



A Darker Strain of Environmentalism

Exploring Rhetorical Parallels between Far-Right European Politics and Online Eco-Fascism in the Age of the Climate Crisis





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I. INTRODUCTION

In the wake of the climate crisis, eco-fascism has experienced a resurgence across several political milieus. The far-right ideology has not only gained traction within online discussion forums, but has also been cited within the manifestos of several recent mass shooters.¹ Across Europe, the entry of once-fringe, far-right political parties into mainstream electoral politics paints a similar picture. In response to rising migration from the Global South, these parties have increasingly bridged the “politics of nature” with the “politics of identity,” framing migrants as threats to both the natural environment and national identity.² This portrayal of the nomadic migrant as an invasive species—pitted against the native European, organically bound to the land—mirrors several elements of historical far-right ecological thought, including Nazism’s “Blut und Boden” (Blood and Soil) rhetoric of the 20th century. Now, in the 21st century, climate change finds itself positioned at the center. Increasingly, we are seeing surges in eco-fascist rhetoric and radicalization across several, seemingly distant, political actors. In response to this emerging threat, this study seeks to understand how far-right European political parties and online eco-fascist forums—both shaped by climate-change narratives—overlap in rhetorical themes and strategies. This study reveals notable parallels, such as frequent depictions of migrants as environmental pollutants and metaphors equating land with cultural heritage. The study also identifies differences that reveal substrains of eco-fascist thought and widespread disagreement on how to translate ideology into action. Ultimately, this comparative analysis aims to deepen our understanding of the security implications of the climate crisis by evaluating eco-fascist actors in online spaces and contemporary European politics.

II. BACKGROUND

Climate change is typically regarded as a politically divisive issue: The far-left adamantly advocates for extensive climate policy while the far-right leans deeper and deeper into climate

¹ This refers to Brenton Tarrant (Christchurch, 2019), Patrick Crusius (El Paso, 2019), and Payton Gendron (Buffalo, 2022), all of whom produced written manifestos prior to their attacks that have been analyzed in relation to eco-fascist ideologies. (Joel Achenbach, “Two Mass Killings a World Apart Share a Common Theme: ‘Ecofascism,’” *Washington Post*, August 18, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/science/two-mass-murders-a-world-apart-share-a-common-theme-ecofascism/2019/08/18/0079a676-bec4-11e9-b873-63ace636af08_story.html; Oliver Milman, “Buffalo Suspect May Be Latest Mass Shooter Motivated by ‘Eco-Fascism,’” *The Guardian*, May 17, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/may/17/buffalo-shooting-suspect-eco-fascism>)

² Jonathan Olsen, *Nature and Nationalism: Right-Wing Ecology and the Politics of Identity in Contemporary Germany* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1999), 29, quoted in Graham Macklin, “The Extreme Right, Climate Change and Terrorism,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 34, no. 5 (2022): 983, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2022.2069928>.



denialism.³ However, as drought, floods, and other natural disasters intensify each year, varying, impassioned responses to the climate crisis have emerged across the full-range of the political spectrum. To some, the far-right's increasing embrace of environmental issues may come across as oxymoronic. Yet, a careful examination of contemporary far-right environmentalism reveals ideological throughlines that have long existed in far-right political thought, including themes of anti-capitalism, anti-globalization, anti-elitism, and nationalism.

A brief history of far-right ecologism

To accurately examine contemporary eco-fascism, the historical origins of far-right ecologism must be contextualized. Humans have long impacted the environment in which they live. Although the notion that humans shape their environment is not itself political, framings of environmental crises have long been mobilized to justify certain political and social ideas. The concept of the *Anthropocene*—a term which distinguishes our current geological epoch as one defined by human impact—underscores the scale at which recent humans have transformed Earth's environment.⁴ In lieu of the *Anthropocene*, which implicates homo sapiens as a whole, many scholars instead point to the *Capitalocene*, a term that more precisely attributes this era of profound planetary change to colonial extraction and capitalist expansion. Several scholars argue that it is these very systems—colonialism and capitalism—that have structurally imbued environmental degradation into the modern era.⁵ For example, colonial powers redefined land as resource frontiers that they not only could, but *should* exploit in the greater interest of societal development. Capitalism intensified and normalized this extractive logic. These two systems worked hand in hand to bring about a dramatically new era, not only in how humans engaged with the earth but also in the scale at which they extracted from it. For some, these historical conditions provided fertile ground for early forms of extreme ecological thinking.

Some of the earliest articulations of environmental scarcity as a justification for social hierarchy emerge in Thomas Malthus's "An Essay on the Principle of Population" (1798).⁶ Malthus posited that nature's finite resources could not sustain Earth's rapidly growing human population.⁷ He drew distinctions between "civilized" populations—those Malthus imagined as capable of sustainable governance—and "savage" ones—those who lacked self-restraint and

³ Hoi-Wing Chan and Kim-Pong Tam, "Political Divide in Climate Change Opinions Is Stronger in Some Countries and Some U.S. States than Others: Testing the Self-Expression Hypothesis and the Fossil Fuel Reliance Hypothesis," *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 87 (2023): 101992, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2023.101992>.

⁴ Will Steffen, Paul J. Crutzen, and John R. McNeill, "The Anthropocene: Are Humans Now Overwhelming the Great Forces of Nature?" *Ambio* 36, no. 8 (December 2007): 614–621, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25547826>.

⁵ Jason W. Moore, "Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism," in *Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism*, ed. Jason W. Moore (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2016), 1–11.

⁶ Thomas Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1798).

⁷ Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*.



therefore required management or control.⁸ In the case of Malthusian theory, environmental scarcity became a convincing rationale for implementing social stratification: only some populations could be trusted with managing earth's resources, while others were overpopulating in an irresponsible manner.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, these ideas were further entrenched through conservationism and racial science. Madison Grant, an American eugenicist, conservationist, and close associate of Theodore Roosevelt, played a pivotal role in deepening the connection between nature and race.⁹ Grant believed industrialization and immigration posed threats to the health of the environment, which he viewed as imperative to the survival of the Nordic race.¹⁰ This belief helped justify the establishment of the U.S. National Parks system, restrictive immigration laws, and American eugenics.¹¹ Grant's 1916 book titled *The Passing of the Great Race* was later praised by Adolf Hitler as his "bible."¹² Ultimately, Grant's work helped shift conservationism from a utilitarian practice, which preserved resources for later extraction by humans, to a preservationist ethos grounded in fears of racial degeneration.

Across the Atlantic, the *völkisch* movements of 19th century Germany articulated an even more explicit connection between race and land. *Volk*, a German noun that can be literally translated as 'people' or 'folk,' can be more accurately understood as 'ethnonationalist' or 'ethnopolitist'.¹³ These thinkers imagined ethnic peoples, or *Völker*, as organically rooted in particular landscapes. Forces of modernization—such as urbanization, industrialization, and social egalitarianism—threatened this sacred, racial connection to the land.¹⁴ Their racialized view of nature was ultimately reflected in other, tangentially related movements of the time, including the *Wandervogel* (birds of passage) and *Naturschutz* (protection of nature) movements.¹⁵

Within the Nazi regime, environmental beliefs took on several different forms. Hitler believed that nature represented a competition for dominance between different "races."¹⁶

Additionally, the infamous Nazi slogan "Blut und Boden" (Blood and Soil) implies that "German

⁸ Sam Moore and Alex Roberts, *The Rise of Ecofascism: Climate Change and the Far Right* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2022), 16–41.

⁹ Jedediah Purdy, "Environmentalism's Racist History," *The New Yorker*, August 13, 2015, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/environmentalisms-racist-history>.

¹⁰ Purdy, "Environmentalism's Racist History."

¹¹ Purdy, "Environmentalism's Racist History."

¹² Purdy, "Environmentalism's Racist History."

¹³ Matt Varco, "Volk Utopia: Racial Futures and Ecological Politics on the German Far Right," *Geoforum* 153 (2024): 103823, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2023.103823>.

¹⁴ Varco, "Volk Utopia."

¹⁵ Kristy Campion, "Defining Ecofascism: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Interpretations in the Extreme Right," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 34, no. 4 (2021): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2021.1987895>.

¹⁶ Ian Adams, *Political Ideology Today*, 2nd ed. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 235.



blood" had a unique, organic bond to "German soil."¹⁷ In turn, Nazism promoted environmental protection and ruralism as part of their overall rationale for genocide against the those they deemed as racially inferior. By establishing the racial domination of what they defined as the "superior race," they could also rid the land of "inferior races" who threatened to pollute and destroy it.

Evidently, several forms of far-right ecologism have mobilized "nature" as an ideological tool. Nature has been framed as something "wild" to be conquered, something "pure" in need of protection, or as a "natural order" that justifies racial hierarchy. What ties these interpretations together is the use of environmental rhetoric to produce rationale for social and racial hierarchies. In short, far-right ecologism aims to define who is entitled to belong, steward, or exploit the land—and in turn, who is a pollutant that must be eradicated.

Defining contemporary eco-fascism

Today's eco-fascist actors diagnose immigration, globalization, liberalization, and multiculturalism as forces that have severed a once-mythic bond between a native people and their land. While definitions vary, eco-fascism can generally be understood as a far-right ideology that combines environmental concern with authoritarian, nationalist, and racially exclusionary politics. Several researchers offer their own definitions as well. For example, one study defines eco-fascism as, "the intersection between environmentalism (eco), racialised supremacy, and authoritarianism (fascism)."¹⁸ Another author further characterizes eco-fascists as those who romanticize an ecologically harmonious past imagined as homogeneous, pastoral, and socially ordered. In effect, these individuals believe modernity has weakened their community through phenomena such as industrialization, materialism, and immigration.¹⁹ The same study further delineates contemporary eco-fascism into two branches: (1) the ecocentric branch—which positions the native people as the rightful custodians of the environment, and (2) the anthropocentric branch—which views environmental protection as imperative to the survival of the race itself.²⁰ Within both strains, concern for nature is highly selective, where subscribers are fundamentally interested in the ecological well-being of a racial in-group, as opposed to planetary health as a whole.

¹⁷ Kevin Cranney, "Blood Over Soil: The Misconception of Nazi Environmentalism" (Providence College, November 22, 2017), *History & Classics Student Scholarship*, DigitalCommons@Providence, https://digitalcommons.providence.edu/history_papers_proj/6.

¹⁸ Lise Benoist, Joe Turner, and Daniel Bailey, "Ecofascism in the Shadow of 'Patriotic Ecology': Nativism, Economic Greenwashing, and the Evolution of Far-Right Political Ecology in France," *Politics* 46, no. 1 (2024): 173–192, <https://doi.org/10.1177/02633957241273649>.

¹⁹ Campion, "Defining Ecofascism."

²⁰ Campion, "Defining Ecofascism."



Some research has also further explored eco-fascism in the context of contemporary phenomena such as climate change and migration.²¹ A common narrative embraced by today's eco-fascist actors recasts immigrants from the Global South as invasive species swarming the Global North. In tandem, these actors ascribe blame for climate change to whom they perceive as the chief propagators of globalization: the political left elite. Overall, however, it is important to acknowledge that there is no one-size-fits-all definition for eco-fascism. In response to present-day phenomena, this ideology has evolved from its historical origins to take on several forms that diverge from one another.

The resurgence of far-right political parties in present-day Europe

Across Europe, far-right nationalist, populist, and conservative parties have recently emerged from the margins into mainstream politics.²² Once confined to the periphery after World War II, many of these parties have successfully increased their electoral representation in recent years.²³ This electoral growth is visible across multiple countries, particularly with parties like Germany's Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) and France's Rassemblement National (RN), who have secured considerable shares of parliamentary seats by positioning themselves as defenders of national identity and sovereignty.²⁴

Several factors have contributed to this rise. First, public anxiety over immigration has provided fertile ground for far-right parties to claim they protect economic stability, cultural cohesion, and national security.²⁵ Second, economic discontent, especially in rural communities that feel like the "losers" of globalization, has further boosted support.²⁶ Additionally, growing distrust of political elites has allowed far-right leaders to present themselves as authentic outsiders who actively challenge the status quo. In turn, several far-right parties have capitalized on these conditions and sentiments to garner support.

Some far-right parties have adapted environmental messaging, departing from the more typical climate denialist stance of the far-right. Seeking broader legitimacy, parties like France's RN now promote a form of "patriotic ecology" that frames environmental problems

²¹ Campion, "Defining Ecofascism."; Brian Hughes, Dave Jones, and Amarnath Amarasingam, "Ecofascism: An Examination of the Far-Right/Ecology Nexus in the Online Space," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 34, no. 5 (2022): 997–1023, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2022.2069932>; Bernhard Forchtner and Balša Lubarda, "Scepticisms and Beyond? A Comprehensive Portrait of Climate Change Communication by the Far Right in the European Parliament," *Environmental Politics* 32, no. 1 (2023): 43–68, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2022.2048556>.

²² Max Mumford, "The Rise of Far-Right Parties in Europe: Causes, Trends, and Implications," *Atlas Institute for International Affairs*, March 1, 2025, <https://atlasinstitute.org/the-rise-of-far-right-parties-in-europe-causes-trends-and-implications/>

²³ Mumford, "The Rise of Far-Right Parties in Europe."

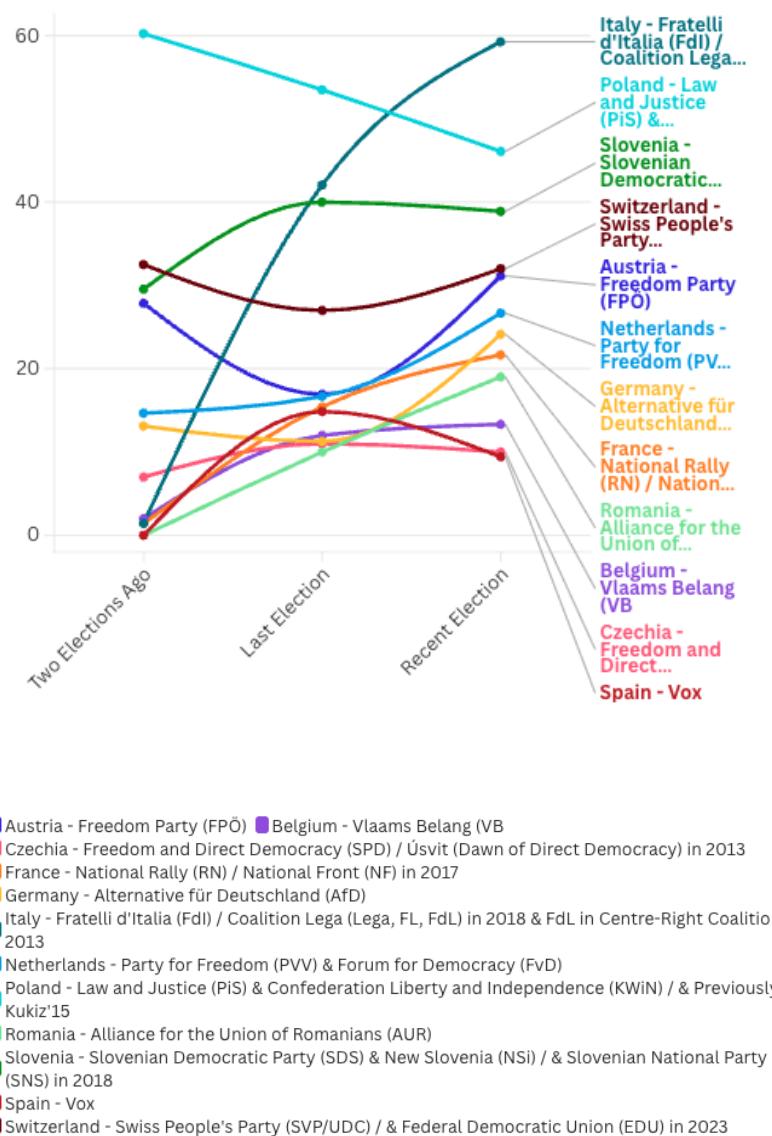
²⁴ Andreas Steinmayr, "Did the Refugee Crisis Contribute to the Recent Rise of Far-Right Parties in Europe?," *ifo DICE Report* 15, no. 4 (December 2017): 24–27, ifo Institute-Leibniz Institute for Economic Research at the University of Munich.

²⁵ Steinmayr, "Did the Refugee Crisis Contribute to the Recent Rise of Far-Right Parties in Europe."

²⁶ Mumford, "The Rise of Far-Right Parties in Europe."

as rooted in migration, globalism, and threats to national “rootedness.”²⁷ This reframing also allows them to label themselves as the “true” defenders of the environment, in contrast to the global left who they allege have co-opted environmentalism to serve their own, elitist interests.

Figure 1. Percentage Share of Parliamentary Seats for Far-Right European Political Parties.²⁸



²⁷ Benoist, Turner, and Bailey, “Ecofascism in the Shadow of ‘Patriotic Ecology.’”

²⁸ Source: [Atlas Institute for International Affairs](#) (2025). IPU Parliamentary Elections. The data taken from the ‘Last Election’ in Spain is from the second election in November 2019, due to the 1st election in April 2019 being seen as void due to the inability to form a coalition of all the parties and therefore the necessity for a second election.

The resurgence of eco-fascist discourse in online forums

Over the past decade, eco-fascist subcultures have also emerged across several online platforms including Telegram, Stormfront, 4chan, 8chan, X (Twitter) and Discord. Molloy (2022) identified one eco-fascist subculture as first emerging on Telegram and Twitter in 2017.²⁹ In response to modern phenomena such as climate change, migration, and globalization, far-right actors have taken to online spaces to discuss eco-fascist beliefs in its 21st century contexts. These subcultures vary ideologically, and take different stances on concepts under the broader umbrella of eco-fascism.³⁰ In contrast to Europe's far right political parties, these online communities typically engage more substantively and explicitly with historical far-right environmental thinkers. This typically includes individuals such as Finnish deep ecologist Pentti Linkola, Hitler-admirer Savitri Devi, the unabomber Ted Kaczynski, and Italian philosopher Julius Evola, amongst others.³¹ Beyond self-identifying as eco-fascists, members are likely to identify with other political beliefs such as white nationalism. Additionally, many of them reference racial pseudoscience and are openly concerned with related conspiracy theories. For example, one commonly cited theory is "The Great Replacement"—a concept pioneered by French novelist Renaud Camus that warns that the survival of white European populations are actively threatened by non-white immigration, reproduction, and miscegenation.³²

Recent mass shootings and eco-fascism

Beyond increased social media discourse, this resurgence in eco-fascist thought has translated into real-world violence in the case of three mass shootings:

1. Christchurch, NZ (Brenton Tarrant, March 2019)
2. El Paso, TX (Patrick Crusius, August 2019)
3. Buffalo, NY (Payton Gendron, May 2022)

In March 2019, Brenton Tarrant self-identified as an "ethno-nationalist eco-fascist" in addition to citing "The Great Replacement" theory in his manifesto before killing 51 individuals at a New Zealand mosque.³³ Just five months later, the El Paso Walmart shooter, Patrick Crusius,

²⁹ Joshua Molloy, "Understanding Eco-Fascism: A Thematic Analysis of the Eco-Fascist Subculture on Telegram," Global Network on Extremism & Technology, November 2, 2022,

<https://gnet-research.org/2022/11/02/understanding-eco-fascism-a-thematic-analysis-of-the-eco-fascist-subculture-on-telegram/>.

³⁰ Molloy, "Understanding Eco-Fascism."

³¹ Campion, "Defining Ecofascism."

³² David Bauder, "What Is 'Great Replacement Theory' and How Does It Fuel Racist Violence?," Associated Press, May 16, 2022,

<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/what-is-great-replacement-theory-and-how-does-it-fuel-racist-violence>.

³³ Macklin, "The Extreme Right, Climate Change and Terrorism."



expressed grievances about overconsumption and environmental pollution in his manifesto "The Inconvenient Truth"—an allusion to the 2006 documentary on Al Gore's climate change campaign.³⁴ In May 2022, Payton Gendron echoed similar environmental concerns in his own manifesto, which justified his shooting of ten individuals at a supermarket in Buffalo, NY.³⁵ Ultimately, these shootings have drawn renewed media attention to the security implications of resurging far-right ideologies like eco-fascism, and how radicalization can evolve into violence.

III. RESEARCH QUESTION AND STUDY PURPOSE

The problem to be addressed by this study is that rhetorical parallels between contemporary eco-fascist forums and far-right European politics have yet to be extensively explored. While previous research has analyzed these actors in separate capacities,³⁶ there is an existing literature gap with regards to comparing these actors' rhetorical strategies—particularly in relation to climate change, migration, and eco-fascism.

Research Question: *In what ways do online eco-fascist subcultures and far-right European political parties draw on eco-fascist ideology to advance their rhetoric, and where do their rhetorical strategies converge or diverge?*

The purpose of this qualitative, comparative study is to examine how online eco-fascist subcultures and far-right European political parties deploy eco-fascist narratives, and to identify where their rhetorical strategies and themes coincide. Clarifying these patterns will help explain how climate change has contributed to the resurgence of eco-fascist ideology and the rise of far-right politics in Europe, while also informing broader discussions about the security implications of the climate crisis and its role in extremist rhetoric, radicalization, and violence.

³⁴ Graham Macklin, "The El Paso Terrorist Attack: The Chain Reaction of Global Right-Wing Terror," *CTC Sentinel* 12, no. 11 (December 2019), <https://ctc.westpoint.edu/el-paso-terrorist-attack-chain-reaction-global-right-wing-terror/>

³⁵ Adam Aton, "Buffalo Shooting Suspect Embraced 'Eco-Fascist' Label," *E&E News by POLITICO*, May 16, 2022, <https://www.eenews.net/articles/buffalo-shooting-suspect-embraced-eco-fascist-label/>.

³⁶ John Hultgren, "Far-Right Ecologism: Environmental Politics and the Far Right in Hungary and Poland," *Environmental Politics* 34, no. 6 (2025): 1145–1147, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2025.2465159>; Imogen Richards, Callum Jones, and Gearóid Brinn, "Eco-Fascism Online: Conceptualizing Far-Right Actors' Response to Climate Change on Stormfront," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 48, no. 9 (2025): 982–1008. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2022.2156036>; Forchtnar and Lubarda, "Scepticisms and Beyond?"; Hughes, Jones, and Amarasingam, "Ecofascism: An Examination of the Far-Right/Ecology Nexus in the Online Space."

IV. METHODOLOGY

This study employed qualitative, comparative rhetorical analysis. This design is most suitable since the study seeks to (1) characterize, (2) compare and contrast, and (3) contextualize the rhetorical patterns of several far-right actors. This study also applied thematic analysis and narrative analysis to assess each text-based data point.

Case Study Selection

This study used France's Rassemblement National (RN), Hungary's Mi Hazánk Mozgalom (MHM), and Poland's Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS) as case studies of far-right European political parties who have employed eco-fascist rhetoric. These parties have experienced a surge in political legitimacy by gaining representation through recent elections. In 2024, Rassemblement National earned 32% of the vote in the European Parliament elections in France.³⁷ Mi Hazánk Mozgalom carries a smaller presence in Hungary, but still managed to secure 6 of 199 seats in the National Assembly.³⁸ In Poland, Prawo i Sprawiedliwość has been a strong force, holding around 194 of the 460 seats in the Sejm after the 2023 parliamentary elections, remaining the single largest party despite losing its previous majority.³⁹ Each of these parties identifies as Nationalist-Conservative, with some leaning more into populist appeals than others.

Table 1. Far-right European political parties case studies.

Political Party	Abbreviation	Country	Political Self ID
Rassemblement National	RN	France	Nationalist/Populist
Mi Hazánk Mozgalom	MHM	Hungary	Nationalist/Conservative
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	PiS	Poland	Nationalist/Populist/Conservative

To examine rhetorical patterns in online forums, Stormfront was chosen as a case study. Stormfront is a neo-Nazi internet forum known for promoting white nationalism,

³⁷ Clément Guillou, "2024 European Elections: Far-Right Rassemblement National Achieves Historic Success," *Le Monde* (English edition), June 9, 2024, https://www.lemonde.fr/en/politics/article/2024/06/09/2024-european-elections-far-right-rassemblement-national-achieves-historic-success_6674319_5.html

³⁸ András Hajdú, "Mi Hazánk: Who Are the Other Winners of the Hungarian Elections," *Fondazione Machiavelli*, April 20, 2022, <https://www.centromachiavelli.com/en/2022/04/20/mi-hazank-hungar-elections-2022/>.

³⁹ Magdalena Góra, "Elections in Poland Bring the End of Right-wing Populist Rule," *Brexit Institute*, October 2023, <https://dcubexitinstitute.eu/2023/10/elections-in-poland-bring-the-end-of-right-wing-populist-rule/>

anti-semitism, and other ideologies linked to racial supremacy.⁴⁰ Due to the common overlaps between white nationalism and eco-fascism, and due to Stormfront's large membership in the Global North (Europe, North America), this platform was selected as a suitable case study for examining online eco-fascist rhetoric. Additionally, the respective manifestos of the mass shooters (Brenton Tarrant, Patrick Crusius, Payton Gendron) were examined to determine eco-fascist throughlines. It is important to note that while these mass shooters reportedly engaged with online far-right forums (e.g 4chan), it is not clear whether they engaged with Stormfront forums specifically.

Data Collection

Three datasets (DS I, DS II, DS III) were generated from R Studio scrapings of relevant data sources for designated keywords (see *Table 3*). The lists of keywords for DS I and DS II were derived from established literature on the rhetorical analysis of online-ecofascist actors.⁴¹ To examine Twitter/X accounts, the X advanced search tool was used to manually search for and document keyword mentions. Datasets were cleaned to account for repetition and null data, and to narrow the temporal scope to the past 10 years.

For DS I (European political parties), primary sources included several issues of MHM's Virridat Program, the RN's "Projet l'Ecologie" and "Projet Contrôler l'Immigration," op-eds posted to the RN's official website, Jordan Bardella's official campaign program, and PiS publications such as "Polsak Ziemia" and "Polski Ład dla Polskiej Wsi." The official Twitter/X accounts of each party (@MiHazank, @RNational_off, @pisorgpl) were also examined.

Table 2. Dataset descriptions.

Dataset (DS)	Sources
DS I - European Political Parties	Political campaign materials, media interviews, Twitter/X accounts
DS II - Stormfront (General)	All Stormfront threads
DS III - Stormfront (Mass Shootings)	Stormfront threads related to select mass shootings (Christchurch, El Paso, Buffalo)

⁴⁰ Southern Poverty Law Center, "Stormfront," *Extremist Files*, accessed December 19, 2026, <https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/stormfront/>

⁴¹ Imogen Richards, Callum Jones, and Gearóid Brinn, "Eco-Fascism Online: Conceptualizing Far-Right Actors' Response to Climate Change on Stormfront," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 48, no. 9 (2025): 982-1008, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2022.2156036>.

Table 3. List of keywords.

DSI + DSII - KEYWORDS	
malthus	illegals
malthusian	aliens
environment	migrants
environmental	refugees
ecology	immigrants
ecological	climate refugees
roots	climate migrants
rooted	immigration
pollution	ecofascist
pollute	ecofascism
pollutant	deep ecology
climate change	Great Replacement
global warming	Pentti Linkola
environmental degradation	Anders Behring Breivik
invasion	Brenton Tarrant
border security	Patrick Crusius

DSIII - KEYWORDS		
<i>Location</i>	<i>Mass Shooter</i>	<i>Manifesto Title</i>
Christchurch	Brenton Tarrant	"The Great Replacement"
El Paso	Patrick Crusius	"The Inconvenient Truth"
Buffalo	Payton Gendron	"What you need to know"

Data Analysis

The three data sets contained a total of 332 text samples each consisting of approximately 15-200 words. DS I (European political parties) included 112 data points. DS II (general Stormfront threads) included 120 data points. DS III (Stormfront threads on mass shootings) consisted of 100 data points. To conduct thematic analysis, each data set was qualitatively analyzed by assigning each data point a theme from a designated list (see *Table 4*). Inclusion criteria for each theme was explicitly defined to avoid overlap in the creation and application of the themes. The final list consists of nine rhetorical themes shared by both actor groups, with additional themes that were respectively added to each relevant actor group (two themes unique to DS I and four themes unique to DS II). These additional themes were added after thematic gaps were identified in an initial round of analysis on a subset of 150 text samples. Several themes could be applied to a singular text sample, as applicable. Broader trends were then both qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed, including calculations of the most common themes in each dataset.

Table 4. List of rhetorical themes.

RHETORICAL THEMES	
DSI European Political Parties	DSII Stormfront
	anthropocentric
	anti-immigrant
	anti-global elite/liberalization
	borders/security
	ecocentric
	fertility/family
	preservation of culture/identity
	pro-environment
	rootedness/land
pro-agriculture/farmer	anti-semitism
nationalism	“blut und boden”
	natural order
	population/bloodline

V. FINDINGS

The following section identifies the primary eco-fascist rhetorical themes used by each actor group.

Far-Right European Political Parties

Several common rhetorical themes were identified between the Rassemblement National (RN), Mi Hazánk Mozgalom (MHM), and Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS). In alignment with their nationalist-populist appeals, these parties have incorporated varying degrees of pro-environmentalism into their political rhetoric, whether it be within campaign materials, social media posts, or live media interviews. Out of all three parties, France's RN leaned mostly heavily into pro-environmental rhetoric, coining their own terms that join environmentalism and nationalism, such as "patriotic ecology" (*écologie patriotique*). The following section identifies the primary eco-fascist-related rhetorical themes employed by all three parties:

A) National Land = National Identity

The theme most frequently employed by RN, MHM, and PiS is the equation of national land with national identity. By employing this metaphor, these parties advocate for environmentalism under the pretense that by conserving land, one also preserves national culture, heritage, and identity. This rhetoric is often accompanied by visual representation of the natural environment, including depictions of rolling green hills and glistening rivers. This vibrant imagery, paired with the metaphor of land as culture, stresses the importance of protecting the natural environment in the interest of nationalism and cultural preservation. Not only is the environment something beautiful that deserves protection, but it is also vital to the flourishing of national culture and identity.



Party / Platform	Translation	Original Content
Mi Hazánk Mozgalom Twitter/X (2022)	The Hungarian Land is a National Treasure.	
Rassemblement National Projet l'Écologie pp. 15 (2022)	On French territory, culture is inseparable from nature, both form our living environment inseparably. The beauty of France is due to nature as much as to the builders of steeples, villages, and bridges! France's inexhaustible heritage must be highlighted, maintained and restored, and promoted for the satisfaction of all.	<i>Sur le territoire français, la culture ne se sépare de la nature, l'une et l'autre forment indissociablement notre cadre de vie. La beauté de la France tient à la nature autant qu'aux bâtieurs de clochers, de villages et de ponts ! L'inépuisable patrimoine de la France doit être mis en valeur, il doit être maintenu et restauré, il doit être promu pour la satisfaction de tous.</i>
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość Polski Ład dla Polskiej Wsi pp. 3 (2021)	The countryside and agriculture – this is where the roots of our identity lie; from this tradition Poland was born. When we ask ourselves who we are and where we come from, our thoughts turn primarily to the countryside.	Wieś i rolnictwo – tu sięgają korzenie naszej tożsamości; z tej tradycji zrodziła się Polska. Kiedy pytamy o to, kim jesteśmy i skąd pochodzimy to nasze myśli biegą przede wszystkim do wsi.

B) *Indigeneity, Nomadism, and “Rootedness”*

Themes of indigeneity and “rootedness” also emerged, echoing many of the foundational ideas surrounding race and land from the Völkish movements and Nazism’s “Blut und Boden” rhetoric. RN, MHM, and PiS each propagate the idea that indigenous white Europeans are the only ones “rooted” to the land, and thus, the only ones capable of effectively stewarding the land. This narrative also mirrors Malthus’ conclusion in “An Essay on the Principle of Population” where he asserts that only

members of certain social stratifications can be trusted to manage Earth's natural resources, while others are inherently incapable and require oversight from superiors. Amongst the rhetoric of these political parties, this theme emerges in both implicit and explicit ways. For example, variations of the following phrase are commonly employed by all three parties: "If we sustain the land, it will sustain us in return." This line of thought implies a reciprocal relationship between the indigenous people and their land. However, it is often presented in an exclusionary context, where only *some* people can effectively protect the environment, and in turn, only *some* may receive its benefits.

This theme of racial "rootedness" with the landscape often emerges in tandem with rhetoric surrounding nomadism and immigration. Nomads, or those who are "unrooted," are presented as being incapable of stewarding the environment. Marine Le Pen, a leader in the RN, said, "Environmentalism [is] the natural child of patriotism, because it's the natural child of rootedness. If you're a nomad, you're not an environmentalist. Those who are nomadic ... do not care about the environment; they have no homeland."⁴² This anti-nomadism sentiment naturally evolves into anti-immigration sentiment, where far-right parties are able to paint immigrants, who are "homeland-less," as unable to care for the environment. This becomes especially alarming for subscribers who also equate land with national culture.

Party / Platform	Translation	Original Content
Rassemblement National Projet l'Écologie pp. 8 (2022)	Transmit, because those who received a territory, those who owe France to the generations that preceded us, are the best guarantors of their territory , and of this France that we must transmit more beautiful, richer, more vibrant to our children and our children's children.	<i>Transmettre, parce que ceux qui ont reçu un territoire, ceux qui doivent la France aux générations qui nous ont précédés sont les meilleurs garants de leur territoire, et de cette France que nous devons transmettre plus belle, plus riche, plus vivante à nos enfants et aux enfants de nos enfants.</i>
Mi Hazánk Mozgalom Virridat Program pp. 26 (2022)	And if it is not Hungarians, this will be held by someone else, they view it not as their native land, as a place of their livelihood, but instead, only as a resource that can be exploited.	Hands off from Hungarian land! And the appetite of foreign farmers, intending to invest, holding more and more land, of areas of size of a county, is unappeasable, thus, their expansion is guaranteed, since the land has always had an owner ever since. And if it is not Hungarians, this will be held by someone else, they view it not as their native land, as a place of their livelihood, but instead, only as a resource that can be exploited.

⁴² Oliver Milman, "Climate denial is waning on the right. What's replacing it might be just as scary," The Guardian, November 21, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/nov/21/climate-denial-far-right-immigration/>.

<p>Prawo i Sprawiedliwość Twitter/X (2021)</p>	<p>Prime Minister @MorawieckiM in #Nawarzyce:</p> <p>The fate of my family is tied to this Świętokrzyska land – one could say that its roots are here. In today's Poland, being separated from one's roots, being detached from them, is a negative phenomenon.</p>	
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C) Pro-Farmer/Pro-Agriculture

These political parties also strongly advocate for policies in support of farmers and local agriculture. By casting the local farmer as a steward of national land and nourishment, these parties employ agriculture as a symbol of nationalism. In turn, sustainable policies that support the local agricultural industry are marketed as critical to attaining their overarching nationalist political goals. Rhetoric surrounding the local farmer often imposes a sense of responsibility upon the reader to support local agriculture. For example, variations of the following phrase are commonly used: "The French farmer has been abandoned but deserves our respect as he is the one who tends to the land and feeds the people."

Party / Platform	Translation	Original Content
<p>Rassemblement National Bardella Programme pp. 17 (2022)</p>	<p>Agriculture has always held a special place in the heart of the French people. Guarantors of our food sovereignty, repositories of our know-how, and guardians of our landscapes, farmers play an indispensable role for the independence of France and the daily life of the French.</p>	 <p>5 Refaire de l'agriculture un instrument du rayonnement et de l'excellence de la France</p> <p>L'agriculture a toujours occupé une place particulière dans le cœur des Français. Garants de notre souveraineté alimentaire, dépositaires de nos savoir-faire, gardiens de nos paysages, les agriculteurs ont un rôle indispensable pour l'indépendance de la France et la qualité de vie des Français.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Renforcer les contrôles des importations pour mettre fin à la vente de produits étrangers ne respectant pas les normes françaises ● Garantir des prix rémunérateurs pour les agriculteurs ● Généraliser l'étiquetage sur l'origine et la qualité des produits alimentaires ● Lancer un grand plan « Manger français » obligeant les cantines à utiliser 80 % de produits agricoles français à l'horizon 2027



<p>Mi Hazánk Mozgalom Virridat Program pp. 27 (2022)</p>	<p>The reputation and appreciation of farmers have to be returned, a career model and a predictable pension have to be provided for them, and the Hungarian land has to be protected and retained not only from the advances of foreigners, but also from the "utilisation of other purposes", using up more and more hectares, since the Hungarian land and water resources are national treasures...</p>	<p>Hungarian land and water resources are national treasures! The reputation and appreciation of farmers have to be returned, a career model and a predictable pension have to be provided for them, and the Hungarian land has to be protected and retained not only from the advances of foreigners, but also from the "utilisation of other purposes", using up more and more hectares, since the Hungarian land and water resources are national treasures, thus, it is a fault to squander those. It is necessary to shift towards long-term sustainability instead of instantaneous exploitation, attempts have to be made for GMO-exemption, the minimisation of environmental impact, and the maximisation of the added value of the products of agriculture. And this is true for the economic part as well, since (instead of raw materials squandered cheaply) finished products with high value added, as much as possible, have to be produced, creating and retaining workplaces paid more and fairly, primarily for us, and then for export purposes, to solvent countries looking for quality foodstuffs.</p>
<p>Prawo i Sprawiedliwość Twitter/X (2023)</p>	<p>@RobertTelus in Przysucha: Climate is important, but food security is paramount. Polish farmers know that Polish land must be in our hands. We say no to selling Polish land, because it is sacred. #SafePolandRural</p>	<p>Law and Justice @pisorgpl · Oct 9, 2023 Minister@MIRIW.GOV.PL @RobertTelusIn Przysucha: Climate is important, but food security is paramount. Polish farmers know that Polish land must be in our hands. We say no to selling Polish land, because it is sacred. #SafePolandRural</p>  <p>15 31 65 4.1K</p>

D) Anti-Global Elite, Anti-Liberalization, Anti-Globalization

Other common narratives often evoke anti-global elite, anti-liberalization, and anti-globalization sentiments. These parties believe that the far-left and global elite have co-opted environmentalism for their own gain. On the other hand, parties like the RN and MHM embody the "true" version of environmentalism. In effect, the far-right political parties of today are aiming to retake control of the environmental narrative in the interest of the nation. In addition to villainizing the global elite in the context of environmentalism, they also ascribe blame for climate change to several forces of modernization including liberalization, globalization, urbanism, and multiculturalism. This theme of anti-modernism is reflected in Campion's (2021) definition of ecofascism which characterizes ecofascists as those who romanticize a return to an imagined, ecologically-harmonious past.⁴³ It also echoes the same anti-modernization rhetoric as that of the Völkish movements of 19th and 20th century Germany, thus exemplifying a linkage to historical far-right ecologism. In essence, these parties claim that the current political elite, along with the systems they have imposed upon society, have not only resulted in the environmental degradation that we see today, but are advancing a false "environmentalism" that harms the people and the land.

⁴³ Campion, "Defining Ecofascism."

Party / Platform	Translation	Original Content
Rassemblement National Aurelia Begneux Op-Ed (2022)	Globalization, which removes borders and economic protections, is the primary cause of the destruction of our environment. Yet, ultraliberals who wish to implement a punitive ecology are the first to praise these flows of people and capital.	<i>La mondialisation qui supprime frontières et protections économiques est la première cause de la destruction de notre environnement. Pourtant, les ultralibéraux qui souhaitent appliquer une écologie punitive sont les premiers à vanter ces flux de population et de capitaux.</i>
Mi Hazánk Mozgalom Twitter/X (2020)	A message was sent to drivers, but according to the Mi Hazánk Movement, extreme speed restrictions would only increase traffic jams and thus air pollution. This is not a green proposal, but rather a dark green idea, a left-liberal rampage.	<p>← Post</p> <p> Our Country Movement @MiHazank  ⋮</p> <p>Show translation</p> <p>Hadat üzent az autósoknak, a Mi Hazánk Mozgalom szerint viszont a szélsőséges sebességekorlátozások csak növelnék a dugókat és ezáltal a légszennyezetét. Ez nem egy zöld javaslat, inkább sötétzöld gondolat, balliberális ámokfutás.</p> <p>facebook.com/62003017166475...</p> <p>4:42 AM · May 1, 2020</p> <p>    </p>

E) “*Border Ecology*”

The notion of “border ecology,” like that of “rootedness,” is intimately linked to a perceived natural order. While all examined political parties take an aggressive anti-immigration stance and advocate for increased border security, the RN most explicitly justifies this rhetoric with “border ecology.” Under this perceived natural order, borders are viewed as a fundamental pillar of natural ecology as they protect indigenous species from exogenous threats. Hervé Juvin, a RN leader who was elected as a Member of the European Parliament (MEP) in 2019, is the most vocal advocate of “border ecology” within the party. In 2019, the official RN Twitter/X account tweeted a series of his statements (see figure below). By employing a perceived natural order backed by science, the RN is able to legitimize tighter border security, in addition to juxtaposing the immigrant as a threat to the biological survival of the indigenous European. The use of a perceived natural order to justify racial and social hierarchy is not new, however, and can be observed in several iterations of far-right ecologism, including eugenics, malthusianism, Völkisch movements, and Nazism’s “Blut und Boden.”

Translation	Original Post
<p>📹@HerveJuvin:</p> <p>"Borders are necessary for life everywhere because no living organism can survive if it cannot take from the outside what nourishes it and reject what harms it. The border is one of the PILLARS of human ecology!" #Fessenheim</p>	<p>National Rally  Follow ⚡ ...</p> <p>Show translation</p> <p>📹 @HerveJuvin : "Partout les frontières sont nécessaires à la vie car il n'y a pas d'organisme vivant qui subsiste s'il ne peut pas prendre de l'extérieur ce qui le nourrit, et rejeter ce qui lui nuit. La frontière est l'un des PILIERS de l'écologie humaine !" #Fessenheim</p>  <p>1:41</p> <p>11:35 AM - May 16, 2019</p>
<p>📹@HerveJuvin:</p> <p>"There is no sustainable ecology without the defense of borders. There is no ecosystem that lives sustainably without separation from the outside environment: in political society, these are called borders!" #TDInfos</p>	<p>Rassemblement National  Follow ⚡ ...</p> <p>Show translation</p> <p>📹 @HerveJuvin : « Il n'y a pas d'écologie durable sans défense des frontières. Il n'y a pas d'écosystème qui vive de manière durable sans séparation d'avec le milieu extérieur : en société politique, cela s'appelle des frontières ! » #TDInfos</p>  <p>1:50</p> <p>12:58 AM - May 10, 2019</p>
<p>📹Hervé Juvin:</p> <p>"When #biodiversity dies out, it is the human species that is threatened. All of our political choices should be subordinated much less to the dogma of economics than to the science of complex systems that is #ecology . " @bfmbusiness</p>	<p>National Rally  Follow ⚡ ...</p> <p>Show translation</p> <p>📹 Hervé Juvin: "When #biodiversity dies out, it is the human species that is threatened. All of our political choices should be subordinated much less to the dogma of economics than to the science of complex systems that is #ecology ." @bfmbusiness</p>  <p>La question du jour</p> <p>BFM HERVE JUVIN candidat au BFM Business</p> <p>13:32 SOPHIA STERIA 82 80 € +0,63 % SPIE 13,57 € +1,81 % STMICR 6094,10 € +0,10 %</p> <p>Hervé Juvin was a guest on BFM Business</p> <p>4:50 AM - Feb 18, 2019</p>

F) Reproductive Responsibility

Themes linking environmentalism to reproduction were also present, albeit not as pronounced. In line with the themes of indigeneity and environmental stewardship, these parties place an onus on the European white woman to reproduce so that there are future generations who are capable of stewarding the land. This reproductive responsibility is presented as both of cultural and environmental importance. It is also

almost always juxtaposed within a greater timeline, where the present generation owes it to both generations past and future to maintain the natural environment so that it benefits the socio-cultural well-being of the nation. By encouraging reproduction amongst indigenous White European families so that they may continue to steward the land, these parties fall in line with typical eco-fascist thought: only certain racial or social ingroups can care for and benefit from the natural environment.

Party / Platform	Translation	Original Content
Rassemblement National Projet l'Écologie pp. 8 (2022)	It is within the family that ecological responsibility is played out , that of parents who want their children to live better lives than they did.	<i>C'est dans la famille que se joue la responsabilité écologique, celle des parents qui veulent que leurs enfants vivent mieux qu'eux.</i>
Rassemblement National Bardella Programme pp. 16 (2022)	These are the families, the first link in the national community, where the roots of our social and civilizational model are found. It is for this very reason that, to preserve our model, our only choice, alongside immigration control, is to favor natality, which alone will permit the continuity of the Nation and our civilization .	<p>LE BESOIN DE PROJECTION.</p> <p>4 Soutenir les familles françaises</p> <p>Ce sont dans les familles, premier maillon de la communauté nationale, que se trouvent les racines de notre modèle social et civilisationnel.</p> <p>À l'heure où le Haut-commissaire au plan explique que, pour préserver notre modèle, notre seul choix est d'adopter des mesures immobilières à l'envers la natalité, qui donne permettre le contrepoint de la Nation et de notre civilisation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instaurer une pénalité complète dès le deuxième enfant • Crée un plan public à trois volets transformé en subvention pour les familles qui ont un 3ème enfant • Rétablir la demi-part fiscale des veufs et veuves 



<p>Mi Hazánk Mozgalom Twitter/X (2025)</p>	<p>The biggest problem of Hungarians is the population decline, which the current government has not been able to change. In addition, in recent years the fertility rate has reached an unprecedented low, this process is unsustainable.</p> <p>✓ According to Mi Hazánk, a reform is needed in the area of family benefits, because without Hungarian children there is no Hungarian future!</p> <p>A child is a blessing.</p>	<p>Our Country Movement @MiHazank · Jul 21 The biggest problem of Hungarians is the population decline, which the current government has not been able to change. In addition, in recent years the fertility rate has reached an unprecedented low, this process is unsustainable.</p> <p>✓ According to Mi Hazánk, family benefits need to be reformed Show more</p>  <p>7 10 84 13K</p>
<p>Mi Hazánk Mozgalom Virridat Program pp. 51 (2022)</p>	<p>"our most important task in the 21st century is to make the Hungarians a nation increasing in population again, for which a radical intervention is necessary."</p> <p>"...if there are no Hungarian children, then there is no sense in talking about anything else: we devise the country, the culture, our traditions and our goods to them."</p> <p>"We cannot be a Gypsy country! The population of the Hungarians halves each generation, whereas that of Gypsies doubles..."</p>	<p>Family policy The greatest danger</p> <p>The greatest problem of Hungarians is the decrease in population, which has afflicted our homeland for more than forty years. There are less Hungarians year after year and the family size of the Orbán government does not change this. And if there are no Hungarian children, then there is no sense in talking about anything else: we devise the country, the culture, our traditions and our goods to them. According to Mi Hazánk, our most important task in the 21st century is to make the Hungarians a nation increasing in population again, for which a radical intervention is necessary. At the same time, undertaking a large family still represents an enormous poverty risk, greater than, for example, being a pensioner.</p> <p>We cannot be a Gypsy country!</p> <p>The population of the Hungarians halves each generation, whereas that of Gypsies doubles, called Béla Polai the attention to this trend in his book entitled Final Days</p>

Stormfront Threads

Stormfront discourse presented several eco-fascist themes, albeit in manners that employed explicit racism and engaged more openly with historical far-right environmentalist thinkers. Given that Stormfront is a white nationalist forum in itself, most if not all references to environmentalism approach the issue through a white nationalist lens. Despite this unifying factor, many Stormfront users vary in their interpretations of eco-fascism. Additionally, the Stormfront site organizes threads into several discussion categories, such as "Ideology and Philosophy," "Nature and the Environment," "Newslinks & Articles," and "General Questions." Discourse on the platform thus manifests as open discussion, where individuals are free to share their viewpoints or debate various approaches to far-right ecologism. The following



section identifies the primary eco-fascist rhetorical themes within relevant Stormfront discussion threads:

A) Non-White Populations are the Perpetrators of Climate Change

A common theme found across Stormfront was ascribing blame to non-white populations for environmental degradation on a global scale. Several comments, whether they were making broad claims or citing personal anecdotes, contributed to the idea that Asians, Africans, and Latino communities are to blame for environmental issues like pollution. Additionally, the author will often contrast these populations with white Europeans who they claim have always been and continue to be upstanding environmental stewards. This aligns with traditional eco-fascist thought that only a specific racial in-group (in this case, the white race) is capable of caring for the natural environment.

Forum	Thread Title	Post Author	Post
Nature and Environment	Non Whites are destroying the planet	NSdefender88	<p>It is a common misconception that White people are responsible for the majority of extinctions of animals and the clearances of rain forests. The Amazon rainforest was virtually intact before the end of the Second World War. Colonization is not to blame for the destruction of the Amazon. It is always Latin American Mestizos that are littering, breeding like rabbits and engaging in illegal logging activities... The Amazon seems to be suffering as a result of Non Whites...</p>
Newslinks & Articles	Dinesh D'Souza attempts to shame Eco-Fascist Girl as a National Socialist	Devin Pearson	<p>We have had a record hot summer where I am at and a record drought. We can debate whether it's a normal warming trend or whether it's man made, but to outright deny that the climate is warmer is astonishing. I support the little girl. Non-whites have done major damage to the earth.</p>
Newslinks & Articles	Asia, Africa cause 90% Of plastic pollution in world's oceans	Volkfirst	<p>The non-Whites pollute the world, YT gets the blame, and libtard White "environmentalists" propose ludicrous "solutions" such as clearing plastic waste from local beaches without mentioning the real culprits; and hey presto, this world is trapped in a deadly downward spiral!</p>

B) Indigeneity, "Rootedness," and "Blut und Boden"

Stormfront, being a white nationalist neo-Nazi site, frequently presents rhetoric



surrounding race and land. This often manifests as proclamations that native people must be the sole inhabitants of native land, and thus, all immigrants must be expelled. By expelling immigrants, the native people—or stewards who are “organically bound” to the land—can safeguard the environment while fulfilling the racial hierarchy deemed by a perceived natural order. Several post authors advocate for returning immigrants to their native lands in the interest of reducing carbon emissions, pollution, and general environmental degradation.

Forum	Thread Title	Post Author	Post
Nature and Environment	Eco-fascism on the rise because of the coronavirus	Ian9	My view. I've always been pro ecology, similar to NS Germany. The planet can be saved if non-Whites return to their countries, and if we can reduce their populations. Abortion or forced sterilization if we must. They're taking up too much of the earth's resources, destroying our lands, polluting our air and oceans. Climate change is also one of the reasons Europe is being flooded with refugees. White people are indigenous to earth (blood) and a geographically bounded home that is preserved through environmentalist principles (soil) should be our priority. We need to do our best to preserve our race and our planet.
Canadian News	White Nationalists are the only group that would affect climate change,	Kevin R Goudreau	...Stopping mass turd world immigration is the first big step to reducing our carbon footprint... First, deportation of all non-whites not born here and chain migrate all of them back to where they came from prior to the Multiculturalism Act would reduce carbon emissions immensely, gridlock on the 401 wouldn't exist, hundreds of thousands less cars on the road that pollute, millions of affordable housing units, apartments and homes would be available all of a sudden, rent and housing cost would plummet drastically in our major cities, homelessness would be virtually a thing of the past.

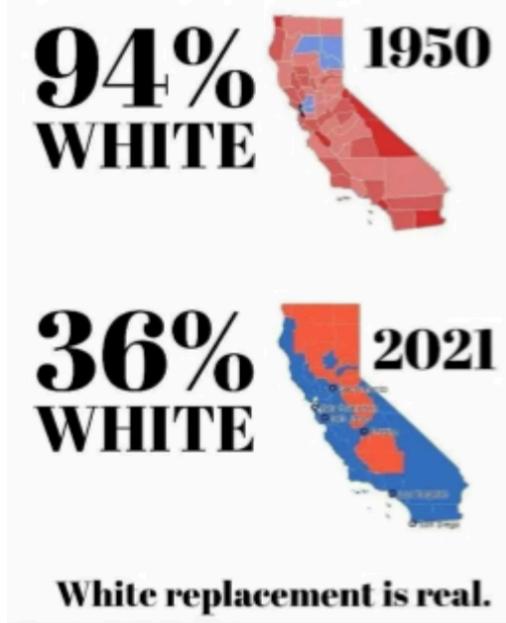
C) “The Great Replacement,” Neo-Malthusianism, and Reproductive Responsibility

Stormfront users appear to be particularly concerned with the overpopulation of non-white populations and its perceived connection to climate change. Much of this sentiment is evident in frequent discussion of Albert Camus’ “The Great Replacement” theory and the reproduction of Malthusian thought. Several posts debate the best approach to curbing the population growth of non-white populations in the interest of environmental health. Numerous post authors even debate the appropriate

calculations to determine what population volume would be ecologically compatible with the natural order. Additionally, several community members express fear over the “invasion” of certain migrant groups, specifically migrants from the Global South and those of Islamic faith. In tandem with fears of non-white overpopulation and immigration, many members advocate for white women to have white children. In effect, encouraging the reproduction of white children will ensure a future generation of suitable environmental stewards. Within these discussions, racial purity is critical to preserving the bloodline. Several members have expressed fears towards miscegenation while others have engaged in heated debates about thresholds for white racial purity. For eco-fascists on Stormfront, ensuring the next generation of environmental stewards goes beyond national identity to mandating strict rules of racial purity.

Forum	Thread Title	Post Author	Post
Social Groups	The Environment: Human overpopulation	AmericanCeltic Scotsman	<p>The world population is just about past sustainability right now. In 1960, humans had been here for about 150,000 years. It took that long to accumulate 3 billion people. How long did it take to double that number? Thirty-nine years! This over population is depleting natural resources, forests, fisheries, croplands, and plant and animal's, there is an extinction rate equaled only by the dinosaurs. Biological diversity is being destroyed.</p> <p>Non-whites, particularly over-breeding Muslims could not care less, will try to eliminate us. We whites must walk...hand in hand with each other. There is no alternative if we wish to exist.</p>
Newslinks & Articles	50 dead in shootings at New Zealand mosques	RedRosie	<p>I have no sympathy for Islamic invaders occupying White lands, dead or otherwise. Nor should any self-respecting White person. Mosques in our countries are a symbol of invasion. If even one of them closes permanently as a result of this, I call it a win</p>
Ideology & Philosophy	The Great Replacement/White Genocide	Mibhar	<p>America is gonna be up the creek if y'all don't get these white women to have white babies.</p>



Social Groups	The Environment: Human overpopulation	Brahvo	That's why in a White country, we must sustain our nation very carefully. In a White America, I think it's ideal for 250 million White Americans in the USA, and stabilize the population there. But there is a problem, just like we face today, there would be a "baby boomer" generation no matter what...
Ideology & Philosophy	The Great Replacement/White Genocide	revision	

D) Anti-Global Elite/Anti-Left

Like several far-right European political parties, Stormfront members also believe the far-left and global elite have co-opted environmentalism. In turn, they believe that far-right ecologism is the legitimate version of environmentalism, and that White Nationalists and Nationalist Socialists embody genuine concern for the environment. Several Stormfront users expressed their grievances over how National Socialism and far-right environmentalism has been "demonized" by the far-left and political elite. While they claim to share concern for the environment, they strongly oppose the policies put forth by the left, arguing they serve the interest of the elites and the elites only.



Forum	Thread Title	Post Author	Post
Ideology & Philosophy	Green National Socialism in Denmark, 1920-2020	AryanRevivalist	<p>True. Unfortunately, the modern Green movement is totally run by Hippy-Leftists and most "Green" parties rather focus up to 90% about Cultural Marxist policy than about environment and if they do, they often blame it to "White men"...</p> <p>Nationalists have been pushed away from true, genuine environmentalism and leftists could hijack it completely. Both, Capitalist-Plutocrats and Leftist-Commies harm both, the White race and our environment.</p>
Ideology & Philosophy	Green National Socialism in Denmark, 1920-2020	UndeadAlive	<p>...I agree with you 100% that National Socialism has always been a Green movement - a sane and proper Green movement; NOT the psychotic, schizophrenic "Green" of the mainstream today...</p>
Ideology & Philosophy	Green National Socialism in Denmark, 1920-2020	James Harting	<p>Even many White Nationalists today do not realize that National Socialism was the original "green" movement! But our enemies do realize this and have coined the term "ecofascism" in an effort to demonize NS ecological theories and practical environmental policies.</p>

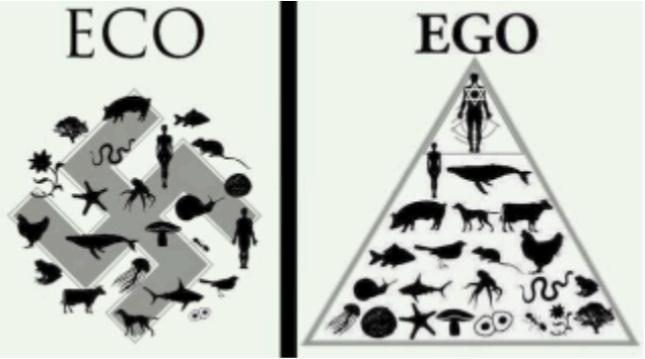
E) Ecocentrism vs. Anthropocentrism

While eco-fascism contains both ecocentric and anthropocentric branches, Stormfront users overwhelmingly gravitate towards an ecocentrist interpretation.⁴⁴ Ecocentrism is a worldview that assigns intrinsic value to nature, independent of human use. On the other hand, anthropocentrism is a human-centered worldview that assigns moral value to humans and evaluates nature in terms of its utility for human interests. In line with the anti-semitic rhetoric of Nazism, many eco-fascist users equate the anthropocentric view of nature as Jewish. This is depicted in several posts, in addition to numerous visuals that illustrate this contrast (*see table below*). Fundamentally, this interpretation takes on an aggressive stance on the linkages between race, land, and those who are capable of being environmental stewards.

Some users emanate the anthropocentric interpretation of eco-fascism, primarily by citing examples of how the white race has "dominated" or "tamed" nature in the past. For example, under the thread "Non Whites are destroying the planet" user Coldstar

⁴⁴ [Campion, "Defining Ecofascism: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Interpretations in the Extreme Right," \(2021\).](#)

writes: "Whites domesticated and bred animals, they planted trees and did reforestation." Another user, RebRanger, also praises how Germanic and Celtic peoples have historically set aside land for hunting, fishing, and gathering other natural resources. These stances focus on how humans have extracted goods from the land for their own benefit, as opposed to taking on a steward-like responsibility. Anthropocentric posts such as these are rarer than their ecocentric counterparts, yet it is important to note that both branches of eco-fascism exist within Stormfront forums.

Forum	Thread Title	Post Author	Post
Ideology & Philosophy	Green National Socialism in Denmark, 1920-2020	James Harting	
Ideology & Philosophy	Green National Socialism in Denmark, 1920-2020	James Harting	



Ideology & Philosophy	Ecofascism	nsdpsynthesizer	As I understand it, ecofascism is National Socialism with a symbiosis between man and nature; with man as a steward of nature, not a master. Thus, there is no master/slave relationship between man and nature.
Nature & Environment	Non Whites are destroying the planet	RebRanger	Of course you can. If you look at our Germanic or Celtic ancestors, you see that they literally worshiped nature and natural forces before Christian times. There were also always lands set aside for the common people to hunt, fish and use for obtaining natural resources, as there were for royalty and nobility. The countries that were built by the descendants of Europeans have always preserved lands knowing that our species cannot survive if we destroy the very planet upon which we rely for our survival.

F) General Racism, Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and Exoticization

General racism, anti-semitism, Islamophobia and the exoticization of the Global South were rampant across eco-fascist threads. Stormfront users often use metaphors and analogies to compare non-white races to sub-human species. Most prominent however, was the explicit and extensive anti-semitism and Islamophobia. Additionally, imagery and anecdotes were employed to portray the populations of the Global South as exotic, sadistic towards animals, and with complete disregard for the natural environment. These negative depictions were used to advance the narrative that non-white populations are incapable of stewarding the land, and in turn, are proactively imposing harm upon the natural environment.

Forum	Thread Title	Post Author	Post
Ideology & Philosophy	Ecofascism	Viking Defender	Cool artwork. I just can't stand animal cruelty at all. And the more I study Asians in particular the more I realize they are extremely bad for it and actually appear to sadistically get off on it too which is even more disturbing. The torturing dogs to death they are increasingly known for and rhino ivory poaching in South Africa that they are also into is absolutely disgusting. Just another reason why we don't need 'em in white countries.



Ideology & Philosophy	Ecofascism	Gregcyber	<p>It is not all hugs and kissing. Real organic life is, every thing feeds off the living cells in one way or another...</p> <p>I do not think they teach how all life feeds off the living cells of others dead or alive, in the bible or to little kids that are forced or brainwashed to go to school with Africans or their offspring from other white victims. And you should be concerned about who you support in life, as a bug will bite. I think they eat people alive in Africa.</p>
Ideology & Philosophy	Ecofascism	Gregcyber	

VI. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Thematic Similarities

This study reveals substantial rhetorical convergence between far-right European political parties and eco-fascist discourse on Stormfront. In both arenas, environmental concern is mobilized to advance exclusionary and racialized political narratives. Nature is not framed as a shared or universal good, but as something inherited, owned, and defended by a racial or national in-group. Parties like the RN, MHM, and PiS cast themselves as the defenders of the nation—and with that, the defenders of the land, the farmer, and the ecological well-being of future generations. On Stormfront, users cast the “white race” as defenders of the same nationalistic symbols.

Across both cases, land is consistently equated with culture, identity, and belonging. Thus, environmental protection is framed as imperative to preserving national or racial heritage. Within this logic, threats to the land are construed as threats to the nation or race itself.

Migrants are deemed as one of the most pertinent threats, and thus, are recast not only as socio-cultural outsiders, but as ecological threats who degrade, pollute, and destabilize the environment. On Stormfront, users often paint Asia and Africa as the world's most egregious contributors to climate change, often in contrast to northern Europeans—who they imagine as upstanding environmental stewards. Far-right European politics also employ their own, less explicit, version of this narrative. For example, the RN frequently deploys the notion of “punitive ecology” which poses the question: “Why should France, a global leader in reducing carbon emissions, be punished for the faults of other countries?” In this narrative, the RN absolves France of any responsibility for climate change, and instead, places the blame on “other” countries, primarily those of the Global South. This theory is often deployed in critique of the French left’s pursuit of green policies. However, this narrative conveniently ignores France’s role in establishing systems of environmental exploitation through its nearly 400-year long colonial empire. This further exemplifies the selectivity inherent in contemporary far-right environmentalism.

Closely tied to this framing is the recurring theme of “rootedness.” Both far-right parties and Stormfront users depict native populations as organically bound to specific territories and uniquely capable of environmental stewardship. Mobility, migration, and nomadism are framed as not only destructive, but fundamentally incompatible with the natural order. In the case of the RN, this logic is exemplified by their use of “border ecology” science, where borders are considered a biological necessity for the survival of the native in-group. On the other hand, eco-fascist thinkers on Stormfront embrace notions of the natural order with greater emphasis on racial science. This appeal to a perceived natural order legitimizes social hierarchy and exclusion in two primary ways: (1) Borders are framed as ecological necessities that protect vulnerable populations from external threats, (2) racial and social hierarchies are presented as natural, inevitable, and scientifically-grounded.

Ultimately, these arguments echo long-standing eco-fascist traditions, drawing on Malthusian scarcity, völkisch conceptions of race and land, and Nazi “Blut und Boden” ideology. While the themes of these narratives remain the same, climate change and its consequences now find themselves at the center of this resurgence of eco-fascism in the 21st century. Thus, traditional eco-fascist narratives have evolved to focus on issues such as climate migration, pollution, and contemporary environmental politics.

Key Differences

In addition to shared rhetorical themes, this study revealed several key differences. Notably, the rhetoric of European political parties is inherently shaped by electoral incentives and the

need for mainstream legitimacy. As a result, eco-fascist ideas are rarely explicit, and instead, embedded within nationalist, pro-farmer, or pro-environmental narratives. Stormfront discourse, by contrast, is markedly more explicit and ideologically extreme. Users openly endorse white supremacy, racial hierarchy, and authoritarian or violent solutions. For example, environmental collapse is frequently invoked to justify mass deportation, population control, forced sterilization, or genocide. The absence of institutional constraints, and lack of need to secure approval from the general public, allows eco-fascist ideas to be articulated in their most extreme form.

Differences also emerge in terms of ecological orientation. Europe's far-right political parties frequently adopt an anthropocentric framing. For example, protection of nature is promoted in the interest of sustaining the nation, its people, and its culture. In several cases, a healthy environment is framed as a necessary ingredient for the survival of the national in-group. On the other hand, Stormfront users more frequently employ ecocentric language by attributing intrinsic value to nature itself and falling back on notions of the "natural order." For example, several members emphasize that humans are but one piece in the biological web of the environment. However, while they may not promote the idea of a hierarchy of species, they do believe in racial hierarchy. In turn, their concern for the environment is limited to lands inhabited and stewarded by the white racial in-group.

Another key difference is in *how* these groups engage with eco-fascist ideas. For political parties, eco-fascist thought is often encoded in short, catchy slogans projected *at* the general public. These phrases are often simple and reductive (e.g. land = culture) so that they may be reproduced across several mediums and easily digested by the public. This strategy is typical of how parties function in an electoral-based political environment, where winning the support of the masses is imperative to maintaining political survival. For European political parties, there is an immediate objective to achieve: winning the election. Overall, this time-constraint evidently shapes the environmental narratives of parties like the RN, MHM, and PiS: climate change and immigration are framed as already-realized threats that require swift and aggressive responses. To achieve their main objective, these parties must win votes by convincing the public of 1) the urgency of the problem, and 2) their ability to fix it. In turn, themes such as "land = culture" lend themselves to this strategy.

In contrast, Stormfront operates as an online forum, outside of mainstream media, which encourages discussion and debate. Online users partake in theoretical back-and-forth, often posing questions to one another about how to interpret eco-fascism. In this context, community members are also more likely to suggest relevant authors to those who wish to

learn more about the historical origins of eco-fascist thinking. This discussion-based environment—which encourages direct engagement with historical eco-fascist thought—gives way to both nuanced conversation and diverging thoughts. For instance, while select users commend mass shooters such as Brenton Tarrant for using violence to advance eco-fascist beliefs, many other users denounce such acts as impulsive and counterproductive. This is just one example of how Stormfront users butt heads when it comes to translating ideology into action. Overall, there is much disagreement within the eco-fascist community of Stormfront over how to achieve their goals and how to interpret historical far-right ecological thought in contemporary contexts. Together, these distinctions suggest that online eco-fascism represents a more radicalized and unfiltered expression of themes that are increasingly normalized within far-right political discourse.

VII. STUDY LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has several limitations. First, the number of case studies used to represent each actor group is low, with only three European political parties (RN, MHM, PiS) and one online forum (Stormfront). Future research should assess further case studies to increase the quality and accuracy of data collection and analysis. Specifically, relevant forums on Telegram, X (Twitter), Discord, 4chan, and 8chan should be included to more accurately represent rhetorical trends amongst eco-fascist actors online. Second, the analysis of these eco-fascist rhetorical themes is limited to qualitative analysis that is subject to the biases of the researcher. Future research should improve the methodology to include qualitative and quantitative coding and analysis of the text samples to more systematically analyze their content. In part, these limitations can be attributed to the time constraints of this short-term research project.

Additionally, while this study is successful in identifying rhetorical similarities and differences between two far-right actor groups, it does not address the relationship between climate change and increased frequency of eco-fascist rhetoric. Future research should aim to help explain *why* we are observing trends of increased eco-fascist rhetoric amongst far-right actors, and determine whether or not there exists a causal relationship between climate change and increased rhetoric. This could include temporal analysis between markers of climate change (e.g. frequency of catastrophic weather events, surges in climate migration) and frequency of eco-fascist rhetoric amongst several far-right actor groups, including but not limited to political parties in the Global North and online actors. Determining whether a causal relationship or correlation exists between these two phenomena will help solidify foundations for future research on this subject in the fields of international security and terrorism studies.

In turn, these findings can help lay the groundwork for more effective counter-extremism efforts pertaining to far-right environmental actors.

VIII. CONCLUSION

This study finds that far-right European political parties and Stormfront communities draw on eco-fascist narratives to advance their political ideas. While far-right political parties tend to encode these ideas within more palatable political rhetoric, Stormfront discourse articulates eco-fascist ideology in more explicit, ideologically extreme manners, often engaging directly with historical far-right ecological thought. Ultimately, these patterns illustrate how climate change can operate as a rhetorical opportunity for far-right actors to legitimize ideas such as border securitization, demographic control, and in some cases, violence.

This study also has several practical applications for researchers and policymakers concerned with far-right extremism, climate change, and their intersections. By mapping how different far-right actors repurpose environmental narratives, the findings can help academics deepen their understanding of how eco-fascism ideology has evolved from the early 20th century to more contemporary contexts. The study's comparative approach also offers policymakers clearer insight into how climate-related issues, particularly migration, are weaponized in ways that may shape public discourse or influence radicalization pathways. These insights can support more targeted, evidence-based counter-extremism strategies by helping practitioners anticipate which narratives are most likely to gain traction and how they circulate across online communities and political spaces. Ultimately, the study provides timely context for understanding how the climate crisis is reshaping far-right rhetoric and why this matters for security planning in the coming years.



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