Right-Wing Authoritarianism Against Nature
The Latin American Context

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The most recent wave of authoritarian right-wing governments in the 21st century has led to a series of setbacks in quality of life, civil liberties, and human rights. The Donald Trump government was marked by white supremacist discourse, climate denialism, and threats of war. In India, Narendra Modi pits the country against the Muslim population. In Latin America, the return of the far-right after a period of progressive governments known as the 'pink tide' is marked by conservatism and neoliberal reforms. Whereas the United States and Bolivia have moved on from these far-right authoritarian governments, the reality of authoritarianism remains to different degrees in Latin America. In Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro promotes guns and deforestation under a nationalist Christian motto: "Brazil above everything, God above everyone". In Chile, the prospects of a new constitution and a progressive government offer hope in a historical context of privatized water and the repression of social movements. Iván Duque's Colombia is marked by the assassination of community leaders and struggles in territories that are under pressure from extractivism; thus, Gustavo Petro and Francia Márquez face an arduous journey as the country's first leftist government.

The authoritarian aspects of these governments require thoughtful examination and not all of them could be classified easily under the term fascism. In fact, current scholarship struggles to find appropriate terminology that would aid in drawing comparisons and identifying particular phenomena. We speak of the far right, the alt-right, the fascists, neofascists, and proto-fascists (Traverso 2019 and Webber 2020). Overt authoritarianism, however, seems to be a common trend throughout these categories, though it is not much simpler to define. What is also noteworthy is how these authoritarian experiences do not only affect human society, but also affect other species and the natural environment as a whole. Climate change and the ecological crises associated with this age—often named the Anthropocene—constitute an environment of heightened conflict over territory, raw materials, and the primacy of the capitalist market that refuses to acknowledge the imminent danger of social and natural collapse.

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There is important literature that helps to identify and analyse the relationship between the authoritarian right and the destruction of nature (Malm and the Zetkin Collective 2021; Forchtner 2020). Although, given the sheer dimensions of the subject and the different dynamics involved, more research is required, especially from the perspective of the Global South and the different dynamics of destruction and spoliation in the periphery of capitalism. For instance, 21st century ecofascism and its anti-immigrant politics is more perceptible and widespread in the Global North, especially in the way it frames particular people as victims (Thomas and Gosink 2021, 42), but its likelihood of occurring in the Global South depends on adapting values and practices to dependence on aggressive extractivism and the dispossession of local communities.

Drawing from Latin American examples, but with support from literature focused on the United States and Europe, this chapter offers a brief theoretical primer for understanding the various forms of authoritarianism against nature popular among right-wing forces in the context of the Global South. It begins by establishing the relationship of nature to capitalism—and how it varies according to global inequalities—in order to show how authoritarianism, particularly right-wing authoritarianism, is an important element of the destruction of nature and oppression of peoples in the Global South for the sake of capital accumulation. Capitalist pressure and other forms of domination, such as racism, xenophobia, neocolonialism, and conservatism, walk hand in hand with authoritarianism. Once we add centuries of extractivism, colonialism, dependent capitalism, and underdevelopment, a special set of characteristics that constitute the phenomenon of authoritarianism against nature in Latin America and the Global South more generally arises.

Nature under Capitalism

One primary characteristic of capitalism is its perception of nature as a body of resources, free to be utilized as raw materials for the upkeep of basic necessities and the production of commodities. Although there are costs associated with labour and machinery for the extraction of raw materials from nature, these materials do not cost anything themselves as no exchange-value is attributed to them at the point of extraction. Karl Marx explains in Volume III of *Capital* that the value of nature's production is not acknowledged within the capitalist system and, therefore, natural elements enter capitalist production as "free gifts" (Marx 1981; Burkett 1999, 92). This allows capitalism to appropriate nature's production as its own and cheapens the cost of the commodity cycle. While this is the general approach, it is also true that, in practice, capitalists profit by cheapening nature in other ways, such as in the industrial production of meat, which involves both the appropria-

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tion of animals' bodies and the employment of very cheap and precarious human labour (Patel and Moore 2017, 4).

Today, a capitalist corporation may have to pay royalties and concession rights to the state to be able to exploit mineral resources, water, wood, and oil. It could, on the other hand, purchase land once and, for a fixed initial price, exploit natural resources until depletion. There is also the matter of direct dispossession and the stealing of land, through practices of territorial enclosure, invasion or, in some cases, free state-sanctioned exploitation of resources in public or Indigenous territory. Whether a price is paid or not, the principal act of the appropriation of nature is still free as costs are not transferred to nature but to a third party that grants rights or holds rights over a territory. Fauna, flora, and inorganic parts of nature are utilized and reduced to their role as resources so they can be exploited and upkept for further exploitation or human enjoyment—which can also be a commodified activity. This reduction to resources is part of the appropriation process and also important for artificially detaching human society from the rest of nature (Clark and Foster 2010). A key aspect of capitalist modernity is its treatment of humans as separate from nature, as its tamers or overlords (Dussel 1985, 114).

When ecological concerns are divorced from an interpretation of the capitalist appropriation of nature, more common negative impacts of production are normalized as natural outcomes that cannot be prevented: an iron ore mine, for example, is expected to leave a trail of pollution. Environmental racism plays a role as it enmeshes already politically marginalized peoples in a system of environmental degradation that treats their communities and territories as sacrifice zones (Lerner 2012, 312; Herculano 2008). The system of appropriation of nature is designed to normalize everyday impacts in sacrifice zones, including through legal devices, and it is only required to be accountable when it comes to major events of ecocide and human rights abuse. Since major events are treated as exceptions and/or accidents, they can be approached from the economic perspective of externalities, fines, and compensations that do not actually change the structure of natural exploitation, let alone interrupt it in favour of an alternative system of production of goods and services.

The current system of industrial extractivism, wherein materials are extracted on a large scale with little regard for socioecological impact, operates precisely this way. Capitalism's growing demand for raw materials makes it appear as if environmental impacts are a normal occurrence and cannot be prevented, or only prevented in the most extreme exceptions. Martin Arboleda explains that Chilean towns impacted by mining "tend to be intensive on energy, logistics, and mining infrastructure, they are usually burdened by high levels of air, water, and noise pollution, a feature that dramatically impacts public health and the quality of life more generally" (Arboleda 2020, chapter 3). The social and environmental costs are the price that is paid in the name of development, although the unequal exchange of

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these resources and reproduction of precarious working and living conditions in the Global South often means that the costs in Latin America are borne for the benefit of European, North American and, more recently, Chinese markets. Even the advancement of technology geared towards renewables and climate transition can mean more exploitation in the Global South, since the race for so-called green minerals tends to expand previous sacrifice zones but now, under the discourse that these activities serve the greater good of transition (Zografos and Robbins 2020, 543; Pérez 2021). This is referred to as 'eco-extractivism' (Núñez et al. 2019). Then, whenever one speaks of alternatives in a post-extractivist scenario, it sounds as if it is impossible to supply such materials without sacrificing entire ecosystems and communities.

Horacio Machado Aráoz refers to extractivism as a system of "modern colonial mining" (Machado Aráoz 2018, 21). Little about right-wing authoritarianism in Latin America can be understood without looking at the patterns of mining exchange between the region and the rest of the world. If we consider ecological exchange as a whole—including here aggressive agribusiness and its monocrops and the connection between transnational capital and territorial control—the picture of capitalist dependence coupled with violence and the dispossession by Latin American states of their own people becomes even clearer. Colonial expansion over the past centuries also included biological expansion, and the way landscapes were merged, altered, and destroyed and species were rearranged or made extinct comprises a phenomenon understood by Alfred Crosby as ecological imperialism (Foster and Clark 2004; Crosby 1986). With the advancement of capitalism, the need to analyse the perception and usage of nature as highly political also became a matter of survival. The relationship of production between humans and nature that was mediated by necessity in most places expands through trade, systemic exploitation, and a growing appetite for resources. In fact, nature is reduced to sectors of resource extraction and human enjoyment. Whereas dependence on nature is acknowledged for matters of production, the limits of this dependence are not.

Enrique Dussel argues that a political interpretation of nature happens all the time and is informed by contrasts such as those between the periphery and the centre of capitalism, the different social classes, the various political systems, and how a particular mode of production treats and interacts with nature (Dussel 2011). The capitalist system has transformed nature and its systems so deeply that collapse has become a daily phenomenon. However, this collapse is not uniform. Since the periphery of the system is more affected as sacrifice zones and through patterns of ecological imperialism, to understand the relationship between capital and nature in the Global South requires a particular political interpretation of nature itself. If impacts are unequal and the economic rationale is also based on an 'international division of natural exploitation', we must also examine how authoritarian practices that involve environmental destruction and attacks on communities and their terri-

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tories at the periphery of capitalism differ from what happens at the core. Whereas the capitalist system causes a metabolic rift with nature on a global scale, the ways in which it operates in the Global South favour a normalization of authoritarian practices and regimes in order to secure the stream of profits that flows from the margins to the centre.

The Global South's Metabolic Rift

It is important to note that to speak of how capitalism severs the link between humans and nature is to speak of social metabolism and the metabolic rift caused by capitalist production (Foster and Holleman 2014). The sociometabolic perspective entails the understanding of human society as part of and dependent on nature—possibly interdependent too when we consider human creation and regeneration, such as through Indigenous co-creation of the Amazon rainforest over thousands of years. We can speak of humans *and* nature and humans *in* nature, while combatting the capitalist hierarchy that forces humans *out of* nature in a pattern of total crisis.[1]

István Mészáros spoke of sociometabolism directly when referring to the material conditions of production and reproduction. In his book *Beyond Capital*, he argued the following about capitalism's relationship to nature:

> It is in the nature of capital that it cannot recognize any measure by which it could be restrained, no matter how weighty the encountered obstacles might be in their material implications, and no matter how urgent—even to the point of extreme emergency—with regard to their time scale. For the very notion of 'restraint' is synonymous with *crisis* in the conceptual framework of the capital system. Neither the degradation of nature nor the pain of social devastation carries any meaning at all for its system of social metabolic control when set against the absolute imperative of self-reproduction on an ever-extended scale. This is why in the course of historical development capital not simply *happened* to fatefully overreach itself on every plane—even in its relationship to the basic conditions of social metabolic reproduction—but sooner or later was *bound* to do so. (Mészáros 1995, 173)

More specifically, the discussion and concept of the metabolic rift is important for the context of authoritarianism against nature because it is often the sociometabolism of sacrifice zones that is interrupted with the help of authoritarian forces. These sacrifice zones exist everywhere, as one can see from the state violence perpetrated against the Wet'suwet'en nation that resists the laying of

1 For a defence of the metabolic rift theory and how the language of humans and nature does not make it necessarily dualistic, please see Malm 2018.

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a pipeline in their territory in British Columbia (Dhillon and Parrish 2019). The colonial nature of the Canadian state affects marginalized peoples domestically, who are supposed to bear the damage done in their territory for the sake of fossil capital, while it also supports the advancement of Canadian multinationals so involved in extractivism in Latin America that in almost every place there is a potential sacrifice zone. Todd Gordon and Jeffrey Webber show that "in Latin America and the Caribbean, Canada was the largest investor nation in the [mining] sector, and four countries—Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States—accounted for 74 percent of mergers and acquisitions from 2000 to 2015" (Gordon and Webber 2019, 8). The pattern of unequal ecological exchange does not prevent the creation of sacrifice zones in the North, but surely contributes to their normalization and ubiquity in the South.

The theory of the metabolic rift proposes that a system powered by constant accumulation, namely the capitalist system today, leads to an irreparable rift between humans and nature due to the pressure placed on nature's metabolism by society's demands. Resources are extracted without care for the integrity of nature's metabolism and, as a consequence, human society is impacted too. A metabolic rift may occur in the transfer of nutrients from one area to another, as in Karl Marx's original analysis in Volume III of *Capital*, or it can amount to a global phenomenon that, under the tools of ecological imperialism, involves "environmental degradation and ecologically unequal exchange" (Clark and Foster 2009, 317). When taking international trade into account, the unequal ecological exchange becomes visible alongside negative trade balances, with countries at the periphery unable to really afford imports even after many years of excess exports (Hornborg and Martinez-Alier 2016, 331). When Brazil and Argentina rely heavily on the export of primary goods, they reinforce the unequal movement of such goods from the periphery to core countries (Dorninger and Eisenmenger 2016).

Unequal ecological exchange takes place via the exploitation of materials and destruction of biomes in one place for the benefit of another place, usually better positioned in regard to both capitalist and geopolitical power. Globally, this is extended through ecological imperialism, as a subset of imperial power that includes but is not limited to:

> the pillage of the resources of some countries by others and the transformation of whole ecosystems upon which states and nations depend; massive movements of population and labour that are interconnected with the extraction and transfer of resources; the exploitation of ecological vulnerabilities of societies to promote imperialist control; the dumping of ecological wastes in ways that widen the chasm between centre and periphery; and overall, the creation of a global 'metabolic rift' that characterizes the relation of capitalism to the environment, and at the same time limits capitalist development. (Foster and Clark 2004, 187)

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Where the metabolic rift is an integral part of the local economy and deeply embedded in trade patterns that match economic and unequal ecological exchange, a set of vulnerabilities to authoritarianism develops. Much can be justified, legalized, or hidden when a country's fate and development is said to depend on it. In addition, the structure of dependent capitalism in the Global South means that national elites organize themselves in autocratic ways that already disregard principles of liberal democracy in order to reproduce the economic conditions that favour this class (F. Fernandes 2019), primarily by keeping labour cheap and nature cheaper or free. As such, a place need not be governed by extreme forms of authoritarianism to lead to constant environmental degradation and the destruction of life-sustaining systems that are also interconnected with race, class, gender, and other structures of oppression. Rather, a degree of authoritarianism is enmeshed in daily life, benefitting the continuation of the system of exploitation. In the early 2000s, this meant the heavy repression of demonstrators against the privatization of water in Bolivia, whereas in Brazil, the advancement of agribusiness has come at the expense of campesino, Quilombola, and Indigenous communities. In fact, although this text analyses right-wing authoritarianism, it is worth highlighting that the economic structure in the Global South also means that even progressive governments tend to engage with authoritarian practices in order to secure extractive and development projects with their partners (Svampa 2019, 1).

Latin America's Authoritarian Rifts

Under capitalism, Florestan Fernandes explains, the "authoritarian element is intrinsically a structural and dynamic component of preservation, strengthening and expansion of the 'capitalist democratic system'" (F. Fernandes 2019, 45). The system needs authoritarian practices in order to maximize profits and production, allowing for the super-exploitation of labour, repression against opponents and unwanted groups, and the continuous robbery of nature. Thus, it is a matter of whether this authoritarianism is practiced in particular spheres, local, and/or global, or becomes the dominant expression of the regime. Since countries in the Global South are subject to dynamics of colonialism and capitalist dependence that maintain levels of instability and underdevelopment, authoritarianism not only functions as a more common expression of everyday politics, but is also entrenched in imperialist relations and interventions that range from coups that establish dictatorships to dealings in favour of the extractive industries that risk the survival of entire communities.

These relations show that authoritarianism is established from both the inside of a nation and also from the outside. The United States has been involved in a series of war incursions and special forces interventions abroad connected to fos-

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sil fuels, including in Latin America. Scholars offer many examples of this, such as how, throughout the years, the CIA helped to train paramilitary forces involved in territorial conflict in Colombia, oil companies lobbied for further US military presence in the region (Scott 2004, 100), and "special warfare manuals" even advocated for the "harsh treatment of civilians" (Stokes 2005, 60). Doug Stokes argues that authoritarian states were seen as partners that could further US interests in Latin America, adding to a broader scenario that Michael Watts refers to as petro-imperialism (Stokes 2005, 58; Watts 1999, 7). Ecological imperialism has a natural affinity with authoritarianism because it speeds up processes of resource extraction while "hindrances" such as community resistance and territorial protections can be easily suppressed.

The mainstream discussions about authoritarianism often frame it as deviations from liberal democracy (F. Fernandes 2019). This perspective tends to equate fascism and communism, while it holds liberal democracy as the highest standard, hiding its limitations, like the defence of capitalism and the necessary domination it exercises to exploit peoples and nature. In practice, liberal democracy leaves the door open for fascism according to convenience, especially when there is a crisis. For Stuart Hall, this means a swing to the Right as a way to respond to the crisis, while social democracy renders the Left too disorganized to respond (Hall 1979, 16). In the case of Brazil, liberal parties and groups chose to support Jair Bolsonaro's campaign, aware of the threat of authoritarianism, in opposition to the return of the Workers' Party (PT) and its attempts to couple progressive social policies with actions that favour the Brazilian capitalist class. The parliamentarian coup against the Dilma Rousseff government is a good example of how it is possible to defend liberal democracy and use its devices to oust a legitimate president legally, but with false charges, in order to replace her with a more authoritarian leader with a clear project of austerity.

Since different regimes and different governments may produce different combinations and layers of authoritarianism, three elements must be highlighted: (1) under authoritarianism, power is exercised through coercion, or the threat of coercion, and consent is used to legitimize and maintain coercion; (2) capitalism is prone to authoritarian tools and actions, but authoritarianism is the entrenchment of these tools as a way of governing; (3) this power is exercised to maintain hierarchies and exclude the oppressed from the possibility of popular power.

Authoritarianism against nature acts against peoples and the environment, maintaining the metabolic rift in particular territories for the sake of resource extraction, land grabbing, and territorial control, and to be able to negatively impact ecosystems without much external pressure and regulation. Thus, it entails very racist, gendered, and xenophobic authoritarian acts of expulsion of peoples and repression of dissenting groups. Since authoritarianism against nature ensures patterns of unequal economic and ecological exchange for the benefit of capital

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circulation, it goes hand in hand with imperialist interests and tends to strengthen nationalism and borders in some places while it weakens self-determination claims and sovereignty in others.

The dispossession of Indigenous peoples and the appropriation of their territories comprise one of the clearest examples of authoritarianism against nature, including both environmental destruction and violence against human communities, that continues to take place in liberal democracies and is normalized because of capitalist appetite for land and raw materials. Colonization entails violence against Indigenous communities in order to access territory but also to sever the link between community and territory that historically conditions a more balanced relationship with the natural environment (Crook, Short, and South 2018). Land grabbing and forced urbanization also aid capital by adding to the labour force and its reserve army. Genocide against Indigenous and traditional communities goes hand in hand with ecocide. Alongside patriarchy, racism, and ethnic violence, these tactics fit into a particular perspective of development concerned with economic growth (Malheiro, Porto-Gonçalves, and Michelotti 2021).

Because of this, the task of understanding authoritarianism against nature must consider at least three political regimes: (1) authoritarian far-right expressions, mainly in fascism and its ecofascist correlative, (2) authoritarian practices under liberal democratic regimes that involve both right-wing and progressive/moderate left-wing governments, and (3) socialist Left engagement with authoritarianism—both historical and by governments that propose a socialist transition today.

This paper is concerned with the right-wing expressions under (1) and (2), and it must be stressed that a direct interest in the upkeep and deepening of the capitalist system and repression of anticapitalist ideas and practices falls within the political spectrum of the Right. This spectrum ranges from a moderate Right that generally accepts liberal democracy and its negotiation with capital to overt far-right authoritarianism that combines attacks on people's rights with a strong capitalist orientation. Centre-left and progressive groups under (2) help to maintain capitalism as well and may oppose direct anticapitalist action, but in this case, are not about the furthering of capitalism, but rather projects of conciliation and/or reformism that restrain the search for alternatives within the system. This perspective of conciliation is connected to the centre-left's general acceptance of the terms of liberal democracy—primarily the legitimacy of private property and the capitalist market—and its maintenance of capitalist infrastructures. It shows, for example, the limits of moderate Left experiences in Latin America under the pink tide governments, when the advancement of social rights was negotiated alongside capitalist growth and the strengthening of particular sections of each country's elites (Webber and Carr 2013; S. Fernandes 2019).

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For the Right, these conciliations imply profit reduction, regulation, and other concessions that stand in the way of the type of free-rein capitalist system it envisions. Thus, centre-right governments seek to legitimize their authoritarian actions through liberal institutions—the legal system and mass incarceration—or by treating them as exceptional cases—imperialist war abroad or torture in the name of fighting terrorism. Far-right expressions, such as fascism, have a strong capitalist component, even if some of them may challenge free-market policies in favour of protectionist nationalist approaches (Konder 2009). They still assert private property, while having strong ethnonationalist—often white supremacist—and authoritarian values that tend to be mobilized in an "us versus them" framework (Forchtner 2019). Far-right forces end up incorporating authoritarianism in the very core of their project, as is the case of overt repression under the military dictatorship that governed Brazil between the 1960s and the 1980s, or the defence of white nationalism and strong borders that unites fascists in the United States and Europe.

In the economic relations between central and peripheral countries in the capitalist system, the periphery is a major source of natural resources and, therefore, the negatively impacted party in the system of unequal ecological and economic exchange. The Global South, as the sum of peoples and territories at the margins of the system, has to bear the brunt of authoritarian practices by its own elites and the elites in the Global North. Whether there is a leftist or a right-wing government, the paradigm of development in Latin America is still embedded in a logic of dependence. Even when strategies geared towards import substitution industrialization were implemented to boost domestic industry, they failed to overcome a general state of underdevelopment due to both internal and external factors (Hira 2007; Love 1990) and still contributed to environmental pressures.

This dynamic has long been explored in Marxist dependency theory (MDT) and studies on development and underdevelopment. Latin American industrialization was done in such a way that the strong concentration of land in the hands of a few permitted labour to be overexploited in both rural and urban areas (Marini 2013, 67). The tenets of industrialization were set according to the demands of foreign capital, so that the local capitalist class was devoid of a national project of capitalist development. The rule of thumb was—and still is—to maximize profits through very cheap labour and access to raw materials and rights to exploitation that could be purchased at a very low cost or even taken. Because of this, underdevelopment is not simply a status or innate characteristic of countries under dependent capitalism but the result of ongoing economic and political relations.

Although traditionally MDT does not provide an analysis embedded in ecological considerations, a critique of extractivism in Latin America expands its potentiality and helps to identify patterns of underdevelopment connected to the reduction of nature to a free gift. Thea Riofrancos explains that MDT led to a struggle between "nationalist-developmentalist versus revolutionary paths to development"

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(Riofrancos 2020, 235). Whereas the latter acknowledges that the national elites will not bring about development, a critical position on extractivism builds on a critique of imperialism and expands the conversation by troubling assumptions over extractivism and industrialization that have constrained the Left to a monolithic approach to development (Riofrancos 2020, 15).

Understanding the context of dependence is essential for avoiding the mistake of treating environmental destruction in the Global South as a simple issue created by poor environmental consciousness, lax regulations, or irresponsible leaders. Dependence influences and moulds how authoritarianism against nature operates at the margins of capitalism, where sacrifice zones and ecocide are the norm rather than the exception. Fostering environmental degradation in one place while national parks are valued and protected elsewhere is part of the global capitalist project. A marked characteristic of ecological imperialism today is that it not only exploits nature heavily in the Global South but also creates, as Camila Moreno suggests, mechanisms for existing alongside growing environmental concerns through negotiations and compensations that are seen as assets in projects of "New Development", as suggested by Camila Moreno (2012, 57). Carbon credit schemes are only one of the ways through which false compensation for ecocide is sold—as if that were even possible—in dollars or the creation of protected units around the world. This also impacts marginalized communities in the Global North whose habitat is invaded by mining initiatives geared towards traditions of green technology while the same companies or even the state contributes to a green fund for protecting a limited piece of tropical forest somewhere else (S. Fernandes et al. 2021). This further normalizes authoritarian practices of dispossession and violence in sacrifice zones through eco-extractivism and a model that proposes remedying the ecological crisis without fixing the metabolic rift and regulating with nature; that is, without challenging the capitalist system.

The link between ecological imperialism and extractivism makes it acceptable for Canadian mining companies to destroy biomes and encroach on Indigenous territories in Brazil, Bolivia, and at home, while governments justify these actions through a need for resources for development and growth and offer limited conservation initiatives that function as olive branches (Gilchrist-Blackwood 2020). Contradictions like this become even more apparent when dealing with far-right governments.

Canada's Belo Sun Mining Corp has long planned to open an open-pit gold mine in the Brazilian Amazon, but the project only became viable under Jair Bolsonaro's presidency, when entities responsible for Indigenous protection actually liaised with miners and against Indigenous leadership (Arsenault 2021). After the outset of war in Ukraine, the Bolsonaro government pushed this agenda further, justifying it as a necessity for the fertilizer industry, since Brazil imports a great deal of its fertilizers from Russia (Brant and Sassine 2022). This is one example of

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how a cycle of dependence leads to sacrifice zones and sacrifice communities that are easily discarded and/or violated, especially when authoritarian tendencies are already established in the political landscape. Brazilian agribusiness relies heavily on fertilizers because of its monocrop model of production, so mining activities in key Indigenous territories become justifiable in order to sustain industrial agriculture. The Bolsonaro government continues to weaken deforestation safeguards while it sets targets for deforestation reduction through offsetting and other market mechanisms that attract Brazilian agribusiness and financial institutions (Horn and Fernandes 2021). Bolsonaro's government offers denialism of two kinds, the anti-science positions that deny that there is a crisis, but also the kind of denialism that serves to discredit environmental movements and to remove protections and eventually make way for corporations and market-based solutions to environmental crises (Moreno et al. 2021; Horn and Fernandes 2021).

These denialisms are promoted in the context of a fascist imaginary, national chauvinism, promotion of a ferocious capitalism tied to neoliberal reforms, defence of the interests of the extractive bourgeoisie, and growing practices of institutional racism and white supremacist ideology. Matters of exclusion and death became even more prominent during the COVID-19 pandemic, with Jair Bolsonaro's promotion of an authoritarian political tripod focused on "guns, virus, and soy" (S. Fernandes 2021). Bolsonaro's anti-ecological perspective is not simply an irrational display of far-right conspiracy theories about climate change, though these are certainly present in *bolsonarismo* as well as most major far-right movements today (Malm and the Zetkin Collective 2021, 279). This rationale serves to make room for the almost unlimited exploitation of labour and resources by foreign capital and lucky members of the national capitalist class. With bolsonarismo, lobbying for ecocidal proposals became easier, especially when the very notion of territory is encircled by ideas of private property, to be bought and sold. This goes beyond the perspective on neoextractivism espoused by progressive governments or a traditional approach to developmentalism in Brazil. With the authoritarian far-right, the point is simply to maximize gains and leave no stone unturned. The nationalist rhetoric operates as a legitimacy tool when, in fact, borders and sovereignty will be sold to the highest bidder without concern for community and environmental impact.

Although the Bolsonaro government is openly anti-ecological, other cases of right-wing authoritarianism in Latin America create similar dynamics. The tenure of Jeanine Añez, the interim president of Bolivia after the 2019 coup, was short but intense. The far-right forces in government shared many characteristics with bolsonarismo, such as Christian fundamentalism. Although the progressive government of Morales was heavily criticized for furthering extractivism, carrying its own authoritarian contradictions under liberal democracy, it tried to negotiate this process with redistributive policies that advanced the country's fight against poverty.

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Añez's authoritarianism was of a different degree, with overt use of violence, the spreading of fear in Indigenous and campesino communities, and an open politics of ecocide. Pablo Solón highlights this difference:

> Morales' MAS government was indeed allied to the agribusiness sector, which it had given broad concessions for years before the change in government. The Añez government was not only allied to agribusiness, it was deeply entrenched in the business [itself] and directly represented agribusiness interests in pursuing new, even more expansive policies. (Solón 2020)

Far-right authoritarianism provides an opportunity to advance capitalist interests without much concern for impact or negotiation with local actors as was necessary in the experiences of the pink tide in Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Venezuela. This is advantageous for the commodity markets and states seeking large amounts of natural resources from the Global South. There are fewer obstacles to extractivism, monoculture agribusiness, polluting industries, and fossil capital when Indigenous and campesino communities are not political subjects valued by the far-right, and violence against them is not only normalized but actually promoted. This is a problem that afflicts such communities throughout Latin America, such that Brazil and Colombia are among the most dangerous countries in the world for environmentalists (Global Witness 2021). With the pink tide, some of this improved through dialogue with social movements and some protections. With right-wing governments, treatment of these groups ranges from a general state of disregard for the impacts caused to them, to a clear directive towards ecocide. In this spectrum of authoritarianism, one can see how the right-wing government of Iván Duque in Colombia is complicit in the institutional persecution of local leaders that are also targeted by paramilitary groups in territorial disputes. Meanwhile, Jair Bolsonaro is engaged in the direct promotion of violence in rural areas, with efforts to arm the land-owning class, and the criminalization of social movements such as the Landless Workers' Movement (MST). Both cases involve governments established by a history of militia groups with far-right tendencies (Manso 2020; Maciel and Rojas 2021).

Fossil capital necessitates intense extractivism to increase commodity production, doing so by negotiating with the developmentalist Left in the Global South, by creating mechanisms of compensation under green capitalism, or by heightening exploitation to optimal levels with the far right. Far-right authoritarianism gets the job done a lot faster and the scenario of ecological imperialism and dependent capitalism in the Global South creates fertile soil for fossil capital to exacerbate previous contradictions and eventually take everything. As argued by Andreas Malm and the Zetkin Collective, "it remains hard to imagine a transposition whereby fossil capital would fight its rearguard battles from the left while the right executed its destruction" (Malm and the Zetkin Collective 2021, 476).

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Yet, an important distinction is that the alliance between fascism and the destruction of nature can take on a 'green' appearance too, especially in the Global North. Streams of 'ecological fascism', shortened to ecofascism, appear in Europe and in the United States with a defence of pristine national forests and lakes, an appeal to 'blood and soil' arguments that lead white people to make claims to territory as if they were Indigenous communities, anti-immigrant rhetoric, and discourse that blames the poor and the foreign for pollution, environmental destruction, and even climate change itself (Taylor 2019; Boggs 2019). With ecofascism, the conspiracy theory is not about denying the existence of climate change but rather to manipulate the scientific explanation for authoritarian racist objectives, arguing that the poor of the Global South have way too many children, lack environmental consciousness, and will put pressure on the Global North's resources. By denying or distorting the root causes, ecofascism also promotes scientific denialism, even if different from the kind that claims that there is no global warming or that the Amazon rainforest is not at risk, as Bolsonaro would say. Ecofascism recognizes the crisis but is not about saving the Earth, instead deciding who gets to survive on a dying planet. Thus, it mobilizes the climate agenda in authoritarian ways against nature and peoples tightly connected to it. Further, it normalizes discussions over decarbonization and energy transition in the North without any consideration for the provenance of materials and the sharing of important technologies. This is a path for ensuring ecological imperialism and unequal ecological exchange from the Global South to the Global North, in ways that guarantee white supremacist control of ecosystems for richer countries. It is no surprise that although ecofascism is still marginal, there is ample room for its growth in imperialist countries particularly as the ecological crisis escalates.

Ecofascism in the Global North means not only strong borders in Northern countries, but a race to secure resources to transition faster for their own means without any challenge to their own mode of living. Green capitalism needs to sell false solutions to the climate crisis in order to replace commodities, leaving the imperial mode of living of the Global North unchanged (Brand and Wissen 2021, 157). However, this is only possible because the Global North will continue to steep materials in the exploitation of nature elsewhere, particularly in the Global South. An example is the exploitation of one of the key green minerals, lithium, that impacts Chilean and Argentinian environments. Nevertheless, the Global North is still focused on individual electric vehicles rather than a system overhaul. This creates a convenient opportunity both for green capitalist approaches to transition in rich liberal democracies and for authoritarian far-right governments that promote ecocidal extractivism in peripheral countries. It could be, however, even more devastating if ecofascism manages to take the lead in places like Germany, France, Austria, and the United States and furthers practices tied to ecological imperialism. Its advancement may also aid in the creation of pockets of ecofascism within Global

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South countries by contributing to an elitist and segregationist view of environmental protection, which could lead to what Daniel Aldana Cohen terms an "eco-apartheid" (Aldana Cohen, 2019).

Towards a Framework of Authoritarianism against Nature

The majority of the literature available on this subject helps to identify standard cases where far-right ideology causes ecological destruction. However, it is important to consider the differences in phenomena of the Global North and the Global South. This means that authoritarianism against nature in the South is embedded in a history of unequal ecological exchange and unequal economic exchange between the periphery and the centre of capitalism that creates and normalizes sacrifice zones for the benefit of industrialization, in places like Latin America, that support or create the mode of living in the United States and Europe. These elements, together, add to a framework for understanding how ecocide and violence against peoples connected with the protection of nature is not the same at the centre and at the margins of capitalism. In fact, there may be conflicts between the interests of workers in Canada and in Bolivia, in ways similar to conflicts between many who live in urban areas in Canada and First Nations communities opposing pipelines in their territories. The difference is that when dealing with geopolitical arrangements and the differences in development in the system of dependent capitalism, ecological imperialism is also a situation that sets authoritarian practices apart in the richer and the poorer countries.

To understand these different expressions of authoritarianism against nature is to be able to map out trends and threats under the already existing ecological crisis. In the case of the Global South, the situation is even more critical due to climate debt, underdevelopment, and the ways that mainstream environmentalism is failing to consider how the South will transition into carbon neutrality when the technologies and resources to do so continue to be concentrated in the North.

This chapter focuses on Latin America for its analysis of how expressions of right-wing authoritarianism connect to capitalism's demand for resources and cheap labour, creating sacrifice zones for the benefit of affluent areas. Yet, authoritarianism against nature in the Global South and the Global North may take on even more sinister characteristics when considering the combination across different political projects and practices. There is need for a broader framework that may help to generate a better understanding of the authoritarian phenomena that further the metabolic rift and prevent transition into a society where the metabolism between humans and nature is regulated and reconciled. Today, the different faces of fossil fascism in the South are not detached from new enclaves of ecofascism in the North. However, as the ecological crisis heightens, the danger

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of ecofascism may grow in the periphery as local elites look for ways to protected themselves, while fossil capital attempts to reinvent itself in places like Europe.

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