



Group Klima gegen Rechts

Rightwing positions on the climate crisis

Speaker: Hilary Moore

Between climate denial and ecofascism

Tuesday, 25th May
19.30 - 21.00

English with German translation



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Gruppe Klima gegen Rechts

Rechte Positionen zur Klimakrise

Referentin: Hilary Moore

Zwischen Klimaleugnung und Ökofaschismus

Dienstag, 25. 05.
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Englisch mit Übersetzung ins Deutsche



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ROSA LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG
BRUSSELS OFFICE

HILARY A. MOORE

BURNING EARTH, CHANGING EUROPE: HOW THE RACIST RIGHT EXPLOITS THE CLIMATE CRISIS AND WHAT WE CAN DO ABOUT IT



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ROSA LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG
BÜRO BRÜSSEL

HILARY A. MOORE

DIE WELT LÄUFT HEISS, EUROPAS RECHTE LÄUFT SICH WARM

WIE DIE RASSISTISCHE RECHTE
DIE KLIMAKRISE FÜR SICH NUTZT
UND WAS WIR DAGEGEN
TUN KÖNNEN



DE

Burning Earth, Chaning Europe
How the Racist Right Exploits the Climate Crisis
— *And What We Can Do About It*

Written by Hilary A Moore // Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Brussels, 2020

“Why should climate movements care about the far right or racist right?”

Why should climate movements care about the far right or racist right?

- **Co-optation:** progressive campaigns could be leveraged to further social inequality and oppression
- **Blocking:** Real climate solutions will become more difficult to propose and practice.
- **Roll backs:** Justice is not inevitable.
- **Shared root causes:** The systems that drive climate change — capitalism, white supremacy, nationalism, heteropatriarchy — are also core to authoritarian governance.

**“Borders are the environment’s
greatest ally; it is through them that
we will save the planet.”**

**— Jordan Bardella, Member of European Parliament from the National Rally party, France’s most
influential right-wing populist party.**

Small group question #1

How do we use urgency, strategically?

*What are some examples of climate urgency that **increase** reactionary politics (exclusion, division, commitment to past)?*

*What are some examples of climate urgency that **decrease** reactionary politics?*

Different kinds of Right

- Extreme right: electoral parties, working in **constitutional framework**, pushes boundaries of legalities
- Radical right: offshoot of **European traditional conservatism** and a move toward more authoritarian government
- Far right: may embrace **nativism, nationalism, and cultural conservatism** in policy terms, while also taking **neoliberal** economic path
- Fascist groups: reject existing political system with clear **anti-democratic position**, glorifying national, racial, of ethnic unity and collective rebirth.
- State collusion can be an important dynamic alongside these positions, where “law and order” arm of state can **foster growth of fascist qualities**, directly or indirectly.

Denialism/ Rejection	Skepticism	Acceptance

1. Draw box.

2. Write down phrases.

Examples of European right-wing positions on the Climate Crisis

Denialism/ Rejection	Skepticism	Acceptance
<p>Climate change does not exist</p> <p>Climate change is not caused by humans, but by natural causes</p> <p>No post-industrial warming, or warming has stopped</p> <p>Too early to tell</p> <p>CO2 has a positive impact on the environment</p>	<p>Skepticism about scientific evidence of trends, causes, or impact</p> <p>Skepticism about scientific, bureaucratic, or political processes behind mainstream climate science</p> <p>Skepticism about public and private responses to the climate issue</p>	<p>Economy and jobs should not be harmed</p> <p>Better to invest in climate adaptation</p> <p>Deliberating about global processes</p> <p>Economic independence through energy</p> <p>Wanting to keep the social and environmental world pure</p>

Small Group Questions

- Who is using this phrase?
- What is the impact they are having?

Denialism/ Skeptical	Disengaged / Cautious	Affirmative
<p>Austria *Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)</p> <p>Denmark Danish People's Party (DF)</p> <p>Estonia Conservative People's Party of Estonia (EKRE)</p> <p>Germany Alternative for Germany (AfD)</p> <p>UK United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)</p> <p>Netherlands Party for Freedom (PVV)</p> <p>Sweden Sweden Democrats (SD)</p>	<p>Czech Republic Tomio Okamura / Freedom and Direct Democracy (SPD)</p> <p>France National Rally (RN)</p> <p>Greece Golden Dawn (XA)</p> <p>Italy *Lega Nord (Lega)</p> <p>Lithuania Order and Justice (TT)</p> <p>Norway *Progress Party (PP)</p> <p>Belgium Flemish Interest (VB)</p> <p>Bulgaria *Bulgarian National Movement (VMRO)</p> <p>Poland *Law and Justice (PiS)</p> <p>Slovakia *Slovak National Party (SNS)</p> <p>Switzerland *Swiss People's Party (SVP)</p>	<p>Finland Finns Party (PS)</p> <p>Hungary *Fidesz</p> <p>Latvia *National Alliance (NA)</p>

Convenient Truths:
Mapping climate agendas
of right-wing populist
parties in Europe

Report By Adelphi (2019)

European Right Wing
Populists'
Positions on
Climate Science

3 things every climate activist needs to know

1. Climate change is not an **inherently progressive** issue
2. How you think and talk about the climate crisis **may prop up racist, right-wing positions**
3. The far right does NOT need to govern **to influence**

1. Climate change is not an inherently progressive issue

“[President János Áder] therefore reiterates the proposal made at the signing of the Paris Agreement in New York and calls on the leaders of the ten largest greenhouse gas emitting countries in the world to set an example as soon as possible and, in line with their previous commitments, to implement greater emission reductions.”

— Press release from President of Republic, Hungary (2016)

“Therefore, the right should get used to ecology and then place it in a common sense framework. We cannot afford to leave such an important topic to leftist ideologues. It is also a pity that they win the support of a section of the centrist electorate, for which nature conservation is an important topic, only because the right wing has downplayed their sensitivity.”

— “Let us not leave the ecology of the left!” in Klub Jagiellonski, a Polish right-wing think tank

93% European Citizens believe
climate change is a serious
problem

92% believe their government
should do something about it

2019 Eurobarometer results

2. How you think and talk about climate change may prop up racist, right-wing positions

Environmental protection (and conservation) becomes a dangerous argument when a specific group of people is identified as the cause for alarm.



Overpopulation is the cause of climate change. This blames humans and humanity, distracting from extractive capitalism. This quickly turns racist when emphasis shifts from overconsumption by wealthy countries to topics of procreation habits of poor countries.

Corporations are the bad guys! A simplified version of anti-corporate/anti-elite arguments sees corporate power as a shadowy conspiracy, or cabal — often antisemitic, rather than the outcome of broad systemic logic.

**3. Far right does not have to
govern to influence**

“While the party (UKIP) capitalised on concerns about immigration and the EU in order to gain MEPs and councillors in many parts of the country, its manifestos also outlined energy policies that reflect an outright denial of man-made climate change.”

— Ward, B., 2014 in NewStatesMan

Although eco-fascism is notably not a widely held belief system, prevalence is not the concern here. Rather, the history and practice of eco-fascism illuminates for those in progressive climate movements the way in which **the politics of nature can open the door to fascistic ideas and practices.**

Takeaways

- **Collectively research** how the far right is active in your region and on your issue.
- Adjust your messaging, campaigns, analysis to **clarify your commitments** to social equity and reparations.
- Build trustworthy relationships, that lead to coordination, with organizations and movements **led by those most targeted** by the far right, racist right.



Small group questions

- Which of your actions or campaigns resonate with right wing narratives about the climate crisis?
- How obvious is your vision for a more just society in your work?
- How do we use urgency, strategically?
- What does your group think about situational alliances with the far right on environmental or climate issues?