

## Report from Paris by Joëlle Leconte

### 'New Right' backs Red Brigades

*Shocking admissions from some self-styled defenders of "European civilization" in France.*

I feel closer to these people—the Baader-Meinhof gang in Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy—who died with their weapons in their hands for their ideas than to these liberals who are in ecstasy in front of Reagan and John Paul II,” said Pierre Vial, editor of the GRECE magazine *Elements* and a leading figure in the French “New Right,” at a gathering at Versailles on Nov. 11. GRECE, an acronym for the pompously titled “Group of Study and Research on European Civilization,” is in fact dedicated to the total destruction of European civilization and its Judeo-Christian roots, as Vial’s statement reveals.

A report on the event in the leftist newspaper *Libération* announced: “For the New Right, the fight against Marxism is outdated. The true enemy is liberalism which feeds into individualism and leads to the Americanization of society.”

The French New Right, a hard core of Nazi, racist “intellectuals,” looks forward to the convergence of the extreme-left and extreme-right wings of politics against “the Americanization of society,” against equality, progress, and rationality, and heralds the creation of a new European empire, between the Eastern and Western empires. And it deems the Soviet Union its best ally in that direction.

“Déjà vu”? The New Right’s main intellectual sources are the intellectual inspirers of the Hitler Nazi movement, the spokesmen for the “conservative revolution” like Armin Mohler and the late Moeller Van der Bruck, proponents of racialist theory based

on “blood and soil” and the Darwinian idea of “survival of the fittest.” Likewise, they loathe the republican ideas rooted in Judeo-Christian morality. At the Versailles meeting, the GRECE speakers wanted to rehabilitate the idea of “revolution” against “egalitarian ideology,” “the natural equality between human beings, the power of reason, the meaning of history and the belief in progress,” according to a leading figure of GRECE, Alain de Benoist. Another protagonist, Guillaume Faye, rejoiced at the coming of “a neo-pagan ethic,” already announced by the “renewal of anti-egalitarian ideas in the education system . . . and the appearance of new sociological schools based on the imaginary and the irrational.”

The New Rightists are ready to embrace the left. Jean-Pierre Chevènement, leader of a faction (CERES) of the Socialist Party, was quoted favorably by the GRECE orators, as “elitist, voluntarist, and anti-American,” commented the leftist *Libération*. Indeed, Chevènement has been a positive reference for GRECE at least since 1980 because of his strong hostility to the United States. He thinks that Europe must seek a third way between the United States and the U.S.S.R., but if one had to choose, he would choose to side with the Soviet Union, like GRECE. Recently, the French Communist Party also talked of the “decline of the West,” like GRECE. Pierre Vial stresses that GRECE wishes to overthrow “the bourgeois system” with “a common front of revolutionaries from the left

and from the right.”

Their strategic perspective is shaped by the geopolitics of the British Lord Halford Mackinder, and reads that Europe, East and West, has to reunify to constitute a Third Empire between the American and Russian empires. Others call that the neutralized *Mitteleuropa*. A few months ago, GRECE called for a break with Atlantic solidarity (and added, “as well as with the temptation to submit to the Soviets,” a somewhat rhetorical qualification). GRECE backs the German neutralists and *pacifists*, and claims that the best of the Third Way proponents in Europe is the Greek chief of government, Socialist Andreas Papandreou, who behaves as the most blatant Soviet asset!

Indeed, if forced to choose, GRECE would prefer to see Europe a satrapy of the Soviet Union, explained Alain de Benoist in a lengthy theoretical review of the cultural differences between United States and U.S.S.R. (*Elements*, March-April 1982, “The Main Enemy”). De Benoist wrote that “for us, the principal enemy would be bourgeois liberalism and the Atlantic-American West.” In contrast to that idea, he wrote, Russian communism is “susceptible to evolution.” This means, as many fascists understood in the 1920s, that the essence of policy should be an *Ostorientierung* (east orientation), based on the laws of geopolitics. “The center of continental Europe drifts toward the East, i.e., Russia. As Europeans we are on the side of the masters of the land, against the masters of the sea. . . . America is not a new Rome, but a new Carthage. We always will be for Rome [Russia], against Carthage.” De Benoist explained that GRECE opposes Christianity because it is the common matrix for communism and liberalism, two kinds of “egalitarianism.”