POLITICAL ECOLOGIES OF THE FAR RIGHT

15-17 NOVEMBER 2019
Human Ecology Division,
Lund University
www.pefr.hek.lu.se
WELCOME TO THE POLITICAL ECOCLOGIES OF THE FAR RIGHT CONFERENCE 2019!

TWO TRENDS INTERSECT IN THE PRESENT: RAPIDLY RISING TEMPERATURES AND RAPID ADVANCES OF THE FAR RIGHT. WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THEY MEET?

DURING THE NEXT THREE DAYS, WE WILL EXPLORE THIS FORMIDABLE CONUNDRUM, AND CONSIDER TOGETHER WHAT IS TO BE DONE IN TERMS OF RESEARCH AND PRACTICE. WE AIM TO MAKE THIS CONFERENCE A PLATFORM TO BRING TOGETHER BOTH ACADEMICS AND ACTIVISTS TO MEET, SHARE LEARNINGS, NETWORK, BUILD ALLIANCES, AND START UNLIKELY CONVERSATIONS. THEY NEED TO HAPPEN. THIS IS THE FIRST SYSTEMATIC INQUIRY INTO THE POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF THE FAR RIGHT IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY.

WE HOPE YOU WILL THROW YOURSELF IN AT THE DEEP END AND GIVE THIS ALL YOU HAVE — YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE WHAT MAKE THIS AN EVENT TO REMEMBER. WE HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE SHEER RANGE AND QUALITY OF PRESENTATIONS AND WORKSHOPS WE HAVE GATHERED TOGETHER HERE, AND TRUST THAT YOU WILL ALSO FIND PLENTY TO CHEW ON AND GET INSPIRED BY.
PEFR has been convened and organised by people from five different organisations:

THE ZETKIN COLLECTIVE - The Zetkin Collective is a group of scholars, activists and students working on the political ecology of the far right. It was formed around the Human Ecology division at Lund University in the summer of 2018.

HUMAN ECOSOLOGY DIVISION AT LUND UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY AT UPPSALA UNIVERSITY
CEFORCED AT CHALMERS UNIVERSITY
AG HEDVIG
Most of the sessions are in Geocentrum 1, Sölvegatan 10:

**Världen** (Room 111) – Lecture hall on the 1st floor

**Flygeln** (Room 128) – Seminar room on the 1st floor

**Rio** (Room 430) – Seminar room on the 4th floor

**Malmö** (Room 409) – Seminar room on the 4th floor

**Sky High** – Seminar room on the 5th floor

Other venues are:

Matematikhusets annex (Annexet), Sölvegatan 20 lux, Helgonavägen 3
DINNER & PARTY AT SmåLANDS NATION, KASTANJEGATAN 7:

SmåLANDS Nation is a socialist, feminist and anti-racist student organisation, that works independently to increase the diversity among students life. We want to address the damaging societal structures of capitalism, patriarchy and racism, which are present in our society, by providing support to people and groups that in various ways are marginalized in the capitalist system that we are subjected to. Our ambition is to provide a space where everyone can feel included.

IMPORTANT:
DINNER: PRE-REGISTRATION NEEDED
AFTER-PARTY: OPEN TO EVERYONE
### Session 1

**Welcome**

- A welcome word from the organizers

**Keynote**

- Genre trouble on a warming planet: Countering far right melodrama
  - Cara Daggett

**Panel 1: Nature and fossil fuels in the history of fascism**

- Laudy van den Heuvel: Autobahn, anti-bolshevism, entartete art and the role of a health ideology in Nazi Germany
- Hikmet Kuran: Ecological thought in Nazi era: Can a fascist government be environmentalist?
- Matt Varco: The curious case of the Heck cattle: Biopolitics, de-extinction and ecological imaginaries in the Third Reich
- Thomas Turnbull: Rolf Peter Sieferie and the return of Raum in the German Energiewende (online)
- Chair: Andreas Roos

**Panel 2: Colonial legacies and contemporary conflicts: A view from the subcontinent**

- Yamini Narayanan: Hogging the urban: The Hindu right, species, and castle in the Indian smart city
- Shachi Mokashi: India and the histories of ecological appropriation
- Bilal Ahmed: Hydraulics, water shortages, and militancy in northwest Pakistan
- Kartikeyan Damodaran and Giovanna Gioli: Gastro-fascism in contemporary India: Resisting the vegetarian state
- Chair: Amr Ahmed

**Panel 3: White man’s environmentalism: The case of South Africa**

- Scott Burnett: White supremacy and environmentalism in neo-apartheid South Africa
- Serena Stein: ‘Making Africa great again’: Transnational whiteness, environmental ruination, and ecologies of exile
- Meredith McKittrick: Securing a ‘white man’s country’: South Africa’s settlers debate immigration and climate change, 1900-1950
- Lisa Santosa: White ethno-nationalism and land reform in South Africa: The relationship between discourses of food security and racial entitlement
- Chair: Vasna Ramasar
**Beyond Denial/Acceptance: Mapping Ethno-nationalist Responses to Climate Change in the U.S.**

Casey Williams: Mapping Ethno-nationalist Responses to Climate Change in the U.S.

Claire Ravenscroft: Security, Environment, Population: Strategic Realism and the Corporate University

Group activity: “Praxis in the Corporate University”

Chair: George Edwards

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13:15 - 14:30  **Lunch**

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14:30 - 16:00  **Session 2**  

**Varieties of Far-Right Climate Denial**

Werner Krauß: Climate skeptics and the rise of the right-wing parties: A field report from the blogosphere

Ståle Holgersen: Changing climate policies in Norway: Green neoliberal denialists

Andrew Telford: A critical geopolitics of bullying: Exploring far-right climate change discourses

Chair: Kristoffer Ekberg

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**Crisis! Militancy and Authoritarian Strong Men to the Rescue**

Shehnoor Khurram: Boko Haram: Militants in between disaster capitalism and climate change

Lucinda David: Rodrigo Duterte: Authoritarian populist and climate justice warrior?

Ashley Dawson: Populist extractivism and capitalism’s organic crisis?  
(online)

Chair: Malte Juste

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**Shutting Fossil Infrastructure Down**

Flyglarm Arlanda

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**Mapping the Party Landscape in Europe**

Giovanni Esposito, Andrea Gabriele, Angèle Minguet and Lino Scelsi: The long history of environmentalism in Europe: Mapping political parties’ electoral propaganda from 1949 to 2018  
(online)

Joakim Kulin and Ingemar Johansson: Right-wing populism and public views on climate change: Nationalism, climate change denial, and support for climate policy in Europe

Stella Schaller: Adelphi report: Convenient truths – Mapping climate agendas of right-wing populist parties in Europe  
(online)

Chair: Sonja Pietiläinen
**RIGHT-WING POPULISM AND PROGRESSIVE ALTERNATIVES IN THE EUROPEAN COUNTRY- Side, pt. 1**

**Session 3**

**ZETKIN ON EUROPE: THREE CASES**

- **Flygeln**
  - Natalia Mamonova: The emancipatory rural politics initiative and right-wing populism in the European countryside
  - Noémi Gonda: Land grabbing and the making of the authoritarian populist regime in Hungary
  - Tarun Gidwani: Alienation in Estonian countryside and the rise of right-wing
  - Chair: Natalia Mamonova

**MAPPING INTERFACES BETWEEN GREEN POLITICS AND FAR-RIGHT IDEOLOGY THROUGH CONTEMPORARY LATIN AMERICAN CULTURAL ARTIFACTS**

- **Annexet**
  - Leticia Gomez: Recovering bodies and territories: Visual expression of feminist activist groups resisting the appropriation of nature
  - Gianfranco Selgas: Polluted environments, polluted politics: Extractive practices, the right’s subtext, and revolutionary humanities as storytelling for change in Venezuela (online)
  - Chair: Julia Bittencourt Costa Moreira

**ECOFEMINISM: EXAMINING THE INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION AND GENDER-BASED OPPRESSION**

- **Världen**
  - Asmae Ourkiya

**16:15 - 17:45**
Green nationalism in postsocialist Europe

Anastasia Tursinova and Benjamin Hammond: Weaponising culture: Estonian ecological thoughts and fascist nativism (online)

Adrien Nonjon: Fashioning the new ‘eco-fascism’ in European margins: The case of ecology within the contemporary Ukrainian far right

Robert Imre: The political ecology of the far-right in Mitteleuropa

Radka Vicenová, Veronika Oravcová and Matúš Mišík: Brown is the new green: Environmental issues in Slovak far right

Chair: Irma Allen

Right-wing populism and progressive alternatives in the European countryside, pt. 2

Giulio Iocco, Martina Lo Cascio and Domenico Perrotta: The rise of right-wing populism and the changing politics of agriculture and migration in rural Italy

Jiayi Zhou: Embedding realism: Food independence and security in the Russian Federation

Chair: Natalia Mamonova

17:45 - 18:15  Fika

18:15 - 19:15  Keynote  You are the ecofascists!

Mathias Wág

19:15 - 20:15  Event  Guided tour

Johan Pries and Andres Brink: An antifascist history walking tour: The 30th November marches and the struggle for Lund’s streets 1985-2008

19:15 - 21:00  Event  Reception

Geocentrum I

Sky High

Flygeln

Annexet
PROGRAMME: SATURDAY 16TH

8:45 - 9:45  |  Keynote  | FAR-RIGHT ECOLOGY AND CLIMATE CHANGE (scepticisms) IN EUROPE. WHAT IS GOING ON?  | Bernhard Forchtner  | LUX

9:55 - 11:25  |  Session 1  | THE BRAZILIAN CRISIS  | Rodrigo Duque Estrada: A Templar’s guide to climate change denialism: The Brazilian far right and its brand of ‘cultural Marxism’ conspiracy  | LUX

Julia Bittencourt Costa Moreira: Brazilian indigenous peoples’ rights and natural environment under threat: Reflections on the possible impacts of far-right populism’s empowerment in Brazil

Sierra Deutsch: Navigating exclusion: Polanyian ‘double movements’ in Bolsonaro’s Brazil

Laila Sandroni, Robert Coates and Katia Ferraz: Neoliberal authoritarianism as environmental governance: Conservation, biodiversity decline, and denial in Bolsonaro’s Brazil

Chair: Line Skov

IDEOLOGIES OF CLEANLINESS AND PURITY  | Lucilla Barchetta: A critique of degrado: Exploring the dynamics of environmental change and material decay in urban natures  | Världen

Olga Cielemiecka: Purity in the environmental discourses on the logging of the Bialowieza Forest in Poland

Sarah Czerny: The relation between ecological food consumption in Croatia and the radical right

Anthony Ince: The homeless veteran: Fascism, Malthusianism, and hyperreal necropolitics of charity (online)

Chair: Irma Allen

SUSTAINABLE PRACTICES IN ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISM  | Daina Pupkeviciute  | Rio


Alexandra Cotofana: Rethinking sentient landscapes: What can anti-semitic mountains tell us about far-right political ecologies

Chair: Amr Ahmed
INTERROGATING THE POLITICS OF PETROLEUM IN CANADA, PT. 1

JACOB McLEAN: YELLOW VESTS CANADA: FOSSIL CAPITAL AND THE FAR RIGHT (ONLINE)

RICHARD KOVER: FEAR AND LOATHING IN THE CANADIAN OIL PATCH: YELLOW VESTS, RUBBER BOOT COWBOYS, AND CANADIAN PETRO-POPULISM

KEVIN D. McCARTNEY: COLONIAL IMAGINARIES, PRECARIOUS FUTURES, AND TECHNOCRATIC GOVERNANCE: UNITED WE ROLL AND THE MAINSTREAMING OF CANADA’S DENIALIST FAR RIGHT (ONLINE)

CHAIR: NAIMA KRAUSHAAR-FRIESEN

HOW SUSTAINING SELF AND OTHERS FORMS A FEEDBACK LOOP

SAHAR MUHsin LAUFMAN

ORGANIZED CLIMATE DENIAL AND POST-TRUTH, PT 1

DAVID ELIOT AND BANTJES: CLIMATE SCIENCE VS THE MACHINES: HOW THE RADICAL RIGHT CAN USE AI TECH TO UNDERMINE CLIMATE SCIENCE

ROD BANTJES AND DAVID ELIOT: THE EPISTEMIC CRISIS OF LIBERALISM AND THE RISE OF THE FAR RIGHT

MARTIN HULTMAN: THE DENIAL MACHINE – HOW ORGANIZED DENIAL SHAPED THE CLIMATE CHANGE DEBATE

CHAIR: MARTIN HULTMAN / KJELL VOWLES

TOXIC CORPORATE LOGICS: THE SUPREMACY OF INSTRUMENTALISM, EXTRACTIVISM AND MARKETIZATION, PT 1

SINEM KAVAK: SWINGING BETWEEN LEGITIMACY AND LEGALITY: POLITICS OF ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE IN AUTHORITARIAN TURKEY

KRISHNA ROKA: CSR AND FAR RIGHT AGENDAS: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP THAT IS SHAPING GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTALISM

BEN DEBNEY: THE MOST PRIMITIVE OF ACCUMULATION: CLIMATE CRISIS AND THE HATEFUL FACE OF SAVAGE CAPITALISM

CHAIR: MARIKO TAKEDOMI KARLSSON

EKOFEM WORKSHOP

KARIN STYREN

KARIN STYREN

11:35 - 13:00  Session 2
### Session 3

**Interrogating the politics of petroleum in Canada, pt. 2**

- Jeremy Schmidt: *From ethical oil to energy populism: Settler-colonialism, extraction, and Canadian federalism*
- Roberta Laurie: *‘Ethical’ extraction and the end games of oil (online)*
- Chair: Naima Kraushaar-Friesen

**Organized climate denial and post-truth, pt 2**

- Kjell Vowles: *The nexus of organized denial and the authoritarian right*
- Constantine Boussalis, Travis G. Coan and John Cook: *Computer-assisted detection of misinformation about climate change (online)*
- Eugenio Luciano: *Going too far: An epistemological account of the differences between scepticism and denialism (online)*
- Chair: Martin Hultman / Kjell Vowles

**Toxic corporate logics: The supremacy of instrumentalism, extractivism and marketization, pt 2**

- Lauren Richter: *Virtue, ignorance and environmental devastation*
- Troy Vettese: *Firm and super-firm: Neoliberalism and the environment*
- Henrik Eriksen: *Anthropo-obscene and the next train at the end of the tunnel: On pessimism, resistance, and struggle*
- Chair: Anoushka Zoob Carter

**Leftists and rightist positions on environmental issues: The case of Germany**

- Arbeitsschwerpunkt Gesellschaftliche Naturverhältnisse: Working group on societal relationships with nature

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**What does climate justice look like under the far right?**

- Hilary Moore

**13:00 - 14:00 Lunch**

**14:00 - 15:30**

- **LUX**

**What does climate justice look like under the far right?**

- Hilary Moore
**MASCULINITY REARS ITS HEAD, PT 1**

**JONI SEAGER: FOSSIL FUELS, FRAGILE MASCULINITY AND HEGEMONIC MANLINESS**

**MARIA DARWISH: THE NORDIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT’S EMPLOYMENT OF ENVIRONMENTALISM FOR MASCULINE SELF-CONSTRUCTION**

**IRMA ALLEN: UNWELCOME GUEST IN THE POLISH HOUSE: ANTI-REFUGEE SENTIMENT, COAL LIFE, AND WORKING-CLASS MASCULINITIES**

**CHAIR: ANGELICA WAGSTROM**

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**RACE AND BORDERS IN A WARMING WORLD**

**EMILY BOYD, MINE ISLAR AND DAVID HARNESK: EXPLORING RACIALIZED ENVIRONMENTALISM: THEORIES AND PRACTICE IN CLIMATE RESILIENCE**

**BRIAN WHITENER: EMERGENT ECO BORDER FASCISMS IN THE UNITED STATES** (online)

**MAX AJIL: FORTRESS NATIONALISM** (online)

**ANDREW BALDWIN: CLIMATE CHANGE, MIGRATION, AND WHITE SUPREMACY GOVERNANCE: CONSERVATION, BIODIVERSITY DECLINE, AND DENIAL IN BOLSONARO’S BRAZIL**

**CHAIR: VASNA RAMASAR**

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**POLITICAL ECOLOGIES OF THE FRENCH FAR RIGHT**

**PAUL GUILLIBERT: ‘PHILOSOPHY OF ROOTEDNESS’ OF THE RASSEMBLEMENT NATIONAL DE MARINE LE PEN**

**FATIMA OUASSAK: THE MOTHERS’ FRONT: FOR AN ANTI-RACIST AND ECOCOMMUNITY ACTIVISM**

**ZOÉ CARLE: FAR-RIGHT ECOLOGY IN FRANCE: INSIDE GROUPUSCULE JOURNALS AND REVIEWS**

**CHAIR: LISE BENOIST**

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**SHOES AND SANDALS: WHEN ANTIFA AND CLIMATE JUSTICE ACTIVISTS WORK TOGETHER**

**ILANA KRAUSE AND FLORIAN TELLER**

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15:30 - 15:50  **Fika**

15:50 - 17:20  **Session 4**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>17:30 - 18:30</td>
<td>Keynote</td>
<td><strong>Trouble in American Suburbia and Ideas of Whiteness as ‘Endangered Species’</strong></td>
<td>Paul M. Pulé: Understanding the White Male Effect on Climate Change Denial, Amir Massoumian: How Ideas of Masculinity Inform Beliefs Within the Far-Right in London</td>
<td>Flygeln</td>
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<td>19:00 - late</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td><strong>BETWEEN APOCALYPSE AND SURVIVAL: THE VIOLENCE OF CLIMATE BREAKDOWN IN, AND FOR, THE CARIBBEAN</strong></td>
<td>Leon Sealey-Huggins</td>
<td>Smålands Nation</td>
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PROGRAMME: SUNDAY 17TH

8:45 - 10:15  Keynote

10:30 - 12:00  Session 1  AfD and the struggle against the far-right in Germany

8:45 - 10:15  Keynote

Farhana Yamin (Extinction Rebellion): Why I broke the law for climate change? (online)  LUX

Joe Mulhall (Hope not Hate): Extreme weather and extreme politics: Climate change and the international far-right?  LUX

10:30 - 12:00  Session 1  AfD and the struggle against the far-right in Germany

Toni - “Undogmatische Radikale Antifa Dresden”  LUX

Sarah - “Wann wenn nicht jetzt”

Jonas - “Unteilbar”

Ilana Krause and Florian Teller - “Interventionist Left”

Chair: Anna Bartfai

Eco-fascist utopias and its terrors

Rut Elliot Blomqvist: A sojourn into the messy world of ecofascism: Or, how eco is ecofascism?  Världen

Amanda Thomas: Competing utopias: White supremacy, justice and state surveillance

Kai Bosworth: Reading green nationalism and / as eco-fascism in and beyond settler empires

Chair: Sonja Pietilainen

Anti-fascist tactics and radical soci-atl change

Skåne mot racism  Rio

Critical perspectives on race and religion in UK environmentalism, pt 1

James Trafford: The horizon of extinction: Green nationalism as slow eugenicism (online)  Sky High

Kate Smith: When XRW met XR: The neo-pagan far-right community’s consonance with environmental activism and its implications (online)

Chair: Anoushka Zoob Carter
12:00 - 13:00  Lunch

13:00 - 14:30  Session 2

**Psychologies and Emotions of Far-right Politics**
- Julia Nordblad: Can the history of emotions help us understand political ecologies of the far right? A theoretical and methodological inventory
- Herbert De Vries: How climate change activism fuels radical right support: The Oikophobia dimension
- Chair: Andreas Roos

**Zine Making Workshop: Linking Climate Change and Mobility Justice**
- Janna Aldaraji

**Opportunities for Progressive Environmental Resistance in Troubled Times**
- Joseph Edward B. Alegado: Framing discourses and mobilizing towards collective action: Environmental movements’ resistance against extractive industries in the Philippines
- Marcin Skupinski: Mainstream climate denialism and grass-root activism: the notes on political ecology in Poland
- Emma Colven and Marcus Thomson: Climate change & human flows: Forging a progressive politics of climate and mobility
- Chair: Daria Rivin

**Loving Nature? Far-right Ecology and its Attachments**
- Balsa Lubarda: Ecologically sensitive nationalists: Environmental discourses of the far right in Poland
- Santiago Gorostiza: Loving nature while ignoring climate change: The Spanish environment and national self-sufficiency in the discourses of Vox
- Sonja Pietiläinen: The nature of the far right’s nature: ‘Nature’, ethno-nationalism and the Finns party
- Chair: Laudy van den Heuval
ROOM FOR YOUR THOUGHTS AND EMOTIONS
Frederik Eklöf - Listeners without Borders: Peer-coaching method to process your biases and privileges

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON RACE AND RELIGION IN UK ENVIRONMENTALISM, PT 2
Malou van Dekker (performance lecture): Exploring anti-racism in environmental activist groups in London
(online)

Angela Last: Fascist appeal

Jade Montserrat: Hyper-belongings: a sense of place
(online)

Chair: Anoushka Zoob Carter

THE CONSERVATION OF NATURE AND RACE IN NATIONAL PARKS
Luregn Lenggenhager and Emelie Danielsson: Dehumanized poachers and elite wildlife: The emergence of an interspecies class society in Southern Africa nature conservation

Agnès Schim van der Loeff: Nature reserves and national parks as a tool for Israeli colonialism

Karin Reisinger: Nation(al) parks: Contested histories of areas withheld for nature

Chair: Philippa Olivia-Dige

14:45 - 16:30 ROUNDTABLE SESSION AND FINAL DISCUSSION
Cara Daggett, Bernhard Forchtner, Martin Hultman, Andreas Malm, Kari Norgaard (pre-recorded video), Jens Rydgren, Leon Sealey-Huggins, Mathias Wåg, Farhana Yamin (online)

Chair: Joe Mulhall
Cara Daggett is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at Virginia Tech where she researches feminist political ecology. In particular, she is interested in the politics of energy in an era of planetary disruption. Her book *The Birth of Energy: Fossil Fuels, Thermodynamics, and the Politics of Work*, traces the entangled politics of work and energy following the discovery of energy in the 19th century. She is currently researching how gendered hierarchies help to sustain fossil fuel cultures, which illuminates the importance of feminist approaches to energy transition.

Bernhard Forchtner is Associate Professor in Media and Communication at the University of Leicester. He is a specialist on far-right activism, especially in Austria and Germany, with a particular focus on environment communication by far-right actors in past and present. Editor of the anthology *The Far Right and The Environment – Politics, Discourse and Communication* (Routledge).
Dr Joe Mulhall is Senior Researcher at HOPE not hate, the UK’s largest anti-fascism and anti-racism organisation. He is a historian of postwar and contemporary fascism and completed his PhD at Royal Holloway, University of London and in 2020 he will be a Panel Tutor at the University of Cambridge Institute of Continuing Education. He sits on the Board of the UK Government funded Holocaust Memorial Day Trust in the UK. He has published extensively both academically and journalistically and appears regularly in the international news media and gives talks around the world about his research. He has two forthcoming academic books with Routledge.

Professor Kari Marie Norgaard is Associate Professor of Sociology and Environmental Studies at University of Oregon. Dr. Norgaard joined the University of Oregon faculty in 2011. Over the past fifteen years Dr. Norgaard has published and taught in the areas of environmental sociology, gender and environment, race and environment, climate change, sociology of culture, social movements and sociology of emotions. She currently has two active areas of research: work on the social organization of denial (especially regarding climate change), and environmental justice and climate work with the Karuk Tribe on the Klamath River. Norgaard is Past Chair of the Environmental Sociology Section of American Sociological Association and author of Living in Denial: Climate Change, Emotions and Everyday Life (MIT 2011).
Jens Rydgren is professor of Sociology at Stockholm University. He has a longstanding interest in political sociology, especially in studying radical right-wing parties and their voters, with a particular focus on explaining variation over time and/or across countries. In 2018 Jens Rydgren edited The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right.

Leon Sealey-Huggins's work centres on the social relations of climate change, with a focus on the Caribbean. He considers the sociology and politics of climate change in the Caribbean, investigating what climate justice means in the context of global historical, and present, inequalities. Leon Sealey-Huggins is particularly keen to bring a sociological lens to bear upon what are often very unsociological, and depoliticised, discussions of climate change.
Farhana Yamin is an internationally recognised environmental lawyer, climate change policy expert and activist. For 30 years she has provided high level strategic and legal advice to leaders of vulnerable countries on the international legal implications of climate change and is credited with getting the goal of net-zero emissions by 2050 into the 2015 Paris Agreement after which she founded Track 0. In 2018 she joined Extinction Rebellion (XR) as Coordinator of the Political Strategy Team and until June 2019, played a central role in the rebellion including getting arrested in April 2019 for gluing herself to the HQ of oil giant, Shell. She now remains a member of XR’s International Solidarity Network and is an Associate Fellow at Chatham House, a Trustee for Greenpeace-UK and Julie’s Bicycle, and a member of the Programme Committee of WWF-UK.

Mathias Wåg is a freelance journalist and activist. He has conducted journalistic research on the extreme right since the middle of the 1990’s, partly through the organization The Research Group who received the prize “Guldspaden” (literally “the golden shovel”, the most prestigious prize for investigative journalism in Sweden) for its research of the site “Avpixlat” and the anonymous men dictating the online comment sections.
ABSTRACTS

**Max Ajl: Fortress nationalism**

As the climate crisis breaks through with almost suspect uniformity into mainstream consciousness, responses have ranged from radical to reformist to revanchist. This presentation uses the organizing concept of Fortress Eco-Nationalism to assess a wide range of state-level policies and proposals, including manifestoes, think-tank policy papers, and much of the debate concerning the Green New Deal. Perforce, it focuses on proposals for climate remediation which emanate from the global north. I argue, however, that given the internationally-imbricated nature of the global economic system and the climate crisis, these proposals are more like planning regimes for the entire planet than merely directives for domestic macro-economic management. I argue that the majority of such proposals tacitly or explicitly rest on economic nationalism and internationally-unequal distributions of wealth. Because they re-instate ecologically unequal exchange while limiting the ecological crisis to the climate crisis, they export the costs of ecological clean-up to the periphery through an array of technologies – bio-fuels, lithium batteries, technics resting on rare-earth metals – which are primarily sourced from the world’s poorer countries. In this way, Fortress Eco-Nationalism seeks to clean up energy sources in order to stabilize the world-threatening concentrations of CO2 in the atmosphere, but re-instances ecologically unequal exchange in what may be even more grievous forms, given the ecologically destructive and socially apocalyptic impacts of technologies like bio-fuels, which imply large-scale peasant and smallholder dispossession in the rural peripheries of the Global South. They also tend to rely on large-scale militarization of borders, which implies a lack of concern for the “source” flows of immigration: socio-ecologically disarray, very often externally induced, in the Global South (Honduras is exemplary). The idea of Fortress Eco-Nationalism gives us an organizing concept to see how an array of nominally or actually social-democratic, right-wing, or even fascist governments converge on modes of addressing the socio-ecological crises of imperialism which are technicist and nationalist: a green version of the current world order.

**Bilal “Zenab” Ahmed: Hydraulics, water shortages, and militancy in northwest Pakistan**

This paper discusses the ways in which environmental manipulation has intersected with the requirements of imperial administration, in what is now the ‘borderland’ region of Afghanistan and Northwest Pakistan, with massive political consequences. It will take a wide historical scope, starting with irrigation projects and agricultural development of the British Raj, from the 1880s until the 1930s. Rather than growing profitable crops for export, irrigation was used as an instrument for social control, with the environment being reshaped as part of a broader restructuring of local society. Irrigation gave the Raj an opportunity to settle mobile populations by reshaping local society based on access to water resources and opportunities for farming. These moves had the effect of strengthening the authority of local zamindars that were linked to the Raj, as well as smaller farmers who incorporated themselves into the system by taking advantage of the irrigation projects, with a resulting growth of increasingly far-right trends in Islamic politics, on the ground. While Pakistan lacked the investment capacity to continue these processes of transformation, following independence, the United States adopted a similar line, extending the practice into dam construction as well as botanical science with the “Green Revolution.” GMO seeds and hydroelectricity were used to discourage socialist experiments in land reform, particularly those that were linked to the Soviet Union and China, by raising overall yields to the benefit of rich landowners and more prosperous farmers. One unintended result of this was the further development of very right-wing Islamic ideas linked to prosperous landlord classes, including ones that would be used to incorporate the rural surplus labour force into far-right paramilitaries like the Pakistani Taliban. Thus, environmental science isn’t neutral, and its application in the region has always been meant to discourage collectivist organising and ‘hostile’ political activity, extend state authority over local populations, and elevate allied groups and classes, with sometimes unintended political consequences. It remains to be seen how this dynamic will either be intensified, or changed completely, with the effects of climate change.

**Janna Aldaraji: Zine-making workshop: Linking climate change and mobility justice**

In this interactive workshop you will learn to make your own zine while reflecting on themes of migration and climate! In the session we will collectively explore how and why climate change continues to be separate from issues of mobility. DIY self-publishing is an inherently radical method of sharing knowledge and experiences, we will learn this process together as a group. All ages and abilities welcome, no previous experience of being creative necessary.
The session is led by Janna Aldaraji, part of UK association Migrant & Asylum Seeker Solidarity & Action’s organising team. MASS Action is a small charity that focuses on advocacy and raising money for grassroots projects in Greece that support migrants and asylum seekers. Their values include honest and dynamic engagement with the communities they work with, financial transparency, and collective action to challenge violent migration policies and border regimes. Janna is also the co-founder of Third Space, a collective that explores belonging by sharing tools of expression and story-telling.

### Irma Allen: Unwelcome guest in the Polish house: Anti-refugee sentiment at the Polish barbecue and working-class, coal-mining masculinities

In 2015, the ruling Law and Justice party in Poland came to power based partly on anti-refugee rhetoric. Refusing the EU relocation quota, Poland and the Visegrad countries came to form the EU’s un-compassionate, misbehaving, unruly East. How and why does anti-refugee and anti-Muslim sentiment, two categories usually elided together here, play out in the context of everyday life? In a country with one of the smallest Muslim populations (0.1%) and yet one of the highest anti-Muslim sentiments in the EU, what are the social and emotional grounds for heightened anxiety and fear of The Muslim Refugee in Poland? How does this intersect with working-class masculinities and its contemporary vulnerabilities in the context of coal’s decline? Based on a year’s ethnographic fieldwork in a coal mining town in Upper Silesia, Poland, this paper will explore the everyday banalities of anti-refugee sentiment amongst working-class male coal miners, setting everyday talk about refugees against the backdrop of the ubiquitous Polish barbecue, labelled a ‘national sport’ or ‘obsession’, and its particular expressions within the coal-mining context, of Polishness, solidarity, community and reinforcement of a traditional male patriarchal order.

### Arbeitsschwerpunkt Gesellschaftliche Naturverhältnisse: Leftist and rightist positions on environmental issues – the case of Germany

We would like to propose a workshop that is aimed predominantly at activists, but would also benefit from participation by researchers. The workshop serves to present the main results from the collective writing of a brochure, which analyses “right wing” and “left wing” positions and arguments on a range of environmental topics. In the workshop (ideally 2 hours) we will present some of our core insights and then invite participants to discuss them; depending on the time frame, this could be done in smaller groups to allow for a greater degree of interaction.

The starting point for writing the brochure was the insight that rightist and leftist position on environmental issues are often not far apart from each other – for example, both often share a rejection of biotechnology, are in favour of small-scale agriculture and food sovereignty. Another example is that both leftist and rightist groups are critical of the idea of an economy centered on economic growth. However, at closer look, the arguments behind rightist and leftist positions differ, of course.

Against this background the objective of compiling the brochure is to create awareness among activists on what leftist and rightist positions on environmental issues are, with the ultimate aim of avoiding the “wrong” arguments and political bedfellows in progressive activism.

The analysis underlying the brochure refers to the situation in Germany – this is one of the reasons why we would be interested in receiving feedback at an international conference. The brochure is written and the workshop would be organised collectively by a group of people who, while partially routed in academia/research, seek to produce knowledge of relevance to social movement on socio-ecological issues. The group goes by the name of “Arbeitsschwerpunkt Gesellschaftliche Naturverhältnisse”, which can be loosely translated as working group on societal relations with nature. It is part of a network of internationalist groups and individuals in Germany (www.buko.info, website currently only in German). Our group can be contacted at gesnat@buko.info.
**Andrew Baldwin:** Climate change, migration, and white supremacy

The figure of the migrant is a standard feature of climate change discourse. This paper makes two claims. The first is that the figure of the climate migrant/refugee functions as the racial other to climate change discourse and, as such, a figure principally mobilised to uphold expressions of liberal white supremacy. Several racial tropes prevalent in the discourse on climate change and migration will be examined in support of this claim, including white eschatology, race denialism, racial representations of the migrant, and post-colonial white internationalism. The second claim is that while the figure of the climate migrant/refugee has played a negligible role in far-right rhetorics, this could easily shift under different historical circumstances, especially if far-right activists seek to acquire legitimacy by constructing the destabilizing effects of climate change as a threat to white European racial purity. The conditions for this kind of shift are already in place as the relationship between climate change and migration is regularly dramatized through a racialised geographical imagination. The absence of race analysis amongst those constructing climate change as a problem of migration makes the likelihood of this shift an even greater possibility. The racialisation of the figure of the climate change migrant is, paradoxically, further reinforced by forms of climate justice that limit discussions of race qua climate change to the racialised effects of climate change while neglecting to account for the whiteness of the wider political discourse of climate change. The paper argues that anti-racism should be embedded as a pillar of European climate change politics.

**Rod Bantjes and David Eliot:** The epistemic crisis of liberalism and the rise of the far right

Since the Enlightenment, liberalism has promulgated the myths of “cognitive sovereignty” and the “marketplace of ideas” that obscure the institutionally- and technologically-mediated character of knowledge construction and critical debate. Far-right ideological certainties about the climate change “hoax,” white-boy victimization, and various misrecognized social “threats” thrive in an epistemic environment of institutional distrust, and misplaced faith in self-constituted individuals with cognitive sovereignty. The IPCC and the climate change “denial machine” are both institutional/technological complexes that produce “knowledge,” the reliability of which is an artefact of institutional design.

We are in the midst of a neoliberal re-engineering of knowledge-producing institutions and technologies. That project involves a shift in the institutional contexts of knowledge production (universities and research institutes, publishing, physical and digital “public” space) from the sphere of public interest to the private sphere of misrecognized “self” interest. The “marketplace of ideas” is thus “freed” for ideas that have market value and can pay their way. The project also involves a parallel shift in knowledge-producing actors: an atomization of citizens and an empowerment of semi- and fully-automated non-citizens (corporations, social-bot armies and their fleshy astroturf counterparts).

We examine recent technological developments in automation designed to create epistemic confusion and institutional distrust: deep-fake images, malicious social-bot armies (simple, but effective in degrading civil debate), sophisticated AI debaters that pass the Turing test, and new AI capable of writing journalistic and academic articles, that, we argue, will in the near future be capable of passing the test of peer-review. The implications of these developments for democracy, truth and our collective ability to address the earth-systems crises of the 21st century are dire.

Our aim in this paper is to diagnose the epistemic crisis within a theoretical framework that we think is suited to understanding both its origin and potential solutions. We argue for a rebalancing of the public-private mix that takes inspiration from historic models: publicly-funded universities, independent public broadcasters, and publicly-owned physical public spaces in which citizen rights are protected from state control. We argue, in addition, for new institutional means to restrict the action of automated non-citizens.
**Lucilla Barchetta**: A critique of degrado: Exploring the dynamics of environmental change and material decay in urban natures

In contemporary Italy, degrado (decay, blight) – considered as an all-encompassing term, which aesthetically identifies persons, things and physical environments as revelatory of processes and settings of defacement – stands out as a particularly meaningful urban issue. Usually, the word degrado is known throughout the country in discussions about ‘urban decorum’, a theme that has nowadays gained new value and importance within the context of security culture and populist narratives. Understood as the direct opposite of a humanist ideal (i.e. decorum), degrado then extends to include the social, political and moral issues that are provoked by the landscape transformation of living environments. In the Italian context, degrado is represented as a disease attacking urban spaces, and also the vegetation that we expect to see nurtured. Lawn grass growing faster in the city’s public spaces, from urban parks to roadside vegetation, has become the object of accusations and the expression of a general uneasiness. The desired maintenance of public open and green spaces has played an important part in the recourse to decorum as a civilising mechanism for ‘ugly’ natures. The issue of degrado is also generative of collective feelings, and produces a common perception that something suspicious is emerging, which poses a threat to environmental quality based on substantive ideas of the good and the beautiful. Degrado becomes a means of keeping a distinction between what is right or wrong. It creates boundaries and walls that gather groups around spaces of cultural identity and consumption, by building un-anticipated analogies between human/non-human bodies and place, and by situating urban spaces at the centre of narratives of nationhood and social control. I argue that any scientific understanding of degrado must therefore take place within the situations of ordinary life, where urban form turns out to be a fundamental, material and aesthetic, dispositive of social and environmental control, which is not always clearly visible but always present.

**Julia Bittencourt Costa Moreira**: Brazilian indigenous peoples’ rights and natural environment under threat: Reflections on the possible impacts of far-right populism's empowerment in Brazil

Indigenous peoples and natural environment in Brazil share a history of subjection to the economic interests of those in power, a condition that tragically resulted in the killing of thousands indigenous individuals and in unprecedent destruction of the Amazon during the military dictatorial regime (1964-1985). Now, as Jair Bolsonaro, who openly praises the dictatorship, is elected as president amid a global trend of empowerment of the far-right, the future of both indigenous right and ecological balance are eminently and mutually concerning.

In light of the above, this thesis aims to provide a review of historical records in Brazil in order to identify worldviews, projects, and discourses that justified environmental degradation and violations of indigenous rights since the military regime of 1964, highlighting the continuities observable until this day. Additionally, recognizing the crucial political difference between a regime that takes power by force and a president that was democratically elected, this research provides a contextualization of the current global context of empowerment of the far-right populism. Further, it makes a specific and brief comparison between Donald Trump in the United States of America and Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil to outline the risk both leaders represent to environmental and indigenous struggles.

**Rut Elliot Blomqvist**: A sojourn into the messy world of ecofascism, or, how eco is ecofascism?

Parts of the political Left have long accused environmentalism of being both fascist and capitalist. This is particularly pronounced in reactions to theories of ecological limits which have been interpreted, on the one hand, as an expression of a regressive longing for a feudal past and, on the other hand, as an ideological tool employed by the bourgeoisie to stall social progress for the working class. Even though social ecology and some varieties of ecosocialism have long contested both the problem description that is offered by many theorists of ecological scarcity and sweeping dismissals of environmentalism, anti-environmentalism still has leverage on the Left—as seen in the opposition to degrowth among contemporary socialistecomodernists who associate critiques of industrial expansion and economic growth with Malthusianism. One way to explore the validity of their position is to analyse actual ecofascism to see what constitutes its professed environmentalism. This is the aim of this paper, in which I discuss three texts from
The murder of over fifty Muslims at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand in 2019 is only the most recent instance in a string of anti-immigrant violence around the world. However, the event stands out for the killer’s online manifesto, which explicitly upholds a project of “eco-fascism.” Although such an open admission is not necessary to the project of the far right, the clarity of this invocation - and the violence which it properly understands as necessary to “green nationalism” - must be grappled with by anyone with interest in ecological politics today. This essay contributes to such a project two arguments. First, I present the quite risky political grounds for how one might read this manifesto’s content, rather than dismiss it as incoherent or meaningless. Second, I compare it to recent arguments for “benevolent green nationalism” made by the “recovering environmentalist” Paul Kingsnorth. Drawing on Klaus Theweleit, Iyko Day, and Nick Estes, I argue that a form of “romantic anticapitalism” structures both texts. This has two structural relations: indigeneity stands in for place-bound white nationalism in a reductive, ahistoric, and apolitical manner. This is contrasted with xenophobic and anti-Semitic constructions of migration and rootless globalism that frame capitalist globalization. Such a formulation must be ruthlessly opposed. Yet the significance of such a careful reading is not to externalize fascism as an easily-identifiable social formation or textual form, but rather a loose and adaptable political ecology which extends through Euro-American politics and epistemologies of race.

Automated detection of online misinformation is considered the “holy grail” of fact-checking (Hassan et al., 2015), with the potential to offer theoretical insights and practical interventions that counter its negative influence. The static nature of misinformation about climate change offers a unique opportunity at real-time detection and classification (McCright & Dunlap, 2010). Drawing from a corpus of over 287,000 documents from 57 blogs and 17 conservative think-tank websites, we develop a comprehensive taxonomy of climate misinformation. We employ supervised machine learning techniques to accurately detect specific denialist claims about climate change and construct a detailed history of climate misinformation over the last decade. We find that climate misinformation focuses predominantly on attacking the integrity of climate science/scientists. As well as offering a new approach to understanding and detecting climate science denial, our research lays the groundwork for developing applications that inoculate social networks against misinformation.
Emily Boyd, Mine Islar and David Harnesk: Exploring racialized environmentalism: Theories and practice in climate resilience

The paper aims to explore the relationships between environmental racism, rights to protection and inequalities in achieving climate resilience, and ultimately to deepen our understanding of environmental justice as an essential feature of climate change transformations. We hope to shed new light on new understandings of critical environmental justice in the context of racialized environmentalism and climate change. Connecting these areas of study open questions of how and if societies will reconcile or compensate those who stand to lose most from climate impacts. These are complex and contentious intersectional issues, nevertheless important and timely. We propose an existing analytic framework of critical environmental justice to the examination of three interlinked questions: How are concepts of racialized environmentalism, rights and inequality linked, understood and represented in climate change resilience discourse? How are already racialized landscape changing under climate change, who is affected, where, at what scales? How are those who stand to lose most mobilizing for socially just action on climate change? These questions will be examined theoretically and draw on cases in different localities. The paper adopts an interdisciplinary approach to advance national and international debates on climate change transformations, environmental justice and social inequality.

Scott Burnett: White supremacy and environmentalism in neo-apartheid South Africa

South Africa's white minority has thrived since the end of apartheid, while Black economic advancement and access to land has remained significantly curtailed. The country's new democratic and multiracial dispensation came into being 25 years ago under conditions of triumphant neoliberalism, which saw the suspension by the liberation movement of its historical adherence to statism and socialism. For many white South Africans, commitment to the new order was conditional on their privileged relative economic and social positions remaining unchallenged. Recent declines in the economic performance of South Africa have heightened white anxiety about the future, anxiety which has taken expression in increased support for right-wing movements, including extremists such as Die Suidlanders, and the media-savvy ethnic “rights” organisation AfriForum.

In this paper, I present evidence from two case studies – the campaign against rhino poaching, and the movement to ban fracking in the Karoo region – that shows how white supremacy in South Africa strives for the control of a parallel national geography imagined as grounded in a white ethno-scape. Though the battle for control of the state perse was lost at the end of apartheid, democratic participation in decision-making processes designed to consult communities on natural resource exploitation have provided a productive avenue for white resistance to Black rule. In the name of environmental protection, cultural ‘heartlands’ are reproduced, and boundaries between white and Black reinscribed, creating “fatal couplings of power and difference” (Gilmore, 2002). I argue that organisations such as AfriForum engage in a proxy battle through environmental movements for the right to enforce a parallel quasi-state apparatus in order to secure the ecological future as a white future. Because Black land control is constructed as environmentally harmful, and white stewardship of land as responsible for its protection, settler-colonial hegemony over land ownership is positioned as the only ecologically viable option. Heightened global consciousness about climate change, habitat destruction, and toxic waste thus used to justify a tightening of the white grip on South Africa.

Zoe Carle: Far-right ecology in France: inside groupuscule journals and reviews

As a result of the ecological turn of the main far-right party in France, the RN (Rassemblement national) lead by Marine Le Pen, french medias have unexpectedly rediscovered the existence of a far-right ecology which present itself as local, grassroot, nationalist and identitary. Whereas it might take a certain time for those ideas to replace the productivist views the RN had hold so far, those propositions are also part of a critical heritage developped at the right of the far-right, among groupuscules and think tanks such as the GRECE (Groupement de recherche sur les civilisations européennes). This « metapolitical » work, a concept developped by Alain de Benoist, leader of the New Right, which precisely refer to the intense theoretical and political activity of this group, have appeared mainly in journals and reviews. From L’Or vert, structured around the figure of Robert
Dun, former SS who introduced the völkisch ecology in France, to Elements, the journal of the New Right, or Le Recours aux forêts de François Ozon, a number of publications dedicated to the question of ecology have appeared. Across articles and interviews, not only did those groups have formulated concepts and exhumed references, movements and intellectual figures, they also have pursued an intensive work to blur and re-construct conceptual and political fronts, while at the same time trying to gain legitimacy among the ecological movement. This joint conceptual and political work is for instance the reformulation of degrowth theories that the New Right and Alain de Benoist have processed. This paper aims to put together a cartography of those journals since the 1950’s and an understanding of their carattere as laboratory of both the far-right ecological thought and its connections with environmental movements.

Olga Cielemecka: Purity in the environmental discourses on the logging of the Białowieza Forest in Poland

Today virtually all bodies and environments are contaminated in manifold ways (Chen 2012; Alaimo 2016) making ideas of purity or pristinity seem obsolete. Yet purifying or detoxifying discourses germinate everywhere, haunting detox, and cleanse (Shotwell 2016); they materialize in in environmental ‘politics of purity’ according to which ‘the world is doomed unless we clean it all up’ (Ah-King and Hayward 2014: 5); they saturate the rising extreme right’s discourses on racial or national purity. In this presentation I take the concept of purity to analyse the environmental conflict in the Białowieza Forest that started in 2016 when the Polish authorities waged a fight against the bark beetle that had infested the Forest. As the conflict between the environmental protesters and the Ministry of the Environment unfolded, the ideas of purity became co-opted into clashing visions of global green future as opposed to the future of the (white) Polish nation. In this paper, I consider how ‘purity’ informs not only national environmental politics but also organizes ideological regimes that normalize the hegemonic understanding of national identity.

Emma Colven and Marcus Thomson: Climate change and human flows: Forging a progressive politics of climate and mobility

The present moment signals an important conjuncture in which climate denialism, anti-globalization, and anti-immigrant sentiment are intersecting in deeply powerful and problematic ways. After decades of negotiations, the international community has made almost no progress in addressing climate change. The failure of climate governance has been attributed, at least in part, to the continued privileging of the sovereign state's right to exploit environmental resources and support carbon capitalism at the expense of meaningful climate action. To justify this, many states are peddling anti-science and anti-environmentalist discourses, and actively denying the validity of well-established climate science. At the same time, there has been a surge in authoritarianism and populism around the world. Far right groups across Europe and the US are promoting anti-immigrant and racist discourses, while national borders are being closed to refugees and asylum seekers.

While these developments are deeply disturbing, we argue that there are opportunities for academics and activists to come together at the intersection of climate change and migration politics. This is for several reasons. First, climate change has implications for migration patterns, and it is increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to separate these issues. Second, climate- and pro-migrant activists share the goal of challenging anti-authoritarianism. Last, both climate change and the global refugee crisis demand that we rethink the scale of the sovereign state as the modus operandi. We therefore propose that climate- and pro-migrant activists might forge solidarities and coalitions, in order to construct a more progressive politics in a world shaped by climate change and new migrant flows.
**Sarah Czerny: The relation between ecological food consumption in Croatia and the radical right**

In this paper, I want to consider the possibility of whether radical right wing political actors might usurp current burgeoning interests in ecological food production in Croatia. Based on ethnographic fieldwork I have undertaken on milk production in Croatia, in recent times there has been a surge of consumer interest in food that is produced by small scale farmers, who use traditional farming techniques, autochthonous seed varieties, as well as little or no chemical pesticides and fertilizers. As other authors have noted, who have also researched food production in post-socialist states (Aistara 2015; Jung 2014), consumers are extremely wary of industrial food production because they don't trust state organised labelling and food safety systems. Consumer's worry that these systems have been corrupted by political interests, which is why they want to source food directly from the farmers themselves.

In my mind, consumer discourses about local food produced on a small-scale have many aspects that could be of potential interest to radical right political actors. Concepts such as “domaci” (home-made), “traditional”, “keeping things pure” are all ones that seemingly could fit right in with radical right discourses about how human relations should unfold. Further, parallels can be drawn with Cas Mudde’s (2004) definition of the ideology of populism, which envisions society as being divided into two: “the pure people” versus “the corrupt elites”. In Croatia, consumers very clearly present their interest in buying food from small scale farms as being the necessary response because of the corrupt practices of the political elites.

As a result, in this paper I want to offer a detailed comparison of the discourses that are audible in Croatia, both by local consumers and by radical right wing political actors. My interest is to see where there are lines of overlap, but also where there are moments of difference. It is my conviction that these differences need to be continuously drawn out and highlighted.

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**Alexandra Cotofana: Rethinking sentient landscapes: What can anti-Semitic mountains tell us about far-right political ecologies**

In July of 2010, an Israeli military helicopter (Israeli Air Force Sikorsky CH-53) crashed in the tall Carpathian Mountains, in an area two hours from Bucharest, Romania's capital. Everyone on board the aircraft died: four Israeli pilots, two Israeli mechanics, and one Romanian officer. While government investigations decided the crash was “most likely due to human error”, Romanian right-wing media continued to inspect the event and to interview witnesses and military personnel. One central conclusion from the reports coming from the Romanian right-wing media was that the Carpathian Mountains struck the Israeli helicopter down, punishing the foreigners for trying to “occupy ancestral land”.

The talk aims to analyze the event in the broader context of Romania's long history of anti-Semitism (between 1941-1944, the Romanian fascist government exterminated more than 300,000 Jews), as well as current discourses of indigeneity, foreign occupation, and far-right values driving the Romanian media and politics. In news articles and blog posts written between 2010-2015, the Jewish military personnel on board the crashed helicopter is symbolically portrayed both as historical enemies, and working in the service of contemporary occult, free-mason, Jewish global elites, trying to occupy Romanian soil.
Karthikeyan Damodaran and Giovanna Gioli: Gastro-fascism in contemporary India: Resisting the Vegetarian State

India has the world's third largest Muslim population. India is also one of the biggest exporter of beef worldwide. Yet, beef, which has been for long a staple diet among the Dalits and Muslims as a cheap source of proteins, has become the fantasy around which a specific type of gastropolitics (Appadurai 1981) has developed. The current ruling Hindu right wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) attempts to rewrite the culinary cultures and histories of modern India through the fantasy of a vegetarian-only nation, where meat-eating people must be persecuted (and often killed). State Governments run by the BJP are drafting legislations to ban the consumption of beef, and special cow-vigilantes known as gau rakshaks are widespread (Anderson & Jaffrelot 2018). The hypervisibility of 'cow politics' is an unprecedented phenomenon. Vegetarianism both in its form and practice in India cannot be separated from its caste equations and upper caste cultural hegemony. This contribution, building on core theories on the importance of the imaginary in fascist logics, aims at unpacking the fascist fantasy of India as a vegetarian country, while documenting resistance to it by India's large population of Dalits (formerly untouchable castes). Dalits have resisted this gastropolitics asserting their right to eat beef as a cultural identity (e.g. with the proliferation of beef eating festivals in the southern parts of India), and by constructing the practice of beef-eating as a marker of political subversion challenging the everyday ecology of gastrofascism, a specific politics of vegetarianism (Gorringe & Karthikeyan 2014) and the attempts to make this latter a normative Indian diet.

Maria Darwish: The Nordic Resistance Movement's employment of environmentalism for masculine self-construction

This paper aims to examine the intersections of far-right extremism, masculinity and environmentalism. The latter is usually associated with the political left rather than right, and the feminine rather than the masculine. In addition, research has proved extreme right subcultures to be male dominated and defined in hyper-masculine terms. Nonetheless, the neo-Nazi group the Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM) emphasize animal welfare and environmental protection in their political manifesto, challenging ideas of what violent extremism looks like today. Drawing on historical references, canonical texts, biological reductionism and contemporary ideas, the NRM has developed an environmentally friendly masculinized neo-Nazism. The paper is based on the findings of my 2018 master thesis, which explores how nature-based rhetoric may be employed to mask discrimination through a narrative analysis of the NRM's podcast Nordic Frontier. Theory on fascism and masculinity shows how dynamics of othering and what I call 'crisising' - a perceived crisis of the social order - contribute to shape a gendered neo-Nazi identity. The paper will focus on how environmentalism serves as a building block for masculine self-construction in the NRM. I will also show how environmentalism is tweaked to fit a far-right agenda, and address the rhetorical advantage and the potential danger of eco-fascism in the time to come.

Lucinda David: Rodrigo Duterte: Authoritarian populist and climate justice warrior?

The election of Rodrigo Duterte as president of the Philippines is often pointed to as an example of the rise of authoritarian populism across the world. Duterte is infamous for his brutal campaign against drugs and his subversion of democratic institutions, such as cracking down on the free press and jailing opposition leaders. Unlike other populist leaders like Donald Trump, however, Duterte does not deny the existence of climate change. Duterte has even made fighting global warming front and center of his rhetoric and his policies. These policies include reclaiming Manila Bay and closing down Boracay Island, a formerly pristine beach, heavily polluted with toxic waste from decades of tourism; ostensibly for environmental conservation and protection. He is also an outspoken supporter of Agenda 2030 and the Paris Accords. Duterte's support for a progressive environmental platform is dissonant from his illiberal democratic practices. This paper examines the rhetoric in which an authoritarian populist leader like Duterte supports the fight against climate change and offers an analysis of how authoritarian populism converges with the agenda for climate change activism. Using discourse analyses on a dataset of official speeches as well as policy directives of the Duterte government, this paper interrogates the question “How is the Duterte government using the discourse on climate change? How does it intersect with the distinctly anti-globalist, anti-human rights, and brand of nationalist politics he espouses?” This paper argues that his support for climate action stems from undeniable natural disasters that routinely beset the Philippines, such as the devastation of Typhoon Haiyan in 2014, the narrative material it offers to bolster Duterte's anti-imperialist rhetoric employed to deflect human rights criticisms coming from the West, and to mitigate the perceived globalism of local activists. This paper also argues that the language of the crises of climate change is malleable and vulnerable to being used to justify exercising authoritarian control over local government environmental resources as well as cover for pervasive clientelism.
**Ashley Dawson: Populist extractivism and capitalism’s organic crisis**

The IPCC 1.5°C report of last October made it clear that contemporary capitalism will experience an intensifying breakdown of the environmental systems upon which it depends unless dramatic political action of the kind that elites have refused to engage in is taken very soon. We face, the report implicitly suggests, an organic crisis. When Italian Marxist leader Antonio Gramsci wrote about an “organic crisis” early in the twentieth century, he intended to anatomize a comprehensive breakdown, one that encompassed all elements of society – economic, social, political, and ideological. Contemporary capitalism is faced with an organic crisis in the fullest possible sense of the term, one that encompasses not just the contradictions Gramsci described but also the biological terrain upon which social life ultimately depends.

The organic crisis of capital generates social unrest that can lead to revolutionary movements for social and environmental justice: when people cannot find water to drink, they tend to rise up. But organic crises can also lead in reactionary directions. When environmental conditions deteriorate, societies can turn to puffed-up strongmen and religious zealots, who find convenient scapegoats to blame for social breakdown. The use of moral panic to anchor popular authoritarianism, and thereby to win swaths of the public over to the state’s increasingly coercive measures, has been a tried-and-true Right-wing strategy since the conservative Counterrevolution in the 1970s. What makes Donald Trump and epigones of his like Jair Bolsonaro so dangerous is that they add a populist extractivism to these pernicious scapegoating tactics. Thus, although they are quite patently scripted by the fossil fuel industry, Trump’s promises to “bring back coal” and to promote American energy dominance have resonated with sectors of U.S. labor, leading organizations like the AFL-CIO to support planet -destroying initiatives like Trump’s greenlighting of the Keystone XL oil pipeline. Along with figures like Bolsonaro and Honduran President Juan Orlando Hernández, who came to power in a U.S.-backed military coup and who is implicated in the murder of environmental leaders such as Berta Cáceres, Trump has combined extractivism populism with efforts to criminalize environmental protest, deter political participation, and curtail freedom of association.

**Herbert De Vriese and Harriet Bergman: How climate change activism fuels radical right support: The oikophobia dimension**

In this paper, we examine the relationship between climate change activism and support for the radical right through the lens of what we consider to be an underresearched dimension: the intensification of ‘oikophobia’ as explanatory factor. While there may be many plausible explanations for the observed positive correlation between increasing climate change activism and growing support for radical right parties, movements and ideologies, such as attachment to conventional life patterns, short-term maximization of self-interest, fear of declining living standards, or aversion to patronizing rhetoric, we believe that attention for the socio-psychological effects of ‘oikophobia’ helps provide a richer and more nuanced hypothesis.

The political overtones of the term ‘oikophobia’ stem from Roger Scruton, who used the term as the opposite of xenophobia to describe what he believed to be a peculiar frame of mind among leftist intellectuals and politicians: the disposition to repudiate one’s own national customs, culture, and history, and to define one’s political goals and ideas without reference to the particular attachments of a real historical community (Scruton 2007, 23-25). Both the term and concomitant ambition to restore national loyalties by overcoming the ‘fear of the own’ and the ‘pathological aversion to one’s home’ were soon adopted by mainstream right and radical right-wing parties (see for instance Baudet, 2013). In this paper, we investigate to what extent the global scale and impact of climate change as well as the transnational reach and focus of climate activism tend to reinforce the growing resistance against so-called ‘oikophobia’.

Our argument proceeds in three steps. First, we take up Scruton’s suggestion to treat oikophobia as a stage of developmental psychology, “through which the adolescent mind normally passes” (2007, 23). In our analysis, however, we shift the focus to the almost visceral reaction against ‘oikophobia’ and approach this state of mind as a psychological defense mechanism (and more specifically as reaction formation). Second, while pointing to the overburdened conscience of guilt, shame and individual responsibility that is often the unintended (or even intended) result of climate change communication and activism, we argue that defense mechanisms are likely to arise in this context by way of protection against threat.
**Ben Debney: Accumulation crisis, climate crisis and the hateful face of savage capitalism**

This presentation examines the relationship between bigotry and demagoguery in their many manifestations and climate change. It takes inspiration from the recent work of anthropologist Ghassan Hage, who in asking ‘does racism cause climate change?’ opens a critical new area of research. In pursuing this line of enquiry, this presentation examines the history of the conditions that produced climate change—the historical origins of climate change in other words—emphasising ‘Othering’ and scapegoating as defining features. It examines the emergence of the modern world economy through ‘primitive accumulation,’ or the gathering of ‘first capital’ from which to kickstart the industrial production cycle. Hage calls this ‘savage capitalism.’

That this process took the form of colonial land grabs, conquests, slavery, witch hunts and other forms of social warfare, and necessitated rationalisation through the alleged inferiority of victims and alleged superiority of perpetrators, invites further research in coming to terms with how deeply embedded various forms of what Edward Said has called ‘Othering’ and scapegoating were in the development of the modern world—one that would eventually find itself in the grips of climate crisis.

In asking these kinds of questions, this paper examines the nature of the economic modalities rationalised through colonial land grabs and other associated activities in terms of the predatory gaze that sees workers, women, the peoples of the global South, the flora and fauna, and finally the planet itself as objects whose only lasting value are their exploitability for profit, and how the pathological mentality that produces it also gives rise to the operating belief characteristic of growth-centric economics that the Earth is a permanent resource and permanent garbage dump.

In making these connections, this research project looks to link the origins and present reality of the climate crisis by looking at how the extractivist and instrumentalist mentality manifests in the mentality and policies of insurgent reactionaries like Trump in the USA, Erdogan in Turkey, Modi in India, Duerte in the Philippines and Bolsonaro in Brazil. It examines the rise of the far right in the midst of the increasingly generalised crises that are coming to define the twenty-first century, and considers the meaning of far-right demagoguery in light of the crisis presented to the racisms and other forms of bigotry that have traditionally upheld the extractivist modalities of the capitalist world order by their own social, economic and environmental consequences.

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**Malou van Dekker: Exploring anti racism in environmental activist groups in London**

Rebecca Solnit wrote a column for the Guardian named “Why Climate Action is the Antithesis of White Supremacy”, juxtaposing the Christchurch massacre and the climate strikes as totally opposing events. In this performance lecture it will be argued that this type of thinking is not only inaccurate but also dangerous. What will be explored is how despite conscious efforts to dismantle oppressive structures, white supremacy permeates these progressive spaces.

As an environmental activist and aspiring academic, I have spent the past year studying, researching, living and organising in London. Claims will be substantiated through a nearly year-long involvement with two climate activism groups. The approaches of these groups are incredibly different. To name but one differences: whereas one focuses on government, the other is campaigning against cultural institutions and their oil sponsorships. What will be shown is how strategy and culture (from decentralisation to meeting ‘call-outs’, and from direct action to size) dis/enables anti-racist work to take place within the campaigns.

Hip-hop artist Guante has said “white supremacy is not a shark; it is the water”, and this is exactly how white supremacy must be understood in these spaces. In order to tackle white supremacy there is a dire need to position whiteness, as Susuana Amoah does in her workshop “The Unbearable Whiteness of Green”. Who do we alienate by doing so? Probably the identity politics opposing far-right. But, more importantly perhaps, what do we gain?

Standing at the intersection of activism, academia and performance, the lecture will dwell upon personal moments - thereby showcasing frustration and insecurity - as well as small thoughts on far wider questions, allowing the complexity of this issue to come to the fore: How do I navigate: A person of colour denouncing identity politics in a meeting about anti-racism?; Friendships in these spaces and conversations about these matters? Can a campaign be so fundamentally flawed that anti-racist work becomes impossible?; How do we ensure that a broad-base political campaign does not become a breeding ground for fascism?
Sierra Deutsch: Navigating exclusion: Polanyian “double movements” in Bolsonaro’s Brazil

As the new post-truth world unfolds and new governments chip away at the hard-won environmental and social protections of the last few decades, nature conservationists and socio-environmental activists are reorganizing and shifting tactics. Polanyi offers a useful framework for understanding the dynamics of these “double movements,” which he argues are inevitable characteristics of the neoliberalizing process. As neoliberalization advances (the first movement), the inevitable socio-environmental costs that follow are met by a second movement that installs protective measures to mitigate these costs. However, Polanyi conceived of this second movement as still occurring within and through established social institutions. In Brazil, it is clear that Bolsonaro intends to make good on his campaign promises to eliminate environmental and social protections that stand in the way of capitalist development by eliminating such institutions. Crucially, what does this mean for the “second movement” in Brazil that has relied on these institutions to protect society and the environment? What happens when these movements become “movements of the excluded,” movements that must act without the support of state institutions (Burowoy, 2018). Using a Polybian framework, I examine various actors in Brazilian conservation organizations as they negotiate their exclusion, and theorize the dynamics of the “double movement” in Brazil as it intensifies. I argue that institutional expulsion may offer an opportunity to forge the path away from capitalist approaches to conservation and explore the extent to which the tactical shifts of these Brazilian conservation organizations lead toward or away from that path.

David Eliot and Rod Bantjes: Climate science vs. the machines: How the radical Right can use AI tech to undermine climate science

In this paper I will discuss the potential for new forms of artificial intelligence to exploit foundational institutions of knowledge production in the 21st century in such a way as to fake the very “facts” that we currently use to fact-check “fake news.” Already one third of news published by media giant Bloomberg news is written not by humans, but by algorithms or “bots.” Bloomberg is not alone in this practice as it has become a growing trend in media, as cost of production rises, and profit margins become thinner. The effectiveness of such AI bots has even attracted some of the world’s most prestigious papers such as the Washington Post. Although when in the hands of institutions favourable to democracy these bots can be beneficial, they can also be used to create and disseminate false information at alarming speeds.

So fake news and bot armies have been exploited most effectively by radical right-wing populists. The speed of production of automated misinformation undermines the effectiveness of the liberal remedy of “counter speech,” as human agents cannot match the scale and speed of bots. I consider the option of deploying “bot armies of truth” under the auspices, for example, of the IPCC. The risk, with AI possessing current capabilities of machine learning, is that debate between IPCC AI and climate-denial AI will train up the latter. There is good reason to believe that denialist AI could eventually write academic papers that could pass the test of peer review.

I view this as a coming epistemological crisis that could affect the very foundations of knowledge and democracy. I invite discussion of the implications and possible remedies.

Giovanni Esposito, Andrea Gabriele, Angèle Minguet and Lino Scelsi: The long history of environmentalism in Europe: mapping political parties’ electoral propaganda from 1949 to 2018

The term ‘environmentalism’ usually refers a set of various political and ethical ideas which have in common the aim to protect the natural environment against potentially damaging anthropogenic activities. Environmentalists generally call for the adoption of forms of political, economic, and social organization that would do the least harm to the environment.

This article is based on three observations:
1. First, environmentalist values and ideas have widely spread since the 1980s across the globe and inspired policy-making at the international level: establishment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change in 1988, Rio Summit in 1992, Kyoto Protocol in 1992, United Nations Climate Change Conferences from 1995 to 2019 (i.e. Conferences of the Parties – COP).
We are currently witnessing a large-scale international re-emergence of far-right politics and movements challenging traditional liberal-democratic consensus. Compared to previous cycles of far-right populism, this “neoliberal” wave has met dramatic transformations in the modes of action of such groups both in Europe and in the Americas, effectively organizing themselves as a social movement and expanding their actions through cross-national cooperation. What unites the far-right today is a shared perception of enmity geared towards a global conspiracy branded as “cultural Marxism”. Here, a useful lexicon has been found to blame for economic deprivation, corruption scandals, immigration crisis, etc. However, for a true “restoration” of a racially-defined, gendered hierarchical social order take place, far-right movements are first waging a hybrid war against both academic and state official élites, whom they regard as “globalists” undermining a Judeo-Christian, Western heritage. On their way to purifying the nation stands cultural Marxism’s byproducts: identity politics, globalization and, of course, climate change science along with environmentalist movements. In Brazil, far-right politics has become an explosive phenomenon since the presidential election of Jair Messias Bolsonaro in 2018. In his reactionary political platform lies a promise to deregulate environmental standards that currently limit deforestation, exploitation of natural resources (water, soil, minerals, flora and fauna) and guarantees the right to demarcate land to indigenous and traditional communities. In Brazil, there has been more than 600 environmental conflicts, and the country is considered the most dangerous place for environmental activists in the world. However, the far-right dismisses this as a Marxist conspiracy. As stated by Ernesto de Araújo, Brazil’s current Foreign Minister and regarded even by right-wing critics ironically as a “Templar crusader”, the “left kidnapped the environmental cause and perverted it to the point of paroxysm over the last 20 years, with the ideology of climate change”. This article aims to analyze how and why the ideology of climate denial influences the current discourse on environmental conflicts in Brazil. This will be pursued through a historical sociological account of the rise of contemporary Brazilian far-right aligned with a conjunctural understanding of environmental conflicts throughout the country.
**Axelle Germanaz:** American white power movement and the myth of nature’s nation

Minutes before the massacre of 51 persons in New Zealand Mosques in March 2019, the suspect released online a document called “The Great Replacement.” Its first sentence read: “It’s the birthrates,” repeated then three times. This phrase sounds familiar, as it echoes directly to what white supremacists chanted in Charlottesville during the 2017 Unite the Right rally: “You will not replace us.” Broadly, it refers to the racist conspiracy theory known as “the replacement theory,” popularized by Renaud Camus, a right-wing French writer. The latter purports that through mass immigration and demographic growth, the white Christian European populations in Europe and in Northern America are progressively and systematically being replaced by non-whites, and that, ultimately, the white race will come to extinction. Indeed, shifting demographics and increasing migrations have destabilized white cultural and political hegemonies. In our ostensibly post-racial era, “whiteness” still matters, and affronts against its normative aspects have been met with fears for the ‘survival’ of a white identity (and even a white body). “White power” here evokes then the mobilization of small groups of “whites” who consider themselves as a minority at risk of extinction in the increasingly multicultural societies of Western Europe and North America. This presentation identifies the different conceptualizations of nature, and of the environment, by the American white power movement through an analysis of the music produced and promoted by some of its most active members. In particular, I identity three discursive constructions of nature as 1) pastoral aesthetics, 2) scientific and biological, and 3) spatial and political. In songs, nature becomes a place to play out fantasies and hopes of a secluded, sacred, unpolluted white space, where the white race can finally thrive in. Nature being here often invested with feelings of deep racial purity, this paper is necessarily deeply interested in the gender (and sexual) politics of the white power movement, as well as in its affective economies.

**Flyglarm Arlanda:** Shuttig fossil infrastructure down

In a time of climate crisis, mass mobilisations of social- and climate justice movements, huge protests and numbers of young people striking for their future, the Swedish government have decided to give the state owned company Swedavia, owner of several airports in Sweden, the right to expand the largest airport in Sweden, Arlanda. The expansion is supposed to prepare the airport for a doubled amount of flights, something Swedavia claims possible to combine with a sustainable future, combing flights on biofuels with electrified aviation. The company also loves to brag about their sustainability work at the airport, with the goal to reach zero co2 emissions by 2020, and information on the website on how to purchase the service of biofuels for your flight and thereby fly "fossil free". These are all clear examples of greenwashing. In the context of this, emerged the group Flyglarm Arlanda, our goal is to stop the expansion of the airport and question the well established notions of the necessity to fly. We demand Sweden to work for reduced flights and instead invest in sustainable means of transportation. We do this by different sort of direct actions, such as interrupting meetings and seminars hosted by Swedavia, banner drops at the social democrats first of may parade and blocking the aircraft fuel transport to the airport. We also work to influence the public opinion by debate articles and informative events. At this workshop we will expand upon airport expansion resistance, imagining a world where the fossil fuel industry no longer dictates our future.

**Tarun Gidwani:** Alienation in Estonian countryside and the rise of right-wing

I want to talk about how social relations, identity and meaning of rural life have, to some extent, been negatively impacted in the aftermath of globalization and reform in the Estonian countryside. I will do this by summarizing the work of anthropologists and sociologists working in this area. Specifically, I will explore the process of political and economical peripheralisation that triggered these processes in Estonia. The result of these processes, among which is the diminishing value of life in countryside, could have played an important role, among other factors, in the recent and seemingly sudden rise of popularity of the right-wing.
Drawing from this context, I also want to initiate a discussion on alienation in the global countryside resulting from dizzying changes brought about by globalization and its accompanying processes and how it has fueled xenophobic tendencies elsewhere too. If time permits, I would conclude this talk by also giving an overview of traditions in Western philosophy that have had anticipated how certain kinds of modernization result in alienation and xenophobia.

**Leticia Gómez: Recovering bodies and territories: Visual expressions of feminist activist groups resisting the appropriation of nature**

In this presentation, and having as a starting point some images that have recently been used as propaganda by feminist activist groups in Argentina and images of performative interventions carried out by feminist collectives in Chile, I aim to comment on the explosive renewal of the South American feminist movement - happening in resonance and often even in alliance - with environmental struggles. This revitalization of feminism has been born facing a wave of political radicalization of the right (Rancière) washing over the whole region, that, together with the reinstatement of neoliberal reforms, the upsurge of extractive practices that cause general impoverishment and the endangering of resources, see the limitation of women- and LGBTI- person's rights as a goal.

As feminist groups are heterogenous and have different genealogies, they share a distinctive feature: a preoccupation for the reconceptualization of the non-male bodies as a significant strategy to produce change. Among the most imperative issues crossing over the feminist coalition are the necessity to stop misogynist violence and to obtain the right and access to abortion. Thus, antispécist movements for instance, would join the cause bringing the animal question afore and showing the similarities between women and animal exploitation through shocking visual art performances on the streets. At the same time, other struggles take place far away from capital cities. Trying to revert or stop extractivist practices such as opencast mining, the use of pesticides or the development of fracking wells, women organizations have taken the lead in the resistance efforts by organizing communitarian strategies of sustainable life, practicing a kind of “ecofeminism of survival” as Vandana Shiva will call it. Along this line, examples of promoting posters are to be found giving visibility to the relationship of interdependence with nature by redeploying traditional imagery of Andean tradition representing “mother earth.” Feminist environmental activist Maristella Svampa has said that “Today’s feminism, more than a social movement, is a society in motion”, by looking into some aesthetical visual manifestations of this process and putting them into dialogue I intend to follow the connection woman-body-territory as a common political and cultural thread.

**Noémi Gonda: Land grabbing and the making of the authoritarian populist regime in Hungary**

How do authoritarian populist regimes emerge and remain in place within the borders of the European Union in the 21st century? In Hungary, land grabbing by and for national oligarchs have been one of the central pillars maintaining Prime Minister Orbán’s regime both politically and economically. The phenomenon remains out of the public purview and meets little resistance as the regime-controlled media keeps Hungarians ‘distracted’ with ‘dangers’ inflicted by the ‘enemies of the Hungarian people’ such as refugees, the investor Georges Soros, and the European Union.

The Hungarian case calls for increased scholarly-activist attention to how authoritarian populism is maintained by, and affects rural areas, as well as how emancipation can be envisaged in such a context. I argue that changes in land tenure are a key rural driver and an important outcome of Orbán’s three consecutive electoral victories. In particular, populist narratives that create ‘subjects’— the lazy Roma, the valiant Magyar farmer, or the meddling EU—combine to generate an authoritarian, political dynamic with strong rural dimensions. Emancipatory initiatives could challenge these processes as people in the countryside begin engaging through novel forms of agency. To better support them, an innovative analytics of emancipation in oppressive contexts is needed.
Santiago Gorostiza: Loving nature while ignoring climate change: The Spanish environment and national self-sufficiency in the discourses of Vox

Municipal, regional and national elections held in spring 2019 have confirmed the entrance of the populist far right in the Spanish political arena. Vox, a political party founded in 2013 as a split of the People’s Party, has obtained significant representation at all scales, and may be key to form right-wing governments in some relevant cities and regions. This paper aims at examining how nature and the concept of self-sufficiency are used in the discourses of Vox. The party’s leader, Santiago Abascal, defines himself as a “lover of nature”, bird-watcher and member of the Spanish Ornithological Society (SEO-Birdlife) since his teens. In one of the first Vox’s videos, Abascal appeared walking through Spanish fields and forests, finally reaching the top of a cliff with a spectacular view and finishing with the motto “Make Spain Great Again”. In social media, he has often shared his hikes and visits to Spanish natural landscapes. Other key figures of Vox have presented themselves as defenders of rural Spain, celebrating the economic and cultural value of activities such as hunting and bullfighting. This is backed by Abascal, for whom “hunters are those who really take care of nature”. However, despite this apparent celebration of the Spanish environment, none of the 100 political measures announced by Vox refer to nature conservation or climate change. Abascal himself lessened the relevance of climate change stating that it has always existed. Instead, Vox champions national self-sufficiency in relation to energy and water management. In this paper, I will argue that the notion of national self-sufficiency potentially contributes to framing the debate about climate change into nationalist terms, blaming other countries for it and rejecting responsibility towards the global community. Additionally, from an environmental history perspective, I will connect national self-sufficiency discourses and policies to the legacies of Francisco Franco dictatorship in Spain and the influences of other fascist regimes.

Paul Guillibert: Land, race and nomadism: the Rassemblement National’s philosophy of rootedness

For the first time, the program of Marine Le Pen’s Rassemblement national’s was heavily green. Favoring the “local economy” (p. 55), it defends the existence of a Europe of Nations, a European federalism, based on the cultural roots of peoples in their territory. The whole “localistic” program is built on an opposition between “nomadism” and “rootedness” (enracinement) inherited from the Catholic and royalist thinker Jean-Charles Masson (1984). In this program, the botanical metaphor of rootedness justifies the exclusion of “nomads” who are unable to understand the beauty of landscapes and preserve the health of ecosystems they do not know. “Nomadism” refers to “cosmopolitan capital” which supposedly stands behind Macron and Merkel as well as refugees, post-colonial immigrants and Muslims. The program therefore opposes a conservative and deeply antisemitic philosophical tradition, often inspired by Catholicism and/or neo-paganism (Maurice Barrès, Carl Schmitt, Charles Maurras, Jean-Charles Masson, Alain de Benoist), and a post-structuralist philosophy, notably inherited from Deleuze and Guattari, which supposedly promotes the merits of cosmopolitanism, globalization and de-territorialization. Ecology allows the French extreme right to justify its racist, antisemitic and Islamophobic policies with a program purporting to defend European nature. In this paper I will present a brief genealogy of the opposition between “rootedness” and “nomadism”, I will show that it is based on a conception of national identity understood as “the family transmission of land property rights” (For a Europe of Nations, p. 55). The ecology of the far right in France, based on land ownership, inheritance by blood and the preservation of territories, defends “nature” as the nation’s constitutive heritage. Finally, I will argue, in line with the Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch, that progressive movements should allow desire for rootedness if they do not want to abandon to the far right the legitimate wish for a dignified life in healthy environments.

Laudy van den Heuvel: Autobahn, anti-bolshevism, entartete art and the role of a health ideology in Nazi Germany

The concept of the importance of “health”, which was embedded in the hegemony in the Third Reich, is a recurring theme in literature about Nazi Germany. The Nazi's obsession with health and fear for illness was based on certain ideas of ecology and biology, prevalent at the time, such as the evolvement of the Racial Hygiene movement and native protectionism.

The Third Reich and its view on nature is often said to be romanticist, but numerous scholars have shown how the Nazi's based their practices on a rational foundation. Fordism played a major role, amongst others in preparations for war. War was seen as a necessary for racial survival. I am therefore arguing that the Nazi's notion of ecology is an extractivist ecology, in which nature is seen as a means to serve the Nazi's struggle for racial survival.
Robert Imre: The political ecology of the far-right in Mitteleuropa

In tracing the origins of current problems in Central Europe, there is a thread that has been somewhat unexplored in terms of the ‘dark green’ or eco-nationalist strains of political ecology. In this paper I discuss how the realized socialist period was able to maintain and nurture eco-fascist elements in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Rhetoric about the Carpathian Basin as a home to special people has a direct lineage in explaining current racist and anti-migrant politics in Hungary and Poland in particular. The more current political messages around both ‘Christian nations’ as well as Roman Catholicism in Poland are clearly designed to point to some form of denizen peoples captured by their ‘ecological homes’ thus legitimating or delegitimating their presences. In the ‘transition period’, and the establishment of post-socialism in the 1990s, this version of politics was strengthened by local oppositions to the ensuing neo-liberal version of corporate capitalism driven by MNCs and the EC/EU, and then further strengthened by the ensuing surveillance state in the post Sept-11 era in the 2000s. This brings us to a number of contemporary problems, of which I seek to discuss three: how can activists halt eco-fascist approaches in the midst of this kind of ‘green nationalism’, what sorts of options are available for a more humane politics in Central Europe, and at a theoretical level what kinds of insights does the political ecology approach bring to the political theory of totalitarianism.

Anthony Ince: The homeless veteran: Fascism, Malthusianism, and the hyperreal necropolitics of charity

Few studies have hitherto engaged with the relationships between the far-right and charity. In this paper, I explore the necropolitics of homelessness – whereby different homeless bodies are deemed more or less worthy of life or death – in the discourses and practices of far-right engagements with charity. The symbolic figure of the homeless veteran looms large, amplified under the deadly biopolitics of austerity across much of Europe. The homeless veteran embodies for far-right ideologies and movements the epitome of purity, self-sacrifice and tragedy. This figure of the veteran therefore is the archetype of worthiness for emotional, material and medical nurture, in contrast to the ‘foreign bodies’ of migrants and the non-veteran citizens, generating a hierarchy of value. In Baudrillard’s terms, they are ‘hyperreal’, blurring the boundaries of reality and simulation. This purity of homeless veterans in the far-right imaginary conveniently whitewashes their involvement in violent imperialism, both internally and externally to the state, and provides a bridge between mainstream national identity and the hyper-nationalism of the far right.

This mythology of the homeless veteran operates in close connection with far-right neo-Malthusian visions of homelands being “full” and increasingly disorderly through ‘excess’ lives that generate entropy in the polity, especially in the worldviews of island states such as the UK. In the context of a shift away from explicit biological racism among the less extreme elements of the far-right, the homeless veteran shows how this Malthusian spatial imaginary can operate as a framework through which more subtle forms of racism are expressed under the veneer of respectable liberal multiculturalism. This forms an increasingly strong distinction between traditional neo-Nazis and more ‘acceptable’ populists, while also blurring the boundaries of mainstream nationalism and its more radical variants.

Overall, I argue that the necropolitical symbolism of the homeless veteran can help scholars and activists make better sense of several key themes. Firstly, how far-right discourses seek to draw strength from mainstream, commonly-held norms and values; secondly, the hierarchisation of bodily life and death in their construction of justice; and thirdly, the state as a fundamental dimension of the ideological ‘architecture’ that frames this politics. Crucially, the paper calls on scholars and activists to be more mindful of the ‘apolitical’ nature of charity in the contemporary moment.
Giulio Iocco, Martina Lo Cascio and Domenico Perrotta: The rise of right-wing populism and the politics of agriculture and migration in rural Italy: continuities, change and implications for the future

In Italy, the rise of right-wing populism assumed new dimensions with the national elections of March 2018 and the subsequent formation of a coalition government supported by the two populist protest parties emerged as winners from the ballots. The new government, remained in power from June 2018 to September 2019, was long hegemonized by the increasingly popular right-wing coalition partner (the League). Since its formation, it embraced a nationalist rhetoric centered on the protection of the “excellences” of “Made in Italy” food and launched a repressive reform of migration policies with potentially far-reaching implications for migrant agricultural workers and the sectors of Italian agriculture highly dependent upon their labor.

This paper provides an analysis of the agricultural and rural dimensions of the rise of right-wing populist politics in Italy. More specifically, it explores the changing policy discourses on agriculture and migration associated with it, mainly focusing on the policy discourse promoted by the League – the party that expressed both the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of Internal Affairs in the former government. We first briefly situate the rise of right-wing populists’ popularity in Italian rural areas in the context of the long transition to a corporate-environmental food regime and the profound restructuring of Italian agri-food sector that characterized it since the 1980s. Then, we trace the genealogy of the policies and discourses promoted in the fields of agriculture and migration by the former government. Exploring in depth the policies and discourses promoted by the subsequent governments in power in the 2010s in response to the twin “crises” in agriculture and migration, we argue that these represent the last episode of the longer-term emergence of a new populist politics of agriculture and migration occurred over the last decade. More specifically, we contend that the current right-wing populism promotes a re-articulation of previous discourses and point out continuities and changes that characterized the politics of the former government vis-à-vis its predecessors. In the conclusions, we consider the potential implications of the rise of this new right-wing populist discourse for the broader politics of agricultural and rural change in the Italian countryside and the future prospects of an alternative, emancipatory rural politics.

Sinem Kavak: Swinging between legitimacy and legality: Politics of environmental justice in authoritarian Turkey

This paper aims at shedding a light on to the politics of privatized hydropower regime in Turkey. Proliferation of river type small hydropower plants (SHPs) throughout Turkey is telling on the extend of commercialization of the nature during AKP era and the case studies permit us to focus on the relations among commercialization, crony capitalism and the rural/environmental mobilizations. It is on the anti-SHP struggles where we can observe the co-option strategies benefiting from crony capitalism are employed to weaken the resistance by the government using the legislative power. SHPs proliferated with a series of reforms aiming at privatizing the energy production and market in Turkey legitimized by the green-energy discourse. Yet, SHPs proved to be destructive for livelihoods and the environment where they are constructed.

In this paper, I attempt to show how the clean energy discourse was instrumentalized around politics of neoliberal water governance in Turkey and how this manifest itself in the realm of legality. Besides the institutional reforms that liberalize the energy market, the rules and regulations governing the standards of SHP constructions, granting of construction and electricity production licenses, environmental impact assessment (EIA) procedures, regulations governing cultural and natural protected areas have been constantly changed by the government as a response to legal struggles of local communities and environmental activists. The research shows that legal struggle against the SHP constructions was a successful method of resistance, yet the victories of the protestors were annulled by authoritarian government’s play with the legal realm, and that arises the questions of legitimacy of the authority descending into arbitrariness and incoherence.

I attempt to place the legality vs legitimacy discussion into the context of environmental justice by elaborating on three-pillars of authoritarian Turkey: centralization of the decisionmaking (through undermining separation of powers), crony capitalism and criminalization of opposition. SHPs are an area of manifestation but similar processes take place in large-scale urban construction sites; city parks, villages and I believe acquiring knowledge on the legal/institutional process is important to shed light on the spatial and environmental justice in authoritarian context.
Shehnoor Khurram: Boko Haram: Militants in between disaster capitalism and climate change

The names and addresses are available for those who lead the vast and expansive multinational corporations that contribute to 71% of greenhouse gas emissions. The Western nations, to whom these individuals belong, are not adopting a serious climate change policy to hold these corporations responsible, prevent the further destruction of our ecosystem, and move towards a more sustainable way of living. While the damage is being done by the transnational elite class in the West, it is the most vulnerable in the Global South who experience the immediate dangers of the current ecological crisis. Researchers Adekunle Idowu, Simeon Ayoola, and Bolatito report that in Nigeria, climate change has resulted in extreme food and water shortages, desertification, floods, deforestation, population displacements and the emergence of ecological refugees. The state, severely weakened by neoliberal restructuring via structural adjustment programs implemented by the IMF, has been unable to effectively manage or mitigate this crisis. A large vacuum has materialized leading to the emergence of a number of nonstate actors that attempt to fill this role. Of the many contenders, the militant Islamist group Boko Haram has emerged as a powerful and violent response to these broad structural changes further exacerbating the resource scarcity. Building on Naomi Klein's Disaster Capitalism thesis, I examine how neoliberal globalization operates in Nigeria to generate and profit from this ecological crisis. I investigate how militant Islamism emerges and responds to disaster capitalism and climate change. I argue that an overlooked and undertheorized consequence of climate change is the rise of militancy. I assert that Boko Haram is actively involved in simultaneously alleviating and exacerbating the ecological crisis in Nigeria. Expanding from these findings, I discuss and attempt to theorize the role that militant Islamism is playing in shaping the current global environmental struggle.

Richard Kover: Fear and loathing in the Canadian oil patch: Yellow vests, rubber boot cowboys and Canadian petro-populism

On February 14, 2019, the “Yellow Vest ‘United We Roll’” truck convoy set out from Edmonton, Alberta, to make the five-day journey to the Canadian capital, Ottawa, to protest the Federal government’s “mismanagement of economy,” particularly the oil industry. Taking their name from the 2018 French protest movement, which rallied against President Emmanuel Macron’s fuel tax, Canadian yellow vesters similarly claimed to be a grassroots movement standing up for blue collar workers threatened by the Federal government’s proposed carbon tax. Despite these similarities, however, they differed considerably from their French counterparts in emphasizing a tight exclusive link between the welfare of working-class Canadians and that of one particular industry, namely the oil and gas industry. Moreover, unlike in France, increasingly the Canadian Yellow vest movement has become affiliated with racism, anti-immigration xenophobia, and a range of conspiracy theories associated with the United Nations. Found throughout the convoy, for instance, intermingled with signs and slogans declaring “love for Canadian Oil” and demands for the repeal of the carbon tax were other banners railing against first nations groups, the United Nations, American environmentalists, and immigrants. Perhaps even more disturbing was the fact that not only were many participants from well-known white supremacist group like the Biker group Sons of Odin but several of the guest speakers at their rallies, such as the journalist Faith Goldy, were infamous for expressing very xenophobic and anti-immigrant views as well as support for white supremacy. Organizers, when confronted with such incidents by the media, were quick to dismiss such views as in no way reflective of the movement as a whole and merely the extreme views of a few ‘bad apples.’ This presentation will argue that these expressions of xenophobia and racism were no random anomalies but rather reflect a long discursive history and framework that has existed in the Canadian Oil patch which has framed oil as the essential symbol of white settler, blue collar or working-class identity. Within this symbolic framework, therefore, it is hardly surprising that not only are critiques of oil or the oil industry interpreted as attacks on real Canadian working families and their values but that also, vice versa, oil becomes the symbolic loadstone for the xenophobic fears of many working-class Canadians.
Ilana Krause, Florian Teller, Toni, Sarah and Jonas: AfD and the struggle against the far right in Germany

The right wing party, Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) has entered parliament in Germany at the national level in 2017. Their potential big scoops in East German provinces in the provincial and municipal elections in 2019 became apparent in the European elections in spring 2019. It sparked wide spread debate among civil society and activists. What could be done in the light of inevitable electoral rift? How could movements and civil society prepare for perceived and real threat after the elections? Who would possible allies in the face of uncomfortable party and government coalitions? When and where would be moments to turn fear and analysis into action?

The concert tour “Wann Wenn Nicht Jetzt” (#WWNJ) and “#Unteilbar”, the march in Dresden August 2019, were two major events seeking to counter the seemingly inevitable shift to the right in East Germany. In this workshop we will provide a brief overview of specific East German circumstances, the differences between East and West Germany and the role of the AfD in those regions. We will discuss with #WWNJ and #Unteilbar their strategy, questions of forming broad alliances for specific causes, problems of rural and urban divide and what would be future perspectives.

Ilana Krause and Florian Teller: Shoes and sandals. When antifascists and climate justice activists work together

The rise of the far right and the threat of unabated climate change are the two most fundamental challenges of the 21st Century. While academic research and journalistic endeavours are slowly picking up on the link between those two issues, from a movement perspective little seems to be on the horizon.

In Germany, Saxony, provincial elections in September 2019 might bring a majority of the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) and the Christian Democrats (CDU). This poses a real threat to civil society and social movements. For the first time activists from the antifascist movement and the climate justice movement are coming together in the run up to the second climate camp Leipziger Land showing how these struggles are interlinked. The cultural gap between antifascists and climate justice activists seems huge when it comes to style, tactics, political analysis and ways of organising. And yet for the climate camp people came together for preparing the program of the climate camp, for press work, mobilisation and during the actual camp.

From a solely social movement and activists perspective we would like to share our experiences how well – and badly- this worked. What lessons can we draw from those efforts when the intellectual call for “connecting movement” is put into practice? Where are the gaps narrower than anticipated, where do we still need to close them? And most importantly what does it mean for fighting the far right and climate change when antifascists and climate justice activists are coming together? What strengths and synergies are emerging? How can research aid the movements' efforts in their struggles for justice and a liberated society?
**Werner Krauß:** Climate skeptics and the rise of right-wing parties: A field report from the blogosphere

From 2009 to November 2017, I was one of the editors of the climate blog, “Die Klimazwiebel” (“The climate onion”). We were two climate scientists, two sociologists and me, the anthropologist. We started our blog in a time when the Internet started to play an increasing role in the climate debate. We covered the hockey stick debate, Climategate and various COPs, and we invited the public to argue with us in our comment section. 

Over the years, a group of skeptics followed us and posted critical comments. They were highly critical of the end-of-the-world rhetoric of climate scientists; they blamed Greens of being hypocrites who preach water and drink wine; they argued against the German energy transition, and they were afraid that climate politics will lead to an eco-dictatorship. 

Instead of excluding them from the debate, we were interested in their arguments. Where do these arguments come from? In our answers, we tried to carefully distinguish between rightful critique and between purely ideological arguments. In doing so, we became vulnerable, too. Exchanging and even sometimes sharing arguments with skeptics is easily considered as blasphemy and as putting the authority of science at risk. 

In my presentation, I will follow closely some of the discussions. They give an insight into the affective and argumentative links between climate skepticism and the rise of right-wing parties in Germany; lines of arguments which lead deeply into the history of German nature conservation and of national socialism, but also into the divided Germany during the Cold War and the long-term effects of reunification. 

But the discussions also revealed the blind spots of science-based climate politics such as climate determinism and techno-centrism. Both, science-based climate politics and climate skepticism, have a long cultural history. The close analysis of skeptical discourses sheds light on the symbolic power of climate change as a political tool and on the limits of dialog with skeptics. 

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**Hikmet Kuran:** Ecological thought in Nazi era: can a fascist government be environmentalist? 

Not only having a unique historical path about racism/nationalism and nature protection, Germany has also an original character about associating these concepts. It is highly interesting that one can both observe the mentioning and organizing of environmental protection/sensitiveness and the terrifying political/racist experience that is ever witnessed at the same geography. It is also worrying that one can find theoretical interface between those. Therefore, it is deeply possible to conclude that environmentalism and fascism had been a complex alignment. However, the conclusion after the questioning and analyzing that alignment is rather different. This questioning about the sincerity of Nazi Government about environment is the main argument of this study. In this, ecocentrism is chosen to be the fundamental axe for the questioning. In this study, the ethical understanding and the human, nature and society perspectives of ecocentrism is firstly handled. Then, the Nazi Era and the German environmental protection experience is examined through the interaction of development-protection to question the ‘environmentalism’ of Nazi Government. For doing this, the 12 year reign of Hitler is examined through its development policies and legal arrangements by questioning its solid operations and actions such as autobahn project and nature protection law (Reichnaturschutzgesetz).
Angela Last: Fascist Appeal

Last year, I received an email newsletter from the British Film Institute with the subject line ‘Blood and Soil’. As a German living in the UK, I was both alarmed and intrigued what was advertised under this fascist slogan. It turned out to be the film ‘Dark River’ (2017), an incest drama set in rural Yorkshire. Around the same time, the documentary film Arcadia – put together from archival footage with contemporary soundtrack by members of Portishead and Goldfrapp - is advertised to me: it also follows a ‘blood and soil’ theme, apparently ironic. These examples, together with recent controversies around self-identified UK left thinkers, art/event spaces such as LD50, and folk revivalists who have become accused of increasingly embodying far right ideas, raise questions about the appeal of fascism: not just on an intellectual level, but as a set of practices, including creative practice. In particular, this paper is interested in the relationship between far right political ecologies – as performed in “creative practice” – and materialist thought and its relation to practice.

Sahar Muhsin Laufman: How sustaining self and others forms a feedback loop

How sustaining self and others forms a feedback loop. Innovating activism to bridge across divides. Intersectional movements (social justice & climate action), introverted activism, and a revolution of the heart. Decolonize minds, movements, & collectives to increase effectiveness. A comprehensive look at the perspective of collaborative hierarchy attenuation regenerative leadership as a means to counter oppression. Diversity’s role on increasing positive fiscal outlooks and innovative approaches in businesses. Understanding Systems of Oppression unpacking social justice theories to better access liminal spaces as leverage points for personal and collective liberation. Tools for marginalized communities to gain empowerment. Tools for Privileged Allies in Countering Oppression

Trauma: a barrier to engagement and a catalyst for transformation. How Trauma factors into the perpetuation of oppression: Dialectic deficiencies from subversive triggers (white fragility), oppressed becomes oppressor, (limited emotional Intelligence and social capacity’s role in creating far right thinking), Microaggressions & Intergenerational Transmission: the accumulation of trauma on lowering self determination. Trauma Healing as a radical act of social Change. Trauma, a catalyst for resilience: post traumatic growth. Integrating Trauma recovery methods and practices to co-create effective intersectional movements. Utilizing spiritual technologies for the sake of countering oppression reclaiming it’s appropriation as a form of spiritual bypass. Two eye seeing form of Integrating western healing practices with indigenous ways of knowing to co-create more effective transformative programs. Somatic inquiry into power and understanding modes of power: social power, power over/under, power with and power from within.

The role creating larger models of systems theory assessments, can assist in comprehensive analysis of how oppression is woven and unwoven in individuals and collectives. Genograms and tracking intergenerational patterns, Bronfenbrenner model, Social Dominance Theory and Testing, Bowens Nuclear Systems Theory and inventory. Evaluation methods for multicultural competence. Creating content for multiple learning styles to make information receptive to a diversity of minds. How the legitimization of authority and identity formation plays a role in countering or perpetuating oppression: medical industrial complex classifying defect to necessitating cure, How integration is not assimilation development of psychologically recognized Racial & Integrated models (other social locations) of Identity formation stages and phases.
Luregn Lenggenhager and Emelie Danielsson: Dehumanized poachers and elite wildlife - the emergence of an interspecies class society in Southern African nature conservation

For centuries, people in Southern Africa has been dehumanized due to racial classification. It was only with the establishment of independent states in the 1960s and the abolishment of Apartheid in the 1990s, that “non-whites” officially gained recognition as human beings and citizens. However, this newly gained notion remains challenged. Today, the dehumanization of certain people is not only instigated by the former white elite, but also by a diverse community of global liberals, environmentalists and development agencies. Why? To protect nature.

Our paper explores how current nature conservation in Southern Africa, via initiatives like communal conservancies and transfrontier conservation, creates new inter- and intra-species hierarchies and divisions. We show how Southern Africa’s racist past of classifying and hierarchizing humans and nature is re-emerging in these forms of wildlife conservation. By discussing different examples of conservation, we will show that they not only have financial, personal and structural ties to former Apartheid elites, but also ideological ones.

Under the current threat of wildlife encroachment and poaching, such initiatives pave the way for new forms of oppression in which certain people are again dehumanized (poachers losing their human rights via shoot-to-kill policies), and certain animals (charismatic high-profile game) are “humanized”, attaining stronger rights and protection than humans. Thus, this “elite conservation” which caters for the interest of land-owners, tourist operators and a global tourism and hunting elite, manifest new hierarchies in which high-profile species are held versus low-profile species, and certain people are held versus certain species. This emerging inter- and intraspecies class society is once again defined by the rich and powerful, while for many poor Africans it means losing their newly gained security of being acknowledged as human beings.

Roberta Laurie: “Ethical” extraction and the end games of oil

With the publication of the polemic Ethical Oil: The Case for Canada's Oil Sands, “Canada's rottweiller” and “political gadfly,” Ezra Levant popularized the term “ethical oil” and created a new frame that allows for expanding bitumen production and an ongoing business-as-usual paradigm for the province. The “ethical oil” frame has been around for a decade now, waxing and waning, but ever evolving. In Alberta — home of the oil sands, truck nuts, and a “get ‘er done” attitude — the end-of-oil games is playing out. After 44 years of Conservative government followed by a four-year respite, Jason Kenney, long-time booster of Alberta's “ethical oil,” is now in power, and the province is moving further right than ever before. The new government isn't just promising increased bitumen extraction. In its first days in power, it has already reduced public-sector funding, changed policy to “out” gays in the province's schools, and discontinued Indigenous land acknowledgments. “Ethical oil” is on everyone's lips, the “job-killing” carbon tax is being repealed, and a “war room” is being created to deal with anyone foolish enough to get in the way of oil sands expansion. The “ethical oil” frame has a storied past, but it continues to allow politicians, oil sands supporters, and the public to dodge the hard reality of climate change even as it makes way for fossil fuel boosterism — all while forest fire smoke once again veils the province and reports declare that Canada is the most rapidly heating region of the world.
Eugenio Luciano: Going too far: An epistemological account of the differences between scepticism and denialism

In the introduction to the book Merchants of Doubt, Naomi Oreskes and Erik M. Conway recount the events surrounding Ben Santer, an American atmospheric scientist who has been researching all his life on the science behind global warming, who was harshly attacked by global warming deniers of producing 'bad science.' The book's authors argued that his accusers were not interested in finding the facts, but merely in fighting them. Drawing on this episode, the present paper examines the difference between scepticism and denialism in the context of global warming and ideological thinking from a philosophical-epistemological point of view. I explain why the notions should not be used interchangeably by dissecting the logical structure of both scepticism and denialism (and its radical variant, negationism), while reconsidering scepticism as a constructive attitude opposed to denialism as a destructive stance in knowledge making and sharing. The word "scepticism" in the context of climate change or global warming is regularly implemented either as a synonym of denialism, or to denote the refusal of a certain fact that has been scientifically corroborated. However, from a philosophical point of view, scepticism has often been implemented as a powerful panacea against dogmas, suspending the judgment, whereas knowledge is not available or deconstructing knowledge itself. These characteristics are structurally opposed to ideological thinking—that is, the process of thinking motivated by and direct toward a central idea. Far right ideologies are a clear example of ideological thinking, fuelled by strong denialist theses. My paper moves from the logical and epistemological analysis of the difference between scepticism and denialism to the assessment of the epistemic foundation of ideological thinking, and how its radicality manifests into far-right ideologies.

Balsa Lubarda: Ecologically sensitive nationalists: environmental discourses of the far right in Poland

The increasing popularity of radical right in Central-east Europe enabled it to permeate a wide range of topics. Simultaneously, it has long been acknowledged that the countries of the socialist camp had a rather distinctive experience with environmentalism as opposed to Western-European countries, mostly due to the extent of environmental degradation paired with the stringent political pressure exerted by the authorities in the socialist era. For Poland, a country historically wedded in Catholicism with a specific (anti-Nazi) far-right trajectory, but also well-known for its coal-based economy, environmental topics have seldom been used to instigate nationalistic sentiments. Radical right affinity to the environment comes as somewhat natural - their appreciation of what is supposedly authentic. Viewing the concepts of 'race' and 'nation' as inextricably tied to the land, a nostalgic desire for order and stability allegedly resembled in ecosystems has become a substantive allure of radical right's appeal to self-sustainability. Its position in Poland nowadays is also pointing to a need for regrouping, given the dominance of populist Law and Justice Party. Their increasing relevance (over 20% of the popular vote) points to the influence radical right presents for shaping or shifting environmental discourse and policies in the future. To assess the radical right's positions on the environment, this paper will look at discourses and policy proposals of Polish radical right actors by utilizing the analytical framework of Right-wing ecology (Olsen 1999, Lubarda, forthcoming). The actors under scrutiny consist of both parties (Ruch Narodowy), and movements (ONR, ONR Podhale, Szutromowcy, Ecolektyw/Greenline front Poland).

Listeners Without Borders: Room for your thoughts and emotions

What perspectives from the conference do you wish to take with you into your everyday life? What can make it difficult for you to achieve those changes you wish to create? How does our own biases influence our ability to affect societal change in general and (ecologies of) the far right in particular?

However, besides the recommended theme for this event, it's okay to share anything that the conference and its theme has stirred up, if you feel such a need.

Listeners Without Borders will explain their strategy of using listening and sharing as a tool to work for a more fair world. Then participants are invited to, in small circles, take turns sharing their thoughts and emotions and to actively listen to each other.
**Natalie Mamonova: The emancipatory rural politics initiative and right-wing populism in the European countryside**

Right-wing populism has been marching across Europe. Today, every third European government consists of or depends on an authoritarian populist party. Not for the first time, right-wing populist movements have been spreading across this continent, but the current wave is, perhaps, the most significant one since the end of World War II. The contemporary right-wing populist parties have a strong rural constituency, as was evident by recent elections and referendums. The populist leaders are rising by tapping into discontent in the countryside and exploiting rural resentments against elites, migrants and ethnic minorities.

However, the European countryside does not only provide the breeding ground for regressive political forces, but it may also offer progressive alternatives in the form of emancipatory rural politics. The European team of the Emancipatory Rural Politics Initiative (ERPI Europe) is a collective research project/initiative on rural Europe, which is aimed at understanding the rise of right-wing populism in the European countryside, as well as the forms of resistance occurring and the alternatives being built.

In this presentation, I will outline the overall vision, key objectives and main strategies of ERPI Europe. I will also discuss the common features and tendencies of the right-wing populist upsurge in the European region, and the social and political processes in rural spaces that are generating alternatives to these regressive, authoritarian right-wing politics.

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**Amir Massoumian: How ideas of masculinity inform beliefs within the far-right in London**

“There is no Conservatism without nature, there is no nationalism without environmentalism, the natural environment of our lands shaped us just as we shaped it. We were born from our lands and our own culture was moulded by these same lands. The protection and preservation of these lands is of the same importance as the protection and preservation of our own ideals and beliefs.”

The Great Replacement - Christchurch manifesto

This research will investigate how ideas of masculinity inform perceptions of cultural preservation, race, gender, hierarchy, nationhood, climate change, and immigration among far right groups living in London. The speed, scale and scope of changes that have occurred due to market-driven globalisation has resulted in traction for populist movements that reaffirm the nation-state's primacy, reject international entanglements, abhor political correctness and the push for cultural diversity. Such movements have gained significant traction on digital platforms, producing echo chambers which see themselves as defenders of 'Western culture' against the onslaught of Islam, globalism, migration, feminism and homosexuality. Despite a body of scholarship on the far right, we know far less about how people's experience of masculinity has a role to play in the ideology. The research will aim to produce detailed ethnographic accounts on such groups and their views on masculinity, contrasting the opinions displayed online with thoughts and feelings displayed outside of the readily changing digital realm of online politics. I will also hope to investigate how beliefs of a 'feminised west' have resulted in negative attitudes towards environmentalism advocated by the Left, but have produced fascist offshoots of environmentalism based on racial and ethnic conservatism. Specifically, how the gendered notions of land and nature, reinforce concerns for the environment, whilst simultaneously bolstering racial bigotry.
**Kevin D. McCartney**: Colonial imaginaries, precarious futures, and technocratic governance: United we roll and the mainstreaming of Canada's denialist Far Right

The emergence of white nationalism in Canada as a coherent and popular political movement is materially and spatially intertwined with Canada's extractive industries. Nowhere is this more visible than in the heavy oil communities of the province of Alberta, where a recent anti-immigrant, pro-pipeline movement entitled United We Roll originated. United We Roll was a crowd funded caravan from Red Deer, Alberta to the national parliament building in Ottawa, nearly 3,500km east, to protest against carbon taxation, environmental review for extractive projects, and the supposed lack of pipeline infrastructure necessary to grow Alberta's tar sands.

The convoy was widely publicized in Canadian media – national and regional, public and corporate – but its close association with far right white supremacist messages and organizations was unevenly acknowledged even as a major federal political party endorsed the movement. Little popular attention is given to the material and structural conditions of this mainstreaming of white supremacy within and alongside climate denialist politics of expanding heavy oil and bitumen extraction. Using United We Roll as a case study, this paper seeks to offer insight into the historical conjuncture of Canada's far right eco-imaginary by articulating the confluence of existential nausea in the face of ecological and social change, a precarious and degrading economy, and the deep alienation of neoliberal state technocracy. These mechanisms of disillusionment must be further contextualized within the corporate power of oil and gas to radicalize Canadian nationalism in the defence of carbon profitability and corporate survival while interfering with democratic public institutions, or the so-called regime of obstruction (Carroll, forthcoming). Further, despite their anti-state rhetoric, the accommodation and legitimation of United We Roll's exclusionary, fascist activism by mainstream Canadian political actors in defence of oil and gas reminds us that the colonial Canadian state remains a bipartisan, semi-permanent ally of extractivist logics of accumulation by dispossession.

**Meredith McKittrick**: Securing a “white man’s country”: South Africa’s settlers debate immigration and climate change, 1900-1950

A century ago, white men in South Africa feared that their world was threatened by the twin perils of climate change and a black majority. They were deeply suspicious of scientific consensus about the environment. They argued that state policies favored “natives” over “white men” – despite the fact that South Africa’s evolving institutions were designed to enshrine white dominance. And they fretted over how to make South Africa “a white man’s country” once and for all.

This entanglement of beliefs about climate, race, and state and scientific elites is strangely familiar today, as we grapple with the rise of far-right groups whose constituents mobilize around hostility toward climate science, state regulation, and immigration. And yet there are differences. In early 20th-century South Africa, it was scientists who insisted that no progressive climate change was taking place. And many of South Africa's whites were the ones calling for large-scale immigration – of white people, in order to “equalize” the country’s racial demographics.

These differences relate to unique geographic and historical contexts. The logic of white populist mobilization is similar. South African scientists and government experts insisted that what appeared to be climate change in the form of reduced rainfall was the result of white settlers' mismanagement of the land. Popular belief rejected these charges of white culpability and rooted such changes in “natural” climate change. And as today, immigration was an emotional issue, rooted in fears of white “extinction.”

I am finishing a book on popular environmental and racial thought among South African whites in the first half of the 20th century. As the project has progressed, I have puzzled over the parallels between how my subjects saw the world a century ago and the rise of a similar worldview among the world’s white populations today. This conference offers me an opportunity to further explore those parallels and to root conversations about contemporary far-right political ecologies in a historical context. The toxic combination of racial entitlement and economic and social anxiety is, unfortunately, not a new one.
Shachi Mokashi: India and the histories of ecological appropriation

Tracing the histories of capitalist development across India, we see a violent hijacking of the socio-ecological, anti-colonial struggles that paved the way towards independence. Historically, we have seen many forms of political and economic expulsions—in the name of environmental protectionism—across India; in the same breath, we can trace a history of the increasing ecological appropriation for production and industrial development. India’s history is perfused with the obscuring of ideology at multiple levels; however, the current agrarian distress, waves of land accumulation, and the diluting of resource-protection laws are blatant authoritative moves toward increasing ecological appropriation. What political narratives have allowed for that? Considering the history of resource extraction and exploitative practices from the colonial era to the contemporary political landscape, what does the specific example of India tell us about ecological crises under capitalism? More specifically, what can we glean from the recent cases of privatising land in Gujarat; the restriction of mobility in Naxal areas; and, the diluting of resource-protection laws along the eastern coast?

In setting up a larger theoretical undertaking on capitalism as a world-ecology, Jason W. Moore ruminates on whether we are facing the latest crisis in the development of capitalism or an epochal turning point. Is the current agrarian crisis in India an example of the incongruity between the rate of ecological appropriation and the demand for the capitalisation of resources? Or, are we standing at a pivotal point in time where certain ecological crises illustrate the more insidious and unsustainable nature of contemporary capitalist development and its engineering of crises? The character of post-colonial development, I argue, allows us to think through these questions critically and helps us understand the changing natures of ecological appropriation across the world. These considerations hope to theorise resistance to authoritative ecologies and contribute to the literature speaking to the political economy of nature.

Jacob McLean: Yellow vests Canada: Fossil capital and the Far-Right

In this presentation I will examine how party and non-party sectors of the Canadian far right are mobilizing around a nationalist defense of the Athabasca tar sands. Recently, at the non-party level, this trend has manifested in a Canadian spinoff of the French gilets jaunes movement. Unlike the gilets jaunes movement, Yellows Vests Canada has never undergone an internal struggle for ideological clarity or orientation: from its inception, Yellow Vests Canada, which has been particularly popular in the oil-producing prairie provinces (Alberta and Saskatchewan), has been dominated by right-wing and far-right actors and ideology. Key features of the movement include: a pro oil and gas message; a rejection of Liberal Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s carbon tax; and an anti-immigration message. For this presentation, I will conduct a discourse analysis of Yellow Vests Canada’s social media platforms. I will also draw on reflections from my personal observation and audiovisual documentation of a Yellow Vests rally that took place on Feb. 19th, 2019 on Parliament Hill in Ottawa. This protest was the culmination of a cross-Canada truck convoy dubbed ‘United We Roll,’ and featured yellow vest protesters and others advocating for the oil and gas industry, as well as prominent far-right speaker Faith Goldy, and a keynote address from Progressive Conservative Party leader Andrew Scheer. This presentation will seek insight from scholarship on right-wing populism and fossil capital, as it asks the following questions: with regards to the Canadian context, how do we explain the white working class’ perpetuation of political conservativism, xenophobia, and the power of fossil capital? How can the Left defeat this movement and secure hegemony for the idea of a just transition in the tar sands and a renewable future built on energy democracy?

Jade Monserrat: Hyper-belongings: a sense of place

“... black lives are necessarily geographic, but also struggle with discourses that erase and despatialize their sense of place ...” (McKittrick 2006, xiii). Thinking through the notion of “rural belongings” and “how bodily geography can be” (44–52) could be one way of countering or challenging this erasure and marginalization or anti-spatialization (unthought- ness, the last place they thought of-ness). But what is a rural belonging? What does it mean to reclaim land, and a relationship to space, and what sort of reclamation or belonging should we be working towards? This is where the “unfolding of thought” can lead towards reparations as a spiritual co-mingling with ecological practices.
The eco-fascists next door? Sexist white supremacist environmentalists in Portlandia

This paper presents an ethnographic case study of a highly eco-conscious family in Portland, Oregon, with extreme sexist, white supremacist views informing their pro-environmental lifestyle. This ethnography does not describe paranoid environmental "doomsday preppers" living off the grid in a remote rural area trying to avoid the government and the Illuminati. Rather, I will discuss the habits, beliefs, and motivations behind the day-to-day life of a bike-commuting, co-housing-dwelling, co-operative grocery store shopping family with alt-right beliefs in an urban American neighbourhood. While the political and social views of this family are abhorrent, I will argue that these views are in fact the natural extension of many taken-for-granted assumptions that underlie much of progressive environmentalism more broadly: specifically, views about the role of women and mothers in the heterosexual family-household, and Neo-Malthusian fears about overpopulation in developing countries held alongside fears about the extinction of the white race.

Hogging the urban: The Hindu Right, species, and caste in the Indian Smart City

The Hindu Right in India has widely engaged in the instrumentalisation of the cow as ostensibly sacred to Hindus, to violently marginalise poor Muslims and Dalits, the former ‘untouchables’ of the Indian caste system. What is less known are the ways in which pigs are also enrolled, albeit differently, in the making of the Hindurashtra, or a racially pure Hindu state. Swine, conceptually the opposite of the high-caste cows, are at the centre of violent eradication drive in many Indian cities, particularly those designated to be ‘Smart Cities’. Feral pigs, displaced by the increased wild boar-farmer conflict in regional areas are attracted by the voluminous waste that cities generate. India’s Wildlife Protection Act 1972 regards the native Indian pig (sus scrofa) as a protected species. Dalits also rear pigs in cities as part of their livelihood. Urban development authorities however, seek exemptions to declare all pigs as “vermin” to be eradicated by municipal hunters. Both pig and Dalit bodies, historically and contemporaneously, are located at the

What does climate justice look like under the Far Right?

What do activists need to know about the far right’s engagement with the climate crisis? How can movements for climate justice, anti-racism, and anti-fascism work together to combat the ecological and social threats accelerated by climate-induced transition? This workshop will look at the ways groups in different countries in the EU are fighting back against the far right’s use of ecology to forward fascististic narratives, policies, and practices.

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Yamini Narayanan: Hogging the urban: The Hindu Right, species, and caste in the Indian Smart City

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Adrien Nonjon: Fashioning the new «Eco-fascism» in European margins: The case of Ecology within contemporary Ukrainian Far-Right

By expressing the rejection of a system built on a modernity estimated to be failed in the name of the defense of the environment, ecology has been tempted to succumb to extreme radicalization. If this "Deep ecology" has been debated in the West within the Far-Right, it remains marginal and does not lead to any concrete action. However, the case of post-Soviet space and the Ukraine seems very singular. Flourishing in this area marked by extensive industrialization, intermittent geopolitical tensions, and where the failure of Green parties and NGO's had marginalized political ecology, the very idea of protecting the environment has become one of the main preoccupations of Far-right movements.

Espousing a vision of nature going beyond its mere physical characteristics, Ultra-nationalist movements such as Greenline Front or Azov's Green Corps reformulate the notion of ecology around a struggle for "Green Dignity" which seeks a rehabilitation of nature as a topos of a Ukrainian ethnic particularism, an idealized past around biocentrism, romanticism and sometimes radical primitivism... This new nationalist pro domo advocacy, gave birth to a new "green vigilantism" that sets up violent practices and tactics inspired by the war in the East, attracting both young militants and former veterans. Moving more and more towards confrontation with an institutional ecology and towards the daily denunciation of the government, this new Eco-fascism, far from being the mere disguised promotion of a formerly marginalized revolutionary ideology, fully corresponds to a way for Ultra-nationalists to express themselves again or even to take leadership in the path of rehabilitation of a « threatened nation ». In this respect, by exalting the virtues made in conformity with their radical image and rhetoric built around a questioning of the post-Maidan Ukraine, they restore a certain unity of political ecology.

This paper, through a historical and political perspective on the basis of well-established empirical data from field-work, aims to identify as much as possible the origins and specificity of this new dynamic.

Julia Nordblad: Can the history of emotions help us understand political ecologies of the Far Right? A theoretical and methodological inventory

Populism is often described as politics in a specific and highly charged emotional register. This paper explores what a historical perspective can contribute to the understanding of such politics, especially in the case of political ecologies of the far right. The paper surveys theoretical strands and methodological devices from the history of emotions to identify possible approaches to far right political ecologies. As a field of study, the history of emotions starts from the idea that experiencing emotions might be natural, but the norms for their expression or suppression in certain contexts are profoundly cultural, and thus subject to change over time. Emotions can therefore be studied with historical methods. This also applies to the political roles and functions of emotions, as well as theories and ideas about these matters (Hewitt, 2017; Frevert, 2011; Reddy, 2001; Rothschild, 2001). The paper presents literature, especially historiographical discussions, from the field of history of emotions to pose questions about what historical parallels could be drawn on to understand current developments? Are certain emotions, or uses of emotions, specific to populist movements? And, in contrast, what have been the emotional dimensions of the dominating conceptions of the environment in Western societies?
Fatima Ouassak: The Mothers' Front for anti-racist and ecological activism

The “Front de mères” (Mothers’ Front) is a parents’ union in the working class neighbourhoods born 4 years ago, the first parents’ union in France which leads struggles from a totally new point of view and with a totally new political line, from an anti-racist, feminist and ecological perspective in particular. This organization was born at the local level, in the working class districts of the Paris area (“Seine-St-Denis”) on a very concrete and precise issue: the demand of many parents to see a vegetarian alternative put in place in school canteens. More generally, it was a question of reappropriating the question of feeding their children, parents who were often described (especially in Seine-Saint-Denis) as “resigning parents”.

Most local actors, left-wing organizations, environmental organizations, local authorities (including municipal services) have manoeuvred to silence, or even disqualify/diabolize, this demand, which nevertheless contained a strong ecological dimension and a real issue of social justice. This claim has been described as “communitarian”, “Islamist”, carried by women who had a “hidden agenda” and who “were advancing in hiding”. This disqualification and marginalization of these parents (mothers in reality) from the working class and post-colonial immigrant neighbourhoods within left-wing, environmentalist and other organizations has pushed them to organize themselves independently. Hence the creation of local collectives, then the Mothers’ Front, which brings them together at the national level. This autonomy (somewhat “forced”) has been very beneficial in terms of awareness throughout the last 4 years, with an increased awareness that the food supply for children, especially children of the working class and/or children from post-colonial immigration, was monopolized by the agri-food industry in a profit-oriented logic. That these children had less access, because of their social class and territory, to good, “ethical” and healthy food (greater consumption of meat, particularly industrial meat, “junk food”, industrial products, etc.).

Moreover, this empowerment has been accompanied by a search for partnerships beyond the local territory (hostile therefore), in particular with L214, Greenpeace, AVF (Association Végétarienne de France), for a “convergence of interests and struggles” that is being worked on and continued to this day. Finally, local collectives and the Mothers’ Front have greatly broadened their scope of action with several struggles that often have an ecological dimension (against the breakdown of lifts in working class neighbourhoods, against the over-consumption of digital technology among children in these neighbourhoods, against gentrification, against the installation of a school near a highway, etc.) From this struggle for a vegetarian alternative led by the Mothers' Front, a problem has emerged that has not been explored much until now: ecology and working class neighbourhoods.

Asmae Ourkiya: Highlighting the importance of ecofeminism and examining the interconnection between environmental degradation and gender-based oppression

Ecofeminism came to prominence as a gender-conscious green movement standing against the patriarchy that impacts both women and the environment resulting in the degradation and the subjugation of both. As an approach in academia, it derived from feminism and took its roots from ecocriticism. It is a movement that emerged in the 1970's in several parts of the world where women fought to protect the environment from capitalist environmental degradation and refused to be victims of hierarchal oppression and exploitation. The main concepts of this gender-conscious theory is that the domination of women and that of the environment are interconnected, thus, the liberation of one depends on the liberation of the other. This calls for an ideology that deconstructs the bodily similarities between females and the natural. The aim of this workshop is to introduce participants to this movement and literary criticism, and enable them to question the similarities attributed to both women and nature (such as nurturing, reproduction, and passivity). Participants will firstly be introduced to the field and will grasp an understanding of its concepts. Afterwards, they be given a series of questions to allow them to think critically about the genesis of women's domination and how it is related to capitalistic patriarchy. Following this, participants will be asked to work in pairs where they will share one experience where they experienced/witnessed a situation where a marginalized group (women, people of colour, LGBTQ people, etc...) faced an oppressive situation. After sharing the experiences, they will be asked to link the similar features that are attributed to both the oppressed subject and mother earth. Participants will then break into groups to discuss how female empowerment leads to an increased awareness of our natural surroundings. They will be given handouts stating samples of ecofeminist movements such as the Chipko Andolan or the Green Belt Movement to help them understand the previously discussed associations. And last but not least, participants will work on a large group painting where they will express the role ecofeminist politics in ending the different kinds of “centrisms” (eurocentrism, ethnocentrism, heterocentrism, etc...) and how these concepts are the root of the subordination of women, marginalized groups, and the environment.
Sonja Pietiläinen: The nature of the far-right's nature - ‘Nature’, ethno-nationalism and the Finns party

This paper investigates the ideological relations between concerns over nature and the far-right's core ideology, ethno-nationalism and is supplemented by empirical research, where the Finns Party's representations of nature have been studied. Empirical evidence demonstrates that nature is an important theme in the party's official publications. Four analytical themes are introduced to illustrate the ways in which different ideas of nature can be related to the far-right's ethno-nationalist ideology. In the first theme, nature is linked to place, people and homeland, to the past and the future of the nation. In the second theme, nature is a place to discover human nature, which marks you different from the uncivilized, brutal and irrational Other. Third, nature is a site for various environmental concerns such as resource scarcities or carrying capacities, which are the outcome of overpopulation and pollution that occurs 'elsewhere'. Fourth, nature is represented as an object which can be modified and exploited through technological and capitalist advancements but only for the benefit of the Finns.

In the context of the empirical analysis but also existing research on the far-right and nature nexus, this paper argues that nature can serve as an important component of the far-right's ethno-nationalist ideology because, through certain representations of nature, the far-right does not only define nature but also human nature. In this way, certain representations of nature can function as a means to formulate social relations of power because through certain ideas of nature the far-right can naturalise ‘fixed’ human properties (rational, civilized, moral). These representations of nature can have important spatial and temporal implications: by emphasising the connection between culture and nature or the belonging and rootedness in the homeland, the far-right attempts to designate everyone's place and mark those who are ‘out of place’. Contemporary research on the far-right and nature has addressed inconsistencies in the far-right's ideas of nature: on the other hand, many far-right actors support localised and romanticised ideas of natural protection. On the other hand, the far-right tends to dispute climate change. This thesis argues that these two positions are two sides of the same coin: reasserting the normative power of Western white masculinity.

Helen Pritchard and Cassandra Troyan: The Anti Menagerie: methods for interrogating the supremacy of world-shaping violence

Critiques and new interpretations of the Anthropocene continue to multiply and while the extent to which these various analyses take hold are unclear, they mark the need to constantly redefine the terms that propose a particular interpretation of this geological era— Plantationocene (Aarhus University Research on the Anthropocene (AURA)), Capitalocene (Malm & Moore), Chthulucene (Haraway), Necrocene (McBrien) to mention a few. The proliferation of these terms, as a means to rigorously engage with the not only how the Anthropocene is historicized, but how it redefines the possibility for de-centering the anthropocentricism that has led to this current moment of global climate crisis. Although these accounts have opened spaces of alterity beyond humanist concerns, their search for positive engagements with nonhumans have often assumed the liberatory potential of decentering anthropocentrism through multispecies or more-than-human research as a given. What unfolds are often eco-facist or environmental nationalistforms, that harness the racially organising capacities of multispecies storytelling that can be imploded as a mode for structuring the racist western imaginary of imperialist fantasy, if not countered otherwise. As a response, in this paper, we argue for an explicitly anti-capitalist, anti -racist, anti-fascist de-centering of not only the category of the “human,” but of the human led forces that ravaged the planet and its inhabitants through enslavement, white supremacy, and colonial violence.

With this in mind we retell an and destabilise a story that starts with the journey of an infant giraffe from southern Sudan to the French King's garden in the 19th Century. Through the weaving of complicated and complicit narratives, we unfold a mapping of complex histories and multispecies violences. We outline the importance of understanding the histories of slavery, the rise of commodification and global capitalism, as urgently needed perspectives and somewhat missing, in multispecies inquiries.

Rather than attempting to construct a new category that will provide an optimal framing, by viewing historical violence as conterminous with the present, instead the valence of political resistance becomes the guiding principle. Through these expanded parallel histories, told in text, images, and in cultural curiosities, this paper opens spaces for fictions and speculative tracks that engage with giraffe's refusal, the beaver's resilience, the production of antibodies and bacterial resistance, as methods for interrogating the supremacy of world-shaping violence.
**Paul M. Pulé: Understanding the White Male Effect of climate change denial**

On Wednesday 28th August, 2019, Swedish teen climate activist Greta Thunberg made land fall in New York City to participate in various climate related events across the Americas. She was met with great reverence at the Manhattan Marina. Responses, beyond that warm welcoming, ran the gamut from EU pledges of hundreds of billions of Euros to combat climate change, a climate emergency being declared by the British parliament, and by Sept 20th up to 7.6 million people at an estimated 2,500 events in 163 countries took to the streets to demand climate protection policies.

Juxtaposed against these gains was the rage that Thunberg also confronted. Alarmingly, but not surprisingly, she was targeted with tropes - joined by none other than US president Donald Trump - that were levelled at her spectrum disorder, looks, demeanor, socio-economic status, age, even her sexuality; reflective of the misogyny and hyper-masculinities that characterise what I refer to in this session as ‘industrial/breadwinner masculinities’. Their ferocity correlate with addictions to industrial growth society. They are at the root of anthropogenic climate change and manifest most intensely in white men from the Global North – a ‘white male effect’ of sorts. This phenomenon requires careful examination and must be met with alternatives that I refer to as ‘ecological masculinities’.

**Daina Pupkevičiute: Sustainable practices in environmental activism**

In the contexts, both academic and mediatic, which concentrate much attention on the mechanics of growth of the far-right circles, I feel there is a need to talk more about environmental activist practices, concentrating on what makes them sustainable (enough) to ensure the longevity of such movements. I will look into one case of environmental activist group that has been protecting a Forest in Europe, and how affect and emotion are engaged and central to forming a lasting participation on a variety of action levels of all involved. I will address structures of care, sustainable inter-personal practices and cultivation of what I call “safety nets”, drawing on the findings a multi-sited fieldwork done over 2018/2019 provided me with.

I will further refer to the definition of “regenerative culture”, as used by Extinction Rebellion movement, and how this might be an important framework in thinking about sustainable activism as performed in sustainable ways.

For the second part of the presentation I will engage the participants into a number of physical activities, based on the methods I use in performance art education, through which I’ll invite to explore our collectivities: how we affect each other and how others affect us.

**Karin Reisinger: Nation(al) parks: Contested histories of areas withheld for nature**

With this suggestion, I want to revisit territories of nature preservation; national parks that have been part of nation-building and colonial identities and politics throughout the world. Their contested histories will be discussed along the examples of three different national parks, including awareness of problematic pasts and contradictory genealogies of the three specific environmental areas:

1. Eifel National Park in Germany developed around one of the National Socialist Ordensburgen (centres imitating the building style of the middle ages), educating the NS elite during the Second World War. The area was used for military training after the Second World War.
2. Gorongosa National Park in Mozambique was founded during colonial times in Mozambique and serves as an undergrowth of retreat for the nationalistic army of resistance of Mozambique, and is therefore everything else but a-political.
3. Plitvice Lakes National Park in Croatia is connected to the colonising history of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Under threat, and even panic, of the Sixth Great extinction lying ahead of us, it seems there is no other choice than prioritizing to support the survival of the nonhumans of the parks which are threatened to be extinct – whatever it takes. How can we find methods and ways of preserving the species in the parks without forgetting about the politically problematic histories of the areas? Therefore, I want to discuss the contradictions, interdependencies and present conflicts of these areas in a wider range of feminist political ecologies, posthuman feminism and affirmative ethics.
**Lauren Richter:** Virtue, ignorance, and environmental devastation

This project draws parallels between two supreme forms: the corporate and the white. Supreme in the sense that these subjects exert ideological and material supremacy through a range of strategies. The ascendance of the contemporary far-right can be explained, in part, by the interests of fluid organizations and groups that perpetuate exploitation of the environment and human beings to maintain wealth. Building on theoretical frameworks from Critical Race Theory and Settler Colonial Studies, I show select links between the ideological and material operation of corporate and white forms. Specifically, I analyze the deployment of virtue and ignorance to justify and normalize accelerating ecocide, despite - or in spite - of the devastation “colonial ecological violence” (Bacon 2018) has inflicted globally on Native peoples, land, environmental justice communities, and increasingly on global scale populations and ecosystems. Dissecting the deployment of virtue and ignorance facilitates the study of groups typically cloaked in privileged “regimes of imperceptibility” (Murphy 2004). I argue that virtue and ignorance are available to supreme forms, facilitating a remarkable capacity to extract and consume with unique impunity and seemingly limitless capacity for redemption. In the U.S. context, these qualities help render logical the failure to criminalize deadly corporate and police violence against non-white bodies and space. Ultimately, this project locates the strategies of the contemporary far-right, in larger histories of colonialism and racial capitalism.

**Krishna Roka:** Corporate social responsibility (CSR) and far right agendas: A critical analysis of the relationship that is shaping global environmentalism

Global biodiversity is under threat from human activities most notably the consumption of goods and services that corporations manufacture and market for mass consumption. The increasing human population (10 billion by 2050) offers vast opportunities for corporations to mass produce new products but at the expense of the limited environmental resources. To tackle their growing impact on the environment, many large and small corporations have adopted corporate social responsibility (CSR) as the magic bullet to reverse the trends towards a balanced economy. Since the Rio Summit in 1992 corporations have published vast reports to highlight their CSR commitments and achievements. In doing so they are now claiming a larger role in biodiversity conservation in areas they operate and beyond. This paper analyses the CSR reports of top 200 American corporations from the Fortune 500 list (2019) published by Fortune magazine annually. It will use content analysis method to look for the specific language and values of the far right such as: blaming over population (especially diverse population), anti-plastic ban, anti-animal rights, pro-economy/growth, climate change denialism and anti-government regulations. While the corporations may not use the exact language of the far right their agendas may resemble views that promotes more consumption, less environmental regulation, technical solution to problems and utilitarian assessment of natural resources. This paper raises important questions on the role of corporations shaping the future of environmentalism in the US and the world.

**Laila Sandroni, Robert Coates and Katia Ferraz:** Neoliberal authoritarianism as environmental governance: conservation, biodiversity decline, and denial in Bolsonaro’s Brazil

The picturing of environmental crisis as a ‘lie’ now represents a key tenet of a number of significant regimes. In this paper we argue that the Bolsonaro government’s use of this discursive strategy cannot be separated from the expansion of neoliberal authoritarianism – and thus we contribute to debates on the relationship between the new anti-environmentalist right and the governance of global biodiversity. Much has been written on authoritarian populism’s pitting of ‘us’ against ‘them’, a political-religious strategy of racialised othering that aims to shore up nationalist sentiment. But these mobilisations cannot be separated from the material background placing Brazil as at once the world’s most biodiverse country and global leader in agricultural and mineral extraction. In Latin America progressive governments were, generally, dependent on export rents from expanding oil and mineral industries and intensive monoculture (SCOONES et al, 2018) – in Brazil especially iron, soya and beef – at the expense of biodiverse habitats and more marginal groups. So the problem of socio-environmental degradation was already present through an active process of primitive accumulation (SASSEN, 2014). The re-
placement of so-called ‘progressive’ neoliberalism by a more authoritarian neoliberal order (FRASER, 2017; SAAD-FILHO, 2018) then reveals the drive for increased growth unhindered by state-led protections. We highlight here controversies surrounding the Bolsonaro government’s actions and justifications related to biodiversity conservation, especially by the Ministry for the Environment. These considerations lead us to the problematic of post-truth and the need to address the denial of environmental crisis without abandoning political ecology’s well established critique of western science (NEIMARK et al., 2019). Under Brazilian neoliberal-authoritarian social and economic policy, environmental justice has no place, and efforts to delegitimize academics, the environmental movement, and public employees pushing for environmental awareness represent a clear strategy of political persecution.

Combatting ideological manipulation is not to endorse uncritical readings of science in achieving nature conservation that works for humans in biodiverse nature. We conclude with reflection on what is being done to counter the nefarious consequences of these discourses, and with the acknowledgement that the political ecology agenda must be pursued as a force to inspire worlds beyond neoliberal authoritarianism.

Lisa Santosa: White ethno-nationalism and land reform in South Africa: The relationship between discourses of food security and racial entitlement

This paper will draw linkages between market-based solutions to resource and land scarcity in the global south, particularly large-scale commercial agriculture and the Green Revolution (Lee 2013; Hopma & Woods 2014; Trauger 2014; Moseley, Schnurr, & Kerr 2015), and the entrenchment of colonial structures reinvented through discourses of food security and ethno-nationalist survival. In South Africa, very little progress has been made in reversing the material inequalities that are a result of centuries of colonial exploitation (Greenberg 2015). Land reform remains a central component in reversing those inequalities. The African National Congress government initially adopted a market-based ‘willing buyer, willing seller’ model that compensated current land owners for their land at market rates, making land reform prohibitively expensive, preventing the timely processing of land claim applications (Aliber & Cousins 2013). For those that did have their land restituted; the government required participation in cooperative schemas that expanded the production capacity of the land to signal commitment to food security as envisioned by the global north (Cousins & Scoones 2010; Greenberg 2015). Due to lack of training and inputs for newly minted farmers to produce at this scale, these schemas largely failed. The failure of these projects has provided justification for current agricultural landowners, white farmers that own farmland due to the policies of apartheid, to underlie their entitlement as contributors to national prosperity. These claims reinforce and strengthen colonial structures by using reworked identity narratives that reignite nationalist discourses prevalent during apartheid (van der Merwe 2009; Verwey & Quayle 2012). Racial panics have developed around the narrative of farm attacks; the fear that white farmers will be attacked on their own homesteads by black attackers that are racially motivated (HRW 2001). The fear of racially motivated attacks against whites on farms is stoked by right-wing influencers and organizations such as Afriforum, Transvaal Agricultural Union, popular Afrikaner musician Steven Hofmeyr, and American filmmaker Lauren Southern. These victimization narratives reinforce the ethno-nationalist discourse of Afrikaners as a besieged chosen people on the African continent (Wenzel 2000). This paper will investigate the path dependency of the political economy of South Africa on colonial structures and how they encourage the mobilization and entrenchment of right-wing movements there.
**Stella Schaller**: Adelphi Report: Convenient truths - Mapping climate agendas of right-wing populist parties in Europe

Right-wing populists are picking up momentum all over the world. An understanding of how these new actors conceive climate change and influence current and future climate action is vital to communicating and designing effective and inclusive policies. Through an in-depth analysis of 21 European right-wing populist parties, their manifestos, public statements and voting behaviour, we were able to distinguish different positions, frames and narratives around climate change.

Although right-wing populist parties mostly oppose climate and energy transition policies, there are important nuances. In my presentation, I will first shed light on climate change attitudes amongst the parties (denialism, indifference/ignorance, affirmation), and then explain four primary arguments against climate policies. Moreover, I will consider various shades of ‘green patriotism’ – a position, which strongly supports environmental conservation, but not climate action – and the reasons why some parties advocate renewable energy instalment and others not. The presentation will present new empirical evidence from across Europe, examples and the results of our statistical analyses of voting behaviour in the EU’s most important legislative body, the EU Parliament.

Most of the narratives used to counter climate and energy policies are fundamentally rooted in economic or social justice grievances and climate action is perceived as an elitist issue. In the second part of my presentation, I will therefore discuss what needs to change in our climate communication and policy, in order to achieve a just and sustainable transformation. On the one hand, policies must be comprehensive, multi-sectoral and also more creative to alleviate social inequality. On the other, the story of climate change needs a new positive framing and progressive narrative so as to inspire the imagination and empower citizens.

**Agnes Schim van der Loeff**: Nature reserves and national parks as a tool for Israeli colonialism

This paper examines how nature reserves and national parks in the West Bank are used by Israel to advance its settler-colonial project. It is grounded in the theoretical framework of settler colonialism, which highlights the centrality of land in the aim to ‘eliminate’ the indigenous population and replace it by a settler society. The paper explores four ways that nature reserves and national parks fulfil this function of elimination. First, it looks at land appropriation and how designating areas as nature reserves or parks has allowed Israel to expand and consolidate its control in the West Bank. This land appropriation in the name of environmental protection has resulted in the expulsion of Palestinians, dispossessing them of both their land and livelihoods. Secondly, nature reserves and national parks facilitate settlement expansion in the West Bank. While Palestinians are prohibited from using or even entering the land (again in the name of environmental protection), boundaries of reserves and parks are adjusted or regulations neglected according to the building needs of settlements. Thirdly, establishing nature reserves and national parks in strategic places serves the goal of cultural elimination by destroying or concealing Palestinian heritage and erasing Palestinian memory. This includes covering the ruins of villages destroyed by the IDF (simultaneously preventing refugees from returning) and removing signs of Palestinian culture and historical presence. Finally the paper looks at Israeli greenwashing and how national parks and nature reserves are used to present Israel as a ‘modern’, Western, eco-friendly state. Projecting a positive image in this way aims to distract from its perpetration of human rights violations and helps conceal how reserves and parks serve colonial rather than environmental purposes. The paper concludes that environmental issues need to be politicised and connected to matters of social justice, as settler-colonialism is ultimately harmful to both the environment and people.
Jeremy J. Schmidt: From ethical oil to energy populism: Settler-colonialism, extraction, and Canadian federalism

In 2015, newly elected Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau burst onto the international scene to proclaim “Canada is Back” as his delegation helped spearhead the 1.5°C commitment at Paris in 2015. Three years later, Trudeau bought a 50-year old pipeline for $4.5 billion so that the right-of-way it was built on could be twinned for a second pipeline that would carry oil from Alberta’s oil sands to the Pacific Ocean and help to spur production for sales to Asian markets. What explains the about face? In this paper I track the rise of energy populism in Canada. I begin in 2010, when the far-right commentator Ezra Levant published the book Ethical Oil: The Case for Canada’s Oil Sands. By 2015, Levant had co-founded Rebel Media, a far-right group that links oil sovereignty to a range of populist agendas. The group has achieved considerable influence, enough that in February 2019, the leader of the Conservative Party of Canada stood side-by-side on Parliament Hill with alt-right and far-right activists who had travelled as a convoy to Ottawa to demand the government take a more active role in promoting the 170-billion barrel oil industry in Alberta. Juxtaposed in this way, both the Liberal Prime Minister and the Conservative opposition can be positioned within the structure of settler-colonial extraction that circumscribes energy politics in Canada at the expense of both Indigenous peoples and the environment. The juxtaposition also provides new insights into how the politics of international commitments on climate change are increasingly beholden to domestic, and increasingly populist far-right agendas to get Canadian oil to international markets. This shift is one of both moral value—ethical oil—and of an economic calculus that capitalizes on the racialized tenets of settler-colonial extraction from mineral claims to commodity forms.

Antonella Sciancalepore: Medieval political ecologies and Eco-fascists: what if nature is cultural?

In a recent Político article, Irina Dumitrescu raises the issue of how far-right groups are appropriating the ecological discourse (Dumitrescu 2018): they embrace the defence of nature as an extension of the battle for the pretended connection between nation-based ethnicity and land (Phelan 2018). Although puzzling, the association between xenophobia and environmentalism is a legacy of Nazi ideology that rooted an imagined ethnic purity into an identification with landscape and an idealised past of self-sufficiency of humans in nature.

Likewise, medieval romances such as Perceforest (14th century) idealise wilderness to affirm the superiority of a social class and its values. The relationship of aristocratic humans with animals, plants and landscape, however, is constantly mediated by culture: in Perceforest, an unspoiled forest welcomes the colonisers with its perfectly ranged trees, and monstrous fish behave like trained knights. Contrary to contemporary dark ecologies, therefore, this text defuses its own discriminatory potential: by imagining a nature modelled by the cultural structures of those who experience it, Perceforest questions the connection between wild nature and supremacy of an ethnic group. The fact that Dumitrescu is a medievalist is thus not surprising: investigating premodern culture makes us aware that ecological storytelling is political and can police relationships of power.

In this paper, I will first analyse the discourse of identification between ethnicity and nature of a few far-right environmentalist movements and compare it with the medieval ecological discourse of Perceforest, whose vision of nature can, too, serve a message of political domination and ethnic extermination. In doing so, I will highlight how the medieval political ecology, imagining nature as a product of human cultural structures, cracks the discriminatory potential of the text. The aim of this analysis is double. On the one hand, I want to demonstrate that the environmentalist discourse can be politically ambiguous, and how a same ecological narrative can be used for two opposite and concurrent political messages. On the other hand, I want to isolate the linguistic practices from which we can recognise ecologically-coated crypto-nationalist contents in contemporary environmental discourse, so to stimulate the production of a counternarrative that depletes Eco-fascisms.
Joni Seager: Petro-bromance: Fossil fuels, fragile masculinity and hegemonic manliness

The core identity of the fossil fuel industrial complex is male. As a global industry, fossil fuel production is the economic/industrial sector with the greatest concentration of male representation, power, and reward. From exploration to the end of the pipeline, fossil fuel extraction and production is almost entirely masculinized. The economic benefits of extractive industries are male-centric, from scales of global to local. In terms of employment opportunities in extractive industries as a whole, the numbers of women employed average around 5% (World Economic Forum 2010; Stantec 2011).

The increasingly irrational core commitment to fossil fuels is driven by masculinity. Beyond assessing the many ways that the political economy of fossil fuels is highly masculinized, it is increasingly clear that enthusiasm for fossil fuels is synergistically tied to conservative, often explicitly misogynist, definitions of manliness. It’s not just that ‘fossil fuels are produced by men’ – rather, that a hegemonic manliness is inextricably linked to an increasingly stubborn and irrational attachment to fossil fuels at just the moment that the economic and environmental logic is shifting away from fossil fuels. An increasingly dysfunctional version of masculinity fuels this ‘irrational’ yet increasingly intractable commitment to fossil fuels, which is often presented in the policy arena as simply a realist economic position. The commitment to fossil fuels, although paradoxed in policy circles as a rationalist economic position, cannot be explained in those terms. The two dysfunctional typologies of masculinity and energy are self-reinforcing. Moreover, this petro-bromance drives the further policy and cultural phenomenon of climate denial. Foregrounding the role of masculinity in energy policy and practice points to new opportunities for activism and opposition.

Gianfranco Selgas: Polluted environments, polluted politics: Extractive practices, the Right’s subtext, and revolutionary humanities as storytelling for change in Venezuela

The premise is as follows: both the environment and politics are polluted. The scalation of extractivist practices as modes that enact violence against the environment, and the human and nonhuman communities across Venezuela, are only the latest iteration of a subtext underwriting liberal discourses of modernization and neo-developmentalism taking place throughout the Global South. In Venezuela, the contradictions and the high social and environmental costs of the developmentalist economic model utilized before, during, and after the Pink Tide, does not seem to differentiate between left and right political spectrums. Rather, extractive practices have endorsed neoliberal commodification and appropriation of nature in the name of progress contributing to undercover right oriented politics, the displacement of various species and social communities, and the unsustainable exploitation of the environment for profit (Coronil, Lander, Gómez-Barris). In this presentation I will focus on the experimental film-de-auteur Si Me Vas a Pegar No Me Grites (2011), by Venezuelan ecologists Diego Griffon Briceño and Javier Rodríguez, to think of it as an exercise of “revolutionary humanities” (Armiero). By bringing to the front the logic underlaying extractive practices and its ecological costs, this audiovisual piece highlights the pollution of politics in Venezuela vis-à-vis the exacerbation and exhaustion of its natural resources. I will argue that Griffon Briceño’s and Rodríguez’s film engages in an aesthetic, political, and ethical fashion with alternative modes of “storytelling for earthly survival” (Haraway, Lorimer). More specifically, I will highpoint its dissentive capacity or revolutionary humanities stand as a way to contest and challenge the right’s subtext inscribed in Latin America’s extractive zones. Si Me Vas a Pegar No Me Grites emerges in this context as a cultural platform to formulate alternative narratives in order to imagine new ecologies to stand up against encroaching extractive capitalism.
Marcin Skupinski: Mainstream climate denialism and grass-root activism: the notes on political ecology in Poland

In my presentation I will discuss the current situation of political ecology in Poland in regard to mainstream politics and grass-root movements in which I was involved as an activist. Poland is one of the European Union countries with largest share of fossil fuels in energy production and recognition of ecological problems among general society in Poland is lower than in the “old” EU countries according to the survey research. I would argue that for this reason, Polish far-right (apart of very fringe groups) is very far from creating their own political ecology. In the first part of my presentation I would like to focus on climate crisis denialism in mainstream polish politics.

Then I will turn my attention to the polish environmentalism which is still strongly connected with progressive and left-wing political movements. With lack of representation in mainstream politics, polish environmentalism develops mostly in a form of grass-root movements and mobilisations. Here I would like to use a case studies from Camp in Białowieża Forest (Obóz dla Puszczy) and emergence of anti-hunting collectives across Poland. Through those two cases I will show how, within grass-root movements, new outcomes of climate change are ever more visible in Poland, sooner than later all political factions will be force to tackle the issue. For that reason in the conclusion I would like to outline a possibilities for polish progressive movements to use political ecology to brake an existing duopoly of right-wing parties in Poland.

Kate Smith: When XRW met XR: the neo-pagan far-right community's consonance with environmental activism and its implications

The call-for-papers for this conference asks us what happens when far-right socio-political movements and ecological issues meet: how, when and why do these two phenomena coincide? This paper answers these questions in the context of the neo-pagan, far-right community. Neopagan religions are often described as ‘nature’ religions, and many have an overtly ecoist, animist belief system. By contrast, it has become axiomatic that far-right ideology incorporates climate change denial.

However, there are striking areas of overlap between green and far-right thinking: whilst there may be implacable differences in their understanding of climate change, there are distinct (and potentially disturbing) commonalities between the two. Even they do not share motives, they certainly share motifs.

Taking a digital ethnographic approach, based on my work both as a critical folklorist and as an environmental activist and permaculturist, this paper presents some of these commonalities. The material used is taken from digital campaigning and social media representations from opposite corners of the UK’s politico-environmental territory. It asks: what stories are these green and neo-pagan, far-right communities telling about themselves, and what motifs do these stories share?

For many, on both sides, the accidental allegiance between progressive greens and regressive populists will be uneasy and provocative; the paper concludes by noting recent research in the environmental humanities about veracity perception and story-telling in shaping environmental perceptions. These two factors may hold answers for bridging the conceptual gap between Greens and climate-change deniers as we face the global challenges imposed by anthropogenic climate collapse.
In a brief and curious episode early on in the Trump administration, far-right political operatives attempted to draw transnational solidarities among Trump's radical political base and white farmers in South Africa. For perhaps the first time, farm attacks on rural white communities in Africa entered US media. Radical memes had already circulated across social media enclaves on Reddit and Instagram regarding the invisible genocide of white African farmers, whose 'endangered' status was historically distorted and discounted by international media. This paper examines the role of social media memes in mobilizing 'transnational whiteness' or politico-affective solidarities across rural populations worldwide and focuses on an emerging visual language of white victimhood, white pain and endangerment being consumed and circulated among South African Afrikaans settlers during the 2016 US Presidential election and subsequent Trump administration. In recent literature, white settler colonialism is treated as a historically common mode of being. This paper, however, examines critical points of friction among American-centric far-right ideology and 'homegrown' white supremacy movements in African enclaves where the intersection of far-right radicalization and environmentalism exposes critical fault lines. As an anthropologist, I draw on ethnographic engagement with Afrikaans farmers living as settlers in northern Mozambique at the height of land grabbing over the past decade. This research has tracked the circulation and consumption of socio-political memes characteristic of American MAGA politics among these settlers, e.g. memes promoting hostility toward immigrants, the dismantling of the welfare state, fossil fuel dependency, meat consumption, and patriarchal conservatism. Living among the cohort of Afrikaans farmers in Mozambique, I accompanied settlers ‘in exile’ acquiring land to establish family homesteads far from black economic empowerment policy and decolonization campaigns in South Africa. Mozambique's frontier is treated as a utopic landscape where Apartheid futures may still be possible. The farmers began to claim ‘native’ status in this landscape not through seeking citizenship or nationalist politics but by asserting intimacy with the landscape and its biodiversity, and designating themselves as the land’s ‘natural’ stewards through soil conservation, bee-keeping, no-till farming, and solar energy development.

However, embracing far-right radical memes becomes problematic when white Africans identify strongly with Trump's America, but their sense of ‘ownership’ of southern Africa finds its justification in urgency around ecological fragility (where the vulnerability of African biodiversity at the hands of black populations mirrors their own ‘fragilities’ as the white ‘minority’). Globally-circulating far-right populism speaking to Trump’s America tends to deny the role that coal, cattle, and agribusiness plays in climate change, yet white African farmers’ politics of ‘ownership’ instead insists on the figure of the white savior in future environmental flourishing. The paper introduces the notion of 'ecologies of exile' as a comparative lens across white solidarities, to encourage examination of frictions and divergences in seemingly smooth and globalizing solidarities forming around white (dis)possession. The notion of 'exile,' I argue, speaks to interrupting linkages across archipelagos of far-right ideologies that couple with white supremacy. African entanglements of whiteness and nature serves as a potent counternarrative to question ideology in Trump's America.
Karin Styrén: Ekofem

Ekofem is a newly started activist group based in Malmö/Lund, that in time will develop into a larger national network. We aim to spread the ecofeminist analysis primarily within the now existing activist movements and organisations, but the ultimate goal would be to see ecofeminism rise to the surface in academia, education and parliamentary politics as well.

We would like to explore what ecofeminism can offer the sustainability movement(s), and why feminism is crucial to transition. How holism and diversity is two main themes, and how at its core it challenges the masculine ideals that so strongly permeates the problems. Our focus will be on the utter importance of challenging the human – nature paradigm, which is done in two ways: to see that human is also a part of nature, and to show that not all humans have the same relationships with and impact on/of nature. And how feminism is fundamental to a social sustainable transition, lest we create a green patriarchy... In itself a contradictive, impossible outcome, of course. What social role will women have in the post-growth, transitioned society? How to change the fact that whatever is associated with women loses status, and how that then illegitimates the knowledge of women in all parts of society, perhaps primarily rural, small-scale farmers in the global South? In our partaking we would like to explore issues like these.

Andrew Telford: A critical geopolitics of bullying: exploring far-right climate change discourses

In the context of climate change politics, the concept of ‘bullying’ is applied in a wide range of contexts. For example, American climate scientists face hostility from a government that denies the realities of climate change, climate activists can be subject to bullying from the NGOs and social movements with which they are active, and climate sceptics claim that they are bullied by a political and scientific establishment that promulgates climate change. Among the analytical tropes utilised to interpret the current US administration, the notion of Donald Trump as a ‘bully’ captures something of the asymmetric, persistent and discriminatory power relations through which Trump's violences are discursively constructed and experienced. Despite these associations, there is very little political ecological and critical geopolitical scholarship on the concept of ‘bullying’ and what this suggests for a critical climate politics. This paper studies far-right environmental politics using three discursive contexts of ‘bullying’: the notion that American climate scientists are being bullied into censorship of their outputs, Trump's ideological construction of the American ‘nation’ as being bullied by international competitors in climate change politics, and the critiques of the figure of Greta Thunberg from far-right climate change deniers. Drawing upon these examples as empirical vignettes, the paper identifies three themes that a critical geopolitics of bullying could reflect upon. The first is to reflect on bullying as a persistent and unequal relation of power and relation of violence in climate geopolitics; the second is to reflect on specific subject formations of the ‘bully’ and the ‘bullied’ in far-right climate geopolitics; and third is to explore and the multi-scalar discursive constructions of bullying in the context of climate change (for example the ‘activist’ and the ‘nation’). In doing so, the paper concludes that ‘bullying’ offers a potentially insightful conceptual perspective through which to explore critical climate geopolitics.
**James Trafford: The Horizon of Extinction: Green nationalism as slow eugenicism**

This paper examines the nexus of climate crises and migratory movements and discourses in relation to English climate activist group, Extinction Rebellion (XR). XR are a group of liberal activists and academics engaged in non-violent civil disobedience: shutting down bridges and roads across London; actively seeking mass arrest; striving for media spectacle. For XR, climate breakdown is the fault of corrupt governments and a humanity that is “killing the planet”, which we need to save from extinction. As such, XR’s post-political universalism and apocalyptic discourse exacerbates and obscures the temporal and spatial distribution of the impacts of climate change, whilst also diverting from consideration the colonial and neo-colonial practices that have brought them about. These configurations are potentially naturalized by positioning climate as fundamentally supra-political. For example, XR explicitly tethers climate activism to the horizon of the nation – that climate breakdown is destroying “this nation, its peoples, our ecosystems and the future of generations to come”. By asking what the real conditions of possibility are for this “green nationalism”, I argue that XR relies on a specific constellation of national identity, bordering practices, and transnational connections that produce the modern nation-state through the exploitation and attempted containment of the global majority. Analysing the current configuration of forces within which XR sits not only illuminates its disregard for racialized patterns of climate change, it also shows how it supports protectionist narratives that connect together migration, population growth, and sustainability for the nation. Resultantly, I argue that environmentalism without ending border imperialism and the differential vulnerabilities of the global south upholds self-preservation that unwittingly culminates in slow eugenicism.

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**Amanda Thomas and Karen Fisher: Competing utopias: white supremacy, justice and state surveillance**

Aotearoa New Zealand is often the subject of utopian imaginaries – a clean green paradise, and land of opportunity and abundance. Indeed Aotearoa New Zealand “appears to have developed a stronger utopian tradition than any other country” (Sargent 2001, p. 14). However, there are a number of competing utopias.

One strand draws on Pakeha (white New Zealanders) origin myths. Pakeha nationalism is rooted in claims of deep attachment to land (Henry and Berg 2006), which is twinned with a disavowal of both a culture and a history that ignores the violence of colonisation and how attachment to land was made (Bell 2006). At it the extreme of Pakeha nationalism lies ecofascism – ideas of land, purity and exclusion, and one dimension of the neo-nazism ascribed to by the terrorist who massacred Muslims in Christchurch.

In contrast with white nationalist utopianism are utopias based on social and ecological justice, that take a nuanced and wide temporal approach to land connections. Indigenous Maori utopias are often rooted in Maori sovereignty and developing a political system that “truly belongs to this country” and reflects relationships here (Jackson 2017, p. 39). Local climate justice groups are similarly rooted in local autonomy, but also connected to global responsibility.

State security agencies attempt to mediate these competing utopias. In the wake of the mosque massacre it was revealed that white supremacy has only recently received any attention from them, and there were no strategies for addressing it, despite its long roots here. Much more apparent has been agencies’ focus on fears about radical Islam, and targeting of Maori sovereignty and environmental activists (Morse 2009). This presentation will explore competing utopias in Aotearoa New Zealand through a feminist geopolitical lens, examining the construction and bounding of territories, how utopian visions of land and environment compete, and the political geographies of surveillance and securitisation.
Thomas Turnbull: Rolf Peter Sieferle and the return of Raum in the German Energiewende

In 2016 historian Rolf Peter Sieferle killed himself in his Heidelberg home. His last published manuscript Finis Germania (2017) offered a deeply pessimistic account of Germany's decline, following the ruling coalition's agreement to admit 800,000 refugees. Sieferle saw this as a misguided act of penance for the Holocaust; a crime Germans had been forced to believe was exceptional amongst all those of the twentieth century. The book created a heated debate in the nation's Feuilleton, boosting the intellectual credibility of the far-right Alternative für Deutschland party, and leading to a ban the book's sale by certain retailers. Prior to this, Sieferle was best known as a historian of energy transition, specifically the shift from wood fuel to coal in Western Europe which he documented in The Subterranean Forest (der Unterirdische Wald, 1982). Far from a rightward turn, Sieferle had been a life-long contrarian. Rejecting student Marxism to embrace ecology and later embracing conservative political theorists, he saw ecological history as a corrective to the popular relativistic social theory of the 1980s. But more than this, ecology provided legitimacy – in his eyes - for his later hostility to immigration. This paper argues that Sieferle's mode of argument resuscitated an earlier concern with Raum (space), an aspect of German geopolitical thought since the publication of Friedrich Ratzel's Anthropogeographie (1882). In later life, Sieferle combined this concern with the scarcity of space with his interest in low-carbon transition, leading him to argue that territory would prove society's ultimate constraint. In describing this story, a more general argument is made: that in the rush to address climate change openings have emerged that have allowed a renewed form of energy-determinist thought to emerge, and the legitimation of a new form of cultural racism.

Anastasiia Turusinova and Benjamin Hammond: Weaponising culture: Estonian ecological thought and fascist nativism

The 2019 national elections delivered Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond/Conservative People's Party of Estonia (EKRE) 19 of 101 seats in the Estonian parliament, an increase of 12 seats compared to the 2015 Estonia national election. Key to the success of EKRE was the activism of Sinine Äratus and ‘independent’ propaganda projects, which were engaged in fermenting nativist ideas aimed primarily towards excluding the Russian speaking minority. This paper explores the common vestiges of Estonian nativist politics and traditional conceptions of living and nature through the prism of ‘fascist creep’.

In Estonian home translates to Kodu. Kodu is where you live, not just where you sleep. The village and forest is an intrinsic part of home, a concept which is rooted in pre-Teutonic society. Although ecological mentalities permeate in Estonian society, it is not reflected in Estonian policy making. While Estonians boast of a connectivity to nature as a point of national identity, such connectedness is rooted in nativism. Regardless, over half of Estonia is forest. Last year the government abandoned plans for a pulp mill in the largely rural south due to the sheer size of opposition to the project.

Through an analysis of the speeches, statements and social media posts by EKRE and peripheral organizations, we explore the role of neofascist aestheticism in proliferating ecological ideas with nativist undertones. We take the 2018 campaign to oppose the Tartu pulp mill as a case study of Estonian cultural and ecological conceptions intersecting with fascist nativism.

Although the anti-forestry was not explicitly nativist in outlook, the mobilizations harked back to the tradition of the Kett or human chain which, as the national mythology goes, won Estonia its independence in the singing revolution. The protests drew on traditional cultural concepts, many of which have been successfully captured by the Estonian far right and utilised to bring the fascist EKRE party into the governing coalition.

Abbreviations and translation:
EKRE - Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond, Conservative People's Party of Estonia
Ettnolaine – Fashwave, a direct translation of the popular fascist meme aesthetic in 2016-18.
SÄ - Sinine Äratus, Blue Awakening. Youth wing of EKRE.
**Matt Varco:** The curious case of the Heck cattle: biopolitics, de-extinction and ecological imaginaries in the Third Reich

‘What do people think? Do you want extinct species back? Do you want extinct species back?’, it was with these rather leading rhetorical questions that Stewart Brand, biologist and futurist, brought his 2013 TED talk to a close. This paper will take the markedly tentative audience applause that followed as a portent that we must be sceptical of such projects, exciting and innovative as they may sound. One particular cause for reflection around Brand’s project to ‘de-extinct’ the passenger pigeon is the likenesses it bears to a dark green episode in 20th century history; the aurochs back-breeding initiatives led by German biologists Heinz and Lutz Heck between the 1920s and 1940s. After a brief reflection on the mechanics of making such historical comparisons, this paper will analyse how ‘Nature’ in general, and extinct species in particular, are framed in scientific discourses of the past and present. I draw upon insights from cultural studies (Van Dooren, 2014) and geography (Collard, 2018; Vannini and Vannini, 2016) to explore the ways in which Nature was produced within the Third Reich, and the role that de-extinction played in National Socialist ideology. I argue that many of the impulses and desires that animated Nazi de-extinction – a will to dominate and command nature, a belief in Nature as redemptive, a scientific inability to live with species absence – are re-enacted in contemporary de-extinction programmes, albeit in variegated and subtle ways. I argue that we need an attentiveness to the ways that rationalities of nature travel through time and space, that the sinister and the innocuous are more intimately connected than a liberal philosophy of Nature might have us think. There are certain ways of thinking about nature which are not unique to totalitarianism, fascist, or otherwise far-right movements, but which sit in the canon of modernity as a whole. I acknowledge that these are large claims to make, but they are, in a sense, designed to provoke us to think. Just as liberal democracy always already contains the potential for fascism (Swyngedouw, 2019), seemingly progressive green ideas can host fascist impulses at their core.

**Brian Whitener:** Emergent eco border fascisms in the United States

In this paper, I theorize the emergence of a discursive and ideological network in the United States which I call eco border fascism. This network--of claims, plans, projections, and projects--exists currently as an emergent cultural formation and draws on long histories of U.S. racism and nativism but combines them with new shades of contemporary far right thinking, “green” architecture/infrastructure, and state power fully predicated not on hegemony but coercion and violence. My talk will focus on one particular vector of this new cultural formation: the plans and projects of the so-called green and/or smart border and how they intersect with and sustain a new eco border fascist tendency in U.S politics. By way of conclusion, I trace how the infrastructal projects of the green and/or smart border dovetail with climate science denialism in order to trap Central Americans in a zone of sacrifice by denying the very possibility of a claim to be fleeing climate catastrophes.

**Jiaya Zhou:** Embedding realism: food independence and security in the Russian Federation

Russian ‘counter-sanctions’ have taken the food of an import ban on Western products, as part of a long-standing goal of achieving food autarky in the name of national security. As this paper traces, this policy goal emerged in the 1990s from various social and political groups who coalesced around a realist narrative on trade, bringing into the Russian policy space to the language of “food security” qua “food independence.” Contra scholarship that suggests state interests are given, I provide a more socio-politically and historically contingent account of how a (contested) realist discourse came to be institutionalized in the country’s foreign economic policy, and how food came to be seen as constitutive of state security, sovereignty, and power. While sectorial and case-specific, it nevertheless provides some generalizable insights into how we might more productively and constructively consider the processes that lead towards “embedded realism,” if the multilateral order is indeed moving in such a direction.