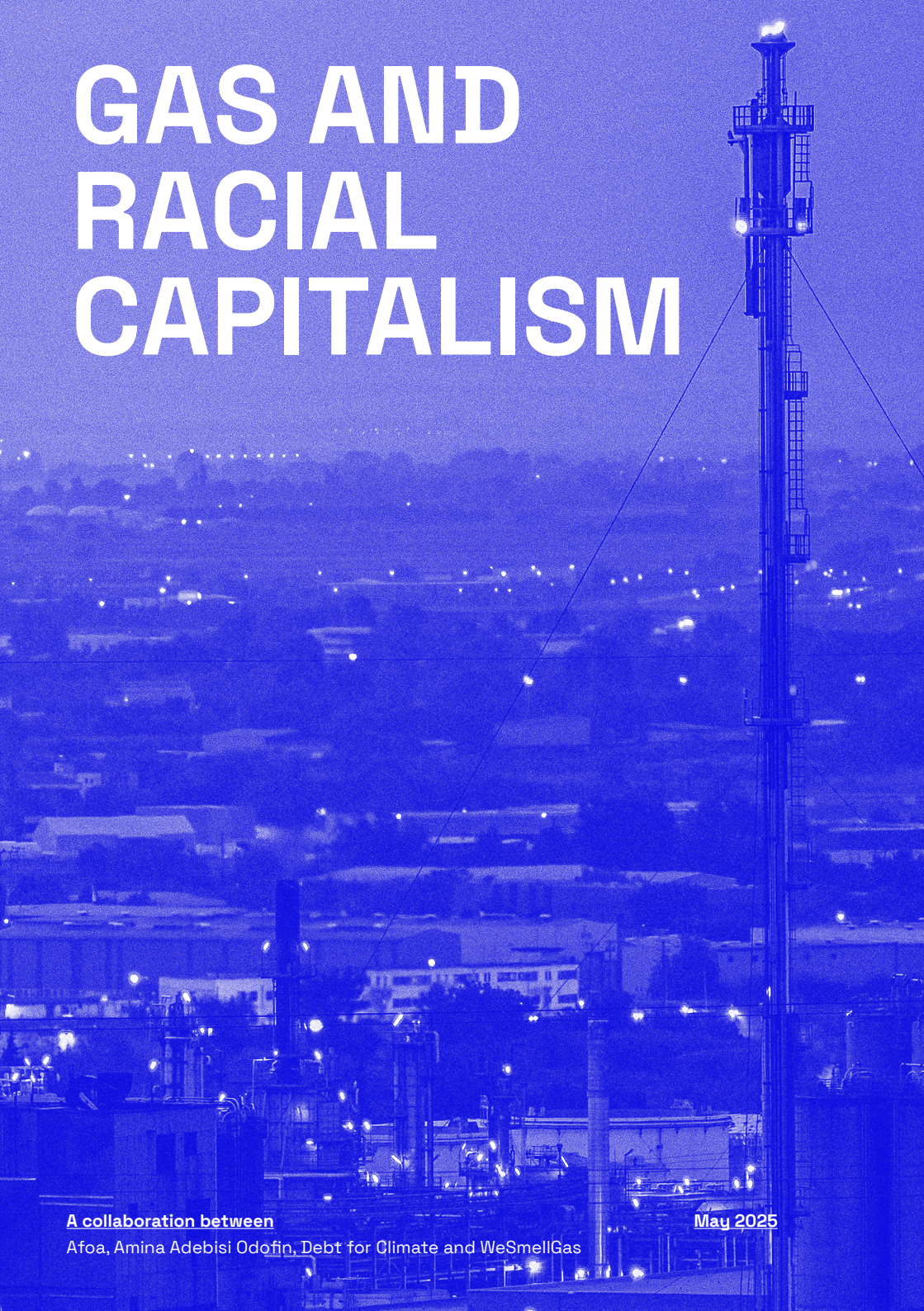


GAS AND RACIAL CAPITALISM



A collaboration between

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May 2025

Gas and Racial Capitalism

INTRODUCTION

FUELLING IMPERIAL POWER: THE FIGHT AGAINST GAS

Fossil fuels power **racial capitalism**. They heat our homes, produce clothes, fuel war planes and global shipping. They are woven into the very fabric of our social and economic existence. Within this, fossil gas is one of the fastest growing energy markets worldwide, demanding our urgent attention. It has been named the 'bridge fuel' - a link between fossil fuels, towards renewables - and an essential 'clean' fuel that promises to wean us off oil and coal, leading us towards a green transition. This clever branding is designed to hide the fact that fossil gas - a fossil fuel - leaks methane emissions in its production and transport which are more than 80x more polluting than carbon dioxide over a 20-year period. This **greenwashing** is a disaster - justifying the rapid expansion of gas, **no matter the cost**.

However, the urgency to organise against gas expansion, is about more than its climate impacts. Indeed, the gas industry survives through the exploitation and reproduction of interconnected race and class hierarchies, requiring them to profit. As such, the gas market relies on and is deeply entangled with **racial capitalism : an economic system whereby the exclusion, expulsion and exploitation of certain devalued populations is necessary for production and capital growth. This means that in order to function, capitalism makes certain lands and people less valuable, and others racially superior profiteers.** The gas industry is both shaped by racial capitalism and involved in maintaining it. In doing so, it relies on and reproduces systems of colonialism and class oppression.

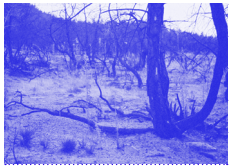
This pamphlet is designed to help comrades across movements understand why thinking about energy - specifically fossil gas - and **racial capitalism together** is important, and demonstrate how they materially work in tandem. It takes us through different tools of racial capitalism: sacrifice zones, borders, militarisation, policing, cheap labour, colonial debt, fascist rhetoric, and shows how they interact with and reinforce gas expansion. By the end it should be clear that the fight against gas, and other industrial energy markets, is inseparable from class-based and anti-colonial struggles. It is by no means

→ 'Glossary' page 28

.....space for your thoughts

[Introduction 1](#)
[Who benefits? 4](#)
[Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9](#)
[Sacrifice zones 9](#)
[Borders 11](#)
[Militarisation 14](#)
[Policing 23](#)
[Cheap labor 25](#)
[Colonial debt 27](#)
[Fascist rhetoric 30](#)
[Concluding remarks 33](#)
[Glossary 34](#)
[Endnotes 36](#)

Article: WeSmellGas, "A Gas Industrial Complex: Tracing the Colonial Cartography of the Eastern Mediterranean." *Antipode Online*, January 28, 2025.



Aftermath of the 2023 forest fires near Alexandroupoli, Greece, which killed an unconfirmed number of migrants hiding from police, the military, and fascist mobs.



The ecologically and culturally rich mountains of Epirus are threatened by depopulation, climate change, and fossil fuel extraction.

conclusive, but an initial offering to movements to show why and how we can work together – across climate and social justice movements – to achieve mutual liberation from this joint struggle.

ROOTED IN NECESSITY

In Summer 2023, WeSmellGas members travelled across the Eastern Mediterranean (Lebanon, Greece, Cyprus, Italy) to understand the racialised impacts of gas expansion across the region. We spent time with anarchist assemblies, rural communities, militant comrades and student activists, each on the frontline of emerging gas projects. We witnessed and documented first-hand the growing urgency across these regions alongside a comparative lack of anti-colonial consciousness in the climate movement of our own regions: Northern Europe. Two days after we returned, Gaza broke out of prison, and we watched from afar how gas and energy (re)shaped regional alliances and fuelled the settler colonial occupation and ongoing genocide in Palestine.

For some time we stopped this project, relentlessly organising for a liberated Palestine both collectively and elsewhere. As the genocide rages on, we remain convinced that this pamphlet, and the stories from our trip it contains, is more important than ever. Whilst inevitably influenced by our perspectives and positionalities, we have strived to make the pamphlet a vessel for the struggles and analysis of those that our politics has been shaped by. It is an effort to document and connect the experiences and intersections that expose industrial gas markets for what they are.

NAVIGATING THE PAMPHLET

The pamphlet is designed as a toolkit for climate, anti-imperialist and social justice activists. It follows a specific and repeated pattern to guide the reader. Integral to **racial capitalism** is a dynamic of people and places who benefit, and those who bear the cost. Who are the winners? Who are the losers? In answering these questions, we begin to map out the global patterns of **extraction** and exploitation that the gas industry relies on, mediated through race and class.

The pamphlet is structured accordingly. We begin with a section on 'Who Benefits?' to analyse the networks of power (geopolitical, corporate, cultural, financial) that make up and sustains the gas industry - we call this web the *Gas Industrial Complex*. We take the example of oil and gas major Eni, to map out and demonstrate how these dynamics play out, historically and today. Then we move to seven chapters which each lay out a particular 'tool' of **racial capitalism** that supports the expansion of the gas industry. We explore how this mechanism interacts with the gas industry and 'who bears the cost' of its activity. Each chapter asks three questions:

1. What is the tool (of **racial capitalism**)?
2. Who bears the cost?
3. Who resists and who can we take action with?

Through this structure the patterns reveal themselves, as does the fierce and transnational resistance against them. We conclude with a call to action for our movements, both climate and anti-colonial, to whom we owe so much and will continue to dedicate our lives to. **Terms highlighted** in the text are explained in the glossary at the end, and sources for further information are provided alongside the text.

AFTER READING

Use it! Share, rewrite and adapt it! Email us with constructive critiques, and suggestions for other groups whose work should be highlighted, and pass it round to those who need it. It is as much your work as ours, built from our learnings in conversation with you and others, and we wish its analysis to evolve and sharpen through your engagement with it.

In the meantime, we hope the key messages can help with punchy intersectional campaigns, the language can help to gain confidence in starting these conversations, and the resistance struggles inspire you to make new connections and think through more creative interventions against the systems of power we are all dismantling - day by day.

Introduction 1.....
Who benefits? 4.....
Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9.....
.....Sacrifice zones 9.....
.....Borders 11.....
.....Militarisation 14.....
.....Policing 23.....
.....Cheap labor 25.....
.....Colonial debt 27.....
.....Fascist rhetoric 30.....
Concluding remarks 33.....
Glossary 34.....
Endnotes 36.....

Book: Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California. University of California Press, 2007.

Blog post: WeSmellGas. “Gas Industrial Complex: Vast Profits, Imperial Roots and Ecological Destruction.” SOAS Blog. February 1, 2023.



The Elpedison Thessaloniki Power Plant operating at night.



Attendees of the 2023 European Gas Conference in Vienna gather for a high-end gala dinner.

WHO BENEFITS? THE GAS INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

With contributions from Amina Adebisi Odofin

The *Gas Industrial Complex*, inspired by the *Prison Industrial Complex* and its Black Radical thinkers, encompasses the various actors working together to uphold and expand the fossil gas industry. The phrase ‘industrial complex’ helps us conceptualise the multiple corporate and political actors that comprise the industry, as well as the imperial histories and colonial logics that shaped it. But what does it look like?

It is a complex web of power. Overlapping networks of individuals and institutions that facilitate - and benefit from - the production, transportation and consumption of gas. It includes **energy companies** buying and exploiting land and workers; **financial institutions** lending money to governments and businesses; **service providers** building pipelines, **LNG** terminals and their operators; **industrial consumers** using gas to produce pesticides, steel and plastics production; **surveillance and security companies**; **police forces and armies**; **management consultants** maximising profit margins and **insurance companies** managing its risk; **sub-contracting firms** operating precarious employment contracts. It also must include the **NGO workers** shaping campaigns and the **academics** and **journalists** documenting its activities. Put together, this is the **Gas Industrial complex (GIC)**. It is the **answer to: who benefits**.

The beneficiaries of the GIC can be found within the exclusive confines of energy conference rooms: from ‘The Eastern Mediterranean Gas Conference’ in Cyprus, the ‘European Hydrogen Conference’ in Brussels, or the ‘European Gas Conference’ in Vienna. It is in these spaces that defence firms network with energy supermajors, who sit across from government ministers, who are positioned between business analysts and management consultants, who shake hands with bankers and steel factory owners - as the activists chant outside and academics take notes on the inside.

Each corporate and state actor reinforces the interests of the other. So whilst there is necessary competition and political rivalry, all actors within the GIC ultimately depend on each other to maintain their respective power. This is clearest in the relationship between energy corporations and the state, where the corporation acts as soft power to facilitate geopolitical interests, while the state creates the conditions necessary for corporations to thrive. This is a critical part of the GIC, a mutually beneficial dynamic, born in empire and white supremacy.

Let’s take Eni as an example - a key and long-standing actor in the GIC. The supermajor’s trajectory shows how the modern gas trade is a product of empire, as well as intimate, long-standing relationships between state and corporation, and racist violence.

But this is not unique to Eni, and if you dig into the same three factors (colonial history, intimacy between state and corporation, and racist violence) with any other international oil and gas company, you will find the same. These are the structural conditions needed for profit to be made. Let's take a look.

COLONIAL HISTORY

Eni emerged from Agip, a state-owned company established in 1926 by Mussolini. Due to Europe's fossil fuel scarcity, Agip was primarily founded for foreign extraction and as such emerged *through* and for the *Italian empire*. After World War 2, Italy's geopolitical power shrunk. Enter Eni - a new kind of foreign power in a supposedly decolonising world - that served as a corporate instrument to reassert Italy's geopolitical and economic interests.

A clear example is the "grande Disegno Africano" project, launched by Eni in 1957 to plan commercial exploration and expansion across the African continent. As a wholly state-owned company at this time, the project was clearly about more than oil capital. It was a mechanism to re-expand Italy's role as a colonial power, in new and hidden ways. Unlike the 'seven sisters' coercive and resource-plundering model, Eni chose a new tactic that positioned it as an anti-colonial ally to newly independent states. Eni offered favourable and 'equitable' agreements to African nations, in order to secure influence in these emerging oil and gas economies.

This 'anti-colonial' narrative concealed Eni's imperial and expansionist agenda, spinning an image of Italy as a 'less imperialist' actor and thus favourable economic and political 'partner'. Within a decade, Eni was a leading force in 25 oil markets across North and West Africa, building a multi-billion dollar Empire. Egypt (1955), Iran (1957) Morocco (1958), Libya (1959), Sudan (1959), Tunisia (1962), Nigeria (1962) - to name a few. Eni continues to dominate the region today, with a presence in over 60 countries and an annual turnover of billions. We can see how white supremacist logics and imperial desires for domination underpinned the profit empire that is present-day Eni. Indeed, it was Eni's particular trajectory and self-positioning as an anticolonial ally that set a precedent for the energy sector being a route to neocolonialism.

THE INTIMACY BETWEEN CORPORATION AND STATE

"When you think of Eni it is basically the Italian State".

- interview with ReCommon

This corporate-state intimacy - forged through imperialism - is an evolving dynamic that remains today. Colonialism set the stage for corporations to act as soft power for imperial states, maintaining

Toolkit: Disrupt Power, Global Energy Embargo for Palestine, BDS National Committee. Toolkit: Disrupting Energy Corporations for the Liberation of Palestine.

Book: Hanieh, Adam. Crude Capitalism. Verso Books, 2024.

Academic article: Odofin, Amina Adebiisi. "Crude Capitalism: Connecting the Niger Delta, Palestine and the Global System of Exploitation." *Review of African Political Economy*. 2024.

Introduction 1
Who benefits? 4
Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9
Sacrifice zones 9
Borders 11
Militarisation 14
Policing 23
Cheap labor 25
Colonial debt 27
Fascist rhetoric 30
Concluding remarks 33
Glossary 34
Endnotes 36

control in formerly occupied countries through business activities. Eni is a clear and direct example of this continuation, how the corporation works for the state- and visa versa.

The Italian Ministry of Economy and Finance is Eni's majority shareholder, owning 30.5% in total. 28.5% of this is owned by Cassa Depositi e Prestiti, a development bank in turn owned by the ministry, which according to Italy's Court of Auditors holds a dominant influence in the shareholder assembly. This means the Italian state can essentially use Eni as they please: a vessel to advance the Italian economy and its geopolitical standing, with little checks or balances.

A political analyst we spoke to observed: *"of course there is cooperation, as far as possible there is cooperation...these companies are very important to the state...they generate huge revenues."* So, as Eni profits, so does the Italian state. This cooperation is preserved through official government protocols. For example, a protocol exists that allows Eni to station personnel at Italy's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to facilitate this relationship and ensure strategic alignment with Eni's global operations. Similarly, if Eni's operations are under attack - the Italian military is not far behind. For example, in 2019 an Eni ship operating off the coast of Cyprus was under threat from attacks by Turkish warships, who warned about drilling wells in so-called disputed waters. In response, the Italian Navy sent the warship 'Federico Marti-nengo' near to where the company was operating. The message to Ankara was clear: "if we need to show our flag, we are ready". This is not an isolated occurrence but a wider pattern: Italy has reportedly dedicated significant military resources to securing Eni's foreign assets and access. Furthermore, Eni is described as fundamental to Italy's intelligence and secret services by previous Prime Ministers. As such we see how corporations work for the state and state works for corporations - financially, militarily and politically.

This blatant alignment continues across Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean - from Nigeria to Palestine. In January 2024, Meloni launched a "Mattei Plan" (named after Eni's founder) for investment across Africa, with startling familiarity to Mattei's own "grande Disegno Africano" project, implemented 67 years prior. If there was any doubt as to Eni's involvement in this latest colonial project, it was put to rest with the new Eni CEO accompanying Meloni across the African press tour. Eni is and always has been a proxy for Italian foreign power, rolled out under the guise of commercial interest. The entanglements that began in the colonial era thrive today and reproduce domination for the profit of capitalist elites.

RACIST VIOLENCE

Written by Amina Adebisi Odofin

The communities of the Niger Delta have long resisted the exploitation of their land by oil companies, including Eni. Eni played a prominent role in the Niger Delta through its subsidiary Agip, extracting on and offshore since 1962 as the newly independent nation freed itself from British colonial rule. Now, Eni participates in 17 onshore fields and produces 11 million barrels of oil a year. In addition, it is now expanding into offshore LNG on the South coast of Nigeria. In [the words of Eni](#), this “will make it possible to exploit Nigeria’s abundant associated gas resources.”

Throughout this period, Eni has profited amid genocide in Nigera and caused oil spills that have left the Delta a wounded landscape. British colonial administration governed through divide and rule, manufacturing ethnic divisions that persist to this day. Energy corporations, like Eni, capitalised off this. A clear example is the Biafra War (1967-1979), one of the most violent conflicts in West Africa that stemmed from this ethnic division in conjunction with the struggle to control oil. The “Biarfrans” - those living on top oilfields - hoped oil discovery would give them autonomy but the wealth generated from the Delta was controlled by the capital. As the wealth generated grew, so did tensions with between 500,000- 1 million Biafran lives claimed through execution, bombing and widespread starvation. Just as Eni is present during the ongoing genocide in Palestine today, it was also present amid the Biafra war, profitting off oil extraction amongst extreme violence. Ultimately, its involvement in the war solidified its position in the Niger Delta - alongside other international oil companies - without accountability or apology.

Since Eni has been profiting, the landscape of the Niger Delta has been decimated. For example in 2010 a pipeline malfunction at an Eni-operated site caused a major oil spill that it [failed to clean up](#). This completely devastated the local communities lives and well-being, with the people of Ikebiri filing a lawsuit against the company. Indeed, communities have explored numerous tactics across the decades, ranging from direct attacks on oil infrastructure to peaceful protests and legal battles. Their struggles for justice, dignity and environmental despair continue despite overwhelming challenges.

As such, the Gas Industrial Complex is exposed: a matrix of power that profits through colonial history, corporate-state synergy and racist, genocidal violence. It feeds off the imperialism of the past and perpetrates neocolonial violence today, inside its own borders and beyond. We’ve seen the details of how this manifests with Eni, the white supremacist tools it requires to create and continue its expansionist agenda across Africa and into Palestine. But this is not limited

Multitude of resources:
HEDA Resource Centre. A
Nigerian Organisation Working to Help Resource-Rich
Communities Fight Against
Corruption.

Interview: Bhandar, Brenna,
Alberto Toscano, and Ruth
Wilson Gilmore. “The Prison
Industrial Complex Goes
Beyond Cops and Jails. It’s
All Around Us.” *Jacobin*,
August 2022.

Introduction 1

Who benefits? 4

Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9

.....Sacrifice zones 9

.....Borders 11

.....Militarisation 14

.....Policing 23

.....Cheap labor 25

.....Colonial debt 27

.....Fascist rhetoric 30

Concluding remarks 33

Glossary 34

Endnotes 36

to Eni, it is the trajectory and story of every international oil and gas company - from Chevron in the US to ADNOC in Saudi Arabia. The type of colonial history may shift, the nature of corporate-state synergy may change and the racist violence perpetrated will differ - but ultimately the patterns remain the same. We encourage readers to unpack the Gas Industrial Complex in their own geographies, asking who benefits and how. You will find that the answers reveal how gas profit is impossible without the existence and dependence on tools of **racial capitalism**.

WHO RESISTS AND WHO WE CAN TAKE ACTION WITH

→ **Lokiaka Community Development Centre:** An indigenous, women-led gender advocacy, human rights and environmental justice organisation based in Nigeria. It works with indigenous female farmers and activists from the Niger Delta to replenish land damaged by the oil industry and its spills. This includes support for reforesting mangrove swap forests and their diversity, building capacity across local communities and nurturing knowledge exchange. To support their work, you can donate via bank transfer: (account name) **Lokiaka Community Development Centre (NUBAN number) 0169539747**.

→ **HyMot:** A UK-based campaign in Liverpool Bay fighting Eni's 'HyNet' project that will turn existing pipelines into a Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS) site in the area. The campaign has strong links with 'Liverpool Friends of Palestine', and is formed from local groups challenging Eni's existing environmental practices in North-West England, including oil spills and the use of flaring.

→ **The Just Case:** A campaign promoting the lawsuit filed against Eni by 12 plaintiffs, predominantly grassroots groups and communities on the frontlines of extraction in Italy. The lawsuit is for past and potential future damages resulting from climate change, caused by Eni in Italy and beyond. The aim is to establish a precedent that the Paris Agreement must also apply to private energy companies. Establishing these damages would go beyond environmental damage but link to violations of fundamental rights to life, health, private and family life.

MECHANISMS OF RACIAL CAPITALISM

1. SACRIFICE ZONES

**Fossil fuels require sacrificial people,
lands and lives to profit and grow.**

WHAT IS THE TOOL?

Capitalism requires sacrifice. It is an economic system that relies on expendable places and expendable people to make money. Industrial energy markets are a prime example of this: natural resources, labour and wealth are taken from one place and given to another to produce energy. What is left behind is 'a sacrifice zone'. This is an area occupied by industrial factories, refineries or gas terminals, which releases toxic chemicals, and destroys local ecosystems and job markets. In sacrifice zones, communities become forced to leave their homes for deadly health conditions or find alternative employment as their farming, tourist or fishing industries no longer exist. Some cannot afford to leave. Many working class residents become trapped, employed by the industry that now pollutes their land, to enable energy consumption in wealthier places.

Race is used to justify the sacrifice of these communities and sustain an unequal, violent system of economic growth. It organises populations into the 'worthy' and 'not worthy', using arbitrary differences like culture, region or religion to do so. This process is called [racialisation](#), and it plays out globally through hierarchies that mark certain groups as less worthy of their health, land sovereignty or labour rights; to be exploited or made disposable by extractive industries like gas. [Colonialism](#) was born and continues through this dehumanising logic. It was used to justify the transatlantic slave trade, and continues to underpin the exploitation of African resources and migrant workers today. The fossil gas industry is no different, using the logic of race to produce countless sacrifice zones across its supply chains. Whether it is extracting gas from the sea, transporting it via ship or using it to power large-scale industry (steel, fertiliser, plastics) there is nearly always a sacrifice zone, justified through race, that makes this capitalist activity and its profitability possible.

→ 'Glossary' page 28.....

WHO BEARS THE COST?

Within and beyond the [so-called Global South](#), more and more places are becoming 'the sacrifice'. Historical sites of [\(neo\)colonial extraction](#) remain. North African economies continue to depend on the large-scale transfer of their wealth and resources to richer countries, even if their own populations suffer power cuts. For example, in 2022 and 2024 the Egyptian political elite committed to selling more gas to Europe, despite widespread

Introduction 1
Who benefits? 4
Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9
Sacrifice zones 9
Borders 11
Militarisation 14
Policing 23
Cheap labor 25
Colonial debt 27
Fascist rhetoric 30
Concluding remarks 33
Glossary 34
Endnotes 36

News article: El-Gaafary, Nabila. "Egyptian MP urges government to exempt south from power cuts after 40 deaths by heat wave." *New Arab*, June 10, 2024.

Film (63 min): Cruz, Victor. *Taranto*. 16M.Films, 2021.

industrial shutdown and gas shortages hitting the nation. Working class and rural populations were particularly affected, with failing ventilation systems in 50 degree heat waves causing over 40 deaths in July 2024 alone. As an Egyptian comrade and energy expert told us "people are boiling" both literally and emotionally. He continued: "before exporting we need to secure our national need, our national demand. Where are our people in this?"

As the demand and rush to extract gas grows, more places within European borders are likewise bearing the cost of gas growth. The working class town Taranto in Southern Italy is an important example that shows how sacrifice zones operate not only in gas **extraction**, but through (industrial) gas consumption. In 1960, Taranto became occupied by a highly polluting steel factory, owned by Italian company ILVA, that consumes gas purchased from Eni. The toxic red iron dust the factory releases contains carcinogenic dioxins that cause the highest child death rates in the country, and destroy farm lands and mussel fishing industries. Local residents have been resisting the industrial occupation for decades, yet the devastation continues with schools closing due to fume intensity and young people migrating en masse to escape the cancer risks. As one local activist stated, "this is (Italy's) strategy for development, to create health issues for those living nearby...(and so) I need to decide to have cancer or to have a job" (Fillippe). This exposes how in sacrifice zones "you have no choice...and this (lack of choice) is political" because it is stripped away from you, in favour of the industry and its beneficiaries.

WHO RESISTS AND WHO WE CAN TAKE ACTION WITH

→ **A Taranto's NGO (Peacelink) and a former steel worker (Piero Mottolese):** Taranto local resident and factory worker: investigated and audio-visually documented the ILVA (the largest steel plant in Europe) toxins and their impact on the local environment and public health. It began with examination of high dioxin levels in cheese produced by a local shepherd, and soon escalated to a legal investigation that saw factory bosses arrested and 52 people (from the political to the industrial fields) placed on trial for environmental harm (for health and environmental disaster). The archives he created became his life-work and remain cared for by local activists and residents.

→ **Convocatoria Ecologista Taranto:** A local collective of activists from Taranto, affected by the ILVA steel plant. In (2022 and) 2023, they organised community camps that nurtured space for collective healing, care and reflection on experience and possible alternatives to life in Taranto. An anti-imperialist and transfeminist organising space, the workshops and participants included comrades from Palestine and BDS, discussion on bell hooks, migrant labour and queer ecologies in the face of ecologies of death. The collective organises in solidarity with Palestine and organises against corporate power alongside other affected communities inside and beyond Italian borders. Follow [@convocatoria_ecologista.ta](#) on Instagram.



The Convocatoria Ecologista Taranto gathers in 2023 for collective strategising and healing in Apulia, Italy.

Article: Egyptian Revolutionary Socialists. "Normalisation in both directions: Egyptian gas to Israel from import to export, Part 1 (translated from Arabic), November 22, 2023.

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Introduction 1.....
Who benefits? 4.....
Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9.....
 Sacrifice zones 9.....
 Borders 11.....
 Militarisation 14.....
 Policing 23.....
 Cheap labor 25.....
 Colonial debt 27.....
 Fascist rhetoric 30.....
Concluding remarks 33.....
Glossary 34.....
Endnotes 36.....

Book: Walia, Harsha. *Undoing Border Imperialism*. AK Press, 2013.



A military surveillance tower monitors the marshes separating Greece and Turkey near Alexandroupoli.

Article: Rawoot, Ilham. "Inside the Campaign to Stop the Largest Gas Projects in Africa." *Waging Nonviolence*, February 29, 2024.

Today, borders are a vast set of physical and social technologies which exist to preserve imperial power and keep wealth inside highly industrialised, energy consuming territories; the key consumers of fossil gas. Borders also act to control the lives and movements of people who are displaced as a result of the violence of imperial industries like gas. As activists Alessandra Moctezuma and Mike Davis write, “all borders are acts of violence inscribed in landscape”. At the same time, they force people into insecure, exploitative labour conditions that capitalism needs to reproduce itself. They also refer to practises of national citizenship (or exclusion from citizenship), detention, deportation, surveillance of migrant populations and other forms of social exclusion and containment which focus on controlling the lives of racialised people in the interests of capital. As such, borders are a key tool to manage who benefits from gas production and who loses: who is vulnerable to exploitative working conditions in the gas industry and who is not; what is allowed to pass across national borders (resources) and who is violently contained within or excluded from them.

WHO BEARS THE COST?

By 2050, up to 200 million people are likely to be forced from their homes due to climate disasters created, in part, by the continued expansion of fossil gas. Against this backdrop, the amount of money spent on border infrastructure and securitisation is exponentially increasing, particularly in the highest gas consuming countries.

One of the key ways in which gas is reliant on borders is through the direct displacement of people living close to gas infrastructure. In Mozambique, the ‘Mozambique LNG Project’, whose leading shareholder is TotalEnergies, included a ‘Resettlement Action Plan’ which led to the forced displacement of 2,446 people from their homes. Many of these people had to move over ten kilometres away from their farmland, to smaller plots of land which could not sustain them. This initially forced people into dependence on food aid from TotalEnergies. Eventually this aid ceased and many families were forced to live permanently in refugee camps or move across borders to Malawi or South Africa.

By prioritising gas in its energy policies, the EU indirectly funds the potential displacement of people living near gas developments, whilst worsening climate change, another key cause of displacement. At the same time, the EU is ramping up its external borders: outsourcing the support and housing of displaced people onto third-party nations. In 2024, the EU advanced its border externalisation strategy by signing a €7.4 billion cash-for-migration deal with Egypt. This deal funnelled cash to the Sisi government in exchange for Egypt acting as a border to Europe: containing people forced to flee the genocidal wars in Palestine and Sudan. At the same time, the agreement stepped up energy imports from

Egypt to the EU, a key customer for stolen Palestinian gas transported via Egyptian **LNG** infrastructure. As such, the EU extracts resources that flow freely across borders, whilst containing those fleeing genocides it financially and militarily supports. Borders are the tool to achieve this.

A decade of deals between Egypt and the EU has led to increased cooperation between Egyptian border forces and Frontex, the EU's border forces. As a consequence, the number of violent pullbacks from Egyptian authorities, and pushback from European border forces, has massively increased. Mass arrests, detentions, drownings, deportation and death are now routine in the Mediterranean sea. Without financial support of the EU, such aggressive bordering would be impossible. So we can see that while the population of Egypt rises to 110 billion, its economy crumbles and hatred against migrants rises - it is the European Union that benefits from better energy security and gas consumption. It is the Egyptian working class, and those fleeing genocide and settler colonial occupation that bear the cost.

Report: Border Violence
Monitoring Network. *Black
Book of Pushbacks*, 2022.....

WHO RESISTS AND WHO WE CAN TAKE ACTION WITH

→ **StopMozGas:** A campaign in Mozambique that fights to bring an end to the gas industry, currently focusing on the Cabo Delgado region in Northern Mozambique. Reach out to the 'Say No to Gas! In Mozambique' campaign and join the call for an independent international investigation into the alleged human rights violations associated with the Mozambique LNG Afungi premises. *Check out their [website](#) to read their call out for international allies and instructions on how to be in solidarity.*

→ **Propaganda:** organise with Lebanese and Syrian comrades to support those displaced within Lebanon. With the recent escalation in Syria, they are supporting a grassroots mutual aid network in Northern Lebanon for Syrian refugees fleeing the ongoing wave of sectarian massacres. The project is in collaboration with Lebanese Popular Rescue in Tripoli and the Lebanese Popular Rescue in Akkar. *Find out more through Propaganda instagram: [@propaganda.rm2](#).*

→ **No Name Kitchen:** an independent movement working to defend and support freedom of movement through mutual aid. Looking for volunteers across Bosnia, Spain, Italy, Serbia and Bulgaria to support people migrating along the Balkan, Mediterranean and Maghreb routes. *Find more resources on their Instagram [@no_name_kitchen](#).*

→ **Captain Support:** organises in solidarity with those accused of driving boats to Europe and connects them to local support networks and lawyers. This abolitionist group works to decriminalise so-called 'smugglers' and provide mutual aid where possible. *More resources on [@captain.support](#) on Instagram.*

Introduction 1
Who benefits? 4
Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9
Sacrifice zones 9
Borders 11
Militarisation 14
Policing 23
Cheap labor 25
Colonial debt 27
Fascist rhetoric 30
Concluding remarks 33
Glossary 34
Endnotes 36

3. MILITARISATION

Written by Afoa

Fossil fuel fields are often sites of contestation between countries as to who has the right to exploit them. Therefore their extraction requires a military apparatus to act as a deterrent or engage in warfare.

WHAT IS THE TOOL? MILITARY APPARATUS

The militarisation of land, sea and society is an important tool in the **extraction** of fossil fuels. Countries use their military capacity to secure access to resources, like fossil gas fields in the sea, and to prevent others - usually neighbouring countries - from doing the same. This often involves large-scale, organised and methodical violence against certain communities living nearby or other national armies. Indeed, this is often presented as a necessary strategy by politicians, to safeguard national interests and sovereignty over resources. However, the primary function of the military is to secure extraction and maintain **racial capitalism**, safeguarding the interests of private companies - making life more dangerous for marginalised communities on the ground in the process. This securitisation tool cannot be considered in isolation. Indeed, to secure fossil flows and develop necessary military capabilities, a few steps are required:

First, find the funding. States usually increase their arms budget by implementing welfare cuts and austerity policies. We witness this in the United Kingdom, where the Labour Prime Minister, Keir Starmer, simultaneously pledged to increase defence spending and cut welfare and disability benefits in 2025. To prepare for warfare the state works against welfare.

Second, build military alliances. States form blocks of geopolitical interests to share military resources and intelligence. Such alliances shift with geopolitical interests and often disregard international law. A clear example is recent military alliances between Israel, Cyprus and Greece that meant extensive cooperation on military training and arms transfers. This enables and normalises the settler colonial occupation and ongoing genocide in Palestine.

Third, fuel nationalist rhetoric. To justify increased militarisation and normalise its presence, discourses of national security and external threats must be constructed. Once a national population is homogenised as having the same interests, an 'enemy' is constructed that threatens those interests. As such the need for militarisation is created. Whipped up by the state, this rhetoric often leads to increased fascism, anti-immigration sentiment and in worse cases, pogroms. For example, in Cyprus

fossil gas and conflict with Türkiye over access to them, is used to fuel nationalist sentiment and justify militarisation.

WHO BEARS THE COST?

It is the working class and marginalised populations that bear the costs of militarisation and militarised extraction. For example, since 2010 ordinary Cypriots have witnessed how new gas discoveries led to increased militarisation of their seas and multiple national armies on their lands: Israeli Offence Forces (IOF), French navy, Italian navy and Turkish warships. *Why?* Within Cyprus there is a long-standing sovereignty dispute between the Island's two ethnic groups (Greek-speaking Cypriots and Turkish-speaking Cypriots), and more broadly Türkiye and Greece. As such, the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) sought ways to strengthen its hand against Türkiye, forming regional military alliances with Israel and enlisting support from the French and Italian navy to secure the corresponding national energy companies (Eni and Total-Energies) gas explorations. This meant that when Turkish warships often threatened the RoC's gas exploration in 'disputed waters' several armies were ready to defend. The French and Italian navies sent warships to confront the Turkish army in the sea, as Cypriots across the Island feared a cold conflict thawing. This shows how private energy companies, particularly in contested spaces, heavily rely on a state's capacity to exercise mass surveillance, control and violence to extract undisturbed. In Cyprus, this means the prospect of reunification and peace is further and further away.

Similarly, it is Palestinians that bear the cost of increased energy and military cooperation between Cyprus and Israel since 2010. Despite Cypriots being historically supportive of the Palestinian struggle, recent geopolitical alliances with Israel have shifted RoC foreign policy towards Israel, an alliance presented as necessary to confront Turkish aggression. Since then, Israel has sold military ships to RoC, been granted access to its airspace and civil airports, docked jet fuel ships in ports, exported Israel's Pegasus spyware to the EU and conducted joint military drills on land, sea and air. In conjunction, Israeli and RoC politicians discuss 'priority' energy deals on gas and electricity projects, creating further economic synergy with Israel. As the genocide in Palestine rages on, the rights, justice and life for Palestinians is sidelined in favour of economic deals with the settler colonial occupier. In Greek-speaking Cypriot society, many progressives have turned a blind-eye to gas exploration, and the consequential increasing militarisation, naively accepting the state narrative that fossil gas will bring the RoC energy sovereignty, economic strength and the Island reunification. Meanwhile, the opposite reality is true, as Turkish-speaking Cypriots are completely excluded from energy discussions and

Article: Atakton, Syspirosi,.....
One Island, Six Armies: Fighting Against Militarisation in Cyprus. June 27, 2017.



Abandoned houses in the.....
UN-administered buffer zone.....
running across Cyprus.....

Podcast: Radio AFOA, Pod-.....
cast in Greek on Spotify.

Introduction 1
Who benefits? 4
Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9
Sacrifice zones 9
Borders 11
Militarisation 14
Policing 23
Cheap labor 25
Colonial debt 27
Fascist rhetoric 30
Concluding remarks 33
Glossary 34
Endnotes 36

Report: Border Violence Monitoring Network. *The Cyprus Borderscape*. Investigation from March 10, 2017.

Online guide: Suspirosi Atakton. Οδγός για αναγνώριση αντίστασης συνείδησης στην κυπριακή δημοκρατία και εναλλακτική επεδροική υπηρεσία (English translation: Guide to Recognition of Conscientious Objection in the RoC and Alternative Reserve Service), March 2, 2021.

Blog post: Avli. *Can I Avoid the Army?* avli.org, 2022.

repression against activists fighting for environmental justice and Palestinian liberation escalates daily.

Beyond this another population who bears the cost of militarisation in the Eastern Mediterranean are those fleeing Syrian and Lebanese shores to reach the Republic of Cyprus, EU soil. The increased militarisation of gas and the sea, means an enhanced state capacity to surveil the oceans and the people trying to cross it. This leads to increased violent pushbacks, pullbacks and deaths at sea. Militarisation and nationalism make the lives of people on the move expendable as the hegemonic discourse frames them as a threat to national security.

WHO RESISTS AND WHO WE CAN TAKE ACTION WITH

→ **Conscientious Objectors:** in the Republic of Cyprus, military service is mandatory for all male citizens continuing until 50 years of age. Many demilitarisation activists become ‘conscientious objectors’, who refuse to be part of any army either in the North or South of Cyprus. *Follow and support groups like @kibrs-vicdaniret, and @far.right.watch.cy on Instagram for more information on how to work in solidarity to demilitarise Cyprus.*

→ **The movement for a unified Cyprus:** the political struggle against the militarisation of the land and sea is felt and organised by people across the north and south of the Island. Activists and communities across the divide work towards the reunification of Cyprus without military intervention. *Follow and support groups such as @hade.cyp and @afoa.cy (stands for Autonomous, Feminism, Ecology, Anti-capitalism) to find out more.*

→ **No Harbour for Genocide:** a Palestinian-led coalition of grassroots groups across the Mediterranean trade routes, organising to resist ships carrying military cargo and fuel for the Zionist entity. Organised with dockworkers, transport unions and local port authorities the coalition aims to make it impossible for ships carrying military or energy cargo to dock in ports across Spain, Cyprus, Greece, Italy and more. AFOA is part of this coalition.

→ **Pro-Palestinian Movement:** many groups on the Island organise in solidarity with Palestine to resist the Republic’s conflation of Cypriot and Israeli interests. *These groups include @genocide.free.cy, and United For Palestine across Nicosia, Limassol, Larnaca and Paphos.*

→ **Addameer:** A legal support organisation for Palestinian political prisoners held in Israeli and Palestinian prisons. The group documents their cases and advocates for their rights internationally through free legal aid to prisoners. They work to end torture and violation of prisoners rights through legal procedures and solidarity campaigns. *Information on how to support them via their Instagram @addameer_pal.*



Aftermath of the 2023 forest fires near Alexandroupoli, Greece, which killed an unconfirmed number of migrants hiding from police, the military, and fascist mobs. Local anti-fascist groups and collectives organised efforts to extinguish the fire.



The ecologically and culturally rich mountains of Epirus are threatened by depopulation, climate change, and fossil fuel extraction. Groups such as Save Epirus and Epirus Against Oil and Gas resist drilling plans and continue nurturing their connection to the land and musical traditions.



The Elpedison Thessaloniki Power Plant operating at night. The plant primarily runs on fossil gas and is located near a planned LNG terminal.



Attendees of the 2023 European Gas Conference in Vienna gather for a high-end gala dinner. Shortly after this picture was taken, activists disrupted the event.



The Convocatoria Ecologista Taranto gathers in 2023 for collective strategising and healing in Apulia, Italy. Local communities and activists continue working to hold Ex-ILVA, Europe's largest steel plant, accountable for the countless harms it has caused over the decades.



A military surveillance tower monitors the marshes separating Greece and Turkey near Alexandroupoli. The national park has become increasingly militarised as both countries escalate tensions and weaponise migrant flows along the border.



Abandoned houses in the UN-administered buffer zone running across Cyprus. Due to minimal human activity, the area has become a place of ecological growth.



A security camera surveils the arrival terminal of the TAP pipeline. The NoTAP movement has resisted this fossil gas infrastructure for years and, despite heavy legal and police repression, continues to fight the company in court.



Samu, a Sardinian activist and cooperative farmer, waits for the rain to pass in an abandoned military training ground. The tower he stands in bears a large graffiti tag from the anti-militarisation group AFORAS.



A bank targeted during the 2019 anti-government protests in Tripoli, Lebanon. Al-Nour Square was central to the nationwide uprising against corruption, resource mismanagement, and economic injustice.



Riot police gear up against an anti-fascist march protesting the political murders of activists in Thessaloniki, Greece.



Despite increasing surveillance and repression, militant anti-fascist networks remain strong across the country.

4. POLICING

Where there are new pipelines, there will be police.

WHAT IS THE TOOL?

Gas and police repression go hand in hand. This is because gas production and transportation are incredibly destructive, often permanently damaging ecological life. What community passively stands by while their water sources are polluted, soils degraded and homes made unlivable? Where there is gas development, there will be resistance. Therefore, gas projects are usually enforced by private and state funded policing bodies, which themselves are justified through the criminalisation of people who resist.

The policing of resource **extraction** has its roots in European colonial occupations. It was created as a set of techniques used to repress Indigenous resistance and facilitate the domination of resource rich regions. Today, policing remains a crucial tool in fulfilling the interests of imperial states and corporations, including by repressing or preventing resistance to extractive energy and mining projects. Race remains crucial to the policing of extractive projects, as it did during the height of the European empire, because it provides a logic through which certain people or communities can be framed as 'suspicious', 'disobedient' or 'criminal'. This justifies their repression and imprisonment as protective of broader, public interest, concealing the mandate of the police: to serve in the interest of capitalist elites.

Policing is any activity used to discipline, divide, contain, and terrorise the working class, to encourage behaviour that complies with capitalist interests. Policing techniques used around gas expansion include counterinsurgency (actions taken to repress resistance without hard force), digital surveillance, racial profiling, information gathering and monitoring of activists and community members living near infrastructure or development sites, the arrest and imprisonment of non-violent protesters, the use of 'riot control measures' like tear gas, grenades, physical constraint, batons and even bullets against local people, and others who resist.

WHO BEARS THE COST?

As new pipelines sprawl to facilitate a booming gas industry, more and more communities are under attack from violent policing. In 2011, in Menedugno, a town in South-East Italy, the mega Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP, part of the Southern European Gas Corridor which stretches from Azerbaijan to Italy) tried to "buy the local population", a comrade told us, in a typical 'corporate counterinsurgency' approach which promised jobs and social development to locals. When it became clear that this attempt

Report: London Mining Network. *Martial Mining, Resisting Extractivism and War Together. Report*, November 2020.

Blog intervention: Critical Resistance. *On Policing*. January 2009.

Book: Fremeaux, Isabelle, and Jay Jordan. *We Are Nature Defending Itself: Entangling Art, Activism and Autonomous Zones*. Pluto Press. Nov 2021.



A security camera surveils the arrival terminal of the TAP pipeline.

Introduction 1
Who benefits? 4
Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9
Sacrifice zones 9
Borders 11
Militarisation 14
Policing 23
Cheap labor 25
Colonial debt 27
Fascist rhetoric 30
Concluding remarks 33
Glossary 34
Endnotes 36

to manipulate locals into accepting the pipeline had failed, the police annexed the local town, preventing people coming in and out, and using batons on the 'NoTAP' protesters who occupied the olive groves threatened by the project. The brutality used against the NoTAP movement was then legitimised by the courts, who had brought over 200 people to trial by 2021, finding over 67 people guilty of various criminal and civil charges. The effect was to delegitimize the movement's demands whilst justifying the incredible violence employed by the police.

As the 'dash for gas' intensifies, so does the use of violent policing techniques used to facilitate it. At the other end of the Southern Gas Corridor in Azerbaijan, several prominent researchers have been imprisoned or held under house arrest for their critique of the Azerbaijani oil and gas sector, for which the EU is a primary customer. This follows a global trend: there are currently over 1 million political prisoners worldwide, with an increasing number of these being land defenders and climate activists.

WHO RESISTS AND WHO WE CAN TAKE ACTION WITH

→ **Ararat collective:** founded by Armenians in Berlin following the 44-day war against Artsakh by Azerbaijan, which together with its Turkish and Islamist allies killed over 4,000 Armenians and ethnically cleansed over 70,000 in the Fall of 2020. They organise against Turkish fascist organizations such as the Grey Wolves - in Germany - and against German collaboration with the genocidal state, Turkey. *Follow and support [@ararat_berlin](#).*

→ **Armenian Organised Resistance:** Armenian activists united against injustice. *Please follow their instagram [@armorco-alition](#), and find their [linktree](#) with resources for education, action and urgent donations.*

→ **Political prisoners in Azerbaijan:** this includes political activist and scholar Gubad Ibadoghlu who remains unlawfully detained. He is a professor at LSE in London, and researches the Azerbaijan oil and gas sectors. In 2023 he was arrested on charges of fraud under dubious claims. His daughter ([@zhala_bauramova](#)) is a fierce advocate on his behalf and seeks support from the UK to demand Ibadoghlu's immediate release.

→ **Alberta Indigenous Resistance:** In Alberta, Indigenous Peoples (including Gwich'in, Dene, Cree and Innu communities) have been [resisting oil and gas developments](#) on their lands for over 35 years. Compared to settler activists in Turtle Island, Indigenous land defenders are subject to incredible levels of police brutality, including mass arrest, mass imprisonments and framing of their resistance as part of the 'war on terror'. Indigenous women and Two-Spirit people represent 50% of all female maximum-security inmates in Canadian prisons, despite making up 4% of the

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Book: Hall, Stuart, et al. *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order*. Macmillan Education UK, 1978.

Academic article: Hickel, Jason, et al. "Unequal Exchange of Labour in the World Economy." *Nature Communications*, 2024.

Academic article: Appel, Hannah. "Race Makes Markets: Subcontracting in the Transnational Oil Industry." Blog, Social Science Research Council, December 18, 2018.

25

Introduction 1
Who benefits? 4
Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9
Sacrifice zones 9
Borders 11
Militarisation 14
Policing 23
Cheap labor 25
Colonial debt 27
Fascist rhetoric 30
Concluding remarks 33
Glossary 34
Endnotes 36



Samu, a Sardinian activist and cooperative farmer, waits for the rain to pass in an abandoned military training ground.

WHO BEARS THE COST?

Working in gas infrastructural construction is incredibly high-risk. In the case of United Arab Emirates’ (UAE) ADNOC’s Lower Zakum development project, a new \$548 million offshore gas pipeline near Abu Dhabi, migrant workers, who make up 88% of UAE’s entire workforce, have reported fires, equipment-related injuries, falling overboard, and inhaling poisonous gas as everyday hazards. These fatal risks are compounded by ADNOC’s use of third party contractors to supply most of their workers. In the context of the UAE, this means ADNOC can exploit the **Kafala sponsor-ship** system which allows national business owners to manage migrant employees’ working visas, wages and working conditions. This means if workers protest their conditions they are immediately deported, and their passports are often held by their employers. This opens the door for wage exploitation, inhumane working hours and dangerous conditions whilst eradicating the worker’s ability to advocate for their labour rights, as their visa security is completely in the hands of their boss.

In another geography the same tool is weaponised. In 2021, oil and gas sector workers for Kavala Oil, Greece, owned by Energean, took industrial action in response to job cuts and terrible working conditions. A spokesperson told the World Socialist Web Site “we are forced to work 12-hour days nonstop and are now physically and mentally exhausted”. In response to the strike, the police used stun grenades against striking workers, denying the legitimacy of their claims through direct repression. There could be no longer testament to the importance of cheap labour to the gas industry, than the violence used on workers when they try to better their conditions.

WHO RESISTS AND WHO WE CAN TAKE ACTION WITH

→ **Sintracarbón (Columbian mining union):** Colombian coal accounted for more than 60 percent of all coal supplied to Israel in 2023. The Sintracarbón coal mining trade union released a statement calling on the Colombian government to suspend coal shipments to Israel. Their organising efforts sparked a larger transnational campaign and coalition, spanning Indigenous Afro-descendant Columbians, Palestinian organisations, activists to disrupt the Glencore AGM, Glencore offices - a company mining coal in Columbia for Israel - and demand corporate and government accountability for their complicity with genocide. The transnational pressure led to Columbia banning coal exports to Israel, and a long-lasting transnational alliance between activists still persisting today. Get involved in future actions through [Resist Glencore](#) and the [Global Energy Embargo for Palestine](#).

→ **Workers in Palestine:** a Palestinian group organising international dockworkers, transport workers and labour activists to disrupt the production and transport of arms to Israel. They

Gas and Racial Capitalism

have supported mobilisations across Sweden, UK, Belgium, Greece, Genoa and Barcelona to take up the call from Palestinian Trade Unions. *Check out their [website](#) to understand 'Who Arms Israel' and put into action their 'step-by-step' guide to labour and port organising, or follow them on Instagram [@workersinpalestine](#).*

→ **Save Epirus and Epirus Against Oil and Gas:** created by a group of residents in Epirus in an attempt to protect their environment, water and quality of life from oil and gas exploration across 7 municipalities in the region. The communities use their strong sense of culture and identity to build resistance upon, using the traditional music and dance of Epirus, Ipirotika, to bind the community together and perform direct action. The company set to exploit the lands is Energean, the same company responsible for the repression of workers at Kavala Oil (see above). *Support and follow them via their Instagram [@save_epirus](#) and [@epirus_against_oil_and_gas](#).*

→ **International Transport Federation (ITF):** A democratic, affiliate-led global union federation. They are a platform uniting 16.5 million transport workers worldwide to ensure their voices are heard. They fight for transport workers rights and attempt to shift the power from capital to workers. Members played a key role in publicly opposing the South African Apartheid regime and the ongoing genocide in Palestine, with ITF Africa calling on unions to support members refusing to handle Israeli goods. They also fight for the rights of seafarers, who are historically denied safe working conditions or adequate labour rights. For example, a recent report revealed that 26% of seafarers are getting no shore leave at all.

→ **Join a union!** [United Voices of the World](#), [IWGB UK](#), [FGTB Belgium](#), [Berlin Tech Workers Coalition](#).

.....space for your thoughts

Book: Allinson, Ian. *Workers... Can Win: A Guide to Organising at Work*. London: Pluto Press, 2022.

Film (146 min): Grimonprez, Johan. *Soundtrack to a Coup d'Etat*. Belgium, France, Netherlands, 2025.

6. COLONIAL DEBT

Written in collaboration with Debt for Climate

Debt is used as an argument to push for extractive projects by promising those projects will help repay the debt that is owed. In reality, these projects deepen colonial export dependencies.

WHAT IS THE TOOL? COLONIAL DEBT.

Debt functions as a key tool of imperial control over resources and energy systems - preserving a global transfer of wealth from former colonised places to centres of imperial power. The current debt crisis in many so-called Global South countries is a structural outcome of a vastly unequal global economy established during European colonialism. During this time, the economies of occupied lands were shaped around extraction, to fuel Europe's industrialisation. Many colonised places were

Introduction 1
Who benefits? 4
Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9
 Sacrifice zones 9
 Borders 11
 Militarisation 14
 Policing 23
 Cheap labor 25
 Colonial debt 27
 Fascist rhetoric 30
Concluding remarks 33
Glossary 34
Endnotes 36

made dependent on exporting resources such as raw materials including fossil gas. This “commodity dependency trap” lives on, now driven by fossil fuels and minerals and sustained by financial institutions.

Compounding this legacy, many nations inherited the debts of their colonisers. The Democratic Republic of Congo, for instance, was forced to take on Belgium’s debt at the World Bank. This same debt was used by Belgian colonisers to force imported goods from Belgium onto DR Congo, cementing import dependencies that persist today. Similarly, Haiti was coerced into paying 150 million gold francs to its coloniser, France, to “compensate” for the loss of income from slavery. Now known as the “greatest heist in history”, it took 122 years to repay, and embedded a vicious cycle of debt for Haiti.

Other newly independent countries were left with extractive industries and import dependencies. Their only option was to accept loans from their former colonisers and their financial institutions. Global trade rules – set by the former imperial powers – further restricted the sovereignty of the postcolonial states, which meant that when commodity prices collapsed in the 1980s, they were driven into deeper debt. As such, the majority of the Global South’s debt is illegitimate: it was imposed by colonial powers or financial institutions who weaponised the unequal economic legacies of colonialism to continue plundering less wealthy countries.

Postcolonial debts were further worsened by the 1980s financial crisis. Instead of cancelling these debts, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) stepped in to lend money to Global South countries, so that the biggest banks could keep receiving debt payments. Through “structural adjustment programmes” (SAP), they added conditions to their loans – typically harsh economic reforms pushing neoliberalism and extractivism. These included:

- a. Liberalisation:** Opening markets to foreign capital, removing protections for local industries.
- b. Deregulation:** Weakening environmental protection and labor rights.
- c. Austerity:** Cutting social spending, imposing regressive taxes.
- d. Privatisation:** Selling public assets - e.g. in the oil and gas sector - to repay debts. This in particular created the pathway for multinational companies to become providers of key services including energy supply.

SAPs cemented a global economic order in which Global South economies remain dependent on extractive industries – especially fossil fuels – to attract foreign investment and generate revenue in the external currencies required (mostly dollars) for debt repayments. Debt, then, drives continued fossil fuel extraction – despite the enormous ecological and social costs.

Report: Debt Justice. “The Debt-Fossil Fuel Trap: Why Debt Is a Barrier to Fossil Fuel Phase-Out and What We Can Do About It.” Report, July 2023.

WHO BEARS THE COST?

Today, [Global South](#) countries spend five times more repaying debt than addressing the climate crisis, and 3.3 billion people live in countries that spend more on debt than education or health. Repaying debts to save the banks has been prioritised, at the expense of the basic needs of billions of people.

In April 2025, [Argentina signed a new agreement](#) with the IMF and World Bank. Despite widespread strikes against President Milei's austerity measures, the IMF praised the Milei government's "impressive progress". Historically, the IMF has promoted fracking in the Vaca Muerta oil and gas fields - linking fossil fuel extraction directly to debt repayment strategies.

In Namibia, the Hyphen green hydrogen mega project - led by German and British [firms](#) - exemplifies how "green" industrialisation relies on colonial debt dynamics. With a 68.9% debt-to-GDP ratio in 2022, Namibia must borrow in order to fund its desired 24% stake in Hyphen. This increases debt risk and creates a purchasing structure that benefits European firms. Furthermore, developments will geographically overlap with sites of the 1904-1908 Herero and Nama genocide, including [Shark Island](#) - the site of the first German concentration camp - and mass graves in the national park where construction is planned. Germany still needs to pay appropriate reparations to the harmed communities for said genocide, while it is backing Hyphen, that is bypassing public consultation and will deepen Namibia's debt, all for the benefit of the European energy transition.



A bank targeted during the 2019 anti-government protests in Tripoli, Lebanon.

Documentary (36 min): Forensic Architecture. *German Colonial Genocide in Namibia: Shark Island*. June 28, 2024.

Book if you want to learn more about green colonialism: Hamouchene, Hamza, and Katie Sandwell, eds. *Dismantling Green Colonialism: Energy and Climate Justice in the Arab Region*. London: Pluto Press, 2023.

WHO RESISTS AND WHO WE CAN TAKE ACTION WITH:

→ **Internationalist Riots against the IMF and World Bank:** occurred across the so-called Global South in the 1980s and continue today. The most prominent contemporary anti-debt uprisings include comrades in [Kenya](#), [Sri Lanka](#) and [Argentina](#). There, the coalitions to struggle against extractivism, land theft and destruction of livelihoods caused by debt cycles and the extractivist projects they necessitate are led by workers, feminists, indigenous communities and farmers.

→ **So-called Global South governments:** At the Continental Dialogue on Foreign Debt Conference (1985), Fidel Castro called for a united debt default - a refusal to repay colonial debt. The call was echoed by Thomas Sankara in Burkina Faso "(those who lend us money are those who colonised us)" and materially implemented by Mexico and Ecuador. [Ecuador](#) declared most of its debts illegitimate in a debt audit in 2008 and stated it would not seek further IMF funding, and [Mexico](#) stopped part of its debt payments on two occasions.

→ **Ovaherero Traditional Authority and Nama Traditional Leader Associations:** Representatives of the Ovaherero and Nama communities in Namibia that are seeking justice for the atrocities committed during the genocide of 1904-08 and to keep

Introduction 1
Who benefits? 4
Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9
Sacrifice zones 9
Borders 11
Militarisation 14
Policing 23
Cheap labor 25
Colonial debt 27
Fascist rhetoric 30
Concluding remarks 33
Glossary 34
Endnotes 36

its memory alive. Due to the lack of direct involvement of the affected communities and the lack of transparency, they reject both the joint declaration of the Namibian and German governments on reparations for the genocide as well as the Hyphen green hydrogen project.

→ **Debt for Climate:** a grassroots movement calling for unconditional debt cancellation for the Global South, with chapters across the globe including Germany and the UK. Follow them [@debt-forclimate](#) on Instagram.

→ **Global Alliance for Tax Justice:** a Global South-led coalition in the tax justice movement. The alliance was formed to fight national tax systems across Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe - and beyond - that facilitate tax abuse and deepen inequalities. They work for progressive and redistributive tax systems globally, to ensure further public funding for essential services and human rights.

Podcast: "How Fascism Works." *Upstream Podcast*, 2025. Wherever you get your podcasts.

Essay: Yousfi, Louisa. *In Defence of Barbarism: Non-Whites Against the Empire*. London: Verso Books, 2025.

7. FASCIST RHETORIC

Fascist rhetoric uses narratives of fear and insecurity to justify the denial of climate change and the expansion of fossil fuels.

WHAT IS THE TOOL? FASCIST RHETORIC.

Fascist rhetoric emerges in moments of crisis. It thrives under conditions of economic and political instability, feeding narratives of fear and perceived threats to ‘the nation’ in order to justify fascism’s nationalistic and militaristic objectives. These perceived threats to the ‘white nation’, are framed in the racialised migrant trying to cross the border, the disabled person needing welfare benefits, the trans and queer people challenging nuclear family units, or the leftist activist performing direct action in your local area. These characters are used as cover to explain away the systemic problems of racial capitalism, be it rising inequality, the ecological crisis, wars and genocides, unemployment, the rising cost of living or energy insecurity. As such, energy becomes incorporated in this wider nationalist project that leans on increasing militarisation, hardening borders and expanding police powers to make working class people feel ‘secure’ in times of insecurity.

How does energy and fossil fuel infrastructure fit into this? The rise of fascism and fascist sentiments create a fertile ground for unlimited fossil fuel expansion. A clear example is the normalisation of climate denialism, serving fossil fuel interests. Historically seeded by fossil fuel corporations to hide their climate impacts and continue business as usual, climate denialism has become a corner-

stone in far-right discourse. Yet, as Andreas Malm and the Zetkin Collective note, this “denial machine” is backed by fossil capital - think tanks, media and billionaire networks that work to paint fossil fuels as beneficial, necessary, and its critics as dangerous, unpatriotic lunatics. In this narrative, fossil fuel companies are ‘the nation’s heroes’ working to secure energy access, and leftist movements are ignorant attention-seekers who threaten the warm comfortable blanket that further gas expansion offers.

This narrative is not new or unfamiliar, but progressively mainstream in our media and political discourse. It is part of the same fascist fight against ‘wokeness’ that demonises those fleeing war or people transitioning, but in the energy context it works for and with capitalism to justify unlimited fossil growth - as long as the benefits are kept for the white supremacist nation. A blatant example is how the Trump administration unpaused US LNG expansion whilst simultaneously imposing harsh tariffs and violent border practices. The objective was to “unleash American energy dominance” on his first day in office, enabling widespread extraction for the purpose of white American citizens.

Therefore, we see how fascist rhetoric is a tool for fossil fuel projects legitimising their uncontrolled expansion and providing the militarised language of national ‘security’ and ‘insecurity’ to justify it. Indeed, the particular character of fascism - and how it works to support fossil fuel expansion - will differ depending on the context. But the rule remains that an intensified political environment that supports nationalism, police repression, tougher borders and military expansion will never fail to benefit fossil gas projects and their white supremacist, colonial logics.

WHO BEARS THE COST?

Everyone - fascism is fucked up!

Fascist rhetoric makes each tool of racial capitalism we have described more intense, more violent and more legitimate. It ideologically divides communities on the frontlines of extractivism, making it harder to resist gas projects. It undermines and bashes climate activism, making it harder to fight for a justice-led energy transition. It pumps money into military expansion and police powers, creating a more violent context to exist and resist within. It hardens nation-state borders, detaining more people that are fleeing for safety and murdering more people with weapons abroad. It depletes our resources and our communities, materially and emotionally.

The Greek port city, Alexandroupoli, is a clear example - home to a new LNG terminal and NATO base. A city on the border with Turkey, Alexandroupoli holds an important place in the Greek imaginary of ‘nation’ and in its struggles against the historic ‘enemy’, Turkey.

Book: Malm, Andreas, and the Zetkin Collective. *White Skin, Black Fuel: On the Danger of Fossil Fascism*. London: Verso Books, 2021.

Book: Toscano, Alberto. *Late Fascism: Race, Capitalism and the Politics of Crisis*. London: Verso Books, 2023.

Introduction 1
Who benefits? 4
Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9
Sacrifice zones 9
Borders 11
Militarisation 14
Policing 23
Cheap labor 25
Colonial debt 27
Fascist rhetoric 30
Concluding remarks 33
Glossary 34
Endnotes 36



Riot police gear up against an anti-fascist march protesting the political murders of activists in Thessaloniki, Greece.

Within this national imaginary, NATO bases and US army presence become a way to protect Alexandroupoli, and Greece at large, from Turkey. Likewise, LNG expansion and building Greece as an ‘energy hub’ for European energy security, becomes a way to earn the support of EU leaders who in turn will help pull Greece out of economic decline and provide military support if needed. This nationalist narrative, constructed around fossil gas projects and expansion provides a fertile ground for fascist rhetoric to grow. Those who oppose NATO or LNG are immediately constructed as threats to national security and economic prosperity. As a result, it is local anti-militarisation assemblies and climate activists who bear the cost, regularly and violently confronted by local fascists who understand their fight against LNG and for migrant justice as a dangerous fight against the Greek nation that must be stopped.

Who else bears the cost at the intersection of fascism and energy? Within borders, access to energy is shaped by systems of colonial oppression including gender, race and disability. Under capitalism, it is marginalised communities who experience the worst effects of the cost of living and energy crisis. The rise of fascism intensifies this reality, escalating the violence used to uphold these systems. As a result, it is disabled, trans people, illegal migrants, Black and Brown communities, single mothers, and carers who are consistently deemed unworthy of safe, renewable and affordable access to energy. Portrayed as an internal threat, they are placed at the forefront of these crises - and pay the highest price, as fascism reinforces and legitimizes existing structural injustices.

WHO RESISTS AND WHO WE CAN TAKE ACTION WITH:

- **Migrantifa:** A revolutionary network of migrant justice and antifascist groups that formed in the aftermath of the fascist terrorist attacks of Hanau on 19 February 2020 and resists structural racism and fascism in Germany. [Learn more about their organising on their website or Instagram @migrantifa_berlin.](#)
- **Far Right Watch Cyprus:** fights against far right and the militarisation of the land and sea, towards the reunification of Cyprus without military intervention. [Learn more @far.right.watch.cy on Instagram.](#)
- **London Anti-Fascist Assembly and Glasgow Anti-Fascist Alliance:** community alliances organising direct actions against fascist mobilisations in the UK.
- **Groups in Ukraine and the diaspora:** To learn more about Russian imperialism, its war of aggression on Ukraine, and the links between its fascist war economy and gas, follow groups such as [@Queers_Again_Kremlin](#), [@resist_ua](#) or [@beda_media](#) on Instagram.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Across global movements for justice, we are striving for a world without police, prisons, borders or militaries. We are fighting to end labour exploitation and dangerous working conditions. We are resisting imperialist expansion to end genocide, settler occupation and bring about ecological justice for all. Yet, without understanding the energy systems, including gas, that fuel and depend upon mechanisms of **racial capitalism**, we will miss a crucial piece of the puzzle.

What we hope you take away from reading this pamphlet is that the struggle to resist gas **imperialism** can only ever be an intersectional one: as gas, like all industrial energy markets, rely on racist control and violence, occupation, the suppression of class power and the occupation of lands to exist. We hope you find the resources mentioned and activist networks highlighted, useful tools, to guide your future solidarity and connection building, towards our fundamentally shared struggle.

We also hope that you go away with a richer understanding of gas as a particularly important site for anti-imperialist solidarity and struggle, as the fastest expanding fossil fuel market, and the subject of highly successful **greenwashing** which has exempted it from tougher climate regulations imposed on coal and oil. Saying that, we strongly encourage you to see this analysis of gas as one that will apply to other areas of industrial energy production too, both fossil fuels and renewables that likewise weaponise racist violence and class exploitation to profit. We encourage you to take what you like from this work, reshape what you don't, and use it to inform an analysis of industrial energy production rooted in the racial capitalist technologies that underpin it. Thank you for reading!

With solidarity and love,
WSG

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Introduction 1
Who benefits? 4
Mechanisms of racial imperialism 9
Sacrifice zones 9
Borders 11
Militarisation 14
Policing 23
Cheap labor 25
Colonial debt 27
Fascist rhetoric 30
Concluding remarks 33
Glossary 34
Endnotes 36

GLOSSARY

Here are some key terms that have guided our understanding of the Gas Industrial Complex - if you think something is missing, let us know! They have been highlighted in the above text.

Commodity:

A raw material that can be traded, bought, or sold.

Extractivism/ extraction:

Process of removing raw materials from the earth e.g. metals, minerals, forest products, and fossil fuels, to be sold for export with minimal processing. Usually the profiteers live far from sites of extraction, whereas local communities - usually racialised and working class - bear the cost.

(Fossil) Fascism:

Term coined by Andreas Malm and the Zetkin Collective to describe political activities designed to maintain and benefit the fossil fuel industry. This takes place via the criminalisation of fossil fuel critics such as climate activists, the creation of legal or political benefits for

fossil fuel companies, militarised protection of fossil infrastructure, or promotion of climate misinformation or denial.

Greenwashing:

Use of sustainable branding by corporations to make a commodity appear more ecologically sound than it actually is. Greenwashing also makes a commodity or corporation appear more ethical, distracting from the social injustices at the heart of extractivist industries.

Global South and Global North - and why we say 'so-called':

These terms are often used to describe global inequalities rooted in colonialism. The so-called Global South refers to regions in Africa, Asia, and Abya Yala (indigenous

term referring to the continent of South America) that continue to experience forms of colonialism of states in Europe, North America, and, increasingly, China and Russia. We use 'so-called' to question the implied hierarchy of the terms and to highlight how these terms oversimplify complex realities by flattening an analysis of global wealth distribution into a binary transfer from the colonised to the coloniser. For example, they exclude the existence of communities in the so-called Global North, who experience forms of colonialism and economic marginalisation. They likewise overlook the ways in which wealth can be hoarded and accumulated by elites in less wealthy places too, often in

collaboration with imperial powers. The political neutrality of the term dilutes the diverse histories of colonialism and imperialism that shape the global economy today. All this said, broadly speaking, a colonial divide does still remain: based on a transfer of wealth from countries who were occupied, to those who colonised. In the absence of a term addressing the above critique, we decided to use it critically, whilst encouraging a less reductive view of global wealth distribution.

Imperialism:

The practice of states expanding their power by controlling land and resources, gaining political and cultural leverage or securing economic influence in other states. It's a capitalist ideology

that functions openly, e.g. through military violence, and hidden, e.g. through the influence of multinational corporations. Imperialism also describes the practice of extending state power through global industrial supply chains including gas.

Kafala System:

See "*Cheap Labour*" for a definition.

LNG: Short for 'Liquefied Natural Gas' which is fossil gas cooled into liquid to make it easier to transport. It is shipped in tankers and then 're-gasified' again at terminals.

Militarisation:

Increased military presence in an area. For example, increased military spending on weapons, infrastructure or personnel, arms lobbies in political spaces,

cultural influence through public military parades or uniforms in schools.

(Neo)Colonialism:

Colonialism is a violent invasion and takeover by one state over another, exploiting local resources, land and people. Colonialism was justified by colonisers through a white supremacist logic - that white people were racially superior to other people. This racist power structure lives on in the economic, political and cultural legacies of colonialism, preserving the power of former empires. The 'tools' explored in this pamphlet are some of the key ways 'neocolonialism' takes place.

Racial capitalism:

See "*Introduction*" for a definition.

Racialisation: See "*Sacrifice Zones*" - *What is the tool?* for a definition.

Seven Sisters:

the name given to Western oil companies dominating the global industry until the 1970s, by Eni's founder, Enrico Mattei.

Gas and Racial Capitalism

