NARRATIVES OF EXISTENTIAL THREATS IN THE CLIMATE AND COVID ERA

Frank Furedi

The Global Warming Policy Foundation

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About the lecturer

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Author of more than 25 books, Furedi's studies have been devoted to an exploration of the cultural developments in western societies. His research has been oriented towards the way that risk and uncertainty is managed by contemporary culture. His two influential books, *The Culture of Fear* and *Paranoid Parenting*, investigated the interaction between risk consciousness and perceptions of fear, trust relations and social capital in contemporary society. His book *How Fear Works: The Culture of Fear in the 21st Century*, published in 2018, explored the distinct features of contemporary fear culture. His study, *Why Borders Matter: Why Humanity Must Relearn the Art of Drawing Boundaries* discusses the cultural underpinnings of the contemporary climate of intolerance towards the values of western civilisation.

Introduction

My lecture is about the cultural script of existential threat of climate change and the way it works in the current pandemic era.

The concept of the cultural script was developed by sociologists to explain how individuals, institutions and communities use cultural resources to make sense of their experience. A cultural script provides guidance and meaning to people as they engage with the troubles of everyday life. It transmits rules about feelings and also ideas about what those emotions mean. To a significant extent, it scripts people's response to threats and provides a language and a system of meaning through which society engages with fear. A cultural script is informed by the taken-for-granted facts that are reproduced by common-sense narratives and are founded on traditions, customs and values. It also expresses the prevailing spirit of the times, which is why a cultural script can reassure, while at other times it can unsettle the confidence of individuals.

A cultural script communicates signals that guides our response to experience. Let me give you a recent example. It is Monday morning and I am listening to the BBC's *Today Programme*. Suddenly I hear a female voice declaring 'That's just a wake-up call'. Even though I am half asleep, I wake up, for I know that the next sentence will convey the latest climate-related scare story. And yes, I hear Dr Lizzie Kendon, Met Office scientist, warning us that snow will disappear by end of century.[1] Anyone, who has been regularly exposed to the prevailing cultural script of climate-fear will know that terms like extinction, emergency, tipping point, existential threat are likely to follow. Thankfully, all we hear is that there is a 'shift towards more extreme events'.

Through the media and the ceaseless campaigning of advocacy groups, the prevailing cultural script has normalised and popularised the necessity of fearing for the future of humanity. Through their schooling, children are not left in doubt that they live in a world that is far more dangerous and unsafe than at any time in human history. Through the sheer repetition of terms such as 'superbugs', 'pandemics', 'extinction' or 'toxic', a lexicon of doom helps endow threats with an existential quality. Since the 1980s, words that convey a sense of alarm have appeared with increasing frequency in the media. The Nexis database of newspaper and periodical sources shows that most of the words that would be included in any scaremonger's dictionary are found far more regularly in newspapers today than, say, 20 years ago. This trend is no less evident in the language used by the so-called quality press as in 'sensationalist' tabloids.

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Take the British daily newspaper, *The Guardian*. In 1988, the word 'extinction' appeared 93 times in its editions. In 2007, mentions of this term had increased to 207. By 2016 there were 602 mentions.

A sense of anxiety about the future is reflected through the popularisation of new idioms and expressions. Take the term 'tipping point'. It conveys a dark sense of foreboding about the world of the future, where one catastrophe will beget another. According to one newspaper account of natural disasters to come, 'a tipping point is a place of no return'. Back in 1988, neither the *Guardian* nor *The Times* had any reason to use this term. A decade later, in 1998, it was used once by the *Guardian* but not at all by *The Times*. In 2000 the former used it five times and the latter twice. It was in 2005 that the term 'tipping point' acquired a more general usage, appearing 41 times in the *Guardian* and 48 times in *The Times*; by 2007, it appeared 199 times in *The Times* and 106 times in the *Guardian*. In 2016 this term was used 221 times in *The Times* and 476 times in the *Guardian*. Last year – 2019 – there was a massive increase in *The Times,* to 1391 hits, and 685 in the *Guardian*.

The media does not merely mobilise a pre-existing vocabulary of gloom – it also plays an important role in innovating or popularising new terms inviting people to fear. Even an activity as banal as forecasting the weather has been transformed into a mini-drama, through adopting a rhetoric that inflates the threat posed by relatively normal conditions. Routine occurrences like storms, heavy snowfall or high temperature have been rebranded as 'extreme weather' by the media. From the 1990s onwards, the expression quickly gained widespread usage. In the 1990s headlines containing this term appeared in 69 instances on the Nexis database. In the first year of the following decade – 2000–2010 – it rose to 933 headlines! During the decade 2010–2019 there were thousands of references to extreme weather; *The Guardian* alone had 933 references to it. During this decade – 2010 to now – there were 3111 references to it in *The Guardian* and 2363 in *The Times*.

The term 'extreme weather' is a paradigmatic culture-of-fear expression. As an adjective, 'extreme' signifies a state that is far beyond normal. The conceptual linkage of weather with 'extreme' exemplifies the growing tendency to inflate the risks posed by natural phenomena, by highlighting the unexpected and unpredictable and destructive quality of this unnatural occurrence. It works not so much as a scientific but as a cultural metaphor to capture the anxieties of our time. In contemporary culture, extreme weather is often interpreted through a moralistic narrative that presents it as the inevitable threatening outcome of irresponsible human behaviour.
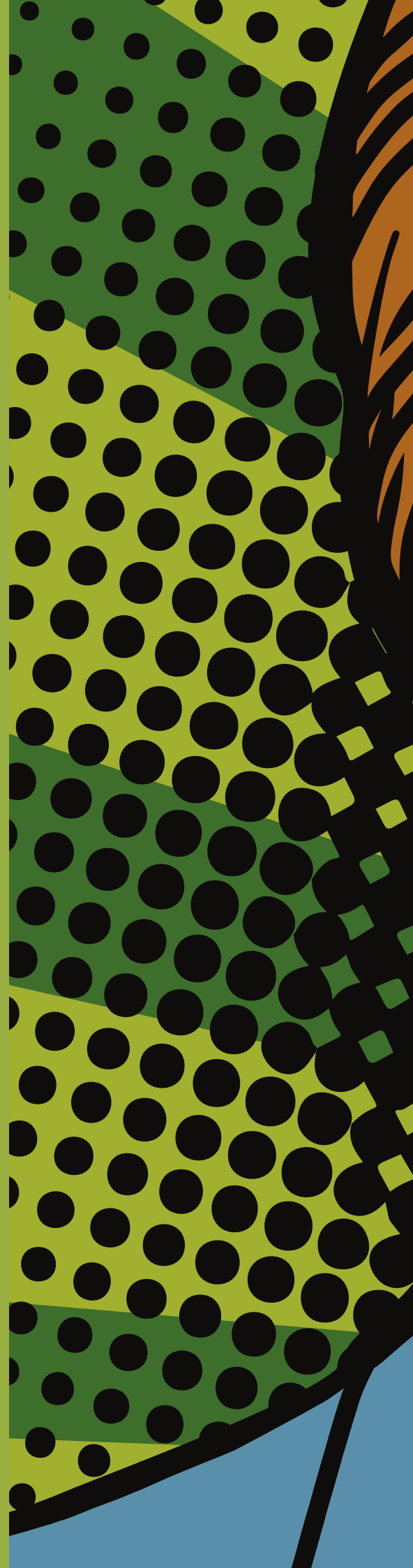
Joined-up scaremongering

The representation of climate change as an existential threat to humanity is communicated through a narrative that is unusually flexible and free-floating. It can attach itself to a wide variety of real or fictitious threats. Thus climate change is not simply a standalone threat – it is held responsible for a growing range of other threats to human existence. Take an example based on a report published in September 2019, by a UK-based advocacy group called Hope Not Hate. *The Guardian*'s headline about this report says it all:

> The climate crisis isn't just causing extreme weather. It's fuelling extreme politics, too. The far right is exploiting divisions created by climate breakdown. This must be challenged.[2]

The report warns that unless 'governments worldwide take urgent action on climate emergency…we risk not just extreme weather but extreme politics'. It goes on to link the 'war-driven migrant crisis' of 2015 to an explosion of anti-immigrant sentiment, which in turn is responsible for the supposed rise of xenophobia.[3]

Not only is climate change responsible for extremism, there is also an apparent connection between it and the threat of Brexit. It seems that climate science deniers were often in league with those campaigning to leave the European Union.[4]

The coupling of extreme weather with political extremism serves as an illustration of what I characterise as 'the narrative of joined-up scaremongering'. Joined-up scaremongering encourages a constant search for new – hitherto undiscussed – threats caused by climate change. Prince Charles's claim that the war in Syria was brought about by climate change is paradigmatic in this respect.[5] As a cause of violent conflict and war, global warming acquires an even more threatening dimension. The threat of global terrorism is also frequently blamed on global warming. 'Climate change could mean more terrorism in the future' warns a statement issued by a United Nations agency.[6] It states:

> The United Nations is working to support of [sic] Government's strategies to prevent and counter terrorism and violent extremism in a manner that aligns with our efforts to tackle climate change and to pre-empt and mitigate its effects.

From this perspective, fighting climate change works as a form of counter-terrorism strategy.

Global warming is also held responsible for just about any large-scale forest fire, flood or other natural disaster. In these narratives it is sufficient to say that a causal connection between the two is likely or possible, or may have indirectly contributed to a specific event.[7] Not surprisingly, the outbreak of coronavirus provided an opportunity to link global warming to it. The Harvard School of Public Health declared that 'We don't have direct evidence that climate change is influencing the spread of Covid-19'. However, the absence of evidence did not inhibit it from stating that 'we do know that climate change alters how we relate to other species on Earth and that matters to our health and our risk for infections'. And just in case the reader missed

the message, it stated:

> As the planet heats up, animals big and small, on land and in the sea, are headed to the poles to get out of the heat. That means animals are coming into contact with other animals they normally wouldn't, and that creates an opportunity for pathogens to get into new hosts.
>
> Many of the root causes of climate change also increase the risk of pandemics. Deforestation, which occurs mostly for agricultural purposes, is the largest cause of habitat loss worldwide. Loss of habitat forces animals to migrate and potentially contact other animals or people and share germs. Large livestock farms can also serve as a source for spillover of infections from animals to people. Less demand for animal meat and more sustainable animal husbandry could decrease emerging infectious disease risk and lower greenhouse gas emissions.[8]

Despite the lack of evidence, the reader is left in no doubt that man-made climate change and pandemics are closely connected. In case you missed the message, last week the British Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, declared at the Climate Ambition Summit that climate change is 'far more destructive' than Covid.

Global warming has also been recast as a mental health problem. Paradoxically, having spent decades scaring people about a global emergency, environmentalists have deflected their responsibility for causing fear by blaming climate change for causing 'eco-anxiety', especially among children. For climate alarmists, the discovery of this alleged new malaise of eco-anxiety is a bonus. Linking climate catastrophism to the deterioration in children's mental health allows them to boost the eco-fear narrative.

Reports of an epidemic of eco-anxiety are not backed up by any serious statistical evidence. 'No stats are available on the prevalence of eco-anxiety, but some experts have noted an increase in public anxiety around climate change', notes an article on the subject. That's another way of saying that we are making things up as we go along. Susan Clayton, who co-authored a report entitled *Mental Health and our Changing Climate: Impacts, Implications, and Guidance'*, speculates:

> We can say that a significant proportion of people are experiencing stress and worry about the potential impacts of climate change, and that the level of worry is almost certainly increasing.

Environmentalists, public health campaigners, a posse of crusaders against meat consumption, lifestyle gurus and policymakers now claim that the obesity crisis and the threat posed by climate change are inextricably joined up. Ian Roberts, Professor of Public Health at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, argued in New Scientist in June 2007 that 'pandemic obesity is an energy vortex' and therefore 'it is time to treat it as the potential environmental catastrophe that it is'.[9] He counsels that we cease to think of obesity 'only as a

public-health problem' since 'many of its causes overlap with those of global warming'. What is interesting about Roberts' diagnosis is the way that his denunciation of greedy individual behaviour is linked to a call to protect the planet from gluttonous individuals. His target is people who literally gorge themselves to destruction and, through their unrestrained behaviour, threaten the future of the world. Roberts represents the 'global obesity epidemic' as an 'unlikely driver of climate change'. But he explains that as people have become more dependent on their cars and labour-saving devices, they have cut the energy they expend while 'increasing the amount of fossil fuel they burn'. He evokes a haunting image of an ever-expanding army of fat people whose voracious appetites serve as a driving force for climate change.

'It's no coincidence that obesity is most prevalent in the US, where per-capita carbon emissions exceed those of any other nation, and it is becoming clear that obese people are having a direct impact on the climate', contends Roberts, before stating that the 'worse the obesity epidemic gets the greater its impact on global warming'. This portrayal of an obese society represents a condemnation of the American way of life. America and its legions of obese citizens are portrayed as not only a threat to themselves but to the global environment and people throughout the world.

In previous times, religious leaders denounced sinners for being responsible for the misfortune afflicting their community. The 21st century has rediscovered the deadly sin of gluttony, rebranding it as obesity. This is a lifestyle that is deemed inherently sinful and one that possesses grave consequences for humanity. Professor Roberts indicts the very pathway to obesity as the beginning of an immoral journey to global destruction. It all starts when someone 'decides to drive rather than walk the half mile to the office, just to get there a few minutes earlier'. Yet this seemingly innocuous small gesture contains the potential for truly dreadful outcomes. Now in full flow, Roberts points out that such an indolent individual might have 'gained a kilogram of fat, and as the weight continues to pile on, he eventually finds it harder to move around and is loath to walk or cycle anywhere'. Slothful fat people waddling around, gasping for air, soon become afflicted with 'back pain, arthritis and shortness of breath, or worse' claims the public health professional-turned-preacher. By now Roberts cannot resist really raising the stakes. He warns that obesity 'increases the risk of heart disease, stroke, diabetes, osteoarthritis, infertility, gallstones, and several types of cancer'. What's worse is that obesity also leads to low self-esteem 'which leads to comfort eating and perhaps heavier drinking too'. This descent into existential hell is bad enough, but worse still are the consequences for the environment – 'his greater bulk and higher metabolic rate will cause him to feel the heat more in the globally warmed summers, and he will be the first to turn on the energy-intensive air conditioning'.

The message of 'eat less and thereby save yourself and the planet' is endorsed by fearmongers on both sides of the Atlantic. American public health experts and environmentalists frequently

join up the two panics. The merging of the two scares is regarded as an effective way of reinforcing the message and thereby strengthening a crusade that is self-consciously targeting people's lifestyles. 'This may present the greatest public health opportunity that we've had in a century' enthused Jonathan Paz, a health science professor at the University of Wisconsin and president of the International Association for Ecology and Health. According to Paz, obesity is the 'number one epidemic' blighting the US. He claims that the leading causes of death are 'related to either sedentary lifestyle, air pollution or motor vehicle accidents, and if we could begin to confront climate change and have greener cities and more walkability and bikeability, we would have increased level of fitness, reduced air pollution, and reduced greenhouse gases'.

In recent years, the promotion of the obesity-climate change nexus has gained the backing of public health officials. According to Howard Frumkin, director of the US Center for Disease Control's National Center for Environmental Health/Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry, his organisation is evaluating the promotion of the 'co-benefits' of tackling global warming and obesity-related illnesses through encouraging daily exercise, such as walking to school or work. Frumkin argues that 'a simple intervention like walking to school is a climate change intervention, an obesity intervention, a diabetes intervention, a safety intervention'. That's a very big claim for acting on a joined-up scare.[10] In the same vein, one researcher boasts that he can demonstrate that 'adopting previously recommended levels of daily exercise by substituting the distances covered during one hour of walking or cycling for car travel could help alleviate three of the most pressing problems that all countries face: oil dependence, climate change and health care'.[11]

Of course, some scaremongers insist that people do more than just get out of their car. Dr Robert Lawrence of the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health wants people to eat less meat. Apparently global meat production accounts for 18 per cent of the world's greenhouse gas emissions. Its consumption – particularly that of red meat – is linked to a variety of diseases such colon cancer. In the same vein, a paper published in *The Lancet* demands that the production of meat should be substantially reduced, in order to minimise the health and climate-change risks posed by its growing consumption. It appears that the benefits of cutting out meat would be further enhanced if there were fewer mouths to feed. It concludes that the 'total consumption of animal foods would, of course, be reduced by further slowing of world population growth'.[12] It seems as if our joined-up scare tactic has found another cause to embrace to reinforce its message – and that is the classic fear of population growth. Why stop at reducing weight? Why not reduce the number of people living on this planet? Yet, rather than a problem, more mouths, like more brains and more pair of hands is likely to assist human development.[13]

Narrative of misanthropy

According to the narrative of existential threats, the greatest threat to mankind is the human species itself. An all-encompassing sensibility of misanthropy underpins the narrative.

A recently produced 'Advocacy Toolkit for Family Planning Advocates' relies on the authority of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change to argue the need for population control. It states that 'by slowing population growth, we reduce unintended pregnancies, which lessens the risk of environmental impacts and enhances the potential for societal resilience to climate change, water scarcity, food insecurity, the loss of biological diversity, and related threats.[14] Some advocates of population control have seized upon society's fear of global extinction to legitimate their ideal of a childless world.

Having children, especially lots of children, is increasingly treated as an eco-crime. From this perspective, another human life is just so many extra carbon emissions. Which is why it is preferable, apparently, that these new human lives simply did not exist. As the Optimum Population Trust – since rebranded Population Matters – once put it, 'A non-existent person has no environmental footprint; the emission "saving" is instant and total'.[15] This misanthropic sentiment was clearly communicated by Barry Walters, Australian Professor of Obstetric Medicine:

> Anthropogenic greenhouse gases constitute the largest source of pollution, with by far the greatest contribution from humans in the developed world. Every newborn baby in Australia represents a potent source of greenhouse gas emissions for an average of 80 years, not simply by breathing, but by the profligate consumption of resources typical of our society. What then should we do as environmentally responsible medical practitioners? We should point out the consequences to all who fail to see them, including, if necessary, the ministers for health. Far from showering financial booty on new mothers and thereby rewarding greenhouse-unfriendly behaviour, a 'Baby Levy' in the form of a carbon tax should apply, in line with the 'polluter pays' principle.[16]

Throughout history, different cultures have celebrated birth as a unique moment, signifying the joy of life. The reinterpretation of this event as 'greenhouse-unfriendly behaviour' speaks to a degraded imagination in which carbon-reduction becomes the supreme moral imperative. Once every newborn baby becomes dehumanised and represented as a professional polluter who is a 'potent source of greenhouse gas emissions', it becomes very difficult not to feel apprehensive about the growth of the human race.

If the birth of a baby is regarded as an unnecessary and unacceptable burden on the carrying capacity of the planet, it is only a matter of time before, by their very existence, people

will be regarded as a threat. One of the distinct features of the narrative of existential threats is its intense suspicion of the human species. Sooner or later, scaremongering becomes directed at ourselves. The systematic transmission of suspicion and fear inexorably leads to the promotion of mistrust of people's motives, and in the end of people themselves. In the case of demanding a carbon tax on fertility, the defining identity of a new baby is that of a polluter. Subjecting the act of birth to the polluter-pays principle exposes the dark side of the misanthrope's imagination.

As potential polluters, babies cease to be those lovely cuddly things that bring so much joy to our lives. Robbing babies of what we perceive to be their endearing innocence makes it easier to scare people from having them, or at least too many of them, in the first place. In recent centuries, babies were frequently depicted as a blessing. But now some argue that not having one is a blessing – at least for the environment. This reversal in the way we regard human life is explicitly advocated by the environmentalist writer Kelpie Wilson, who presents abortion as not so much a necessary option to allow women to determine their lives, but as a sacrifice well worth making in the interest of the environment. 'To understand that a tiny embryo must sometimes be sacrificed for the greater good of the family or the human species as a whole is the moral high ground that we stand on today' argues Wilson. Why? Because 'we have to consider how we will live tomorrow on a resource-depleted and climate-compromised planet'. From Wilson's perspective abortion is morally justified as a resource-saving strategy. She believes that 'most women who seek abortions do so in order to conserve resources for children they already have'. Scare stories about the 'physical limits of the planet' are presented as 'moral arguments about abortion'.[17]

The ease with which apprehension floats from climate change to obesity and other lifestyle issues to the very intimate experience of human reproduction and abortion indicates that literally all experience can be subjected to its influence. It also highlights one of the most destructive and reprehensible features of scaremongering, which is that all too frequently it succeeds in converting our anxieties into a fear of ourselves. If even newborn innocent little things are depicted as lifelong addicts to pollution, what hope for the human race?

Eleven years ago, when I first sought to draw attention to the way that giving birth was represented as a driver for promoting existential climate-related fears, I was criticised by some for attaching far too much significance to this aspect of the narrative. Today, it is difficult to deny the impact of this narrative on some people's attitudes towards human reproduction. One frequently hears of young people promising not to have children in, order to save the planet.

Take the example of the climate-change activists who have formed the 'BirthStrike' movement. They have decided 'not to bear children due to the severity of the ecological crisis and the current inaction of governing forces in the face of this existential threat'.[18] BirthStrike's website features personal statements from individuals who think it is wrong to give birth.[19] Aletha, aged 39, says:

> The priority of my husband and I is to avoid bringing another child into intolerable future conditions such as heatwaves and drought, considering children are already dying from heatwaves in India and Pakistan this year.

The idea that giving birth is some kind of crime against the environment is now even endorsed by celebrities. Miley Cyrus says millennials 'don't want to reproduce because we know that the Earth can't handle it'.[20]

The BirthStrike movement is merely the most extreme and depressing manifestation of an anti-humanist culture of pessimism. It is not simply these activists' deep attachment to the environment, but also their misanthropy that leads them to the conclusion that the world would be a better place if humans stopped having babies. Their view of babies as polluters of the planet seamlessly meshes with a sentiment that reduces people to the moral status of two-legged polluters.

The narrative has become unrestrained

Increasingly the narrative of climate-related existential threats has mutated into an ideology of evil that seeks to punish those who have sinned against the climate. For the many decades, those who refused to embrace the climate consensus had to be morally condemned as 'deniers' – with clear allusion to Holocaust denial.

The transformation of the act of denial to a transcendental generic evil is shown by the ease with which its stigmatisation has leaped from the realm of historic controversies surrounding acts of genocide to other areas of debate. Denial has acquired the status of a free-floating blasphemy that can attach itself to a variety of problems. One opponent of climate change denial observes that the 'language of "climate change", "global warming", "human impacts" and "adaptation" are themselves a form of denial familiar from other forms of human right abuse'. He contends these terms are 'scientific euphemisms' that obscure the moral responsibility of those committing a crime against the environment.[21]

A difference of opinion on the climate is not allowed, since those who refuse to sign up to the climate-emergency agenda do not possess any views worth discussing. There are not two sides to the argument. The act of scepticism is the moral equivalent of the crime of denial – and with the stigmatisation of denial this charge has acquired the form of a secular blasphemy. So, a book written by an author who is sceptical of prevailing environmentalist wisdom was dismissed with the words; 'the text employs the strategy of those, who for example, argue that gay men aren't dying of AIDS, that Jews weren't singled out by the Nazis for extermination, and so on'.[22] The message conveyed through this forced association of three highly charged issues is that denial constitutes an all-purpose blasphemy.

Intolerance of dissident and sceptical opinion in the global debate has acquired pathological proportions. So Ed Milliband, in his former capacity as Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change, denounced sceptics and declared war on them. 'There are a whole variety of people who are sceptical, but who they are is less important than what they are saying, and what they are saying is profoundly dangerous', he stated.[23] Intolerance runs deep in his family. His brother David, in his former capacity as the Secretary of State for the Environment, said: 'The debate over the science of climate change is well and truly over'. The assertion that the uncertainty associated with climate change is best resolved through closing down debate is illustrative of the ease with which policymakers and opinion formers can demand the silencing of 'dangerous' ideas.

This year (2020), the demonisation of the opponents of climate crusaders has led to a new strategy of attempting to use international law to criminalise them. The newly invented crime of ecocide aims to eventually criminalise forms of behaviour that goes against the consensus of climate activists. Climate crusaders are working with international lawyers and policymakers to amend international criminal law. Their aim is to cobble together a legal definition of ecocide that would complement other existing international offences such as

crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide.[24] US President-elect Joe Biden has embraced eco-imperialism as his response to ecocide. He has decided to label countries who fail to address climate change as 'climate outlaws'. His first target is likely to be Brazil.[25]

It is evident that the narrative of existential threat in the climate and Covid era will gain momentum in the post-pandemic era. Harnessing the fears provoked by Covid has endowed this narrative with unprecedented influence. That is why there are growing signs that the Covid lockdown will serve as a model for the reframing of the climate-emergency narrative. Climate change and the coronavirus pandemic have been linked repeatedly by prominent figures such as former US Vice-President Al Gore and billionaire Bill Gates, who said in a recent op-ed, 'As awful as this pandemic is, climate change could be worse'.[26]

The post-pandemic Great Reset is frequently imagined as a transition to a climate-friendly utopia. Through the narrative of the Great Reset, drawing on the understandable anxieties of millions towards the coronavirus, activists have begun to promote the case for a climate lockdown.[27]

Sections of the advertising industry appear to be wholeheartedly behind the Great Reset movement. According to one of its websites:

> The Great Reset is a cultural movement to maintain the positive environmental behaviours developed during lockdown and embed these in society. As an industry we need to 'reset ourselves', 'reset our work' and 'reset our impact'. This is because 77% of people think it is the creative industry's responsibility to encourage people to behave more sustainably, like during lockdown. Only 23% think advertising should encourage people to consume, shop and fly like before. The launch campaign is a creative collaboration between competing agencies led by Purpose Disruptors with more than 200 people contributing.[28]

It is likely that the narrative of the Great Reset will attempt to normalise the lockdown culture and represent it as a fact of life.

Those who wish to avoid living in a lockdown utopia need to develop a convincing counter-narrative to that of existential threats. To do this, it is essential to call into question all the different ways in which the idea of a climate emergency is framed as the final word on a subject that is beyond debate. We need a clear message that is underpinned by an unambiguous commitment to freedom – freedom of discussion and debate, as well as the freedom to live according to our inclinations. Forging an alliance with groups campaigning against a lockdown on free speech is important if the cultural authority of tolerance and freedom is to be reappropriated.

Challenging the different versions of a climate lockdown by affirming the freedom from the tyranny of public healthism can resonate with aspirations of many people, and can encourage them to also call into question important aspects of the cultural script promoting the quiet and not-so-quiet hysteria surrounding the climate.

Notes

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24. https://www.theguardian.com/law/2020/nov/30/international-lawyers-draft-plan-to-criminalise-ecosystem-destruction.
25. https://www.vox.com/21558425/brazil-bolsonaro-biden-climate-change-amazon.
26. https://www.gatesnotes.com/Energy/Climate-and-COVID-19.
27. See for example the discussion surrounding Professor Mariana Mazzucato (UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose) and her idea of a climate lockdown where governments would 'ban consumption of red meat and impose extreme energy-saving measures, while fossil-fuel companies would have to stop drilling'.
28. https://www.purposedisruptors.org/the-great-reset.

About the Global Warming Policy Foundation

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