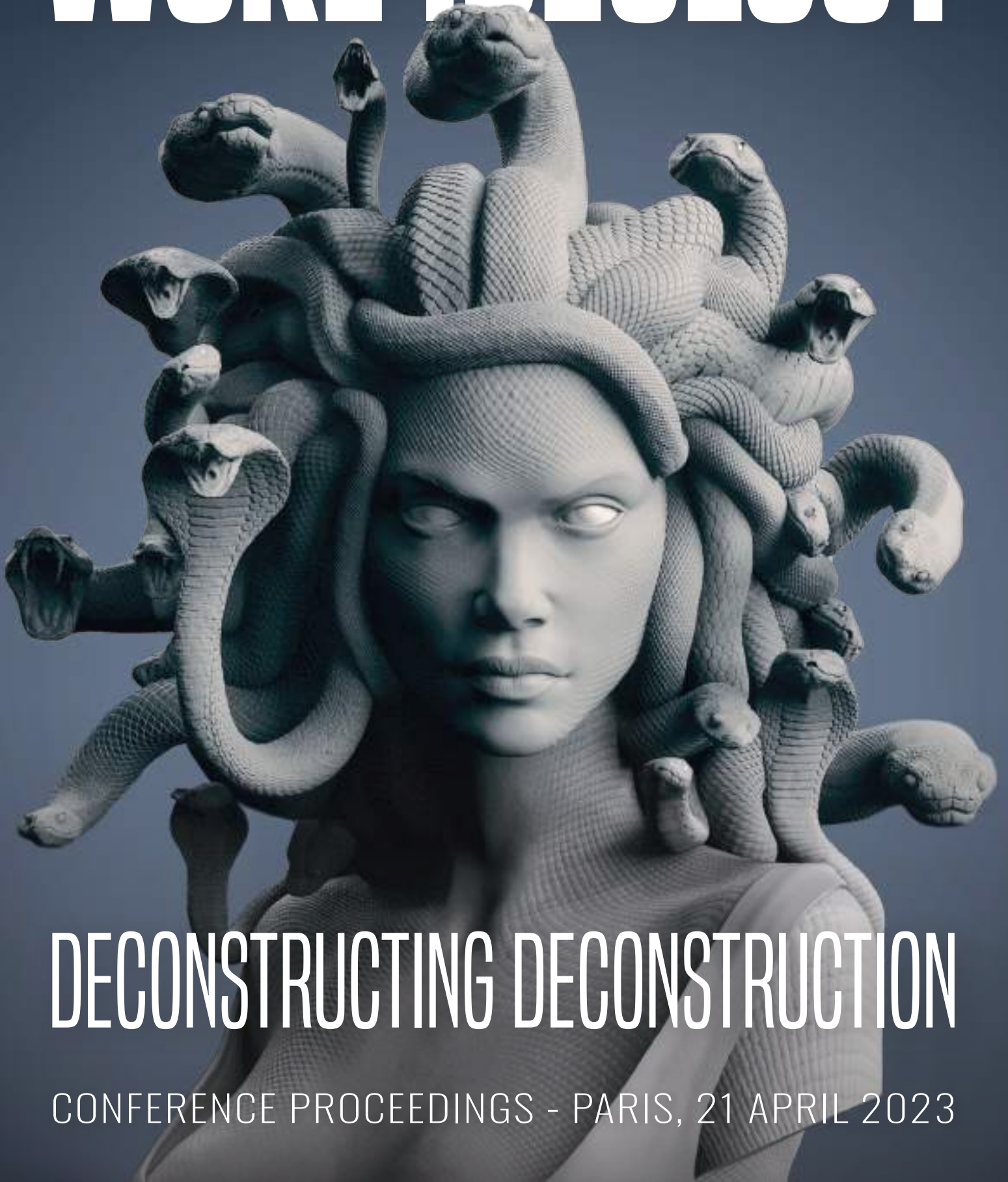


PATRIOTS
FOR EUROPE FOUNDATION

WOKE IDEOLOGY



DECONSTRUCTING DECONSTRUCTION

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS - PARIS, 21 APRIL 2023

PATRIOTS

FOR EUROPE FOUNDATION

**With Jordan Bardella,
Rassemblement National
MEPs who are members of the
Patriots for Europe Foundation
defend France and the
French people in the
European Parliament.**

Mathilde **ANDROUËT** • Jordan **BARDELLA** • Christophe **BAY** • Marie-Luce **BRASIER-CLAIN**
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WOKE IDEOLOGY : DECONSTRUCTING DECONSTRUCTION

CONFERENCE

PARIS - 21 APRIL 2023

PATRIOTS
FOR EUROPE FOUNDATION



The Maison de l'Amérique Latine (former Hôtel de Varengeville built in 1704) in the 7th district of Paris hosts the conferences of the Patriots for Europe Foundation.

The conferences of the Patriots for Europe Foundation aim to build or strengthen our political and programmatic reflection on the major issues facing our continent. The mission of the Patriots for Europe Foundation is to expand our field of thought as well as cooperation in Europe. The great family of patriots will draw from this the foundations of a project to find and build together a plan ensuring a peaceful future for over 450 million citizens of the European Union.

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CONTENTS

Foreword by Mathilde Androuët

09 POLITICAL, LEGAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO THE WOKE PHENOMENON
Introduction by Jordan Bardella

WOKE IDEOLOGY :
CONCEPT AND MODE OF OPERATION

14 A STUDY OF WILFUL DISCONSTRUCTION
by Olivier Vial

20 THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF A COLLECTIVE DELUSION
by François Bousquet

32 WOKE IDEOLOGY IN THE USA AND EUROPE
by Professor Luigi Marco Bassani

THE NEED TO COUNTER WOKE IDEOLOGY

38 THE LEGAL AND FISCAL SOLUTION IN THE USA
by Randy Yaloz

44 THE EUROPEAN SOLUTION TO WOKEISM IN EUROPE
by Professor Frank Furedi

48 THE VALUES UNDERPINNING THE OPPOSITION TO WOKEISM
by Vincent Coussedière

52 OPPOSING WOKE IDEOLOGY WITH THE SPIRIT OF RESISTANCE AND CONQUEST
Conclusion by Philippe Olivier

At the initiative of our Members of the European Parliament, Philippe Olivier and Patricia Chagnon, the theme addressed, analyzed, and debated at the conference held on April 21, 2023, was woke ideology.

Inclusive writing, gender theory, the destruction of works of art, hatred provoked in the name of imagined oppressions, woke ideology is taking over the entire cultural sphere, gradually establishing itself in our legal, cultural, and societal codes.

Although unknown or undefined to the majority of our fellow citizens, this concept, insidious in its progression, nevertheless conquers increasingly large and visible parts of our daily lives.

As a Member of Parliament, and also as a mother and a woman, I am just as concerned about this growing phenomenon, whose epicenter of dissemination seems to be the organizations responsible for youth.

Organizing this event in Paris is all the more meaningful since it was in this capital city that the French Revolution was born, a political and institutional revolution that was merely the logical conclusion of a cultural war waged beforehand by the “Enlightenment”, an intellectual movement which, in that instance as well, played out on a European scale.

Cultural war always precedes political upheaval. However, the contemporary cultural struggle led by woke ideology runs counter to the

Enlightenment movement. In France, one of the major intellectual tools of the Revolution was the *Encyclopédie*, a compilation of definitions and boundaries, definitions that helped reinforce the scientific spirit and pave the way for progress.

Here, the objective of deconstruction is clear, but it operates in a realm of vagueness, haziness, and the undefined. The spontaneous, innate categories of belonging to a sex or an ethnicity are disappearing in favor of an individual definition that recognizes only its own judgments and often its own identity-based anxieties. The science of language, as well as the hard sciences, is also being dismantled, leaving room for an individual-king, turned inward rather than toward others. The era of undifferentiation often goes hand in hand with malaise and anxiety : sadly, our young people are the first to suffer its consequences.

The era of undifferentiation also marks the death of politics, because under the dictat of hyper-individualism, the social bond deteriorates : that fragile bond of solidarity, which is only strong when the individual eclipses their singularity for the sake of exchange, sharing, and co-construction.

In response to this deliberate vagueness and in order to equip ourselves intellectually, I pose this additional question to our speakers, both French and foreign : how should we define woke ideology ? And above all, should we use this term that is being imposed on us by those who promote it ?



by

Mathilde ANDROUËT

Member of the European Parliament from the Patriots for Europe group



Introduction by

Jordan BARDELLA

The urgency of providing political, legal, and institutional responses to the woke phenomenon

I would like to thank the initiators of this conference, notably Mathilde Androuët, as well as my fellow Member of the European Parliament Philippe Olivier, for whom this subject is of particular importance.

I would also like to thank all the participants who have come to discuss this issue. My thanks as well to Roger Chudeau, Member of the French Parliament for Loir-et-Cher, who is highly involved in the French Parliament in the necessary fight against the “woke” offensive that is now assailing Europe.

For a long time, woke ideology was confined to very specific spheres, mostly academic, permeating certain highly marginal anti-Western political circles. Gradually, insidiously, the small stream became a river, and this corrosive and sometimes destructive current is now boiling over and tending to burst its banks. In France, the offensive has manifested itself in politics with a new brand of *Rousseauism* (Sandrine rather than Jean-Jacques), on the streets in demonstrations that generally involve acts of vandalism, and at the governmental level with the appointment of a minister who openly embraces, validates, and defends this ideology.

Connections, collusion, and complacency have come to light. Some media outlets and businesses — and not only in the cultural domain — have revealed themselves as vectors, whether consciously or unconsciously, willingly or under duress, of this campaign of social fragmentation. Indeed, it is social fragmentation, because this new catechism, this new puritanism, compels us to view our neighbours as oppressors, as enemies from whom no redemption can be expected : sex, supposed race, religion, appearance, history, heritage... everything must become a pretext for feeling oppressed, for designating oppressors, who are denied even the right to defend themselves.

This oppression is labelled “systemic” in order, in reality, to call for the overthrow of the system in the name of quasi-religious truths. In this exaltation of victimization, it becomes urgent — even mandatory — to feel oppressed in order to be the new hero of woke society, to invoke artificial, fluctuating, and floating identities ; it becomes urgent to destroy all points of reference through pseudo-scientific prohibitions, fanciful rewritings of history, and the dismantling of all codes.

« AFTER THE OBSOLESCENCE OF GOD THE OBSOLESCENCE OF MAN, THEN THAT OF THE WEST. »

Jordan Bardella



Wokeism is the theory of erasure, the negation of otherness by erasing the difference between the sexes, between species. It is the dismissal of reason in favour of emotion, the repudiation of science in favour of an anachronistic animism, the collapse of Enlightenment principles. This parallel world reignites questions that, in a civilization of science and philosophy, we believed had at least been settled : Questions about the place of humankind on the planet, about the place of reason in our societies, about the place of scientific rationality in research ; questions about the principle of transmission.

In this generalized blurring, where everything must become undifferentiated, arise questions that are not difficult to counter but are somewhat disconcerting: what physically differentiates a man from a woman ? Does a human life have less value than that of an animal ? Must humankind voluntarily die out in order to save the planet ? All this scaffolding of deconstruction is supported by an idea, an idea that is corroding our societies, an idea to which our right-wing and left-wing leaders alike have actively contributed : guilt-tripping.

Pascal Bruckner, as early as the 1980s in *The Tears of the White Man* (Le sanglot de l'homme blanc), as well as Bérénice Levet, Alain Finkielkraut, and many other thinkers, shed light on the mechanisms of individual and collective guilt that have seized our societies. They were already warning that this attempt at the domestication of minds posed a risk of moral submission of individuals and, ultimately, the programmed destruction of our societies from within.

Today, this self-hatred has made its corrosive path ; with woke ideology, it seeks to impose hatred of all against all. Under woke ideology, some believe they are qualified to hasten us toward a civilizational transition. This sectarian movement tries to erase the values upon which our civilization was founded and plunges us into a generalized effacement, a civilizational regression. Today, at the very moment this woke wave is rising and inundating the political sphere, the issue becomes eminently political.

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OF OTHERNESS,
OUR VISION
OF HUMANITY,
SOCIETY, AND
THE WORLD »**

Rest assured, we do not intend to oppose woke intolerance with any form of McCarthyism but rather simply to allow, in a tolerant and enlightened democracy, a debate based on reason. We do not seek to infringe upon anyone's rights, but rather — within a country where the common rule is that of the majority — to protect against inquisitorial and sometimes violent dictatorships of ultra-minority groups that wish to impose their worldview, their prohibitions, and their totalitarian methods in the public space. We have no intention of disregarding individual freedoms, lifestyles, personal choices or orientations, philosophical or religious options,

but rather of preserving the public space from cacophonous, aggressive demands that would encourage the secession of communities or the fragmentation of society into individuals hostile to one another.

Nor do we seek to ignore the necessary fight against discrimination, which demands constant vigilance, and firm action whenever necessary, but we must prevent this fight from becoming a vehicle for new forms of discrimination, new forms of persecution, or attacks on republican equality in the name, for instance, of a supposedly “positive” institutionalized discrimination.

We do not wish to overlook the problem of bullying in our schools, which should be safe havens for all children, protected from malice and intolerance, remaining, in Jean Zay's phrase, “those inviolable and sacred refuges where the quarrels of men do not enter.”

We do not seek to outlaw the evolution of our beautiful language, the semantic creativity that often constitutes artistic creation, the neologisms that spur the development of thought, or the enrichment offered by French as it is spoken in various francophone regions. But under the pretext of making our writing “inclusive”, we cannot allow it to be rendered so complex that it becomes unreadable and unpronounceable, at the risk of alienating those who already struggle the most. Language is the primary vehicle of social and national cohesion ; it is a human and cultural treasure too precious to be dissolved in lexical or conceptual absurdities dreamed up by agitators.


We believe that alongside an intellectual response, we politicians must offer a political and parliamentary response, and even a legislative one if necessary. The legislative response has already been initiated by Roger Chudeau, who introduced a bill to ban so-called “inclusive” writing in administrative and commercial documents. Others will follow, aimed at thwarting non-mixed gatherings in public spaces, preventing infringements on academic freedom, and guaranteeing children the right to carefree innocence.

We will lead the counteroffensive everywhere we sit, notably in the European Parliament, where this sectarian offensive is insidiously making inroads. This is evident in the incessant awareness campaigns against a so-called “islamophobia”, which in reality promote an anti-Western Islamist ideology. It is also evident when a guide to woke best practices is prepared for Commission staff ; it is evident, on another level, when the EU's radical environmentalism — viewing the activity of our countries as a form of patriarchal domination — serves as the ideological basis for dismantling our energy, agricultural, and industrial capabilities, thereby driving the continent toward a logic of degrowth.

Finally, I believe that in waging this battle, we are defending the cause of the Republic :

- For the values of our Constitution, which guarantee liberty, equality, and fraternity for all ;
- For the values of the Nation, which unite all citizens in a fraternal bond that transcends individual affiliations, races, or religions ;
- For humanism, which positions humankind as a unique living being endowed with specific rights. Nonetheless, no one disputes that this special dignity entails duties, notably responsibility toward the animal and plant world, biodiversity, and the planet ;
- For the imperative of transmission, without which any society is doomed to be merely transient and to sink into nihilism.

The battle that is emerging is a fundamental one, involving our conception of relationships between individuals, our recognition of otherness, our vision of humanity, society, and the world. To wage this battle, we need the tools to decode the phenomenon we face, and to demonstrate discernment in the political action we intend to undertake. This is the purpose of this conference. ■



The statue of Christopher Columbus that stood in front of the Minnesota State Capitol in Saint Paul was toppled on the 10th June 2020 by members of the American Indian Movement and far-left woke activists.

Woke ideology : **concept and mode of operation**

With its roots in university campuses in the United States in the 1970s, and influenced by the French philosophers of «French theory», wokeism is a progressive movement whose activists define themselves as «woke». Woke, which can be translated as «awake», sees itself as being in the vanguard of the fight for equality for all minorities. But behind these good intentions lies a discriminatory, totalitarian and violent ideology that is spreading dangerously throughout society.

A study of wilful deconstruction

Olivier Vial is the founder of the Woke Observatory, President of the UNI students' union and Director of the Centre for University Studies and Research (CERU), the university think-tank in charge of the programme on new forms of radicalism.



Woke ideology has been monitored at the Woke Observatory, originally the Gender Theory Observatory, since 2012. This movement was initially extremely confidential, but it grew rapidly. For proof of this, you only have to look at what has happened in recent weeks : four very different examples that just go to show where woke ideology can lodge itself.

The first was a conference that was to be organised in support of Iranian women in Nantes with Marguerite Stern, a Femen activist who, until now, had been considered progressive, and at the forefront of the fight against patriarchy. She only had to say that being a woman has a biological basis to be seen as unacceptable, someone to be "cancelled" and erased from the public arena. Her conferences are now systematically banned, just for

having pointed out this simple fact.

The second, even more recent example, is the *Council of Elders on Secularism* (Conseil des sages de la laïcité), which the Minister for Education, Pap Ndiaye, has decided to reorient in an attempt to develop a more inclusive secularism. This is yet another example of a new way of presenting secularism.

In Italy, at about the same time, in a much more light-hearted area, or so one might think, Barilla decided to introduce a new recipe for its famous carbonara pasta. It is far less Italian but far more inclusive since all the ingredients and the whole recipe have been

replaced, the result being vegan pasta flavoured with saffron and celery, which has very little in common with the Italian tradition. But the brand has launched a major campaign on social networks to define this new inclusiveness, which ultimately consists in erasing a historic recipe that is part of Italian culture.

Finally, Google has just launched a project called Real Tone aimed at combating racism in cameras. This is because Google believes that the cameras in our smartphones tended to treat certain skin colours in an unacceptable way.

As a result, there is now a whole project aimed at combating such discrimination that had hitherto gone unnoticed. Such is the real woke system.

To be woke is to be awake. But awake to what ? It means being able to detect the desire some people have to dominate others — systemic domination — a desire that structures our society, and more importantly to discover the nefarious desires that we don't see. And **this is why the woke think they are superior and 'awake', because they have the ability to see things we can't.** And all the things we loved and considered positive just a few years ago, that is universalism, diversity, openness to the world, and so on, are now so many principles that are seen as sources of discrimination and domination.

Mixed meetings have been replaced by non-mixed meetings. Nowadays, openness to the world is seen as cultural appropriation. Increasingly, the woke are coming to see discrimination in all areas that had hitherto been seen as positive. This is actual paranoia, and a form of paranoia they are proud of, as one of the longest-serving woke activists, Charles Pulliam Moore, confessed in 2011, when he said that "*being woke means having a healthy form of paranoia, one that allows us to see the discrimination that you are unable to see*".





Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937)
 Writer and Marxist philosopher, founding member of the Italian Communist Party and theorist, among other things, of the concept of cultural hegemony at the beginning of the 20th century. He theorised the need to deconstruct the culture that imprisons people.
 (Photo : the Gramsci Institute)

GRAMSCI AND THE DECONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL HEGEMONY

In actual fact, this movement reaches back much further than we have seen in recent years. And its roots run very deep, which is why it is so difficult to eradicate both the weed and its seed.

This could be traced back to Antonio Gramsci, an Italian intellectual, in the late 1930s. When defining cultural hegemony, he was the first to intuit that the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 had failed to achieve its aims because the people and workers were unwittingly dominated by this hegemony ; bourgeois culture had prevented them from understanding where their own interests lay. So he began to proclaim the need to deconstruct this culture, which was ultimately a prison for certain sections of the population and hindered the revolution. This intuition was to return a few years later, with Bourdieu's philosophy in particular : both the cultural capital and, above all, this famous symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is when culture becomes a prison and forces you to adopt the values of the dominant class, and therefore of the West. And this, apparently, is what makes us the willing slaves of these societies. So Bourdieu's aim, which was to have dramatic consequences in national education, was to deconstruct and replace classical culture with subcultures for years to come.

Frantz Fanon (1925-1961)
 Psychiatrist, writer and anti-colonial activist. Born in Martinique, he laid the foundations of the indigenous woke movement.
 (Photo : London Review of Books)



FRANTZ FANON'S ANTI-COLONIAL VIOLENCE

Thirdly, in the 1960s, another trend emerged from studies on colonialism, notably with Frantz Fanon, one of the leading thinkers. In 1961, Jean-Paul Sartre wrote the preface to one of Fanon's works, stating that we must not be afraid of violence in the struggle for decolonisation. Frantz Fanon uttered this rather impressive statement : *"You must kill. To shoot down a European is to kill two birds with one stone, to destroy an oppressor and the man he oppresses at the same time. What remains is one dead man and one free man."*

Some years later, the impact of this quote is still being felt. Although we are no longer dealing with physical violence, but we are now facing the symbolic violence promoted by postcolonial thinkers and based on deconstruction and symbolically killing the white man. This trend began in Latin America, before arriving in the United States and, a few years later, it began to spread to France.



As early as the 1970s in the United States, anti-militarism merged with racial and anti-capitalist struggles during demonstrations.
 (Photo : Mercury News)

FRENCH THEORY

The last major trend to have influenced wokeism was the French Theory movement. French thinkers such as Gilles Deleuze, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and a few others who, in the early 1970s, received little attention in French universities taken over by the Communist Party, which did not take kindly to their leftist theories. But these theories found their way to the United States, where they encountered the radicalism that was rampant in American campuses in the 1970s, and the punk, hippy and LGBT movements. The alliance of this French philosophy with this extremely exacerbated activism was to produce French Theory. Although some French authors realised that their ideas had been translated in a biased way, it was this oriented thinking that was to flourish and return to France like a boomerang from the 2000s onwards, where it was taken up in universities and gender studies research laboratories in particular.

The roots of wokeism actually go back a very long way. They are diverse, and all converge to question the structure of Western civilisation. This is their rallying point. For them, the concepts are multiplied ad infinitum, and the woke are increasingly radical. And the current radical concept will erase yesterday's radical concept which has become a little too mainstream. It is this violence that fuels the constant renewal of concepts, a new development in wokeism, all of which actually makes it quite difficult to define.

It would even be true to say that today, based on the definition of woke, it is virtually impossible to define an ideology. **It is part of a much broader movement, which is the deconstruction trend, with its three offshoots : French Theory, decolonialism and gender studies**, all these currents having emerged from universities.

Wokeism is when this ideology is given concrete expression in a militant act.

So there really is a woke moment happening right now. It's a very dangerous time, and if its current form of expression were to die out tomorrow, the momentum of deconstruction would continue unabated because this momentum is very old and has become extremely powerful. So who are the protagonists behind the growth of this theory ?

The first is the historical breeding ground of guilt and repentance, which has been cultivated over the

years, along with the additional myth of victimisation. These days there is a hierarchy of victims, **and the greater the victim, the greater the respect, which means that the causes of victimology tend to accrue. This is known as intersectionality** : you can be a racialised woman and a non-gendered woman, both of which are seen as promotions that allow you to ascend the hierarchy ladder of victimisation.

If they had a penchant for poetry, they could find some affinity in a quote by Alfred de Musset, who said: *"How sweet it is to believe oneself unhappy when one is merely empty and bored"*. This is exactly the philosophy developed by the woke : it's all about making the most of the fact that you are unhappy, discriminated against, and a victim, to gain added status in the hierarchy of victimhood.

In 2019, a documentary filmed at Evergreen University in Washington State highlighted the excesses of woke "progressivism": humiliating teachers, encouraging anti-white racism, allowing discrimination, imposing compulsory repentance on pain of expulsion or assault, etc. Here is the "Red Queen's Evergreen" making sure that "equity is respected", as defined by the university's new ethics committee. (Photo : YouTube screencap)



UNIVERSITIES, ACTUAL CONCEPT-MAKING FACTORIES

Something that may seem totally surreal to sane people is that, according to some academics, there is no such thing as pre-existing reality. The concept generates reality. And they're not entirely wrong. A very well-known example, which is now referred to as "manspreading", which is when a man sits with his legs spread a little further apart than a woman's, namely on public transport. On the face of it, it would seem that this is a situation that has always existed. But it wasn't until someone came up with the concept in the mid-2010s that something that was fairly widespread and natural, or at least not thought of as a form of domination, became a political issue. Because this phenomenon was seen as man's desire to dominate the public arena, it has become a political domain in itself. You create the word and the concept, you politicise that concept, then you turn it into a campaign. And immediately, a city such as Barcelona launches a major campaign against "manspreading".

THE INSTRUMENTALISATION OF SCIENCE

A different scientific approach is also needed, and this begets an additional difficulty. The woke use words we are all familiar with, then go on to change their long-held meaning. They believe that science (not because of various blunders, but a will based entirely on the concept of the semiologist Sandra Harding) is strong objectivity, which is exactly the opposite of objectivity.

Early in June 2023, the British edition of the women's magazine Glamour featured a front-page photo of a "pregnant" man as part of Pride Month. The idea that a man could be with child is obviously a woke theory aimed at deconstructing even the most elementary of biological truths.

Sarah Harding says that to be objective, "scientific objectivity is based on a definition of democracy that is genuinely anti-sexist and anti-racist, considering that the routine functioning of science is based on a status quo maintained by an elite on a matrix of class, gender and racial privilege. Thus, those who suffer this status quo and want to undermine it are those most likely to produce highly objective points of view and knowledge." Two inversions are thus exposed in this sentence.

The first inversion is that **science is not about seeking truth. It is about pursuing justice.** This means that the political aspect prevails over the ability to be objective and scientific.

The second inversion is contrary to axiological neutrality : in reality, only the committed activist is objective, which explains the non-mixed meetings. So, **for the woke, a white person cannot talk about racism, a heterosexual person cannot talk about homosexuality, and so on.** Only the people concerned are believed to be objective, which is a downright instrumentalisation of science.



SOCIAL NETWORKS AND COMPANIES, THE QUOTIDIAN VECTORS OF WOKE IDEAS

Thanks to algorithmic bubbles, social networks have trapped young people and allowed these deconstructivist ideas to develop. In political science, there is a very famous theory called the spiral of silence, by Elisabeth Neumann. This theory shows that normally in a community, when people have an extremely minority opinion that lacks firm anchorage, they end up siding with the majority. But social networks have put a stop to this natural phenomenon. Now, even when the most preposterous idea is put forward, there is always someone on the social networks to share it. And the algorithm will then find other people who will share it in turn. This is how ideas that, on the face of it, challenge the reality of what we see, can become actual facts for some people who are fed by social networks that bolster their own views. Businesses are not spared either, and this is something new. They are introducing new policies of corporate social responsibility, policies of inclusiveness based on the rules of the English-speaking world. For many large groups, they have become vehicles for wokeism.

A THREAT TO YOUNG PEOPLE

Unfortunately, all this deconstruction was expected. But the question is, was it programmed ? Not directly, in the sense that there is someone at the helm, controlling everything. There is, however, a very deep ideological breeding ground, which leads to a multitude of players embracing these paradigms. And while it may not be directly programmed by anyone, it is indeed eagerly awaited by others.

But this is not inevitable. It is only logical to remain positive. A recent survey (published in March 2023 by IFOP) on wokeism in the workplace shows that between 2021 and 2022, awareness of woke concepts, cancel culture, inclusive writing, etc. increased considerably. At the same time, the more awareness increased, the more the level of support dropped, particularly for cancel culture. This is undeniably good news, but we must not be totally blind to the fact that this is certainly the reaction of boomers. Among young people, unfortunately, the level of support is still very high and rising.

In the United States, there was a backlash against Budweiser when it ran a campaign with a trans activist. Its customers took immediate action, and the company lost five billion dollars in market capitalisation as a result.

This may be the sign that history does

"WOKEISM CHALLENGES OUR VALUES, OUR HISTORY, THE PLACE OF MAN AND THAT OF HUMANITY IN GENERAL. IT IS ALSO A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH WHEN IT COMES TO DEMOBILISING YOUNG PEOPLE, AS WELL AS A GEOPOLITICAL PROBLEM".

not necessarily flow in just one direction after all. Unfortunately, this reaction was more likely to come from people over the age of 35, and it would seem, therefore, that there is reason to be pessimistic when it comes to younger people, and this is a serious problem, because wokeism challenges our values, our history, and the place of man and that of humanity in general. It is also a force to be reckoned when it comes to demobilising young people, as well as a geopolitical problem. Because of this demobilising effect, some of our young people, who have been influenced by this ideology may opt for degrowth — let's call this a deviation from the norm — and abandon their studies to go and do something else : permaculture in ZADs (Zone to Defend), or adopt the right to be lazy, as advocated by Sandrine Rousseau... At the same time, there are countries that are preparing their young people and their populations for far greater economic and geopolitical challenges. Finally, wokeism is fertile ground for all extremist ecological struggles, and in recent years, ecology has become considerably more radical as a result of the influence of wokeism. Trends such as ecofeminism, coined by Françoise d'Eaubonne, and the decolonial ecology of the Frenchman Malcolm Ferdinand, are in the process of intersecting with ecological movements, making them considerably more radical. ■

The archaeology of a collective delusion

François Bousquet is a publisher, journalist and essayist. He is the author of numerous books, editor-in-chief of the review entitled *Éléments*, and director of La Nouvelle Librairie in Paris.



Before getting to the heart of the matter, it's worth remembering that this is a madhouse full of dangerous madmen, all in the grip of a collective spell.

Have you ever heard of Yeonmi Park ? Yeonmi Park is a North Korean woman who fled Kim Jong Un's homeland, and crossed the fearsome Gobi Desert, with its thirty-degree temperature differences between day and night, to take refuge in China then South Korea, before landing in America. There, she was stunned to discover that people are freer in Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea, than in New York in particular and the United States in general. After spending a few months in the land of the First Amendment, which is under threat, not of the National Rifle Association (NRA), but because of freedom-destroying wokeism, Yeonmi Park declared : "Even North Korea isn't this crazy !"

So we have wokeism to thank for putting North Korea ahead of the USA in terms of freedom of expression. But where does wokeism come from? It is a rage that is both levelling and expiatory, purifying and persecuting, a 'manic-depressive' that first spread to America before crossing the Atlantic. If we were to look at it with the eyes of a palaeontologist being questioned about the origins of Homo sapi-

ens, we could say that wokeism was a ready-made synthetic product that emerged from American campuses and newsrooms across the Atlantic (this is the 'out of America' hypothesis) but that wokeism nevertheless has multi-modal ideological origins, just as we might say that Homo sapiens have multi-regional origins. But what are they exactly ? Such is the object of this talk.

(Photo : the Dresden Kulturpalast)

WHAT ARE THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF WOKE IDEOLOGY ?

MARXISM

including Cultural Marxism, which theorises "oppression"

DECONSTRUCTION

and its feminist and decolonial avatars, who see the white man as a predator

THE LIBERAL MATRIX

that allows people to decide who they want to be

THE RELIGIOUS MATRIX

through the post-Protestant awakening, in a race for virtue

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

(1966-1976), a precedent dear to Mao Zedong, from whom it borrowed its methods



Of course, the woke do not claim to be part of the Cultural Revolution. Have they even heard of it, in their ignorance ? Nevertheless, the analogies between Maoism and wokeism are fascinating.

This is a particularly important point, and one on which the review entitled *Éléments* has done pioneering work.

Many works have served as a basis for this speech, but there are two that will serve as a common thread in this instance : namely what *Éléments* has achieved over the past decade, and over two decades with Alain de Benoist, David L'Epée and others, on deconstruction, political correctness and wokeism. But also the very thorough study published by the Fondapol website : *Woke ideology, the anatomy of wokeism* (L'idéologie woke, Anatomie du wokisme), written by Pierre Valentin, a particularly brilliant young researcher who has established the post-Marxist, post-modernist and post-religious genealogy of wokeism, while distancing himself from it where necessary.



"Even North Korea isn't this crazy!" Yeonmi Park is a North Korean who fled Kim Jong Un's homeland to take refuge in the United States, where she was stunned to discover that people are freer in Pyongyang than in New York because of wokeism. (Photo: Instagram - yeonmi_park)

Marxism, or "cultural Marxism" as they call it, into a kind of conceptual bogeyman, and attributing to Marxism things that it does not say, at least in the terms they use. All this at the cost of a misunderstanding, since it is much closer to leftism in the Leninist sense of the term: in other words, leftism is seen as the childhood disease of communism.

Moving on to cultural Marxism, please forgive the philosophical name-dropping in this article, which proved itself to be absolutely essential.

This label includes some of the great names of the Frankfurt School (Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse), a school of thought that also nurtured Christopher Lasch, a (hugely important) historian of populism, and one of the mentors of Jean-Claude Michéa and Alain de Benoist. This constellation of cultural Marxism also includes Freudian-Marxist or Freudian-fanciful thinkers such as the delirious Wilhelm Reich, and Marxists like Georg Lukacs (but by making him say the exact opposite of what he actually said, if we are willing to admit that Georg Lukacs is the one who most virulently attacked the long process of destruction of reason at play in modernity, although destroying Western reason is the primary goal of deconstruction).

Above, Karl Marx (1818-1883), philosopher, historian, sociologist, economist, journalist and oppression theorist. (Photo: International Institute of Social History)

Cultural Marxism

Because of America, it is important to trace the thread of "cultural Marxism", a very popular topic with the alt-right, but one that is neither the main nor the secondary constituent. In the United States, Marx remains a distasteful name, and Marxism a repellent concept. With the exception of a handful of names, the American left has always preferred Groucho Marx to Karl Marx.

Despite this bias, American paleo-conservatives have not been able to resist transforming

So, yes, there are a few US Marxists at the forefront of this deconstruction process, like Theodore W. Allen (1919-2005), a dashing American communist for whom the "invention of the white race" (seen here as a social construct, and the core of deconstruction) dates back to the time of the first large plantations, at the end of the 17th century. It has to be said that Theodore W. Allen and others helped to fuel the woke madness, thanks to, among other things, the critical theory of race (those familiar with the work of the Frankfurt School will recognise the notion of 'critical theory' here).

This gave rise to such categories as systemic racism, white privilege and whiteness. But the crux of the matter lies elsewhere. We should probably forget Marxism, because Marxism functions as a concept-screen, in the near-psychoanalytical sense of the term. In other words, it is a decoy that prevents us from seeing the true nature of the subject at hand: deconstruction.

For deconstruction to work at full pelt, a prerequisite had to be met: the social

issue had to be removed, a matter that never stopped the thinkers of deconstruction from sleeping. They have never had any working-class tendencies and have always advocated closing prisons, not factories.

Their religion was established a long time ago and it is certainly not limited to worshipping the working class, but what Marx called the lumpen-proletariat (literally "the lowest stratum of the proletariat"), in other words the thugs (add to this the madmen, the deviants, the infamous men that Michel Foucault later glorified). This was the great turning point of the 1960s. In

the aftermath of 1968, students realised that working-class people were culturally conservative. Revolutionary messianism shifted from social to societal issues. The fight against discrimination and exclusion and for parity and inclusion took precedence over the class struggle. From this point of view, you could say that deconstruction is a reaction against Marxism. The only thing that remains of Marxism is the dialectic between dominant and dominated, but to the benefit of new categories such as sex, gender and race.

"REVOLUTIONARY MESSIANISM HAS SHIFTED FROM THE SOCIAL TO THE SOCIETAL. THE FIGHT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION AND EXCLUSION, AND IN FAVOUR OF PARITY AND INCLUSION, HAS SUPERSEDED THE CLASS STRUGGLE."

The Frankfurt School is a Marxist-inspired school of thought considered to be the founder of social philosophy or critical theory. Below : Max Horkheimer (1895-1973) and his colleague Theodor W. Adorno (1903-1969), main figures of the Frankfurt School. (Photo : Jeremy J. Shapiro - 1964)





Deconstruction

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SUSPICION

Deconstruction is particularly difficult to grasp for a number of reasons, the first being that it undermines the very essence of language and things, and the very act of naming the latter. Having revoked all of the above, any attempt to define it becomes problematic.

The first difficulty is that this is a philosophy based on suspicion. Everywhere it goes, it only sees (and tracks down) social constructs, which makes it akin to a kind of ‘verbal demiurgism’, as Pierre-André Taguieff might say, which can be found in the issue of *Krisis* devoted to deconstruction. The same Taguieff who speaks, and not without reason, of “arm-chair wokeism”, on a par with “drawing-room decolonisation”.

Let’s dwell for a moment on this sophisticated “drawing-room” notion, a parameter that must be taken into account if we are to understand our subject, because here we are at the heart of what Tom Wolf, the great Tom Wolf, the author of *The Bonfire of the Vanities*, called ‘Park Avenue leftism’: in other words, the golden progressive bourgeoisie. What is lacking today is someone like Molière, to expose them, as he did with *Tartuffe*, *The Affected Young Ladies* and *The Learned Ladies*. Because when you read the words of these woke feminists, and their ravings about intersectionality or queer theories, you have to deal with an avalanche of learned words, neologisms, affectations, verbosity and verbal nebulosity. A cross between Dr Thomas Diafoirus

Above, Michel Foucault (1926-1984) Writer, philosopher and deconstruction theorist. He introduced new subjects into philosophy (madness, imprisonment, sexuality) and supported most of the minority struggles that emerged after May 1968. (Photo: the Michel Foucault Centre – Youtube screencap)

and Trissotin (Trissotin : three times a fool). Oh, Molière !

If you consider someone like Houria Bouteldja, a recent star guest at Yale University, you’ll see that she’s not far removed from Molière’s Bélise and Philaminte. “Become the bride, dear sister, of philosophy”. With Bouteldja, sharia law has been transformed into gibberish. This just goes to show that wokeism, like feminism before it, is also a matter for upper middle-class women such as Bouteldja.

Why is deconstruction a notion worth remembering ? Others prefer to call it poststructuralism or postmodernism, which lacks a certain conviction. Why indeed ? Poststructuralism and postmodernism are destined never to leave the modern world they inhabit, as evidenced by their ‘post’ prefix, which tends to minimise the novelty of the phenomenon of deconstruction and the bastards to which it gave rise : critical race theory and wokeism, despite their common genealogy. We should therefore confine ourselves to deconstruction, or what the Americans have coined French Theory, the motley constellation of French authors such as Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Jacques Derrida who have acquired Hall of Fame status on the other side of the Atlantic. The English terms make no bones about it : the chic leftism of French Theory is merely a rehash, an adaptation rather than a translation, of French thought, which has rebounded on us like a boomerang in the form of a pre-packed, typically North American idea, the coercive nature of which is summed up quite neatly by wokeism, under the rule of ‘active minorities’.

Let us venture to define deconstruction. Above all, it is an iconoclastic gesture of radical negation that deprives knowledge and power of their legitimate home. Worse still: the very principle of reality itself is being entirely subverted and replaced by an unprecedented experiment in social engineering. Judith Butler, the leading light of gender studies, points out in her “Undoing gender” (2004) that deconstruction is “nothing less than the reconstruction of reality, the reconstruction of all that is human”. It emerged in two stages :

Firstly, destitution: by launching a process of destruction-deconstruction of supposedly arbitrary disciplines and concepts (true/false; man/woman; day/night, etc.), by dismissing truth (Foucault speaks only of “effects of truth” in the name of poorly digested Nietzschean perspectivism and relativism: in other words, it is only when speaking that one produces the effects of truth. The concept of post-truth is to be found here, not in the words of Donald Trump, who, as far as I know, has never read Foucault. In short, everything on which a society is founded, culturally and politically, is thus rendered illegitimate. Secondly, substitution : by initiating an attempt at social, cultural and political constructivism on the ruins of the defunct Old World. To arrive at the following paradox, namely that deconstruction, which rejects all forms of essentialisation (truth, man, woman, etc.), is doomed to reintroduce them: if there is no biological man and woman per se, there is nonetheless male violence per se, rape culture per se, and so on. In other words, there is no such thing as the essence of man, except when it comes to blaming him.

That being said, contradictions and inconsistencies in discourse are of no importance here. Truth, including scientific truth, does not exist, and does not constitute an objection; only the regime of post-truth exists. Worse or better still : deconstruction, which rejects all forms of essentialisation, ends up emerging as the essentialism of anti-essentialism.

FOUCAULT AN DERRIDA IN PRAISE OF MARGINALITY

Two names dominate this continent or archipelago of deconstruction : Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. Without them, the face of deconstruction, like that of wokeism, would have been different. If the thoughts of Foucault and Derrida could be summed up in a single idea, it would be a celebration of marginality, first and foremost. With Foucault, they are sexual and with Derrida, they are textual. But they are both one and the same thing. Foucault invested and legitimised all forms of deviance with the ambition of erecting it as the ultimate norm: a norm based on an absence of norms, a norm based on abnormality.

This is a topological displacement of Western discourse that recommends that you seek out everything that has been rejected on the outside — the Other — of Western discourse, the only subject that endures. Such is the philosophy of otherness, the latest salvation mystique to have emerged in the Far West, with the task of ensuring the assumption of a presumed guilty West. Here, we witness the reign of the Other, the very much Other, the Big Other, as Jean Raspail called it, the religion of the 21st century, for which it is a fetishistic name.

To do this, it was necessary to deconstruct the European Grand Narrative step by step, as this Grand Narrative could only function by rejecting the Other, whoever he or she may be: the foreigner as well as the strange, the ‘racialised’ as well as the slave, the madman as well as the outcast, the gay as well as the lesbian, the trans as well as the cyborg, everything that finds itself in a position of exteriority, right up to the Freudian unconscious, as otherness from one’s self to one’s self.



Jacques Derrida (1926-1984) Writer, teacher and philosopher. He initiated and then developed deconstruction theory. All his work consists in erasing traditional metaphysics and its influence on other disciplines.

Deconstruction has given rise to two radical elements that have been brought together by the theories of intersectionality and wokeism: gender and race; in other words, gender studies and postcolonialism or decolonisation.

Here too, it is clear that we have left the proletariat far behind. The new order of the day is what we might call indigeneity and matriarchy. This is a new religion, which has turned the former discriminated subject, that is woman, the LGBT community, the 'non-white' (the 'racialised', in anti-racist newspeak) into the new revolutionary agent. In other words, and still in the terms of a revisited Marxist orthodoxy, the struggle between the sexes and the races has replaced the class struggle. Men, especially white men, will now have to "experience what it is like to be in the minority", as a former Minister of Justice, Christine Taubira, expressly recommended, and give up the privileges that are supposed to give them a set of invisible advantages over the rest of the world. The aim of wokeism is precisely to abolish these privileges, a matter to be celebrated on the night of the 4th August all over the world. One of the most comprehensive books on the genealogy of wokeism was published by Helen Pluckrose and James Lindsay, who have written some twenty pseudo-scientific hoaxes, all of which have outwitted the scrutiny of the most serious scientific journals, including a bogus

"THE NEW ORDER OF THE DAY IS WHAT WE MIGHT CALL INDIGENEITY AND MATRIARCHY ; THIS IS A NEW RELIGION, WHICH HAS TURNED THE FORMER DISCRIMINATED SUBJECT, THAT IS WOMAN, THE LGBT COMMUNITY, THE NON-WHITE, INTO THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY AGENT."

study on "rape culture among dogs in dog parks", which was published verbatim. This book is entitled "The Triumph of Intellectual Shams" (Le Triomphe des impostures intellectuelles), and subtitled "How theories on identity, race and gender are corrupting universities and damaging society" (Comment les théories sur l'identité, la race, le genre gangrèrent l'Université et nuisent à la société).

David L'Épée wrote about it at length in *Éléments*. The book is remarkable, but its analysis, brilliant though it is, is based on an oversight: the liberal roots of wokeism, which are 'liberal' in the American sense of the word, that is to say progressive, advanced, but also in the classical sense of the word. Helen Pluckrose and James Lindsay happen to be progressives, and as such, they swear by the Enlightenment, scientificity, the search for objective truth, the pursuit of neutrality, but they conveniently forget the dark side of the Enlightenment (the Marquis de Sade, the Reign of Terror, the cult of the Supreme Being), which brings us to liberalism and its blind spots, all of which has enabled wokeism to flourish.



Once the symbol of the gay community, the rainbow flag now includes the trans community and others. It has become a banner of inclusivity, renamed "progress pride", bringing together the colours of the lesbian, gay, bi, trans, queer, racialised, asexual and intersex activist communities...

The liberal matrix

The opponents of wokeism hardly dwell on this chapter, because they prefer to denounce cultural Marxism. Yet liberalism has also played its part here, and is even one of the central aspects of liberalism: the dread of what Tocqueville called "the tyranny of the majority", a dread that is also to be found in the works of Benjamin Constant, John Stuart Mill and others. Although for Tocqueville democracy was indeed the best of regimes (or the only one congruent with individualism), it was on one precondition: that it could not later be transformed into a regime in which the majority would exercise its omnipotence to the detriment of minorities, to the point of going beyond the law, to the point of arbitrariness. In other words, that a popular jury would not be able to place itself above the law. To guard against this, Tocqueville and the liberal school favoured what could be called limited forms of democracy (the division of powers dear to Montesquieu, fundamental freedoms enshrined in the marble of constitutions, etc.).

But by focusing excessively on majorities, Tocqueville and the liberals failed to envisage the abuses that would arise in the free space given to minorities. Today, it is they who control what the old liberal called "dogmatic beliefs", which are supposed to be the bedrock of societies. To paraphrase Tocqueville, it is no longer the majority that "provides individuals with a host of ready-made opinions, thus relieving them of the obligation of forming their own", but the minorities. This philosophy is what Eric Kaufmann, a Canadian academic, has called "liberal fundamentalism". But what is this liberal fundamentalism telling us? That the roots of wokeism are more liberal than socialist. Socialism was about the masses, not minorities. It is worth noting in passing that not all minorities (Mormons for example) are interesting, but liberalism has always suffered

from hemiplegia. This sensitivity to minorities is one of the features of political liberalism. It has led liberals to promote what Eric Kaufmann calls "asymmetrical multiculturalism", which is open to all but the majority, and is all the more virulent in Protestant countries where there is no regulatory theological authority (the Catholic Church, for example). This means that, in the absence of arbitration, there is nothing to prevent escalation and radicalisation, given the rivalry between denominations and schools. This is the psychology that is characteristic of sectarian religious circles, in the sociological sense of the term. Religion asks little of many people (majorities, for example) and sects ask a lot of very few people (minorities, for example).

So here we are at the heart of another source of wokeism, the religious source, in this case Protestant or post-Protestant.

Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859), French writer, philosopher and politician. A liberal aristocrat and precursor of sociology, he is famous for his writings on democracy and for his analysis of American democracy in particular. (Painting by Théodore Chasseriau - 1850)



TO PARAPHRASE TOCQUEVILLE, IT IS NO LONGER THE MAJORITY THAT PROVIDES INDIVIDUALS WITH A HOST OF READY-MADE OPINIONS, THUS RELIEVING THEM OF THE OBLIGATION OF FORMING THEIR OWN, BUT THE MINORITIES.

“THE PILGRIM FATHERS, WHO CONDEMNED FEMALE CORRUPTION, HAVE NOW FOUND WORTHY SUCCESSORS IN THESE ‘MOTHERS OF VIRTUE,’ WHO CONDEMN MALE DOMINATION.”

The religious revival

To be woke is to be “awake”. The woke are those who see, almost in the evangelical sense of the word: “They have eyes but do not see”. But what do the woke see that we don’t ? That there are races, black, yellow and above all white, who have built a world in their own image.

With Black Lives Matter, the phenomenon took on such proportions that people began to talk of a “Great Awakening”, in reference to the Great Awakenings, periods of religious revitalisation and apocalyptic preaching that have marked the religious history of the United States for the past 250 years, when vast tidal waves of Puritanism submerged the country and regenerated it. Previously, these waves had been the work of born-again Christians and evangelicals. Now they are the work of racialised and gendered minorities. The Pilgrim Fathers, who condemned

female corruption, have now found worthy successors in these “Mothers of Virtue”, who condemn male domination.

This is ancient history. The first Puritans (to purify, to cleanse) arrived in New England at the beginning of the 17th century. These “Pilgrim Fathers”, nourished by the Bible, sought to give free rein to the uncompromising nature of their religious passion under the inflexible eye of God. It was already a question of erasing sin, of “cancelling it out” (remember the Salem Witch Trials, with its twenty-five hangings in 1692). It would seem that this initial impetus, this purifying zeal, has never been extinguished. America still seems haunted by the image of pathogens intent on destroying it. The only thing that has changed is the type of pathogen : in the past it was women, today it is men ; in the past it was black people, today it is white people.



Joseph Bottum is an American writer and director of the Classics Institute at Dakota State University, known for his writings on literature, American religion and neo-conservative politics. (Photo : NBC News)

JOSEPH BOTTUM : “WOKEISM IS A FORM OF POST-PROTESTANTISM”

The religious dimension of wokeism is still omnipresent. This is confirmed by Professor Joseph Bottum’s book “*An Anxious Age : The Post-Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of America*,” 2014.

Joseph Bottum defines wokeism as post-Protestantism. Historically, Protestantism had little interest in politics, but when it began to decline, especially among liberals, some fifty years ago, what remained of the Protestant mentality entered the political arena by focusing on socially marginalised groups.

In an interview with *Le Figaro*, Joseph Bottum remarked, when talking about his students, that there is a spiritual hunger among them, but that it is unacknowledged, and has no outlet in the afterlife, since there is no longer any possibility of redemption or heaven in the post-Protestant world. They must atone and make amends for their sins, but with no prospect of salvation in the afterlife, which means that they must be redeemed here on earth. It’s up to the woke to recreate the heavenly city on Earth.

Joseph Bottum’s demonstration is crystal clear, but everything is unfolding at an unconscious level, and the woke, most of whom are agnostics, if not atheists, are unaware of it.



WORTH READING by Joseph Bottum

***An Anxious Age,
The post-protestant ethic
and the Spirit of America***

Published by Image

2014

320 pages

Before Joseph Bottum, there was also the work of Thomas Sowell, a culturally conservative American economist linked to the neo-liberal Chicago School, the epitome of the brilliant bounty hunter who switched from Marxism to conservatism. He speaks of a “quest for cosmic justice”. Sowell’s formulation, which sounds odd to a European mind, does nevertheless help us understand how the ideal of “social justice” has been hijacked by wokeism. Instead of asking for the rules to be the same for everyone (which is justice, in the classical sense of the word), the woke want the rules to be different for everyone, as the only way of correcting structural inequalities : positive discrimination for some, negative discrimination for others...

Another point made by Thomas Sowell is that the woke have the typically puritan vision of those who have been anointed with holy oils : the chosen few - now the ‘awakened’, or the woke. Here we are at the heart of the Calvinist doctrine of double predestination: there are the chosen few and the damned, for whom there is no redemption. Everything in this world is turpitude, racism and iniquity. The white devil is everywhere. This religious interpretation of wokeism is echoed by Joshua Mitchell (*American Awakening. Identity Politics and Other Afflictions of Our Time*, 2020). Mitchell insists on one point: the biggest problem facing Christianity is not so much death, as sin. And sin means guilt, confession, trials, public repentance and wokeism.

Confessions, trials, public repentance : to our ears, these words have a strange ring to them. If there is one regime that practised them on an industrial scale, it was Maoism (self-criticism, the famous “struggle sessions” where supposedly guilty people had to confess to real and more often imaginary transgressions in public, while being spat on and beaten up, and so on, for weeks on end, even to the point of death or suicide).



沿着毛主席的革命文艺路线胜利前进

The cultural revolution, Mao and Père Ubu

Why talk about the Cultural Revolution, Mao and Père Ubu? Because under the rule of the woke minorities, Ubu, the huge, grotesque and bloody Père Ubu created by Alfred Jarry, became the people's commissar and obliges us to rethink the complex opposition between priest and jester developed by the Polish philosopher Leszek Kołakowski. Thus, the jester is now a priest: he has hung the fool's bells on the Papal crown, and claimed power over the minds of men.

This huge charade was kick-started by the riots in Ferguson, Missouri, in 2014 and has been like a Medieval Fools' Festival ever since.

THE UBUAN TERROR

We're certainly not there yet. The violence is usually euphemistic, rhetorical and symbolic, but not always, not by a long shot. But the essence is unchanged. We are dealing with the same Ubuian terror, the same victimisation, the same iconoclastic fury, the same carnivalesque reversal of roles, the same vengeful rancour. Down with the "Four Olds", bellowed the Red Guards (old ideas, old culture, old customs, old habits), to which were added the Five Black Categories (landlords, rich farmers, counter-revolutionaries, bad influencers and rightists).

In those days, the Red Guards slapped "counter-revolutionary" Mandarins in the streets, and had them banished to Inner Mongolia, where they were "ruralised", in proper Maoist jargon. Any fool who was a good proletarian was made a school or theatre director (now even a bank manager, as in the case of the Silicon Valley Bank collapse, where the risk manager was an intersectional queer activist).

Very elderly Asian Americans and Sino-Americans who lived through (and escaped from) Maoism say they feel like they've returned to the mad days of the Cultural Revolution. This is Yeonmi Park's North Korea. The only things that are missing (significant things, admittedly) are the summary executions, the banishment to rice paddies and the scenes of cannibalism that punctuated the Cultural Revolution.



我们一定要把党内反革命份子揪出来。

WOKEISME AND MAOISM : AN OBVIOUS ANALOGY

Red Guards ransacked old temples and tore down busts of Buddha, whereas woke activists debunk statues of Confederate generals.

Chinese schoolchildren molested their teachers, whereas their woke counterparts harass them right into their homes.

Mao's children burned 'revisionist' books, whereas the woke track down traces of Western ethnocentrism and male domination in classical works.

Red Guards terrorised shopkeepers who sold bourgeois accessories such as wigs, whereas the Afro-American woke militants rage against white people who wear dreadlocks (cultural appropriation).

Where there were people's commissioners, now there are diversity officers and sensitivity readers ("detectors of literary faux pas or blunders" who scrutinise any expression that might offend minorities, and rewrite Agatha Christie novels, for example).

Where Mao's Little Red Book set the tone, the guidance booklets given to students on US campuses now lay down the rules for "living together" (for example, for Halloween, don't dress up as a Native American, a Mexican, a sushi, a geisha, a samurai, a tapas or a Buddhist monk). Cultural appropriation, yet again.

THE CALIMERO WOKE

Do you remember Calimero, the little black chick with a lisp, who had half a broken shell stuck on his head? Everything about him was broken. In fact, he could well be the emblem of the decolonialists and indigenists, all of whom most certainly suffer from the Calimero syndrome. You only have to watch an episode of the cartoon to see that it's all sobs and moans, much like the 'woke' themselves. They all harp on about how unhappy they are, repeating poor Calimero's favourite words: "It's tho unfair !" Our Calimerian woke frame their suffering like so many trophies on a wall that they exhibit for the world to see, and burden everyone with their suffering. They see everything in a negative light, and drag their persecution complex around behind them, lisping their woes as they go. "I squeal therefore I am; I bully therefore I exist". All because they need revenge to make up for the imagined insults they have suffered.



WORTH READING by François Bousquet

Putain de Saint Foucault : archéologie d'un fétiche
Pierre-Guillaume de Roux Éditions - 2015 - 105 pages

Courage ! manuel de guérilla culturelle
La Nouvelle Librairie - 2019 - 252 pages

Biopolitique du coronavirus : Télétravail, famille, patrie
La Nouvelle Librairie - 2020 - 256 pages

Woke ideology in the USA and Europe

Luigi Marco Bassani is professor of history of political theory at the University of Milan. Born in Chicago, he is a specialist in American political and cultural doctrine and tradition.



The West is home to the doctrine of tolerance and the right to free thought, both of which prevailed over two centuries ago.

Yet, for several decades now, a low-key micro civil war has been waged around 'political correctness', a self-righteousness that has gradually evolved and spread, crystallising around the ideology we now call wokeism.

Long confined to university campuses, this policing of language and thought first affected the intellectual class. Professors were persecuted, silenced or subjected to unfair and disloyal attacks.

Teachers, like all intellectuals, hardly need supervision and certainly not moral reformatting. They are trained in the rigours of the scientific approach, objectivity and the search for truth, without needing to be supervised by high priests.

This upsurge in intolerance in our societies coincides with

the affirmation of a multi-culturalist ideology that limits debate, promotes self-censorship and purges less compliant elements.

The wave of 'political correctness' that has turned into wokeism has swept away the world of Bayle and Jefferson, but also the humanism associated with Erasmus and the paleo-constitutionalism of Jean Bodin. In a civilisation that preaches tolerance, there can always be outbreaks of intolerance or the anachronistic temptation to limit

the right to free debate. These assaults on the spirit are aimed at, and mainly affect, those who hold public office, who are now required to comply with relentless repressive injunctions.

This woke religion obviously has no avowed friends and fails to always present a united front. It spreads through the actions of a few virulent militants, but also by exploiting "useful idiots", who are generally unaware of the ideological significance of their actions.

The american origins of political correctness

In the 50s and 60s in the United States, the great battle for the repeal of segregation laws was waged. The 1954, the Supreme Court ruling *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka* (347 U.S. 483) changed the course of history. Fortunately, this decision declared the absolute unconstitutionality of segregation system, the legality of which had until then been recognised at federal level by a ruling in 1896. This new ruling, which condemned school segregation, also marked the starting point of a resistance movement that led to the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

It should be noted that the civil rights movement, led by pastor Martin Luther King, was part of a drive for equality between American citizens, and based on a staunchly non-violent approach. From this point of view, both in terms of content and form, it is totally different from the woke approach.



Today's woke place the issue of race and racial differentiation at the heart of the debate. They do not shy away from intimidation or even violence.

They rehash the thesis of an alleged interpretation of the world that favours the forces of oppression and demand that the discourse of the "oppressors" be forcibly expelled from public debate. Certain words are rendered unpronounceable, realities are erased, and absurd situations worthy of Alice in Wonderland are imposed.

European society is very different and does not carry the weight of slavery, although the decolonial woke tendency would like to draw some sort of oppressive parallel between the two. But for now, it is mainly the American legal system that has changed, in that it is more open to minority claims. As for the rest, the situation in Europe seems to be following the same pattern as on the other side of the Atlantic when it comes to gender theories or so-called phobias (fatphobia, transphobia, homophobia, etc.), with the addition of so-called 'Islamophobia', given the large Muslim minorities stemming from recent immigration.

Unlike previous forms of orthodoxy, this woke inquisition is not imposed by a recognised authority but by militant masses sometimes joined by religious authorities, Catholic or Protestant alike. More often than not, the woke movement even tries to give credence to the idea that it does not exist, which is why it can be difficult to fight.

The opposite of wokeism is freedom, academic freedom. We should always be able to discuss such matters in the best European tradition.



George Edward Chalmer Hayes, Thurgood Marshall, and James Nabrit, the lawyers of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, congratulating themselves on their victory in 1954.

MARTIN LUTHER KING : FRATERNITY, NOT DIVISION

Although pastor Martin Luther King was decisive in raising awareness of the racial problem in the United States, in repealing the abominable system of segregation and in recognising the rights of black Americans, it would be wrong to claim that his thinking and action could be compared to what the present woke movement represents, in terms of its content and approach.

A firm believer in the importance of reconciliation, love and unity between different racial communities as a means of achieving equal rights, Martin Luther King, unlike wokeism, refused to use race as a factor of social division. On 28 August 1963, during one of the most influential speeches in the history of modern America in front of the Lincoln Memorial, he declared : *"I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.*

I have a dream that one day, even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character."



Martin Luther King (1929-1968) was a Baptist minister and non-violent campaigner for the American civil rights movement. As a fervent advocate of peace and the fight against poverty, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.

**"UNLIKE WOKE IDEOLOGY,
MARTIN LUTHER KING WAS AN
UNCONDITIONAL ADVOCATE
OF NON-VIOLENCE."**

From political correctness to wokeism

In Leninist vocabulary, political correctness originally meant orthodoxy to the official line, and was similar to what we would now refer to as doublespeak. In the 1980s, it was used by the centre left to poke fun at the zeal of progressives, before being taken up by the conservative right, which criticised it, often deriding its semantic and intellectual contortions.

Political correctness (often abbreviated to PC) is a form of policing of one's speech, and therefore one's thought, or rather of one's supposed ulterior motives. It imposes a normative discourse that seeks to avoid upsetting any sensitivities, namely in minority groups or categories seen as under-privileged. It aims to avoid making people feel inferior or excluded because of their differences. Like wokeism today, the idea is to replace expressions with inclusive, non-offensive terms : we should no longer say "black" but "African-Ameri-

can", no longer "poor" but "person living in poverty", no longer "blind" but "non-sighted"... This "right-mindedness", imposed by a new form of morality, is forcing society into spontaneous self-censorship and progressively training the public to be constantly on the alert.

The philosopher Dominique Lecourt describes it as "a rhetoric of dissuasion", "an instrument for gaining power" used by "well-organised active minorities seeking to spread their own form of conformity". For his part, the philosopher Jacques Derrida, one of the fathers of wokeism, praises a framework which, in his opinion, promotes ethics and principles.

With wokeism, which starts out as a tendency to moralise and ends up as a desire to cleanse, the field of intervention has grown and the intensity has increased. Wokeism now encompasses the entire social sphere and imposes an active, offensive and even repressive form of inquisition.

Based on so-called scientific studies, wokeism is imposed on everyone, just like Lysenkoism in the communist society, and anyone who does not comply must be erased, in other words banished from society.



In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, woke activists sparked riots in May 2020 and burned police cars. (Photo: Pittsburgh Post-Gazette)

A man in a dark suit and tie stands at a clear podium, speaking into a microphone. Behind him is a large American flag. To the right, the CPAC Foundation logo is visible. The scene is lit with blue and red stage lights.

The need to counter woke ideology

With its roots in university campuses in the United States in the 1970s, and influenced by the French philosophers of "French theory", wokeism is a progressive movement whose activists define themselves as "woke". Woke, which can be translated as "awake", sees itself as being in the vanguard of the fight for equality for all minorities. But behind these good intentions lies a discriminatory, totalitarian and violent ideology that is spreading dangerously throughout society.

The legal and fiscal response implemented in the USA, the example of Florida

Randy Yaloz is a Franco-American lawyer who has lived in Paris for some thirty years, and is Chairman of Republicans Overseas France and Abroad. Republicans Overseas France is the official representative of the American Republican Party in France.

Confronted with a danger that affects many areas of society but pursues a convergent goal, an orderly response is required. That response is political and obviously legal. But it is also a societal one, because it requires a general awareness throughout society.

With the eyes of an American and the legal precision of a lawyer, Randy Yaloz presents the issue of wokeism as seen from the United States, and particularly through the lens of the American Right.

The American Republican Party is at the forefront of the fight against this phenomenon and believes that it can, thanks to its history and experience, act as a bridge between the United States and France to address this challenge, which concerns all Western countries. Randy Yaloz tackles the issue at both political and societal levels, drawing on the legal response in Florida and other US states, as well as a report from the UCLA School of Law in Los Angeles.



Organised forces to combat woke ideology

The American right wasted no time in initiating an intellectual struggle against leftism, of which wokeism is a manifestation. From the 1950s onwards, the conservatism launched by the academic Russel Kirk took the form of an intellectual movement. This party quickly gained ground within the Republican Party and was responsible for the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980. It is now a leading political movement in the United States. Conservatism was originally a response to "liberalism", which in the USA represents the left, and leftism. Through ideologically related media such as Fox News, News Max and National Review, wokeism and its offshoots became its targets.



Republicans Overseas France aims to keep Americans living in France politically informed and fully involved in the American democratic political process by providing training, conferences and political studies. Republicans Overseas France sees itself as a political bridge between the French and the Americans, the idea being to enable its citizens in France to bring their political concerns to the attention of senior leaders and Republican candidates in the American presidential election.

FLORIDA AT THE FOREFRONT OF THE FIGHT AGAINST WOKEISM

Under the leadership of Governor Ron DeSantis, Florida is one of the US states spearheading the fight against wokeism. It was even a pioneer in the legal response. We all remember the high-profile case against the Disney company, which became something of a battle.

In February 2023, Governor DeSantis put an end to the advantageous tax regime, exemptions and tax autonomy that Disney's Orlando theme park had enjoyed since it opened in the late 60s and early 70s. The company had publicly opposed the law on parental rights in children's education, which aimed to ban sex and gender education in primary schools. Faced with Disney's resistance, which was echoed in the media, Ronald DeSantis threatened the company with new reprisals : higher taxes, the building of another park or prison next to the park.



Ron DeSantis is an American politician and member of the Republican Party. A military officer and lawyer by profession, he has been Governor of the State of Florida since November 2018 and is strongly opposed to wokeism. (Photo: Florida Governor)

“ALL KINDS OF INITIATIVES ARE BEING UNDERTAKEN BY US CIVIL SOCIETY, ESPECIALLY IN SCHOOLS, WITH POLITICAL AND LEGAL ACTION. THE LEGAL BATTLE IS FIERCE, AS IT IS BEING WAGED AGAINST POWERFUL TEACHERS’ UNIONS AND LEFTIST LOBBIES.”

In the Sunshine State, there is a strong political will to oppose wokeism and Ron DeSantis' determination is not new. In 2022, he signed the “Stop Woke Act”, which bans woke training in the workplace and the teaching of woke theories in schools. This law, which confers new parental rights, allows parents to take legal action against schools that teach woke theories to their children.

The tax sanctions imposed by the Governor of Florida against Orlando's Disney World Park received a great deal of media coverage in the United States. Here, NBC News called it “Man vs. Mouse”.



Legal action in other States

In other states, such as Texas, Mississippi and Louisiana, numerous actions have been taken against wokeism, both at political and civil society level

■ In 2022, Louisiana initiated an intellectual counterattack with the launch of a new social science programme under the leadership of Cade Brumley, the state's education minister. This more patriotic programme focuses on figures from the history of the United States, from the Declaration of Independence to the concepts of American exceptionalism and freedom. It was adopted in March 2022 through a process involving the pupils' parents, among others.

■ In February 2023, Tate Reeves, the Republican governor of Mississippi, signed a bill banning healthcare professionals from providing hormone

treatments and performing sex-change operations on minors, as was the case in other states, some of them Democrats. And Greg Abbott, the Republican Governor of Texas, via his office, is requiring state agencies to no longer take woke theories into consideration in their recruitment process.

■ As far as civil society is concerned, there have been some interesting initiatives throughout the United States. Since 2021, more and more parents have been standing for election to school boards. In May 2022, in the state of Arizona, a group of parents filed a lawsuit against Scottsdale Unified School for teaching woke theories to pupils.

■ In February 2023, the school board of a primary school in Florida voted to remove books of a “sexual nature” from the school library.

■ In March 2023, a mother from Rhode Island came to testify in the House of Representatives at the invitation of certain Republican leaders, including Kevin McCarthy, the leader of the House. She was able to expose the fact that she had been taken to court by a teachers' union for requesting the content of the school's curricula.



(Photo : New York Times)



A UCLA report proves the effectiveness of the fight against wokeism in the United States

By way of a conclusion, it is worth returning to a most interesting report published online on the 5th April by the pro-woke research centre CRT Forward at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

The aim of this forty or so page report is to track down all the attacks on woke theories. The truth, as the report shows, is that our opponents are worried about the rise in conservative counter-attacks against wokeism in the United States.

In its introduction, the report tells us that between 2020 and 2022, the woke research centre identified that more than 560 anti-woke measures had been launched in the United States, 241 of which were adopted.

It also states that Donald Trump's accession to power, and particularly the publication of Presidential Decree 13950 in 2020 aimed at prohibiting the implementation of the woke agenda in federal workplaces, was highly effective.

The decree aimed to “combat stereotypes established by woke theories”. It applied to federal agencies, federal contractors and recipients of federal grants. Unfortunately, the order was repealed by Joe Biden.

The report also mentions powerful conservative parent associations bravely fighting against wokeism. The *Moms 4 Liberty* association, founded in Florida in January 2021, has spread throughout the United States. The association has 70,000 members and features very prominently in the media, and Fox News in particular.

Equally fascinating is the fact that even Democratic states are taking steps. The report shows that 25 Republican states have introduced 331 anti-woke bills and 20 Democratic states have introduced 110 such bills.

Finally, it's important to remember that the fight for our freedom is not in vain, that it is possible to fight back, and that we need to pursue the battle. ■

LEGAL VICTORIES IN CIVIL SOCIETY

Concrete action has been taken at civil society level. For example, in 2022, parents in Florida filed a lawsuit against a school for having encouraged and concealed the gender reassignment of their daughter, who had also attempted suicide. More recently, in February 2023, a primary school board of governors consisting mainly of parents, voted to remove “sexually explicit” books from the school library, with the support of the Parental Rights Act passed by the State of Florida.

This non-exhaustive list shows that all kinds of action is being taken throughout American civil society: in schools, legal and political action is being taken. The battle is a tough one, as it is being waged against powerful teachers' unions and leftist lobbies such as the National School Boards Association, whose leader described the actions of parents of schoolchildren as “domestic terrorism” in a letter to Joe Biden in 2021. This letter also prompted an FBI investigation on parents at the request of Attorney General (Justice Minister) Merrick Garland. An FBI whistleblower confirmed that this investigation was designed to incriminate overly vigilant parents for “domestic terrorism”.

In Ashburn in the state of Virginia, a meeting of the Virginia School Board (a parents' association) bears witness to the opposition of associations such as Stand Up Virginia to the teaching of woke theories in American schools.

(Photo: Facebook - Stand Up Virginia)



Moms 4 Liberty gathered in Florida's state capital Tallahassee for a rally in 2022 in support of HB1557, which bans the teaching of subjects related to sexual orientation or gender identity. (Photo: Facebook - Moms 4 Liberty)

Europe's response to woke ideology The Hungarian strategy as an example

Frank Furedi is a British sociologist of Hungarian descent. Emeritus Professor of Sociology at the University of Kent, he is known for his work on the sociology of fear and the sociology of knowledge. Frank Furedi is also Executive Director of the MCC Brussels Foundation.



The woke phenomenon has gained momentum because it states the obvious. The right, the centre and even the old left have treated it as a joke by "a bunch of radical students". Across Europe, Italy, France and Central Europe, no one is worried about what they see as an Anglo-American phenomenon. But if we are not careful, Elly Schlein, the Italian woke politician, will loom large on Europe's future.

There are two sources from which wokeism is spreading in Europe: the first is American soft power disseminated through popular culture (such as Netflix), universities, American teaching methods and indoctrination in schools. The second is the oligarchy that governs the European Union and actively promotes the woke ideology in order to challenge the traditional ideals linked to the national cultures of member countries.



Mathias Corvinus Collegium is an elite public university in Budapest. Its Brussels branch aims to be a Europe-wide think-tank for political reflection and in-depth exploration of the issues of our time. It relies on intellectuals and experts to debate and evaluate the conceptual and normative status of European policy-making. MCC Brussels offers short educational courses and seminars on issues related to European thinking and EU policy-making.

WHAT ARE THE THREE MAIN OBJECTIVES OF WOKE IDEOLOGY ?

TO STRIP PEOPLE OF THEIR SENSE OF BELONGING

which is why it targets national sovereignty ; as such it is federalist and globalist.

TO STRIP EUROPEANS OF THEIR HERITAGE

whether filial or civilisational, and break the organic link that binds peoples to their historical traditions.

TO DESTROY BORDERS BETWEEN NATIONS

between past and present, but also all the boundaries that are important to Western civilisation, namely between men and women, children and adults, men and animals, and private and public



HUNGARY'S DEMOCRATIC
RESPONSE TO WOKEISM

Hungary's response is to uphold the values that woke ideology is seeking to destroy. From the Hungarian Government's point of view, woke ideology is contrary to Hungarian culture. It directly challenges what it means to be Hungarian. The Hungarian Government's response is not simply to respond to the latest manifestations of woke ideology. It is not enough to simply wait before reacting, it is important to take the initiative. With this in mind, it organised a referendum on public opinion on gender ideology and its practices.

The referendum asked the following questions :

■ *Are you in favour of teaching sexual orientation to minors in state schools without parental consent ?*

■ *Are you in favour of promoting gender reassignment surgery among children ?*

■ *Are you in favour of children being exposed to sex education content showing different sexual orientations without parental consent ?*

■ *Are you in favour of media programmes showing gender reassignment being made available to children?*

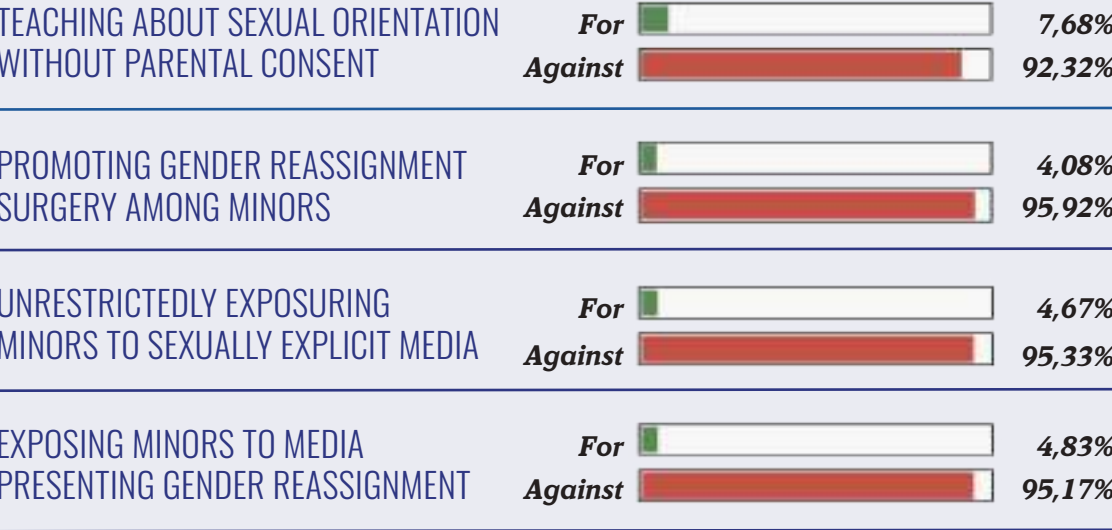
“HUNGARY'S
RESPONSE IS
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As a result, the Hungarian government is actively committed to promoting values that uphold traditional cultural norms. It takes the nation's history seriously and cultivates a sense of connection with its past and historical traditions. It takes the nation's borders seriously, hence its strong commitment to controlling immigration. It takes seriously the belief that the biological distinction between male and female is fundamental to a civilised society. It takes the family seriously, and this issue is at the heart of the main

confrontation between the Hungarian Government and the Eurocrats. The supporters of wokeism, on the other hand, recognise that Hungary represents the most radical opposition to their project. This is why the European Union, with the support of 15 European governments, has promoted proceedings against Hungary before the European Court of Human Rights. It is important to recognise that what is at stake in the conflict over Hungary is the education and training of children. And children are Europe's future. ■

THE 2020 HUNGARIAN REFERENDUM
on sex education for minors and the promotion of gender reassignment

Voted on the 9th November 2021 by a large majority of the Hungarian National Assembly, the referendum took place on the 3rd April 2022. With a turnout of 68.5% and an average vote against of almost 95%, this referendum was unfortunately not validated, because with an average of 21% of invalid votes, the minimum threshold of valid votes cast was 48%, therefore just below the 50% required for validation. It does, however, give an indication of how Hungarian opinion stands on the subject of wokeism.



(Photo : Hungary Today)

What values underpin the counterattack on woke ideology ?

Vincent Coussedière is a professor of philosophy, philosopher and essayist. He teaches at the secondary school (lycée) in Thann, near Mulhouse, and has taught at the Strasbourg Institute of Political Studies.



THE THREE-PRONGED ATTACK OF WOKEISM

There are three reasons why wokeism is jeopardising the foundations of our Western democracies :

It reverses the purpose of classical politics, which places the common good (Aristotle) or the general interest (Modern) at the heart of life, and focuses on acknowledging the identity of the individual as the purpose of politics. In classical politics, the 'whole' is superior to the individual, and the latter must sometimes accept certain sacrifices or compromises. In woke "politics", the whole is at the service of the individual, whose identity must be acknowledged, even if this recognition is detrimental to the common good.

It undermines the sense of national community by inventing an abstract community based on an isolated identification trait, such as skin colour, sexual orientation, sex, gender, or diet. Communitarianism is the abstract community reconstructed on the basis

of the absence of a real community and the exaggerated growth of an absolutised common ground. It is with this abstract, non-political community that wokeism intends to replace the rich and concrete community that history has produced: namely the nation.

It develops irrationality by absolutising the subjective feeling of victimhood. It posits the individual as an absolute value who should now be free to choose not only his or her sexual orientation, but his or her gender, regardless of biological sex. Forcing others to recognise me as I feel subjectively, and not as I am objectively in their

eyes, is the height of the negation of common reason, and leads to a form of subversion of language and reality.

The political consequences of such an ideology come close to what certain philosophers have long theorised as a "state of nature". Each individual is seen as Sovereign, and is entitled to demand recognition for whatever he or she feels is good for him or herself. In reality, this absolute right given to each individual to realise and gain recognition for his or her identity leads, at best, to separatism and communitarianism, and at worst, to a return to a free-for-all war.

The genealogy of wokeism

A HYPER-INDIVIDUALISTIC DRIFT IN DEMOCRACIES THAT GOES BACK A LONG WAY

Wokeism is the tail of the comet of the multicultural drift of national democracies, the product of the dual decomposition of liberalism and Marxism. It is the crystallisation of the multicultural ideology in the recognition of victimised identities. An ideology is based both on the logic of an idea and a response to affects and interests.

"TWO QUESTIONS THEREFORE ARISE : WHAT IS THE LOGIC OF THIS IDEOLOGY AND WHO IS IT TARGETING ? AND WHAT ARE ITS AFFECTS AND INTERESTS ?"



THE LOGIC OF WOKEISM

The aim is to acknowledge the identity of ‘the dominated’ according to a formally Marxist model, while retaining nothing of its content, because domination is no longer economic and material but resides in recognition. There are those who are dominant because they have been acknowledged, and those who are dominated because they have not. Social justice is not about restoring economic equality but equality of recognition. The solution is not revolutionary but revolutionary-reformism. It must be achieved essentially by changing the law. The victim is not a proletarian but a Jew, a black person, a woman, a homosexual, a transgender person, an immigrant, a Muslim, a fat person, an animal, etc. (the list is by no means exhaustive and remains open).

WHO IS WOKE IDEOLOGY AIMED AT, AND WHAT TYPES OF INDIVIDUALS ARE THE TARGET OF WOKEISM?

Logically, the individual does not belong to a particular political party, has no tangible national affiliation, and is uneducated or, more accurately, semi-educated. This individual, with no political project, no sense of belonging to a community or national history, with inadequate education and no ability to reason independently, is a prey to nihilism. Wokeism provides them with a strong and rewarding sense of identification by giving them the opportunity to belong to a community of victims.



Roger Chudeau, député

Fighting wokeism by reasserting our fundamentals : Reason, the Nation, Politics

PUTTING EDUCATION AND REASON BACK AT THE HEART OF THE DEBATE

Schools have become the vehicles for the teaching of woke ideas. In fact, wokeism is the culmination of a much older “identity” shift that can be traced back to Lionel Jospin’s 1989 Orientation Law : “to put the pupil at the heart of the education system”. This objective has morphed into “putting students’ identity at the very core”. In 2021, Blanquer, whose “dissidence” has been totally overestimated, produced a circular on the recognition of the gender transition of pupils in perfect keeping with developments in the education system over the past 30 years. Moral and civic education programmes are woke, as they are all about non-discrimination and “true” equality. The ever-present notion of respecting “others” stems from a confusion between respecting the moral person, his reason and his ability to become self-sufficient, and the multicultural recognition of the individual and his identity. We therefore need rewrite everything, and put knowledge back at the centre of the curriculum to restore the authority of teachers based on the respect owed to them for the knowledge they pass on. This presupposes reintroducing grade repetition, starting with primary school children and onwards, a genuinely rigorous approach when marking work, and an overhaul of all programmes to ensure a logical progression from simple to complex.

Above, Roger Chudeau, French MEP for the Rassemblement National since 2022. Former Inspector General of National Education and Director of Management at the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Higher Education and Research, he is President of the Association of Parliamentarians against wokeism.

RETHINKING OUR ASSIMILATION POLICY WITH REGARD TO FRANCE AS A CIVILISATION AND A NATION

Assimilation is not just a requirement for foreigners, but also for French nationals. How can the French assimilate foreigners if they have not assimilated what is means to be French themselves ? We need to rethink assimilation as we would a process of imitation (Gabriel Tarde), which presupposes admiration and a desire to reappropriate a model. But this model must first be put forward and handed down by families, schools and society, which means that families, schools and cultural policies must be aware of this problem. The nation as a model in matters of morality, values and culture, as a heritage, should not be seen as an inspiring handing-down of facts that will simply overturn its woke-related depreciation, but of a dispassionate transmission that relies on the benefits that it offers to the citizen’s self-construction.

In any case, it will take more than “republican values” to stop woke people from identifying as victims.

REVIVING A POLITICAL DISCOURSE THAT COMBINES RESPECT FOR PAST HERITAGE WITH A FORWARD-LOOKING APPROACH

We must be wary of the negative influence woke discourse can have on identity. Opposing national identity to woke identity is misguided. Firstly, because in doing so, we would be looking at identity in a subjective way, defending our national identity by defining the Nation in terms of ourselves, putting ourselves on the same level as those who defend a particular sexual, religious, vegan or other identity. “Identitarians” often end up resorting to a form of national wokeism. So we need to relearn how to talk about France and the nation as something bigger than

ourselves. De Gaulle never spoke of national identity... Secondly, because politics is a project, a forward-looking approach that needs the heritage of the past as much as the innovation demanded by new challenges. A political project cannot be reduced to the preservation of identity. ■



(Photo : Wikimedia)

CONCLUSION

The only political future for wokeism is the breakdown of politics. It cannot give birth to a “totalitarian” order. On the other hand, it tends to erode political will and considerably weakens young people’s attachment to the nation by keeping them in a state of nihilism. It is used as a Trojan horse by a much more formidable adversary: Islamism. We must be wary of studies that lump wokeism and Islamism together under the same heading of “identity”. Islamism is not just about acknowledging the identity of individuals and minorities. Its aim is to impose a totalitarian politico-religious order on everyone. The community and identification-based project it offers young people is richer and more complex than that of wokeism, because it has the whole weight of the history of Islam behind it. What’s more, it appeals to a larger fringe of young people — young non-assimilated immigrants — while intimidating or appealing to others. Wokeism only appeals to young “bourgeois bohemians”, not young people from the working classes and rural areas. All this makes it all the more urgent to revive a national political project that is open to cooperation with other European nations, also caught between the anvil of wokeism and the hammer of Islamism.

WORTH READING by Vincent Coussédière



Éloge du populisme

Élya Éditions - 2012 - 161 pages

Le retour du peuple, An I

Les éditions du Cerf - 2016 - 261 pages

Éloge de l'assimilation, critique de l'idéologie migratoire

Éditions du Rocher - 2021 - 248 pages

“Our fight is as much moral as it is political.”

Conclusion by

**Philippe
OLIVIER**

Opposing woke ideology with the spirit of resistance and conquest

Wokeism is as serious a threat to our societies as globalism and immigration. It represents the programmed destruction of our societies, and as Nationals, we must be at the forefront of this battle.

We must never lose sight — and our speakers have brought this to light — that behind the ostensibly noble intentions lies an enterprise of extreme sectarianism, a “source of division, exclusion, and hatred,” to quote Elon Musk.

Woke ideology, which for a long time was confined to American academic circles, has flooded the political realm, first in the United States and now in other Western nations. The general public does not always analyze it and fails to see the connection among events that,

taken individually or casually, might seem coincidental or anecdotal : the defacing of statues, the advent of so-called “inclusive” writing, biologically male transgender individuals distorting the

results of women’s sporting competitions, academics being barred from speaking...

It is our responsibility, as politicians, to provide keys to understanding these facts, to put them into perspective, and to identify their ideological underpinnings.

Against a backdrop of victimhood narcissism and resentment on one side, and guilt and self-flagellation on the other, our societies are confronted with a permanent moral guerrilla war, waves of baseless accusations, and conspiracy-driven attacks ultimately aiming at a methodical project of deconstruction or dissolution.

**“WOKEISM IS AS
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Marketed as a fight against oppression, wokeism unites all anti-Western energies and resentments, as though the goal were to make our civilization pay for the genius that ensured its historical influence and its ability to advance freedom and dignity for all people. It is our duty to defend this illustrious legacy.

But as Roger Chudeau rightly noted, wokism also challenges us in our daily lives, testing each of our psychological and legal limits, and above all straining our societies through constant tensions, fragmentation, and threats of implosion.

The role of politics cannot be limited to mere observation and commentary. It requires analysis and action, in this case, to provide the necessary arbitration and regulation. School principals, heads of academic institutions, directors of sports clubs, publishers, academics, and researchers who face absurd communitarian demands, shouted out and imposed by force, need political intervention. For our part, we have no intention of evading that responsibility.

This is precisely the mission of the *Parliamentary Association Against Wokeism*, which aims to offer not only a political response but also a legislative one. It is also the purpose of this publication, which brings together a fruitful convergence of ideas and experiences from across Europe and even from overseas.

This initiative marks the beginning of a long struggle, akin to the one launched in the United States against this new totalitarianism. In so doing, we remain faithful to our stated commitment to defend the values of the Republic, of humanism, of the Enlightenment, and a profoundly European conception of humanity.

This fight against intellectual imposture and for our fundamental freedoms does us credit. We must wage it, and we must win. ■



In 2021, the equestrian statue of Napoleon I located on the forecourt of the city hall in Rouen, Normandy, was removed from its pedestal for restoration, an opportunity that the woke socialist Mayor, Nicolas Mayer-Rossignol (pictured), took to propose moving it away from the city center to a more discreet location and replacing it with a statue of Gisèle Halimi, a feminist lawyer who supported the FLN terrorists against France during the Algerian War, and later became a Socialist Party deputy under President François Mitterrand. Fortunately, this initiative did not come to fruition due to public protest, with nearly 70% of the surveyed residents refusing to have the Napoleon statue relocated.



(Photo : Paris-Normandie)

PERSEUS AND THE GORGON

This sculptural group created by French sculptor Laurent Marqueste (1848-1920) represents Perseus, who is about to cut off the head of the Gorgon Medusa.

In Greek mythology, Gorgons were malevolent beings with snakes for hair, whose seductive gaze was capable of petrifying all those who made eye contact with them.

Like a Gorgon, the woke ideology, shrouded by the charming vision of a more egalitarian world, petrifies the minds of the followers of this sect. The many snakes that make up its hair are so many areas of society into which woke ideology seeks to spread its venom of hatred and social fragmentation.

In the manner of the allegorical image of the mythological Greek hero Perseus, it is our duty to oppose this woke Gorgon, to stop it spreading its deconstructivism, the consequences of which are already catastrophic, particularly among Europe's youth.

(Museum of Fine Arts of Lyon)



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