing to get rid of humans all together for the sake of preserving the earth (4.1; 7.3; 8.2), the narrative is to reconcile human and a nature sacred for neopagans as much as for Christians. The latter faction extols an “integral ecology” with humans at the center of the Creation which must be preserved (1.2; 2.2; 6.4; 7.1; 8.1; 9.1; 9.3). It is integral in its vision of human in nature as being inseparable of the nature of humans. The liberal-libertarian ideology gives an illusion of the freedom to overcome bio-determinisms linked to sex, gender, procreation by means of the market; there are however “limits” to nature which should be acknowledged (1.12; 6.3; 9.1). “Nature is the base of our identity” (10.1), from which ensues a natural order to be embraced.

“The real ecology knows no party” (1.10)

Yet, if all agree that the hegemony of the Left on ecology must come to an end, some argue that the thematic was born within the Right and that the latter should reclaim it (1.6; 1.7; 2.3; 2.5; 4.1; 6.4). Others, however, argue that it is an opportunity to overcome an obsolete left/right divide (1.10; 9.1; 9.8); to be replaced with a globalist/anti-globalist one, between the ones who want to destroy identity and those who want to protect it (2.5; 5.6). Although some display a strong techno-optimism rooted in the European genius (2.1; 6.4), there is a growing critique of technology, immersed in a general critique of progress and capitalism as a whole (5.3; 9.2; 9.3), fighting “the double empire of the soulless technic and the lawless market” (9.1). More or less radically, many claim that an ecology that does not challenge unlimited economic growth will remain superficial (1.11; 5.1; 6.3; 7.4.9.1). This “radical” stance, especially embodied by *Limite* and *Eléments*, regularly masters a degrowth vocabulary: conviviality, simplicity, anti-economism and anti-technicism, when they are not directly advocating for it.

Conclusion

In the metapolitics of the French far right, ecology aims to preserve nature within the larger objective of protecting European identity – but with no concern for global climate justice. “To defend one's people is also to defend both one's nature and one's culture” (5.5), explains Alain de Benoist. The fundamental idea of the existence of natural boundaries not to be overstepped is extrapolated from physical resources to human nature. This argument is used in favour of concrete borders to protect the natural habitat of a specific people from the alleged ecologically and culturally destructive left-wing liberal globalisation. While some stick to a classic conservative vision, others agree that,

regardless of religious beliefs, there is a need for an alternative modernity away from neo-liberal capitalism, blurring the lines between left and right. Some of those “right-wing Gramscians”, similar to degrowth activists, fight against the colonization of the imaginaries and the alienation caused by the current economic paradigm and the ensuing marketization of more and more aspects of life. They rightly reject the nonsense of endless growth and the hegemony of profit making. However, they also reject other people and multiculturalism according to an alleged natural order of the world. The advertised diversity is merely a smokescreen for a new form of racism: a cultural (Taguieff, 1990), differentialist one (François, 2009). This worldview is in clear opposition to the pluriverse promoted by the degrowth movement (Demaria & Kothari 2017; D’Alisa, 2019; Kothari et al., 2019). Alain de Benoist fights capitalism on one side but applauds the radical xenophobic actions of the activists of Génération Identitaire on the other (5.5). As the socio-ecological crisis intensifies and continues to uncover the excesses of neo-liberal capitalism, being attentive to the alliances induced by hybrids of left and right approaches to ecology is not only relevant but crucial. Alliances reflect acceptance and normalisation. “Shouldn’t we give up on the right-left dichotomy [...]? For example, do I have to forbid Alain de Benoist to claim himself to belong to degrowth because he is classified to the Right?”, Latouche (2013) asks. This point certainly deserves further debate, yet I believe that global solidarity and intersectional justice are non-negotiable pillars of ecology. The Corona virus pandemic might accelerate the need to reaffirm “our ecology” as opposed to “theirs”, in an adaptation of André Gorz’s words (Durand & Keugheyen, 2020). Right-wing co-optations of degrowth and alike should be resisted before they advance further into party politics.

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Annex 1: Detailed list of sources

1	BOULEVARD VOLTAIRE
1.1	L'écologie ? Il paraît que c'est aussi la faute aux colonies !
1.2	Greta Thunberg, l'écologie adolescente
1.3	Écologie de choc : que veut le groupe Extinction Rébellion ?
1.4	Valeurs de droite et écologie : comment reconquérir un terrain perdu ?
1.5	Rouen : la preuve que l'écologie n'est qu'une arme politique
1.6	Faut-il abandonner l'écologie à Greta Thunberg ?
1.7	L'écologie : naturellement, une valeur de droite !
1.8	L'écologie de marché, c'est bon pour la planète ?
1.9	Déchets électroniques et plastique contre réchauffement climatique : l'écologie du tiroir-caisse
1.10	Pour Noël Mamère, l'écologie ne peut être de droite : de gauche, non plus !
1.11	Et si on favorisait une écologie conservatrice et postmoderne ?
1.12	Alain de Benoist : « Avec la surpopulation, c'est un monde invivable qui se dessine... »
2	L'INCORRECT
2.1	Écologie : l'Europe contre elle-même
2.2	Écologie intégrale et identité : réponse à Gaultier Bès
2.3	Christophe Mori : « Les changements climatiques et les enjeux écologiques entre déni et défi. »
2.4	Green is the new red ou la dictature au nom de la planète
2.5	Pour une jeunesse enracinée
2.6	Discours Marion Maréchal Convention de la Droite, (on youtube)
3	CAUSEUR #66 - Contre la religion du climat pour la raison
3.1	Les Missionnaires de l'Apocalypse
3.2	Écologie partout, politique nulle part
3.3	Le changement climatique, c'est maintenant !
3.4	« La démographie est la première question écologique mondiale » (interview)
3.5	« L'agriculture s'est complètement affranchie de la nature »
3.6	Déforestation, le rideau de fumée
3.7	Le CO2, uen chance pour la planète ?
3.8	Le Glyphosate pollue wikipedia
4	LES IDENTITAIRES (incl. Génération Identitaire)
4.1	Analyse du raz-de-marée écologiste dans les médias d'un point de vue identitaire
4.2	Greta Thunberg ou la nouvelle éco-religion
4.3	Les SJW, enfants monstrueux de la gauche
4.4	Ecologie : protéger et sanctuariser la dernière ferme de Lyon
4.5	"La remigration est la seule solution à la hauteur des défis de notre temps"
5	ELEMENTS #180 - L'Identité, pour quoi faire ?
5.1	Portrait du Bourgeois en Monsieur météo - La droite est-elle condamnée au climatoscepticisme ?
5.2	Brève histoire du réchauffement - session de rattrapage pour les climatosceptiques
5.3	Internet ! Et si on débranchait ? Les nécrotechnologies
5.4	CETA: le traité qui entérine la disparition des frontières. Les multinationales contre les terroirs
5.5	Nous et les autres. Nature et Culture, l'identité en débat
5.6	Entretien avec Clément Martin. Génération Identitaire, le "Greenpeace de droite"
6	POLEMIA
6.1	Climanipulation ?

6.2	Europe Écologie Les Verts, l'écologie politique à l'extrême gauche
6.3	Pas de lutte contre la mondialisation sans fin du dogme de la croissance
6.4	Marion Maréchal : « Nous voulons défendre une civilisation et non un marché ! »
6.5	Jean-Yves Le Gallou : « Si le réchauffement climatique est dû à l'homme, alors il faut lutter contre le libre-échange et l'immigration ! »
6.6	Le lobby vert entend bien se servir en effet de la vague de chaleur qui frappe notre pays, pour faire avancer son projet régressif, au prétexte de « l'urgence climatique ».
6.7	Greta Thunberg, « La psychologie des foules » appliquée à l'écologie
6.8	Vers un totalitarisme écolo-bobo-gauche ?
6.9	Amazonie : « L'incendie, un élément vital dans le cycle de vie des écosystèmes »
6.10	Greta Thunberg, outil de la super-classe mondiale ?
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