
Neo-Nazi environmentalism: The linguistic construction of ecofascism in a Nordic Resistance Movement manifesto

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Abstract

Harmony with nature, pristine countryside, organic farming, a vegan diet, renewable energy, sustainable development. This imagery tends to be associated with ‘green liberal’ environmentalist movements and more broadly, left-wing political ideologies. However, concern for the environment and warnings about the imminent climate crisis are gaining traction within far-right and white supremacist movements. This article focuses on the revival of white supremacist environmentalism based on a qualitative text analysis of an English-language manifesto published by the violent extremist neo-Nazi Nordic Resistance Movement. Drawing on the concept of axiological cosmologies from Legitimation Code Theory and the Appraisal framework from Systemic Functional Linguistics, this paper shows how an ecofascist ideology is built up through clusters of meanings that reinforce neo-Nazi grievances such as ‘global Zionism’, ‘mass immigration’ and multiculturalism. The paper concludes by discussing the implications of what the promotion of eco-fascist ‘solutions’ to the climate crisis could mean for climate justice from a human rights perspective and preventing violent extremism from an educational perspective.

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Introduction

“Children are to become nature’s caretakers, not its parasites.”

Nordic Resistance Movement, 2016

Harmony with nature, pristine countryside, organic farming, a vegan diet, renewable energy, zero waste, sustainable development. This imagery tends to be associated with ‘green liberal’ environmentalist movements and more broadly, left-wing political ideologies. Green parties

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have indeed vowed to take a leading role in sustainable development and advancing climate justice initiatives; for example, the green bloc of the European Parliament, the Green Party, is now the fourth-largest section within the European Parliament after increasing the number of its seats from 51 to 69 in the recent elections (Schwägerl, 2019). These parties have embraced climate science due to the scientific consensus that is based on overwhelming evidence on anthropogenic or human-induced climate change and environmental degradation (American Institute of Physics, 2010; Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2014). International accords such as the 2015 Paris Agreement build on this large volume of scientific evidence that highlights anthropogenic causes of climate change documented in reports by the Convention on Biological Diversity (2009) and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2014) as well as thousands of peer-reviewed publications and systematic literature reviews published annually (see e.g. Abraham, et al., 2014; Chapman, et al., 2017; Cook, et al., 2013; Marx, et al., 2017). However, concern for the environment and warnings about the imminent climate crisis are gaining traction within far-right and white supremacist movements.

Current research shows that most right-wing populist parties tend to be hostile towards climate action (Lockwood, 2018; Schaller & Carius, 2019) and sceptics dismiss climate science as climate change ‘hysteria’ (Gardiner, 2019; Kølvråa, 2019a). While the far-right remains polarised about climate change (Forchtner, et al., 2018; Forchtner, 2019a, 2019b), environmental activism is becoming increasingly popularised on some far- and extreme-right websites and social media: far- and extreme-right groups collect waste from public places, advocate a vegetarian or vegan diet (see Forchtner & Tominc, 2017²), popularise cycling to work instead of driving, and organise hiking treks in the forests and mountains. Far-right political parties also want to capitalise on the climate action movement: for example, Marine Le Pen, the leader of the French *National Rally* (former *National Front*) aspires to make a “Europe of nations”, the world’s “first ecological civilisation” (Mazoue, 2019) while Előd Novák, Vice President of the Hungarian *Our Homeland Movement*, poses on Facebook with

² See Forchtner and Tominc (2017) on *Balaclava Küche* (*Balacklava Kitchen*), a group of German neo-Nazis popularising veganism via cooking videos on You-Tube.

his daughter harvesting organic grapes from their own garden (Novák, 2020). Philip Santoro, a contributor to *American Renaissance*³, a white supremacist website, argues that “environmentalism and ‘green politics’ are largely white concerns” (2017). From a preventing violent extremism (PVE) perspective, it can be expected that the green activism of the far and the extreme right will attract vulnerable young people already sensitised to the climate crisis, who may be at risk of being radicalised and recruited into emerging ecofascist movements.

This article focuses on the revival of white supremacist environmentalism based on detailed text analysis of a 56-page long English-language manifesto published by the *Nordic Resistance Movement* (NRM), a violent extremist neo-Nazi movement that operates across the Nordic countries. The Nordic countries have been considered model democracies, topping indexes that measure standard of living, health, education, gender equality, corruption and peace (Bergmann, 2017). Due to these positive stereotypes, white supremacist ideologies in the Nordic countries remained an understudied area of research until Anders Behring Breivik’s 2011 terrorist attack in Norway, which reoriented the attention of law enforcement agencies and academic researchers to the increasing threat of far- and extreme-right activism in the region (Gardell, 2014; Ravndal, 2013). This paper draws on an interdisciplinary approach that brings together the sociological and social semiotic frameworks of Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to analyse the linguistic construction of an ecofascist⁴ ideology in the NRM manifesto. Specifically, it will illustrate how ecofascist ideas in this text can be uncovered by drawing on the concept of axiological cosmologies from LCT and the Appraisal framework from SFL.

This article is organized as follows. The article begins by introducing the key terminology and definitions that will be used throughout the article and reviews the current literature on far-right and white supremacist environmentalist communication. It then introduces the theoretical and methodological frameworks, the coding scheme used for text analysis and describes the data. The analysis section illustrates in detail how an ecofascist

³ The *American Renaissance* website now seems to be blocked by most major browsers.

⁴ The hyphenated usage of the term is inconsistent (i.e. eco-fascism versus ecofascism). Since several definitions exist, ecofascism will be treated as a technical term and spelt as one word throughout this paper unless it appears in a quote in which the hyphenated usage occurs.

ideology is built up through clusters of meanings that link the grievance of environmental degradation to ‘old’ white supremacist grievances such as ‘global Zionism’, ‘mass immigration’ and multiculturalism. The following section discusses the implications of what the promotion of ecofascist ‘solutions’ to the climate crisis could mean for climate justice from a human rights perspective and preventing violent extremism from an educational perspective. The paper concludes by arguing that ecofascist discourses, still considered “a fringe phenomenon” (Forchther, 2019c), have the potential to become part of more mainstream political discourses. In order to reduce the risk of vulnerable groups, especially youth already engaged in the climate action movement, from being radicalised and recruited into ecofascist movements and to prevent ecofascist disinformation campaigns from reinforcing white supremacist ideologies, it will become increasingly important to dissociate ecofascism from the climate justice movement. The LCT-SFL approach presented in this article offers an innovative method for designing PVE educational materials and school curricula that equip students with knowledge about language to identify the markers of ecofascist ideas embedded in white supremacist environmental communication.

Literature review: Far-right and white supremacist environmentalism

Key terminology and definitions

Before reviewing existing research on far-right and white supremacist environmentalism, it is important to first introduce some key concepts relevant to the study of far-right ideologies and ecofascism. Radical right-wing and far-right ideologies are typically associated with anti-democratic/authoritarian, anti-egalitarian, patriarchal, hypermasculine and anti-emancipatory worldviews (see e.g. Minkenberg, 2017; Mudde, 2000, 2016; Olsen, 1999; Wodak, et al., 2013); while the extreme right upholds this worldview as well, the key difference between the far and extreme right is the acceptance, justification and use of violence as a solution to achieve lasting political and social change to ‘correct’ or eliminate certain grievances (see e.g. Ignazi, 2003; Morris, 2016; Mudde, 2000; Perliger, 2012). The

violent extreme right often also glorifies fascist totalitarian dictatorships of the past (see e.g. Mudde, 2000; Simi, et al., 2016).

The terms National Socialism and neo-Nazism are especially relevant for this paper. National Socialism, often used interchangeably with Nazism, was the underlying ideology of the National Socialist German Workers Party (officially *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, NSDAP), also known as the Nazi Party, established in Germany in 1920. Its foundational idea rests upon a white supremacist conceptualisation of the superiority of the ‘Aryan master race’, popularised in Adolf Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*. This biologically justified concept of race is based on the premise that the ‘Aryan’ or white race is biologically, intellectually, morally and culturally superior to all other races. After Nazi Germany’s defeat in WW2 in 1945, the ideas of National Socialism have been preserved and further developed by neo-Nazism. Neo-Nazis praise Adolf Hitler, the political system of Nazi Germany and the ideology of National Socialism. They advocate the preservation of the white race and the establishment of a pure ethnic white state based on exclusionary ideas such as xenophobia, racism, segregation and the rejection of all non-white/non-Aryan groups such as Jews, Muslims, non-white minorities, immigrants, refugees and homosexuals (Kruglanski, et al., 2019; Morris, 2016; Ravndal, 2019).

Another relevant key concept for this research is ecofascism, which has been defined as “the preoccupation of authentically fascist movements with environmentalist concerns” (Staudenmaier, 2011) and as a concept that is “inextricably bound up with virulently xenophobic nationalism” (Biehl & Staudenmaier, 1995, p. 6). As the following section will briefly review, white supremacist environmentalism is not a new phenomenon: the idea that nature and land are one with the people and therefore, protecting the purity of the land and nature equals protecting national identity and racial purity originates from German Romanticism and anti-Enlightenment nationalism (Biehl & Staudenmaier, 1995; Olsen, 1999; Staudenmaier, 2011).

White supremacist environmentalism: A long and troubled history

The historical roots of ecofascist ideas can be traced back to the 19th century German *völkisch* movement that combined nationalism and white racial superiority with neo-pagan nature mysticism and nostalgia for a lost past (see e.g. Biehl & Staudenmaier, 1995; Forchtner, 2019b; Mosse, 2021; Rueda, 2020). German zoologist and eugenicist Ernst Haeckel coined the term ‘ecology’ in 1867 and by stressing the connection between the purity of nature and the purity of race he paved the way for German National Socialism (Staudenmaier, 2011). Early calls for environmental sustainability, a revolt against modernity and a desire to return to a ‘purer’ form of existence close to nature inspired the Green Wing of the NSDAP. Its Minister for Food and Agriculture, Walter Darré, coined the notorious Nazi slogan ‘Blood and Soil’, which became the official doctrine of the Third Reich, a symbol for the mystical-spiritual connection between race and nature (Biehl & Staudenmaier, 1995; Bramwell, 1985; Mosse, 2021; Olsen, 1999). This idea has neither remained confined to the European continent nor has it been forgotten: the American Alt-Right has also been influenced by what Rueda (2020) calls *neo-völkisch* ideals and German-Nordic neo-paganism. The precursors to the ‘modern’ ecofascist ideas of the American Alt-Right can be further traced back to the (neo)Malthusian ‘fixation’ with third-world population growth (Neumayer, 2006; Rueda, 2020; Taylor, 2019), settler colonialist fascination with the ‘wilderness’ and the myth of ‘the frontier’, here referring to the conflation of nature, ‘the land of opportunity’ for the white race and white supremacy (Boggs, 2019). The ‘Blood and Soil’ slogan was chanted at the 2017 Charlottesville Unite the Right rally in the United States, accompanied by swastika and Confederate flags, torches and Nazi clothing.

While there is extensive research on the discursive construction of hate speech and exclusion, discourses of fascism, Holocaust denial, xenophobia, racism and radical right populism (for a non-exhaustive list see e.g. Fielitz & Laloire, 2016; Richardson, 2017; Wodak et al., 2013), the environmental communication of far-right movements and political parties have generally been overlooked by researchers (Forchtner, 2019b). An emerging body of research on far-right environmental communication has identified recurring discursive strategies and argumentative fallacies that reveal a conflict between climate scepticism and

hostility towards environmental policies and acknowledging the importance of environmental protection (see e.g. Forchtner, 2019b; Lubarda, 2020; Lockwood, 2018). For example, Forchtner and Özvatan (2019) have identified the topics of alienation, naturalness, national beauty and sustainability as recurring themes related to environmental protection, which serve to justify the German far-right's arguments that preserving the homeland and nature goes hand in hand with preserving the nation. With regards to the Nordic countries specifically, populist far-right political parties have engaged in *anti-environmentalist* communication as opposed to communication to advance the climate action movement, dismissing calls for climate action as urban, cosmopolitan, leftist elitism. For example, the *Sweden Democrats* have consistently amplified and popularised climate change denialism (Hultman, et al., 2019); the Norwegian *Progress Party* questions the reality of anthropogenic climate change and therefore rejects climate change policies that would result in regulation and higher taxes (Båtstrand, 2014); the *Danish People's Party* have criticized the 'climate change lobby' and rejected the scientific consensus on anthropogenic climate change as 'hysterical' (Kølvraa, 2019a) while the *Finns Party* have campaigned against wind power (Hatakka & Välimäki, 2019).

Most of the studies reviewed above draw on discourse-theoretical and discourse-historical approaches that aim to explore the diachronic change of texts, genres and discourses in relation to their historical and sociopolitical contexts (see e.g. Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak, et al., 2013). While providing a useful general overview of salient topics in far-right environmental communication, no studies have conducted detailed linguistic analyses of the interpersonal attitude patterns and axiological values that play a significant role in the construction of an ecofascist ideology. This paper intends to respond to calls for further and deeper research into far-right environmental communication (e.g. Forchtner, 2019a, 2019b) by drawing on the concept of axiological cosmologies from LCT to explore what axiological values are privileged within the sites of neo-Nazi violent extremism; more specifically, to understand how the Nordic Resistance Movement links recently revived ecofascist ideas to old white supremacist grievances. To identify what attitudes, values and moral judgements accumulate in the manifesto of the Nordic Resistance Movement this study also draws on the

Appraisal framework, a framework often referred to as ‘the language of evaluation’, from SFL. While a growing number of research studies draw on both theories (see e.g. Jackson, 2020; Martin, et al., 2019; Maton, et al., 2016; Siebörger & Adendorff, 2015; Tilakaratna & Szenes, 2020), to date, no research exists that applies simultaneously the tools of SFL and LCT to analyse violent extremist neo-Nazi propaganda and in particular, the recent revival of ecofascist ideas. This study contributes to filling this gap and thus offers a novel approach to the study of ecofascist ideology and white supremacist environmental communication. The following section introduces both these frameworks and the relevant theoretical and methodological concepts used in this study.

Theoretical framework and methodology: Axiological cosmologies and Appraisal

This research draws on the concept of *axiological cosmologies* (Maton, 2013) from LCT, a useful concept for exploring the construction of ecofascist ideas in a violent extremist neo-Nazi manifesto. LCT is a sociological framework for analysing a particular set of organizing principles underlying knowledge practices (Maton, 2013; Martin, Maton & Doran, 2019). All fields have cosmologies, i.e. specific worldviews, logic or belief systems (Maton, 2013, p. 152), underlying not only the knowledge structures of the field but also its actors, social practices, activities, values and beliefs. The axiological cosmologies of a field “show whether your heart is in the right place, your aesthetic, ethical, moral or political affiliations correct, and so whether you are one of us or one of them” (Maton, 2013, p. 163). Recognisable and recurring configurations or patterns of meanings that have positive or negative *charging* are often organised into *clusters* of axiological meanings within the axiological cosmology of a field; clusters can be linked with several other clusters to form a larger unit termed an *axiological constellation* (Maton, 2013; Maton, et al., 2016; Tilakaratna & Szenes, 2020). This article draws on these concepts from LCT to understand how a neo-Nazi movement construct clusters of meanings such as ‘global Zionism’ and ‘mass immigration’ in its manifesto and how these far-right grievances become legitimated as part of the axiological cosmology underlying ecofascist ideologies.

To explore what kind of elements form clusters of axiological meanings in ecofascist communication, it is necessary to first identify what attitudes, values and moral judgements accumulate in texts. To analyse all instances of evaluative meanings, this paper draws on the discourse semantic system of APPRAISAL⁵ (Martin, & White, 2005) from SFL. SFL theorises language as a dynamic social semiotic system of meaning-making resources, inseparable from its context (Halliday, 1978). The system of APPRAISAL contains interpersonal linguistic resources that tend to transcend the clear boundaries of clauses, phases or stages of texts (Martin, 1992, 2000). The spread of interpersonal meanings across a text often results in ‘colouring’ or ‘saturating’ it in a particular attitude, creating an ‘amplifying’ effect (Hood, 2010; Martin, & White, 2005). Attitudinal meanings are selected from the ATTITUDE system of APPRAISAL that is further divided into the sub-systems of AFFECT, classified as types of ‘emotion’, and JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION, classified as forms of ‘opinion’ (Bednarek, 2008). In relation to neo-Nazi environmentalism, this study is concerned with how interpersonal meanings are realised through ATTITUDE choices to construe evaluations of white supremacist grievances and solutions.

Selections of attitudinal meanings from the subsystem of AFFECT involve linguistic resources⁶, which signal positive and negative emotions, reactions, feelings and intentions, in terms of *dis/inclination* (e.g. a sound population should not have to **fear** their rulers), *un/happiness* (e.g. mankind is **unhappy**), *in/security* (e.g. there will be a great deal of **trust** between the people and their government) or *dis/satisfaction* (e.g. the parliamentary democracy format provides no **satisfaction** for the people) (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 48-49; examples from my data set).

Attitudinal meanings can also be construed as judgements about a person or a group of people, their character, actions and behaviour, including institutionalised entities (e.g. the government) (Martin & White, 2005). Choices of judgement can be related to *social esteem*, i.e. the evaluation of behaviours according to social networks and social norms and customs.

⁵ Following the labelling conventions presented in Martin (2013), the names of language systems will be written as small caps.

⁶ Attitudinal meanings can be realised through a range of lexical items and grammatical structures; as the examples demonstrate, these linguistic resources can be adjectives, verbs, nouns, comments, lexical metaphors, etc.

These choices can be categorized based on specific probe questions, specifically, *normality*, i.e. how un/usual someone is (e.g. millions of **foreign** people are pouring in every day), *capacity*, i.e. how capable someone is (e.g. **unemployed** racial foreigners), and *tenacity*, i.e. how resolute someone is (e.g. the cultural and racial **survival** of the Nordic people). When judgements concern ethics and morality (often dictated by laws, rules and regulations), they are related to *social sanction*, associated with *veracity*, i.e. how truthful someone is (e.g. the **lies** we have been fed regarding Adolf Hitler), and *propriety*, i.e. how ethical someone is (e.g. The individual [leader of the Nordic nation] should be...considered **incorruptible**).

Choices of appreciation can be expressed as *reaction*, i.e. evaluating the quality or impact of things (e.g. the most **alarming** and **urgent** threat today), *composition*, i.e. evaluating the balance or complexity of things (e.g. living in **harmony** with the laws of nature), and *valuation*, i.e. evaluating the value or worth of things or phenomena (e.g. Our racial survival and freedom is the most **important** goal...). Reaction is closest to AFFECT; valuation is closest to JUDGEMENT; the most central variable of APPRECIATION is composition (Martin & White, 2005; Hood, 2010). These resources of ATTITUDE, shown in Figure 1, can also be graded by amplification (e.g. angry: *furiously*; *the most* alarming threat) or blurring (e.g. *somewhat* important) in order to intensify, quantify, sharpen or soften attitudinal meanings (Hood, 2010; Martin & White, 2005).

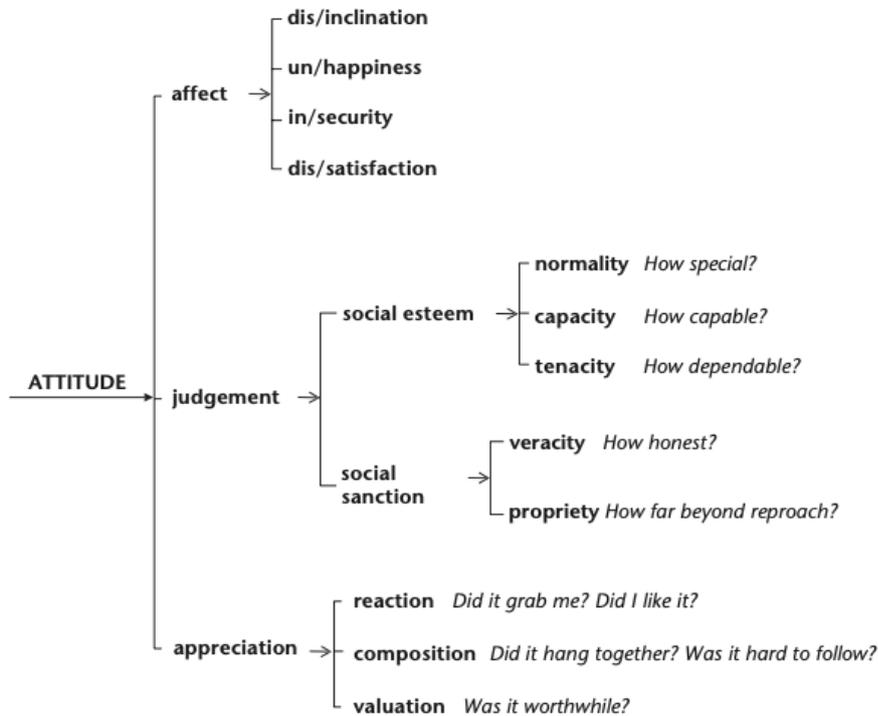


Figure 1. The sub-system of ATTITUDE from APPRAISAL
(adapted from Martin & White, 2005; Zappavigna, 2011)

All evaluations are aimed at something: it is equally important to study *what* is being evaluated (Martin & White, 2005, p. 59), i.e. the *Targets* of attitudes. As illustrated by Example 1 below, an instance of inscribed negative [judgement: normality] (*norm-dissolving*) is used to provide an evaluation of the Target ‘*cultural Marxism*’. This appears within a larger noun group where another instance of inscribed negative [judgement: normality] (*disintegrating*) targets the idea of ‘*ideologies such as liberalism and norm-dissolving cultural Marxism*’.

[1] All global Zionists work towards not only multiculturalism and mass immigration but other socially **disintegrating** [–judgement: normality] ideologies such as liberalism and **norm-dissolving** [–judgement: normality] cultural Marxism [Target].

Following the conventions of coding attitudinal meanings established in Martin (2000) and Martin and White (2005), a full attitude analysis provides not only the instances of appraising items taken up from the sub-systems of ATTITUDE, but also the *Appraiser*, i.e. the source of attitudinal meanings, as well as the *Targets*⁷ of evaluation. In the following analyses below, instances that evaluate will be termed ‘attitudinal choices’ and the evaluated entities ‘Targets’ in order to illustrate their role in the construction of clusters in the manifesto analysed in this study. Attitudinal choices will be coded in **bold** font and their Targets will be underlined. Their charging will be indicated by the signs ‘+’ for positive and ‘-’ for negative evaluation. Since in the manifesto analysed for this article the Appraiser is the NRM, a separate column demonstrating the source of attitudinal meanings will not be added to the tables illustrating the attitudinal analyses below. Resources of grading will be coded in **black bold italics**. The coding scheme comprising these variables is summarized in Table 1 below:

Coding scheme	
Targets (i.e. the evaluated entities)	<u>underlined</u>
attitudinal choices	black bold font
type of attitude	square brackets ⁸ (e.g. [+judgement: propriety])
charging	‘+’ sign for positive evaluation ‘-’ sign for negative evaluation
grading (amplification/blurring)	black bold italics
clause boundaries ⁹	

Table 1. Coding scheme for text analysis

A further aspect of APPRAISAL is the *coupling* of attitudinal choices and their Targets (see e.g. Knight, 2010; Martin, 2000; Szenes, 2021a; Zappavigna, et al., 2008). When the same Target is repeatedly evaluated by instances of positive or negative attitude, such

⁷ The capitalised label ‘Target’ indicates its use as a function label.

⁸ In SFL the linguistic choices available in a language system that users make selections from are indicated by square brackets (see Martin, 2013 for a full description).

⁹ Following labeling conventions from systemic functional linguistics (see e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), clause boundaries are indicated by double vertical bars (||).

recurring patterns of couplings that accumulate over the course of a text (or texts) can be generalised as positively or a negatively charged clusters (Tilakaratna & Szenes, 2020), as shown in Figure 2. This visual representation will be used in this paper to capture the nature of axiological meanings clustered together in the Nordic Resistance Movement’s manifesto.



Figure 2. An example of a positively or negatively charged cluster

The NRM manifesto analysed in this paper is part of a large dataset collected for a wider multidisciplinary research project on far- and extreme-right radicalisation. The overall research questions guiding this study are the following: 1) how are ecofascist ideas linguistically constructed in far- and extreme-right manifestos and 2) what constellation of ideas are ecofascist ideas part of? The data analysed for this article is a 56-page long manifesto published by the Nordic Resistance Movement in 2016. It is titled *Our Path: New Politics for a New Time* and comprise a total of 18,769 words (Table 2).

Text: <i>Our Path: New Politics for a New Time (2016)</i>	
# Paragraphs	197
# Sentences	829
# Word Types	3,172
Total # words	18,769

Table 2. Breakdown of data text by number of paragraphs, sentences, words

The following section will show how axiological constellations are constructed, aligned with the axiological cosmology underlying ecofascist ideologies in the NRM manifesto. Specifically, it will illustrate how the Nordic Resistance Movement deploys different types of evaluative resources to express the kinds of attitudinal meanings that together cluster into ecofascist ideas. It will also uncover how these ecofascist ideas are linked to ‘old’ white supremacist grievances.

Analysis: The linguistic construction of ecofascist ideology in the NRM manifesto

The Nordic Resistance Movement (*Nordiska Motståndsrörelsen*, NRM) is the largest, most active and most violent militant neo-Nazi group that operates across the Nordic countries. It grew out of the Swedish Resistance Movement (established in 1997) and has active chapters in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Iceland (Gardell, 2019; Ravndal, 2019; Stormark, 2017). NRM also had an active chapter in Finland, the *Finnish Resistance Movement*, which, despite its appeals to overturn previous rulings (Yle, 2017, 2019), was finally banned by the Supreme Court in 2020 (Yle, 2020). The Finnish National Bureau of Investigation suspects that a new neo-Nazi movement, *Kohti Vapautta!*, formed in 2019, operates as the Finnish chapter of the Nordic Resistance Movement (Teivainen, 2019). Its members have been responsible for several violent attacks across Finland (Stormark, 2017). In fact, the NRM has a long history of violence and ‘street militancy’ (Ravndal, 2019): its founder, Klas Lund, and other members were imprisoned for robberies, illegal firearms possession, and manslaughter; the NRM’s tactics include provoking public disorder such as clashes with left-wing protestors, riots, vandalism, vigilante patrols and violent attacks on immigrants, Jews, LGBTI people, opposition politicians and journalists covering the extreme right (Gardell, 2019; Stormark, 2017). The NRM were responsible for the 2016 and 2017 Göteborg bombings and the movement’s current leader, Simon Lindberg, has been recently named one of the 20 most dangerous people in the world by the Counter-Extremism Project (2021).

As stated in the NRM’s manifesto, the movement’s ultimate goal is to create a “united and self-sustaining”, explicitly authoritarian National Socialist Nordic Nation run by a Nordic

Leader of a Nordic Council (NRM, 2016, p.10). The NRM openly expresses praise for Adolf Hitler and Corneliu Zelea Codreanu; its National Socialist ideology has also been influenced by the American neo-Nazi William Luther Pierce's *The Turner Diaries* (Stormark, 2017) and the prominent Danish neo-Nazi Povl Riis-Knudsen (NRM, 2016). In order to project a distinct Nordic National Socialist hypermasculine identity and 'embody the Nordic race', the NRM draws heavily on Old Norse paganism and mythology and Viking imagery and symbolism; their emblem, the *Tiwaz rune*, is associated with the Norse god Tyr (Kolvråa, 2019b). The NRM manifesto presents a long list of grievances, from 'global Zionism', liberalism, feminism, 'LGBTI-propaganda' and 'cultural Marxism' to multiculturalism, 'mass immigration', 'race mixing', environmental degradation and the 'genocide' of the Nordic people.

Environmental degradation, 'mass immigration' and multiculturalism

To begin, the types of evaluations and their targets will be first analysed in detail to understand how far-right grievances are constructed in the NRM manifesto through the language of evaluation. As illustrated by Example 2 below, the NRM condemns the unethical behaviour of 'mankind' towards nature and the environment through instances of [–judgement] and [–affect]; piling up these attitudinal couplings in succession also has an amplifying effect (cf. Hood, 2010):

[2] It is no secret for any but the most deeply indoctrinated, that mankind is **living wrongly** [–judgement: propriety], is **unhappy** [–affect: unhappiness] and **has fundamentally lost its/his way** [–judgement: tenacity].

As shown in Table 3 below, further analysis of subsequent mentions of the Target *mankind* has revealed a repeated pattern of negative evaluations of human behaviour with regards to the treatment of nature and the environment.

<u>Target</u>	attitudinal choices	charging & type
<u>mankind</u>	is living wrongly	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>mankind</u>	has fundamentally lost its/his way	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>mankind</u>	is completely powerless	[-judgement: capacity]
<u>mankind</u>	has turned into a parasitic creature	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>mankind</u>	squeezing out earth's resources	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>mankind</u>	leveling forests	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>mankind</u>	treating nature with reckless abandon	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>mankind</u>	make the wealthy <i>even wealthier</i>	[-judgement: propriety]

Table 3. A repeated pattern of coupling negative propriety with 'mankind'

It needs noting that in light of the current climate crisis, criticism of modern humans' exploitation of nature is neither surprising nor 'ecofascist'. In this paper I am interested in unpacking what constellation of ideas environmental degradation appears in in the NRM manifesto. In other words, I will examine how this idea is linked to other ideas in the NRM manifesto and ultimately what makes the NRM ecofascist.

As illustrated by the following extract in Example 3 below, the NRM identifies multiculturalism and 'mass immigration' (also repackaged as 'invasions of foreign species') as causes for environmental degradation. The attitude analysis shows that these grievances are evaluated through the resources of negative propriety and negative normality. Since grammatically obligation modals are related to propriety (Martin & White, 2005), the instance *must be abolished* provides further implicit negative judgement of the targets *mass immigration*, "*multiculturalism*" and *forced integration*. Rhetorically, the repetition of these grievances several times over the course of this short extract functions to amplify the negative judgement saturating the text. Further, by repacking them as threats to *biological diversity*, *ecosystems* and *native populations* through the resource of [-composition: balance], within a constellation of ideas the NRM has established links between the grievances of multiculturalism and 'mass immigration' and environmental destruction.

[3] No true environmental party can support “multiculturalism”, as this **genocidal ideology** [-judgement: propriety] constitutes the *polar opposite* [-judgement: normality] of biological diversity and evolutionary progress. ... Mass immigration, “multiculturalism” and **forced** [-judgement: propriety] integration *must be abolished* [-judgement: propriety] in order for the richness and diversity of the world to survive. The Nordic Resistance Movement takes **invasions** [-judgement: normality] of foreign species that, through **unnatural means** [-judgement: normality], establish themselves *in the Nordic nature very seriously* [-judgement: normality], as this would **threaten** [-composition: balance] native populations, ecosystems and biological diversity. These **attacks** [-judgement: propriety] in the form of mass immigration and multiculturalism as well as environmental issues focusing on ecosystems and biological diversity, are therefore, a rallying point within the policies of the Nordic Resistance Movement.

The next step in the analysis was to search for all subsequent mentions of these grievances and their related synonyms. Then the attitudinal choices and their charging were coded in order to uncover coupling patterns that cluster into a set of axiological values. The detailed attitudinal coupling analysis presented in Table 4 below reveals that both multiculturalism and ‘(mass) immigration’ are repeatedly evaluated as ‘unethical’ and ‘abnormal’ for ‘violating the natural order’ and the exploitation of natural resources, which will lead to the extinction of the Nordic races. Further, via the resources of [-appreciation: valuation] ‘(mass) immigration’ is also negatively evaluated as a threat, a burden and is associated with crime. The instances *crime* and *clashes* are nominalised couplings that encode *both* the attitudinal meaning and its target: it is possible to nominalise attitudinal meanings by packaging them up into abstractions. To make explicit the negative judgement these axiologically charged tokens encode, they can be further unpacked, for example, the abstraction *crime* can be unpacked as ‘*immigrants are criminals*’. By packaging them up into abstract nominalisations that condense attitudinal meanings, the relationship between immigration and crime has also been established in the manifesto. The attitudinal coupling analysis of the grievances of multiculturalism and immigration is shown in Table 4.

<u>Target: multiculturalism</u>	attitudinal choices	charging & type
<u>both “multiculturalism” and capitalism’s boundless exploitation of nature’s resources</u>	violate the natural order	[–judgement: propriety]
<u>“multiculturalism” and capitalism’s</u>	boundless exploitation of nature’s resources	[–judgement: propriety]
<u>multiculturalism</u>	genocidal ideology	[–judgement: propriety]
<u>this genocidal ideology = multiculturalism</u>	the polar opposite of biological diversity and evolutionary progress	[–judgement: normality]
<u>multicultural thought patterns</u>	subversive	[–judgement: propriety]
<u>multicultural thought patterns</u>	anti-Swedish	[–judgement: normality]
<u>multiculturalism</u>	genocide	[–judgement: propriety]
<u>multiculturalism</u>	the politically manipulated agenda of “all people are equal”	[–judgement: propriety]
<u>multiculturalism</u>	anti-Nordic	[–judgement: normality]
<u>Target: (mass) immigration/ foreigners</u>	attitudinal choices	charging & type
<u>immigration issues</u>	symptoms of the decline	[–appreciation: valuation]
<u>the mass immigration of foreign races to the Nordic countries</u>	the most alarming and urgent threat	[–appreciation: valuation]
<u>the immigrated foreigners</u>	conceive with Nordic women and men	[–judgement: normality]
<u>the so-called multiculturalism and mass immigration</u>	a physical displacement	[–judgement: propriety]
<u>the so-called multiculturalism and mass immigration</u>	genocide of the Nordic people	[–judgement: propriety]
<u>mass immigration</u>	a major burden on our welfare society	[–appreciation: valuation]
	increased crime	[–judgement: propriety]
	culture clashes	[–judgement: propriety]
<u>these = mass immigration, increased crime, culture clashes</u>	the threat of our people ceasing to exist	[–appreciation: valuation]
<u>racial foreigners</u>	unemployed	[–judgement: capacity]
<u>immigration</u>	increased	[–appreciation: valuation]
<u>racial foreigners</u>	mass invasion	[–judgement: normality]
<u>racial foreigners</u>	treated as more worthy of	[–judgement: normality]

	protection than other citizens	
<u>foreign species</u>	invasions	[-judgement: normality]
<u>foreign species</u>	unnatural	[-judgement: normality]
<u>foreign species</u>	establish themselves in the Nordic nature very seriously	[-judgement: normality]
<u>tens of thousands of racial foreigners</u>	are pouring into the Nordic region on a weekly basis	[-judgement: normality]
<u>foreigners</u>	do not belong here	[-judgement: normality]

Table 4. A repeated pattern of coupling negative evaluation with the grievances of ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘immigration’

We can generalise and formalise the most salient linguistic resources of negative judgement which target the grievances of multiculturalism and immigration in the NRM manifesto as negatively charged stabilised clusters. As illustrated by Figure 3, the key attitude coupled with multiculturalism is negative propriety while the key attitude coupled with immigration is mostly negative normality.

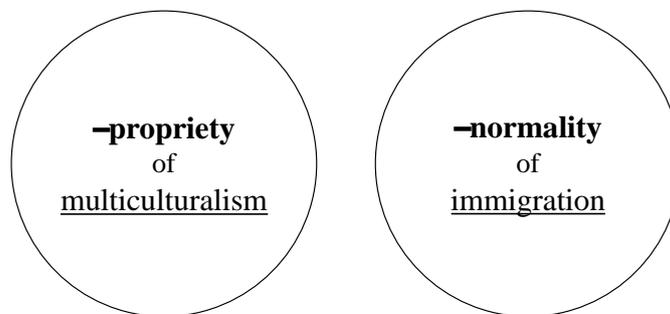


Figure 3. Negatively charged clusters of multiculturalism as unethical and immigration as ‘abnormal’

The attitude analysis presented so far has revealed how the NRM constructs an ideological link between multiculturalism, ‘mass immigration’ and environmental degradation. The following section aims to shed light on what other ideas the NRM constructs as grievances by clustering axiological values, how these grievances are linked to the

grievance of environmental degradation and together how they form a constellation of ecofascist ideas in the manifesto.

'Global Zionism': the major cause of environmental degradation

The following extract in Example 4 below illustrates that the NRM's goal is to 'save the planet' from certain "nefarious and powerful forces" that "have spread throughout our world like a cancer". But who or what are these 'nefarious and powerful forces'? The first mention of such forces appears in the foreword of the manifesto (2016, p. 7). The grammatical Subject 'nefarious and powerful forces' is picked up in another sentence of the same paragraph and repacked as 'global Zionism'. As the extract illustrates, the Target *nefarious and powerful forces* is negatively evaluated through an instance of [-judgement: normality] as a *cancer* spreading throughout the world. As the following section will show, these 'forces' referring to 'global Zionism' will be continuously picked up as Targets in the form of a range of synonyms and references throughout the text. In the preface of the manifesto the concept of National Socialism is also introduced (Example 5) and evaluated positively as the ideal form of government for the NRM, the only alternative to 'the destructive forces' of 'global Zionism', which is condemned for "genocide against the Nordic and ethnic peoples of Europe" (p. 10). It is at this point that Nordic 'genocide' as a new idea is introduced as another grievance; the condemnation of 'global Zionism' for both Nordic 'genocide' and environmental degradation is then reinforced in Example 6, where it is reconstructed as a result of control by "misanthropic and parasitical forces".

[4] The **difficult** [-appreciation: valuation] **problems** [-appreciation: valuation] facing the Nordic region are *in no way* **unique** [-appreciation: valuation] to our territory. On the contrary, **nefarious** [-judgement: propriety] and **powerful** [+judgement: capacity] forces **have spread throughout our world like a cancer** [-judgement: normality], with a common goal and approach. ... In order to **overcome** [+judgement: propriety] global Zionism and **save our planet in the long run** [+judgement: propriety], it is not enough for those of us in the Nordic region to fight this fight alone.

[5] From our point of view, National Socialism, *proven* during the short time it held power in Germany, has been **the only form of government that has significantly threatened** [+valuation] **the destructive forces that rule the world** [-judgement: propriety]. From 1945 until today, these same destructive forces have *continually* **conducted political genocide against the Nordic and ethnic peoples of Europe** [-judgement: propriety].

[6] it is our race and all of mankind that is being threatened [-judgement: propriety] **by the misanthropic and parasitical forces that control and conduct** [-judgement: propriety] **ruthless exploitation** [-judgement: propriety] of nature and all its populations – man and animal alike.

Tracing subsequent mentions of the expression ‘global Zionism’, further references, repetitions and related synonyms (following Martin, 1992; Martin & Rose, 2003/2007) in the manifesto and their attitude analysis has revealed a repeated pattern of negative attitudinal couplings. As shown in Table 5 below, the key attitudinal resource is [-judgement: propriety] that functions to condemn ‘global Zionism’ for “ruling”, “occupying” and “controlling” the world. By linking ‘global Zionism’ to other ‘causes of decline’, this type of attitude also serves to establish the negative axiological charging of other grievances such as liberalism, ‘cultural Marxism’ and control over the media and financial and military resources.

<u>Target</u>	attitudinal choices	charging & type
<u>global Zionism</u>	that rules the Western world	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>hostile forces</u>	have <i>deliberately</i> sanctioned immigration to the Nordic countries without consideration for the cultural and racial survival of the Nordic people	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>the global Zionist elite</u>	who have economically and militarily occupied the greater part of our world	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>a relatively few people</u>	control the entire global monetary infrastructure	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>this self-appointed elite</u>	has controlled major portions of the world’s cash flow and the creation of credit for a long period of time	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>they</u>	have, for a very long period of time, usurped control over major military resources and the	[-judgement: propriety]

	mass media	
<u>these few parasites</u>	feeding on mankind	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>hidden forces</u>	who do not have our best interests in mind	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>hostile forces</u>	working for the demise of the Nordic people	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>the self-proclaimed Zionistic elite</u>	who rule the Western world	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>all global Zionists</u>	work towards not only multiculturalism and mass immigration, but other socially disintegrating ideologies such as liberalism and norm-dissolving cultural Marxism	[-judgement: propriety]

Table 5. A repeated pattern of attitudinal couplings:
negative propriety targeting ‘global Zionism’

As illustrated in Table 6 below, ‘global Zionism’ is constructed via a range of synonyms as people, generalised groups or as abstractions. Analyses of references, synonyms and repetitions (Martin & Rose, 2003/2007) can reveal how entities related to ‘global Zionism’ appear throughout the manifesto and how they can differ in the attitude they express: for example, ‘parasites’ and ‘hostile/destructive forces’ encode instances of explicit negative judgement while the reference ‘these people’ is neutral on its own. However, certain evaluative choices can dominate longer stretches of text (Hood, 2010; Martin & White, 2005): even where it appears without explicit evaluation in the remainder of the text, we will be able to retrieve the negative axiological charging of meanings within the idea of ‘global Zionism’. Thus, despite a lack of explicit evaluation, the construction of ‘global Zionism’ as an axiological value can be illustrated as a negatively charged stabilized cluster as shown in Figure 4 below.

Mentions of 'global Zionism' in the NRM manifesto
nefarious and powerful forces
global Zionism
the destructive forces
the misanthropic and parasitical forces
Zionism
these people
a <i>relatively few</i> people
this self-appointed elite
the elite
the global elite
the global Zionist elite
a <i>small</i> financial elite
Zionists
<i>all</i> global Zionists
the self-proclaimed Zionistic elite
the Zionist financial order
the global world order
the Zionist's world order
Zionist-controlled system
Zionist military forces
these destructive financial forces
hostile forces
these hostile forces
hidden forces
parasitic forces
these <i>few</i> parasites

Table 6. Synonyms, repetitions and references related to 'global Zionism'

The analyses presented above have established that the NRM names 'global Zionism' as their single biggest grievance responsible for environmental degradation and several other grievances. A closer examination of other clusters helps reveal how ecofascist ideas unfold over the course of the text. For example, the targets 'cultural Marxism', liberalism or feminism can each be traced back to the idea of 'global Zionism', the core grievance identified in the NRM manifesto that every other grievance is linked to axiologically. Space constraints preclude a more detailed presentation of the analyses of each cluster shown in Figure 5 below, each of which can be unpacked by conducting the attitude analysis

demonstrated above. Each cluster that actualises a grievance condenses a repeated pattern of negatively charged attitudinal couplings. These grievances, represented by negatively charged clusters, together form a negatively charged constellation of NRM grievances, which shows ‘global Zionism’ as the core grievance within the NRM’s ideology. This construction of an axiological constellation through clusters of negatively charged meanings allows the NRM manifesto to omit explicit evaluation in subsequent mentions of grievances. By removing the explicit evaluations, the assumed negative charging of the grievances can be taken for granted. The relationship between the clusters forming the negatively charged constellation of NRM grievances is visualized by Figure 4.

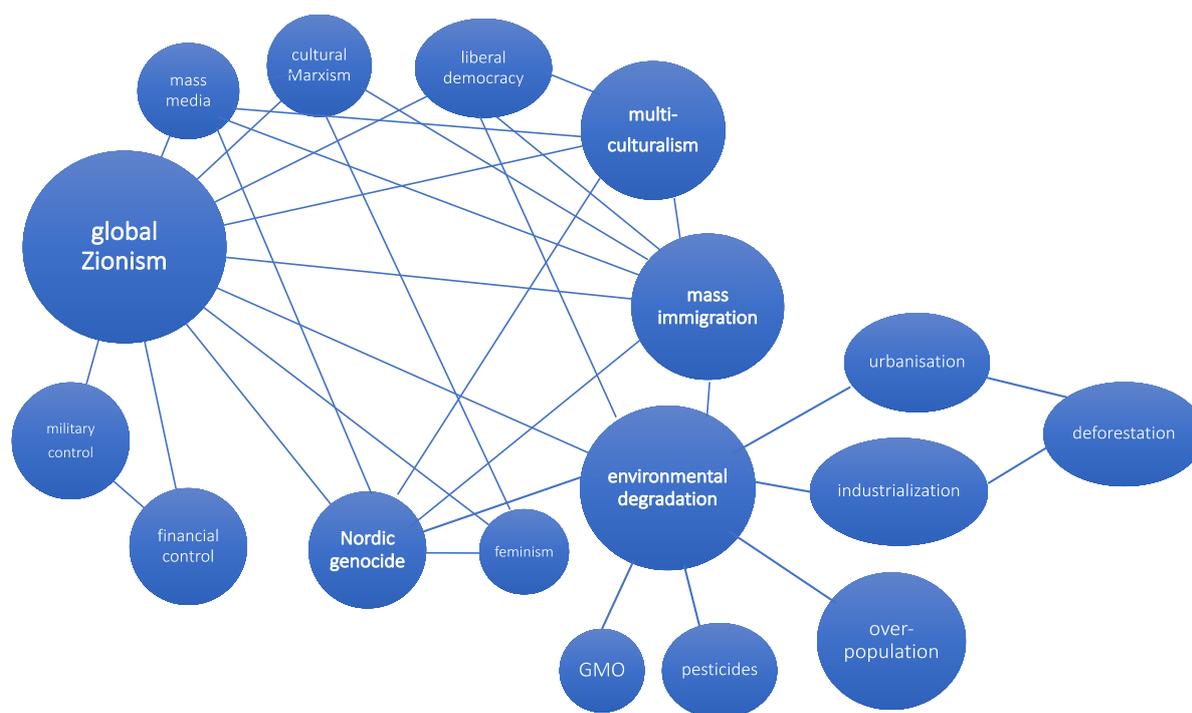


Figure 4. A negatively charged constellation of NRM grievances

So far we have looked at the linguistic construction of ecofascist ideas in the NRM manifesto. The following section will focus on the ‘solutions’ that NRM proposes to their grievances illustrated in the previous section.

'Save our planet': Ecofascist solutions to the climate crisis

The NRM manifesto lists a number of 'solutions' to their grievances or 'causes of decline' in today's society. To create solutions to the problem of environmental degradation specifically, the NRM proposes a list of National Socialist environmental sustainability policies: when they establish a modern National Socialist Nordic State, they will establish a central Nature Conservation Authority, create strict environmental laws, invest in renewable energy and demand that Nordic citizens and children live in harmony with the laws of nature, and respect and protect nature and endangered species (pp. 29-32). Their environmental policies include a protection on animal rights which the NRM wants to achieve by a complete ban on kosher and halal 'ritual slaughter' and animal testing and by implementing severe punishments for animal torture. Its agricultural policies include strict bans against GMO, chemical fertilizers and pesticides in order to protect biodiversity. The NRM advocates a more rural and natural lifestyle and criticises urban living for "degenerat[ing] and alienat[ing] people from both nature and others" (p. 30). As the attitudinal coupling analyses presented in Table 7 show, the key attitudinal resource through which the NRM praises their own proposed environmental policies as the only viable solutions to create a sustainable planet and to help preserve nature and biological diversity is [+judgement: propriety].

<u>Target</u>	attitudinal choices	charging & type
<u>The Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM)</u>	<i>the only political alternative in the Nordic region</i> that <i>wholeheartedly cares for</i> nature, including the biological diversity of mankind	[+judgement: propriety]
<u>The NRM</u>	being at the forefront of the environmental issues for which National Socialism <i>has always advocated</i>	[+judgement: propriety]
<u>we (=The (NRM))</u>	<i>can create</i> a sustainable planet for many generations to come	[+judgement: propriety]
a planet	sustainable for many generations to come	[+appreciation: valuation]
<u>The NRM</u>	<i>will be</i> at the forefront of enforcing tougher environmental laws	[+judgement: propriety]
environmental laws	tougher	[+appreciation: valuation]

<u>The NRM</u>	<i>will invest</i> in the earth sciences	[+judgement: propriety]
<u>The NRM</u>	<i>will become</i> a leader within the development and usage of renewable energy capable of powering homes, cars, industry	[+judgement: propriety]
energy	renewable	[+appreciation: valuation]
renewable energy	capable of powering homes, cars, industry	[+appreciation: valuation]
<u>The NRM</u>	<i>will promote</i> the replacement of the materialistically wasteful mentality of our society with an ecologically sound mindset	[+judgement: propriety]
mentality of our society	materialistically wasteful	[-judgement: propriety]
mindset	ecologically sound	[+judgement: propriety]
<u>The NRM</u>	<i>will abolish</i> ritual slaughter, such as kosher and halal	[+judgement: propriety]
kosher and halal	ritual slaughter	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>The NRM</u>	<i>will increase</i> the penalty for crimes against animals	[+judgement: propriety]
	crimes against animals	[-judgement: propriety]
<u>The NRM</u>	<i>will increase</i> protection for endangered domestic species	[+judgement: propriety]
<u>The NRM</u>	<i>will ensure</i> that children both respect and understand nature <i>at an early age</i>	[+judgement: propriety]
<u>The NRM</u>	<i>will promote</i> a more vibrant and sustainable countryside	[+judgement: propriety]
countryside	more vibrant	[+appreciation: valuation]
	sustainable	[+composition: balance]
<u>The NRM</u>	<i>will end</i> the exploitation of Nordic forests	[+judgement: propriety]
Nordic forests	exploitation	[-judgement: propriety]

Table 7. A repeated pattern of attitudinal couplings of positive propriety and the National Socialist policies of the NRM

As opposed to the negatively charged clusters that represent the NRM's grievances in Figure 4 above, the positively charged clusters in Figure 5 below represent the NRM's solutions to their grievances. As they consider the stopping of immigration insufficient, the

NRM's policies of environmental sustainability include immediate deportation and repatriation of all non-ethnic northern European people in order to maintain a 'completely pure Nordic race' for the sake of saving the Nordic region and the environment from overpopulation and the 'invasion of foreign species'. Their manifesto envisions "a world of free nations, where races live separately" (p. 31). The NRM's vision of environmental sustainability is dependent on a self-sufficient and authoritarian Nordic National Socialist state, which can only be achieved by establishing an independent National Guard, making military service compulsory for all women and men and arming the Nordic population against Zionist-controlled foreign powers (pp. 42-44). Figure 5 below illustrates the clusters that together form a positively charged constellation of the NRM's ecofascist solutions to the climate crisis. Each of these solutions is represented by a positively charged cluster, with the clusters of Nordic National Socialism and environmental sustainability as the core solutions within the axiological cosmology underlying the NRM's ecofascist ideology.

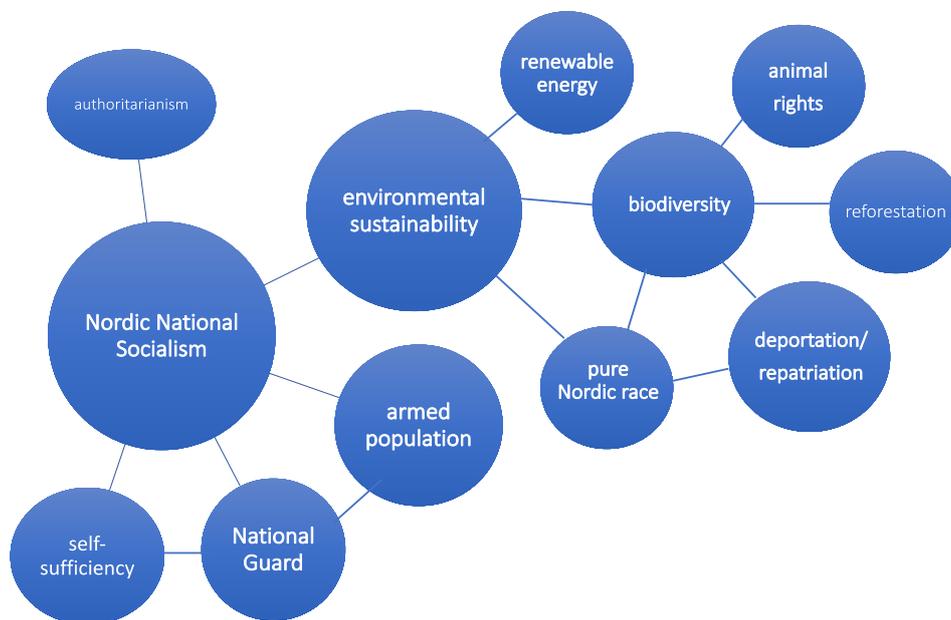


Figure 5. A positively charged constellation of the NRM's ecofascist solutions to the climate crisis

Discussion: Implications for climate justice and preventing violent extremism

This article set out to explore the linguistic construction of ecofascist ideology in neo-Nazi environmentalist communication based on qualitative analyses of the Nordic Resistance Movement's English-language manifesto. Drawing on the LCT concept of axiological cosmology, this article has made visible the axiological constellations aligned with the ecofascist axiological cosmology underlying the NRM's ideology. The presentation above has shown that the negatively charged constellation of the NRM's grievances is constructed in opposition to the positively charged constellation of its ecofascist solutions to the climate crisis. Drawing on the Appraisal framework from SFL, the detailed attitudinal coupling analyses have revealed patterns of attitudinal meanings that together cluster into ecofascist ideas. Specifically, it was found that the core cluster within the constellation of the NRM's grievances is 'global Zionism' while the core cluster within the constellation of ecofascist solutions is 'Nordic National Socialism'. The analyses have also revealed that the most salient attitudinal resources that target the NRM's grievances are those of negative propriety while the key attitude coupled with their ecofascist solutions is positive propriety, making explicit the attitudes, values and moral judgements that accumulate in the NRM manifesto. Interpreting these results from the perspective of social sanction and social esteem (Martin & White, 2005), the patterns of negative propriety and normality charging the constellation of NRM grievances function to both condemn behaviour deemed socially unacceptable by the NRM and to criticise behaviour that violates social norms and values in the NRM's ideology. The patterns of positive propriety charging the constellation of ecofascist solutions on the other hand reflect the positive moralising of the NRM's National Socialist environmental policies.

The qualitative analyses presented above have shed light on what makes the NRM ecofascist rather than simply environmentalist. Isolated complaints about environmental degradation and deforestation, for example, or demanding that renewables replace fossil fuels would not make an individual or an organisation ecofascist: what matters is the *relationship* between these ideas, in other words, it is important to understand what constellation an idea is

part of (cf. Maton, 2013). The constellation analyses presented above revealed that the NRM's ecofascist ideology is built up through clusters of meanings that reinforce neo-Nazi grievances. The NRM names 'global Zionism' as their single biggest grievance responsible for environmental degradation and other related grievances such as 'mass immigration' and multiculturalism. A closer examination of these axiologically charged clusters helped reveal how ecofascist ideas unfold over the course of the text. The linguistic construction of clusters functions not only to establish but also to stabilise the link between multiculturalism, 'mass immigration', environmental degradation and 'global Zionism'. By identifying these axiologically charged targets and the attitudinal resources that evaluate them, we can thus retrieve what ideas the Nordic Resistance Movement constructs as grievances in its manifesto. By tracing each cluster back to the grievance of 'global Zionism', it is then possible to retrieve the negative axiological charging of meanings within the entire constellation of ecofascist grievances.

Similarly, the linguistic construction of ecofascist solutions relies on patterns of attitudinal meanings that cluster into a positively charged axiological constellation. Even though the NRM builds up a cluster of 'today's man's' unacceptable destruction of the environment, the white Nordic races are absolved of this judgement because they are constructed as victims of uncontrollable and invisible Zionist forces¹⁰ the planet needs saving from. The introduction of ecofascist environmental sustainability policies begins with the NRM catastrophising about the disaster awaiting humanity without National Socialism: "Without the National Socialist way of thinking, where humans are an integral part of nature with the responsibility to care for it, mankind will perish". In order to realise its Nordic National Socialist state and achieve its ecofascist solutions, the NRM is prepared to engage in a violent revolution or 'uprising' (2016, p. 18). The NRM believes that the Nordic/white race can only be protected and can only survive through the creation of a pure Nordic National Socialist white ethno-state, by the repatriation and deportation of all foreigners and

¹⁰ Global Zionism is an old conspiracy theory founded on the myth that an international Jewish elite (also called 'cabal' that includes Jews, the Rothschilds, the Freemasons and The Illuminati) controls a secret world government, which aims to destroy local cultures by inventing globalisation, multiculturalism and flooding white nation states of the 'global North' with immigrants and refugees from the 'global South' (see e.g. Byford, 2011; Kalmar, 2020; Plenta, 2020).

immigrants including those with Nordic citizenship. While the manifesto mentions ‘deportation’ and ‘repatriation’ several times, it never discusses where foreign-born or immigrant-background Nordic citizens would be expected to go or which countries would be expected to accept them. Under international law nationality is a human right: under Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights arbitrary deprivation of nationality and forcing citizens to become stateless¹¹ is prohibited (United Nations, 1948; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1954). The NRM can therefore be categorised as ecofascist not only because of their fusion of xenophobic anti-immigration policy recommendations with environmental concerns and the reinforcement of ‘old’ white supremacist grievances and conspiracy theories but also due to the fact that their proposed deportation and repatriation policies would constitute a gross human rights violation. Therefore, their ecofascist propaganda has the potential to significantly undermine the climate justice movement.

In light of this potential, the neo-Nazi environmentalism of the Nordic Resistance Movement needs to be discussed against a backdrop of increasing far- and extreme right violence in recent years (Kallis, et al., 2018; Koehler, 2016, 2019; Kruglanski, et al., 2019; Ramalingam, 2014). This wave of violence has been exacerbated by the current climate crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic: non-white populations, minorities and refugees are increasingly blamed for pollution, overpopulation and the destruction of the environment. Such ecofascist ideas have appeared alongside other ideologies such as racism, white supremacy, anti-Semitism and accelerationism¹². For example, Richard Spencer, a key leader of the American ‘alt-right’ wrote in his Charlottesville manifesto that “[w]e have the potential to become nature’s steward or its destroyer” (2017). In August 2017 he organised the white supremacist Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, which resulted in deadly violence. In March 2019 convicted Australian terrorist Brenton Tarrant, sentenced to life without parole, killed 51

¹¹ The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees’ (UNHCR) 1954 Convention has defined a stateless person as someone who is “who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law” (1954, p. 6).

¹² The violent extreme right has recently appropriated the term accelerationism to mean that current ‘Jewish-controlled’ capitalist systems and liberal democracies must be destroyed in order to build a white nationalist ethno-state. In order to ‘accelerate’ the total and immediate collapse of today’s societies, engaging in ‘lone wolf’ and small-cell terrorist attacks is expected to trigger a ‘race war’ that will exterminate all non-whites and white ‘race traitors’ (Gartenstein-Ross, et al., 2020; Walther & McCoy, 2021).

people in two separate mosque shootings in Christchurch, New Zealand; in August 2019, inspired by the Christchurch massacre, American mass shooter Patrick Crusius killed 20 people in El Paso, Texas; in October 2019 a teenage member of an ecofascist cell within the violent American neo-Nazi terror group, The Base, claimed responsibility for an arson attack against a mink farm in Mjällby, Sweden. These are just a few examples in a series of white supremacist violence but the ideas that motivated these deadly terrorist attacks have the potential to influence an emerging ecofascist movement, where white supremacists might incite violence by repeatedly calling for attacks against non-white immigrants and refugees, prepare for an imminent ‘race war’ and, in the most extreme cases, advocate genocide to protect the planet (e.g. Linkola, 2011).

Younger generations especially tend to show positive attitudes towards green activism (Goldman, et al., 2017) and the recent international demonstrations *Fridays for Future* and the global climate strikes were joined by millions of people all around the world. There is a threat that white supremacist groups will target disillusioned young people or those already sensitised to the climate crisis. The internet and social media have significantly contributed to the fast-paced dissemination of extremist materials, the spread of disinformation and conspiracy theories, and the processes of radicalisation (see e.g. Farkas, et al., 2018; Koehler, 2014; Ravndal, 2013; von Behr, et al., 2013). Radicalisation is defined by the European Commission as “a phased and complex process in which an individual or a group embraces a radical ideology or belief that accepts, uses or condones violence, including acts of terrorism, to reach a specific political or ideological purpose (European Commission, n. d.)”. Extremists routinely target young people especially because “a young person with a grievance who has not been taught critical thinking skills or media literacy is a perfect target” (Reynolds & Parker, 2018, p. 4). While students’, the so-called ‘digital natives’, knowledge of digital media is often overrated (Bennett & Maton, 2010), they often lack critical digital and media literacy skills (Sonck, et al., 2011) and their ability to judge the credibility of information encountered online has been described as “bleak” (Stanford History Education Group, 2016, p. 4). Therefore, researchers have argued that critical digital and media literacy skills and an

understanding of how social media and algorithms work should become a formal part of school curricula (see e.g. Rieger, et al., 2017; Schmitt, et al., 2018).

The topic of countering violent extremism (CVE) has often been approached from a law enforcement and counter-terrorism perspective, rather than an educational one. In order to tackle the threat of ecofascist extremism, there is an ever-increasing need to include educational institutions and teachers in this challenging task. The Radicalisation Awareness Network (2017) argue that the topic of radicalisation and violent extremism need to be discussed alongside the related topics of mis- and disinformation and conspiracy theories. While a detailed overview is beyond the scope of this paper, well-known preventing violent extremism (PVE) initiatives include the UNESCO's key resources, *A Teacher's Guide on the Prevention of Violent Extremism* (2016) and *Preventing Violent Extremism through Education: A Guide for Policy Makers* (2017). The Institute for Strategic Dialogue also designed three PVE programs: *Digital Resilience* (Reynolds & Scott, 2016), *Be Internet Legends* and *Be Internet Citizens* (Phillips, et al., 2020), which aim to develop critical thinking and digital media literacy skills and have been evaluated as a success. Other initiatives include those where former extremists contribute to the design of PVE programs and awareness-raising materials¹³. However, research on evaluations of PVE programs shows that most of these initiatives are designed as extra-curricular and isolated interventions (Bonnell, et al., 2011; Perry, 2015). Research is unavailable on the extent to which these programs and materials are used in schools and how successful they are. In addition, most schools lack the necessary resources and teachers have reported that they have not been trained to recognise the signs of radicalisation, do not feel equipped to tackle the problem of violent extremism and the general curriculum does not allocate sufficient time to include these topics (Hobbs & Tuzel, 2017; Jamieson & Flint, 2017). It has been pointed out that PVE initiatives also have the potential to expose students to extremist content; counter-arguments

¹³ See e.g. Extreme Dialogue: <https://extremedialogue.org>; Life after Hate: <https://www.lifeafterhate.org/about-us-1/>; Project Someone: <https://projectsomeone.ca>; Dembra: https://www.hlsenteret.no/undervisning/dembra/dembra_eng.html; Moonshot CVE: <https://moonshotteam.com/ethics-of-engaging-formers/>

to this point assert that school-based programs can be successful when designed carefully by appropriately contextualising such challenging topics (Schmitt, et al., 2018).

In sum, most PVE programs aim to prevent radicalisation by equipping students with critical thinking and critical digital literacy skills to recognise various forms of extremist propaganda. These programs tend to focus on a range of ‘skills’ but seem to background a focus on *how* radicalisation strategies are communicated *through* language. The mixed-method LCT-SFL approach presented in this paper has contributed to the interdisciplinary study of white supremacist environmentalist communication by providing theoretically informed techniques for the analysis of the linguistic construction of ecofascist ideology. Studying the targets of evaluation was crucial for understanding the linguistic construction of both grievances and solutions within the sites of neo-Nazi environmentalist communication. Studying the attitudinal items that evaluate these targets revealed the attitudes, values and moral judgements that accumulate in the NRM manifesto; unpacking the clusters that form constellations revealed the axiological cosmology underlying the NRM’s ecofascist ideology. This approach has already been used with great success in interventions across a range of fields and academic disciplines such as restorative justice (Zappavigna & Martin, 2019), higher education and academic discourse (Martin, et al., 2019; Maton, et al., 2016), science education (Maton, et al., 2021), and critical thinking and critical reflection (Szenes & Tilakaratna, 2018; Tilakaratna & Szenes, forthcoming). The toolkits of LCT and SFL thus offer an innovative approach to the study of ecofascist ideology and white supremacist environmental communication and have great potential to make very important contributions to the design of PVE educational programs that aim to equip students with knowledge about language to identify the functions of linguistic resources in radicalisation strategies, for example, the construction of emotions and attitudes, provocation, othering, manipulation and persuasion.

Concluding remarks: Ecofascism going mainstream

This paper has shown that the white supremacist environmentalism of the violent extremist neo-Nazi Nordic Resistance Movement has emerged as a significant counter-force to the anti-environmentalist communication of non-violent far-right Nordic political parties. The literature review presented above on the emerging body of research on far-right environmentalist communication showed that the majority of far-right populist parties demonstrate climate scepticism and have often engaged in *anti-environmentalist* communication. Forchtner (2019c) points out that “eco-fascism is in fact *a fringe phenomenon* which has had a lasting political impact neither on mainstream politics nor on the politics of the radical right” [emphasis added]. Future research will need revisit this claim as it can be expected that ecofascist discourses will become more mainstream and have increasing potential to incite violence against non-white minorities by engaging in anti-immigration rhetoric under pretences of caring about the environment (Rueda, 2020). This recent revival of white supremacist environmentalism can therefore set a dangerous precedent for more far-right political parties and extreme-right movements to follow.

Indeed, recent media articles have reported of ecofascist rhetoric entering current political discourses where immigrants are blamed for environmental degradation and the developing world is blamed for overpopulation and pollution. For example, in the United States Arizona’s Attorney General Mark Brnovich has recently blamed immigrants for increased pollution levels (Kaufman, 2021); William Perry Pendley of the Bureau of Land Management under President Trump claimed that immigration was one of the biggest threats to the environment (Kelley, 2021). In the European Union, Marine Le Pen, the leader of the French *National Rally*, has referred to immigrants as “nomadic [who] do not care about the environment; they have no homeland” (Mazoue, 2019). The Hungarian far-right opposition party, *Our Homeland Movement*, consider themselves a ‘green party’ and created a ‘green wing’ called *Our Green Homeland* (Our Homeland Movement, 2019a), which regularly engages in green and animal rights activism. Their 2019 European parliamentary elections program, *The Europe of Our Homeland* (Our Homeland Movement, 2019b), dedicates an

entire section to sustainable development, where environmental protection is linked to the preservation of Hungarian land from ‘foreign’ land grabs. Far-right political parties and extreme-right movements in Central and Eastern Europe often link environmental degradation to ‘invading foreigners’ as well as the local minority Roma populations, who are considered ‘foreign species’ the homeland needs protecting from (Lubarda, 2018; Szenes, 2021b). The authoritarian far right is expected to amplify this rhetoric in order to attract voters by reducing the complexity of climate crisis to simplistic ecofascist solutions since, as Ross and Bevensee (2020) argue, they are incapable of adapting to the complex network of problems presented by climate change. Indeed, as the analyses above have shown, while arguing for sustainable development, animal rights and renewable energy, the NRM falls back on old Nazi tropes and links the issue of environmental degradation to familiar white supremacist grievances such as multiculturalism, immigration, liberalism and cultural Marxism (among others) and conspiracy theories such as a secret elite controlling the world, i.e. ‘global Zionism’. However, in order to downplay public perceptions of neo-Nazis as aggressive and violent extremists, the NRM is attempting to soften its image by producing entertainment programmes where they cultivate a friendly ‘nice guy’ image by light-hearted talk shows and humour (Askanius 2021; Darwish 2018). Similarly, in order to attract more voters, far-right populist parties hide references to white supremacist ideology within their anti-immigration rhetoric by carefully staying within the boundaries of hate speech laws and avoiding overt incitement to violence (Askanius, 2021; Darwish, 2018). In order to prevent an ecofascist disinformation and propaganda machine from reinforcing white supremacist ideologies, it will become increasingly important to dissociate ecofascism from the climate justice movement. For these reasons future research needs to carefully observe the potential of ecofascist discourses to move from the fringe into the mainstream and treat it as a diachronic project in order to monitor the evolution of ecofascist discourses.

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