## **Tackling energy**

The struggle against the construction of the Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP) through Greece - Albania - Italy



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## On the other side

Against the TAP natural gas pipeline and its supporters

This is a dossier that intends to incite to struggle. This is the starting point, which the few readers it will find, will always need to bear in mind. The realization of this pamphlet intends *exclusively* to stimulate an opposition and a struggle aimed at fighting against yet another hazardous project that is imposed, with impunity, over our heads.

Another important aspect is that we do not claim to be *neutral*; we therefore do not aspire to be *impartial* nor to provide *objective* indications and information. On the contrary, these pages are absolutely *biased*, desired and carried out by a few individuals who, faced with the imposed construction of a natural gas pipeline destined to arrive to the territory they inhabit, took the other side, in opposition to those whose interest lies in the completion of this endeavour: be it a joint-venture of multinational businesses which responds to the name of TAP (Trans Adriatic Pipeline) or the political parties who support the necessity of such a project; be it the people in flesh and blood who intend to golden the pill – such as university professors, journalists, experts and entrepreneurs - or the abstract "superior interests" of each single person, such as the energy needs of the entire European Union. And if we claim our absolute bias with pride, it is equally necessary to immediately shed light on the fact that, whoever acts in the opposite direction than ours, wielding the flag of objectivity, impartiality and the democratic nature of one's own ideas, is attempting to conceal their own interests, which are the interests of transnational capitalism and of a globalized economy, which cannot coincide with those of common people, because they are finalized to the profit of the few at the expense of the many. These are interests that, in the name of accumulation and control of new sources of energy around the world, leave in their wake a trail of blood, exploitation, submission and repression. It is undeniable that these interests are the reason the vast majority of present-day wars are fought, whether these are evident - with military intervention disguised as "humanitarian missions" or "international police operations" - or inconspicuous, guaranteeing the offensive States involved areas of political and geographical influence.

#### Puglia: access road for the accumulation of energetic resources

After having found ourselves discussing the project of the pipeline TAP and the proposed methods to attempt to contrast its realization, we asked ourselves - among other things - why does Puglia finds itself being used as an access passage for the accumulation of energy sources. This is a question that anyone who would have the good sense of looking around should ask themselves, simply by noticing the huge fields of solar panels which have taken the place of farmed fields and of the wind turbines which have mutated the horizon and our way of looking at things, thus distorting the social relationship which exists between our senses and the way of perceiving the surrounding environment. The geographical position of the region has undoubtedly contributed to the creation of these conditions, just as it has occurred elsewhere. For example all the southern regions have been colonized by photovoltaics, for obvious reasons, such as the fact that the days and the quantity of sun possible to exploit are greater than in other places in Italy. But that's not all. Puglia, like Sicily, are regions that occupy a prominent position on the European chessboard, finding themselves on the periphery, thus on the cusp of new markets - energy ones and not - and towards areas of the world not yet "pacified" according to western parameters. The appropriation and exploitation of their energy resources is a good way to impose one's hegemony. It is not a coincidence that pipelines arriving in Sicily are coming from north Africa and that in Puglia there is the plan to build an other one – the TAP – landing from the Caspian Sea and coming from an ex Soviet republic. That is not all, because TAP is only one of the pipelines which could arrive in Puglia, with a new one already being planned for Otranto (IGI Poseidon, also arriving from the Caspian Sea) and another one coming from Israel, called East Med. These are only for now.

Another good reason to bet on Puglia is certainly also the economic blackmail which in the poor south is for many a good incentive. To sell off one's land for a lease of 20 years, for example, rendering it sterile and earning a tiny fraction compared to the profits of those who will manage it, is a scruple that doesn't seem to keep most awake at night. Since the installation of the panels is primarily the labour of enslaved immigrants often not paid, as has been painfully ascertained over the years, and since the other positions are almost exclusively tied to the surveillance of the plants outsourced to security companies (and sometimes also to their theft, but this is not really covered by "official statistics"...), the entrepreneurs have cunningly understood that economic gain was a point of pressure. The ex-president of Confindustria\*, Marcegaglia, for example, has established a solar panel factory in Taranto, just as the Danish multinational Vestas did for wind turbines, but now, some years later, with the shutting down of these factories, the mask of the employment blackmail is definitively being torn down. TAP is playing, paradoxically, exactly the same card to gain acceptance, talking about an unspecified number of new jobs to offer to local companies and people, both in the pipeline's construction phase and in the future management of the power station where the gas will be depressurized. Besides the intentional vagueness of the data given by TAP in regards to the number of hypothetical jobs, it is not made explicit that to accomplish and manage such an endeavour, it is a large number of highly specialized professional positions that are required, and certainly not positions that could be occupied by a large number of the average unemployed. It comes down to individuals who are certainly not effected by unemployment and economic crisis, but whose academic path, specialization and social role, impose a *technicalization of life*, which makes us increasingly dominated by the few who hold this knowledge, and by the idea of *progress* and *development* which they intrinsically bear.

Another bait to dupe the fools is the argument of potential economic saving which would result in a lighter gas bill, which - besides being a shameless lie because the natural gas is destined for the European market - even if this were true, who would we be willing to close their eyes in exchange of the few crumbs fallen from a rich banquet? To surrender oneself, one's own life and land to those that think everything can be bought, is only the most abject form of prostitution.

Next to the financial blackmail, it is possible that the various specialists who enquire into the local social fabric have identified in the pugliese population, and particularly in the salentian one, a high dose of resignation and fatalism, present - unfortunately - in a good part of its people. For far too long this region has been accustomed to a clientist management of life, whereby turning to the "saint in heaven" would be the solution for anything. Decades of social pacification have numbed the minds and fossilized the hearts of many, leaving many incapable of imagining that through struggle, rather than through begging, it can be possible to obtain what one wants. To not perceive as an enemy those who want to impose their choices over our heads or to think that they are too mighty to fight, is a mentality that inevitably breeds resignation or delegation, thinking that others - and not ourselves in first person - can protect our lives better than we could ourselves. The misfortune of having a Governor considered to be sensible person who boasts "green" principles in his party's program, has in itself highly incremented the accumulation of hazardous energy projects in Puglia. The fact that some sources of energy – such as solar and wind power - are considered "renewable", has permitted their proliferation way beyond the local private needs of individuals, transforming the region into a factory of production and accumulation of energy, and consequently, into a park of exploitation available to any industry. With the natural gas that TAP intends to let flow into San Foca the exact same will happen, if one were to actually consider this kind of gas "clean energy". It is necessary to immediately melt away a misunderstanding purposefully fuelled by the supporters of the pipeline, because the gas that it will transport will certainly not be used to power the few household eco light bulbs, and it will neither be able to substitute other energy sources we consider more toxic such as the coal used in the factory of Cerrano – but, simply it will *complement* what is already there; practically, it will only be used in factories to increment their production of useless commodities which in turn render us increasingly dependent on "goods" which, up until the day before, we didn't need, promoting new forms of toxicity, in a never ending spiral, with no way out. Let's for instance remember the MAT, a high tension power line in construction in Spain, which has the purpose of transporting the excess energy produced in different parts of Europe, against which a strong opposition has developed, as the project is a carrier of new hazards and diseases. In light of all this, it is evident how Puglia, and Salento with it, is being subjected to a real *energy* colonization because, if words still bear meaning, colonialism is nothing but a form of politics of domination imposed by a form of power at the expense of a certain population and land.

#### Why we are against the pipeline TAP

The planned pipeline is a toxic project. We consider it such regardless of all the single characteristics that can be analyzed, which we will anyways do, for instance the pollution it will cause. This means that even if its defenders would ever be able to show – which they cannot – that this endeavour is absolutely clean, it would remain a hazard *by virtue of the idea it supports*, in the sense that in itself it is already hazardous to think that it is legitimate to build such a colossal project, spanning almost 900km across all kinds of territories, in order to transport gas and produce energy for which there is no need, if not for the financial benefit of few profiteers. As much as they try to demonstrate the opposite, the pipeline is certainly a polluting project, from when it is born in the Caspian Sea up until its hypothesized arrival in Salento. It could not be any different, in spite of the technical data provided by the same multinationals that want to implement it. The opposite is in fact impossible, firstly because to drill deeply into the ground, to cut through it by land and by sea for hundreds of kilometres inevitably entails pollution, including the one emitted by the machinery that will be used over the years to complete the project, secondly by the leak of gas – in the sea, in the ground and in the air – which, even in reduced percentages, is confirmed by the same TAP. Not to mention, once landed in Salento, of the depressurization power station which would end up occupying an area of 12 hectares and would inevitably release polluting emissions, to the point that a safety perimeter is planned around it. Anyways shouldn't the appropriation of large swathes of land by a multinational be considered in itself a form of pollution, ecological and social?

The fact is that, when we find ourselves before multi-millionaire interests, all this is not taken into consideration; the project is to be imposed over the heads of the people who, according to the studies of those who want to impose it, are considered - literally - "a non-significant variable". There, this imposition and this being considered a *variable* and even further *non-significant*, should alone be a reason enough to push us to oppose those who, with similar statements, show themselves for who they really are: colonizers capable of anything just to affirm their interests. To show that we are alive, thoughtful and *significant*, with a dignity to defend, to show them all our most visceral hostility, would be the least we can do to not feel debased and defeated, incapable when faced with the powerful bullies of this round.

If we were to decide to pursue this struggle, there is an aspect we cannot ignore. Since time immemorial, the powerful and their interests are defended by the State, which protects them through its armed arm, in other words, the police and the military. One of the aspects to take into consideration in the construction of these huge projects is, in fact, the inevitable increase of repression and militarization of the territories involved. It is, practically, a *piece of the world at war* that comes to visit us in our back yards. In no way is this just a rhetorical deployment of language, but a fact. If we just turn our gaze to what is happening in the region where another huge project is being built in Italy – Val di Susa – we can see how the soldiers and the means employed in the control of the territory are the same ones which are returning from Afghanistan. In other words the bosses are in constant war against us: it is something to take into consideration in the assessment of the answers we want to give. On this topic, there is an aspect that we really cannot understand, and that appears to us surreal and grotesque: if in the imposition of a project, it is the State that protects the colonizers, as demonstrated, how can it be conceivable that a part of the State could ever be *on our side* and act against itself? A difficult question to answer... Anyways, whoever really would like to play a game against this pipeline, needs to keep in mind that to oppose it will necessarily also mean opposing the State and its entire economic and

social system. We can in fact affirm that the realization of this project is absolutely representative of the system in which we live, or, in other words, which governs us. Just as for the energy it should produce, the entire economic system is based on a mechanism that we don't need, but which we cannot leave, in other words on an ever-growing production of commodities and assets – material and immaterial – absolutely useless but which are made necessary to us through the forced induction of fictitious needs.

All of this has contributed to the creation of an increasingly energy-hungry society, where the amount of power needed to keep it running, ever faster towards the abyss, is destined to never diminish. An absurd spiral where energy is wasted in the useless attempt of producing more of it, creating new sources of hazards and death. It suffices to think about what happens to any nuclear power plant, or – even close to us – to the Ilva\*\*, which wasted enormous quantities of water and power to produce steel pipes of cancer, perhaps even those used in the construction of the TAP. It seems clear that the opposition to the pipeline intended to arrive in San Foca needs to be accompanied by a wider concept of struggle, and not with the sole purpose of defending one's own backyard, at the expense of the neighbour's, perhaps already deemed compromised. Let's consider the hypothesis more often repeated by different sides, to move the terminal to Brindisi. The logic that moves us should not be "master in one's own house", but rather NO to the pipeline neither here nor anywhere, because a hazardous project built somewhere far away is still a hazard that hurts someone else, someone else with whom we necessarily need to identify with and recognize ourselves in, as a victim of the same logics of profit which would harm us and the region of Salento.

#### In regards to the race for natural gas and the hoarding of energy sources: some of its possible causes

Besides the production of goods, what is the purpose of hoarding and accumulating natural gas and energy resources? In light of the mad current race, it appears to be a relevant question.

The most banal reason that comes to mind, is that of guaranteeing standards of life and comfort which have at this point become indispensable for those who live in the western world, compared to the legitimate aspirations of those who live in the so-called developing countries. Natural gas, for example, is also used to fuel heating and transportation and its demand increases proportionally to the shrinking of oil sources and the consequent increase of its

price. The same automotive industry using natural gas is in constant growth, just as the profits connected to it. However, aside from the commodities and the financial profit tied to a few branches of the industry, the benefit linked to political goals seems even more important to us; on the horizon of the next years, in fact, with the dwindling of more energy sources, especially the fossil-fuel ones, those who will dispose of the most resources will be able to keep in check and under blackmail other parts and populations of the world, with all the Power this entails. A Power which, by allowing the pipeline to arrive here in Salento, would subjugate us even further, contrary to what is commonly believed. If the false hypothesis of a reduction of our gas bills leads many to believe the TAP to be a real possibility, what will happen when everyone will be dependent on natural gas and those who control it will be able to dictate the prices they want, as we will no longer be able to imagine how to provide ourselves with any alternative, for instance on how to heat ourselves or to cook? And again, what would happen if those who have control over the gas faucets, at some point decided to close them, for whatever reason, for instance to sell it elsewhere at a higher price or to force us to draw back from a protest or a revolt?

Hypotheses that can sound like science fiction, but upon which it could be necessary to reflect upon. Because, as it has been seen, science fiction can be a step behind reality.

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[Introduction to the dossier Dall'altra parte, beginning of 2014]

#### Notes

 $^{*}$ Confindustria – organization of representation of the italian manufacturing industry

\*\*Ilva – An integrated steel mill in Taranto, seized and shut down by the magistrates in 2012 for "conscious and wilful polluting activity according to the logic of profit, trampling on the most elementary safety rules".



How could we oppose the gas pipeline that the multinational TAP wants to build in Salento ? It is a question to which we believe to have only one answer : a decisive, strong NO that cannot be negotiated or mutated according to the situation. We believe it to be important to go further on this road with those who want to fight against this mega-project of almost 900 km that will devastate the surroundings of millions of inhabitants. From the Caspian Sea to Salento, passing through Turkey, Greece, Albania, the Adriatic Sea and part of Salento.

A snake, for the transportation of natural gas and to fuel the ever-growing market of new energies, to produce an increasing amount of new commodities, to enrich even more the usual suspects, while stepping over the people in Salento as well as in Azerbaijan, and everywhere else in between. For this reason we think that the only possible solution is to put oneself in first person in between things and pull an *emergency brake* on this machinery that is called progress, launched on a mad race. We simply do not want nature to be devastated for the profits of some multinational corporation, who tries to trick the people by playing the card of new employment, and we also do not want to fall into the trap of green economy or to safe-guard a tourist attraction. A look at the shores full of concrete, to the lands covered with solar panels and wind farms, to the streets conceived for increased velocity, makes us think that a sustainable development inside of this system is not possible and that our opposition should therefore be broader. A NO to a crushing and devastating gas pipeline is a NO to an economy that exploits the environment and the people, a NO that cannot be expressed through a compromise. To delegate the protest to politics and institutions, to propose an alternative in San Foca or to imagine how to make a better use of the financial compensations offered by the multinationals would mean to participate in the spaces created by the institutions to promote their interests, it would mean to continue to reach out to those who consider people and places as negligible variables that are not meaningful on the road made of business and finance. Let us make them feel our hostility towards the TAP and chase them out of Salento, and from every place, once and for all.

No gas pipeline, neither here nor elsewhere.

### Some notes on the TAP

Opposition and methods of struggle

#### A brief summary

The pipeline or methane pipeline TAP (Trans Adriatic Pipeline) should run about 900 km long, starting from the Caspian Sea and reaching the mainland in Salento, on the shore of San Foca (Lecce province), transporting natural gas. In late June, the Shah Deniz consortium in Azerbaijan - members include British Petroleum, Total and Statoil - made its choice preferring the TAP over the Nabucco project which would have had to go through Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Austria. The TAP Project, composed of Axpo Holding (Switzerland), E.On (Germany) and Statoil (Norway), was considered of strategic interest by the Italian government and the European Union and is intended to supply the European gas market.

#### **Some questions**

An opposition to the TAP, or against any other hazardous and noxious project, like a prison, is a classical "partial struggle"; partial, to be clear, not in a negative connotation, but in the sense of defining a specific aspect. However, to widen the horizon, in everything that we do and in the struggles that we undertake, to try to identify power and authority of any kind and in all its configurations, and to attempt to oppose it, is our goal. Our perspective should be at the basis of our action, a thought which accompanies us continuously as well as a way of approaching struggles. When we oppose war, a technological disaster, a prison, repression, exploitation, authority, morality, we should always keep in mind all these aspects and try to have an overall view. An example: when we oppose a nuclear power plant, we oppose the nuisance it represents, the irreversible destruction of the environment, but what we have in mind is also the use that will be made of this nuclear energy: to continue to reproduce an economic and industrial system of exploitation, or to perpetuate the super-technological and super-controlled city life shaped for commodities rather than for humans. This example, which may be valid in many other cases, poses a problem. Can we participate in a struggle while sectioning, separating, differentiating?

Through the project of the TAP several issues have emerged: environmental

devastation, war, plundering of resources, capitalist neocolonialism, etc.; all these discourses are closely related. But what has not been done, perhaps, is attempting to connect all these aspects in terms of perspective. Opposition to the TAP is part of a broader opposition to the State and to the economy: in one word, what is called Domination, which is also what governs our lives and the ones of billions of people and what makes us precarious, exploited, controlled, repressed, etc. Now, we do not expect that all those with whom we relate to over the course of a struggle, either comrades or any other kind of people (just to be clear) should have the same approach, but our attempt goes in that direction. Because when we speak or act out against exploitation, of nature or of people, it is not intended to be a rhetorical exercise. What we want is the existence of horizontal relationships between individuals and, of course, the end of exploitation.

#### Some notes on method

After this premise that may be evident, but useful for the sake of clarity, we come to the mode of action, with respect to which there are no preclusions to relationships that can be built, provided they are horizontal and self-organized. The logics of institutions, of political parties and delegation are part of the problem, and are therefore part of what we oppose. Also here in Salento, committees against the TAP pipeline were immediately created, arguing that this construction would damage the tourism industry of this land. They immediately applied the usual standardized and institutional patterns: parliamentary delegation, petitions, participation in round-table discussions with the TAP project representatives - that is to say with the multinational that will construct the pipeline -, self-referential demonstrations - in the sense that they are often only composed of banners displaying their initials -, interviews on television and in newspapers - contributing more to the spectacularization of the opposition rather than to the opposition itself; especially as television and newspapers are part of the problem. But that's how it goes, everyone chooses their own path and acts accordingly. Most importantly, it is clear to us that this is not our way of struggling, but since that the opposition to the TAP also interests and concerns us, not only because it is located in the area where we live, we want to search another mode of intervention. The error, to our opinion, is to think that if committees are created you can always find in them accomplices to struggle with. This could of course be the case, but automatically assuming this, as if it were a fact is a mistake that wastes, among other things, time and energy. The struggle against the TAV in Val Susa, which everyone references, probably contributed to this ambiguity. As if this important struggle taking place over the course of several decades could be reproducible anywhere

or would be the only feasible model. Often committees have a structure and a way of operating which is very political and that differs little from the institutional way. This can often be overlooked, because we could be blinded by an appearance of action at its basis.

By immediately putting on the table our mode of intervention, without delegations, without politics and with our critique on commodities and the existent; by searching accomplices or contacts starting from ourselves: this is what we intend to put at stake, to try, from the start, to aim high and fight against a hazardous project, in this case a pipeline, acting against the deadly existent that propels it. But another question arises: if we cannot find anyone with whom to wage a struggle with, what to do? The answer depends on the discussion, the will and the rage that you want to exert. If we start from the idea expressed by a comrade, that each of us can potentially change things, then there are only a few ingredients to add: determination, research and imagination can sometimes be much stronger and powerful "weapons" than we might be lead to believe. Even in small but determined numbers, we can carry out a struggle, or at least attempt to disrupt the mechanism which we oppose. The logic of quantity rather leads one to think that if we are not many we can't do anything and this constitutes a renunciation and a missed opportunity to put forward our critique of the existent. It is clear that it can sometimes be important to be many, because you can do things that are not feasible alone. But as we do not seek consensus and do not necessarily reason in terms of quantitative organization, have more freedom in that sense.

#### **Against delegation**

As it always happens, someone in a committee is driven by a genuine intention to oppose the nuisances but their mode of action, petitions or appeals to the media, are antithetical to ours. Especially since their leaders never lose the habit of intervening in any given occasion, considering themselves to be the sole representatives of the struggle, speaking for others or dissociating from other methods. For example, when someone scribbled "No Tap" on the wall of a golf club, this was met by immediate denunciations and disassociations by the committees. This club (which is in itself already a nuisance, given that to irrigate its huge lawns it sucks the water of neighbouring farmers, lowering the groundwater to alarmingly levels) was hosting behind closed doors and protected by the police, a meeting between members of the TAP and local administrators. We wonder if the *nice* activists of the committees will demand special laws and the deportation of those who will have enough will and rage to really oppose this project, when bulldozers arrive to begin the works. Nourishing the expectation that the various members of the committees will at some point realize that petitions or parliamentary delegations do not amount to anything, is an illusion. Especially because to delegate means to reproduce, not to hinder, the representative and authoritarian system. Instead, discussion, criticism and action may be immediately valid instruments of opposition, very simple and accessible to all, taking into account the perspective we talked about earlier.

The TAP is only one aspect of Domination, although a very large one, but we are also interested to intervene in the relations between individuals. What we are interested to propose is a method of action which is a truly horizontal, self-organized and from the bottom. And if the struggle can be conducted in this mode, perhaps even involving some or many other people very different from us, extending the critique of authority and questioning at least a part of this existent, then we would have acted in a good direction, aside from the final result of the struggle against a specific nuisance.

#### A spark that can propagate

From the moment the TAP Project was selected to put the pipeline into existence, the various local and national institutions have expressed their position. Some environmental groups such as Legambiente felt compelled to express their positive advice. The Italian government immediately declared itself in favour of the project, considering it of strategic importance for the national economy and beginning to misrepresent the facts about the impact on the land, new jobs and smaller bills. Local and regional politicians, starting with the governor [of the region] Vendola [Communist, NdT] and his deputies, have on the contrary begun to speak of consultation, negotiation, confrontation and necessity of dialogue with the local populations and the involvement of citizens and committees in carrying out the work. It is not difficult to understand that their idea of dialogue means pacification. It is a strategic move to avoid that the aversion of a large part of the inhabitants of Salento towards the project, some out of personal interest as tourism professionals, some seriously concerned about the impact on the environment, turns into hostility. The work must be done, they say, but it is necessary that the opposition is kept under control, that it remains in the democratic cage of petitions and legal methods, giving the appearance of participation even while submitting the opposition. The concealment of the enforcement of an unnecessary and harmful project that only serves the profits of some multinationals, in dialogue with local administrators, perhaps by offering a serious economic and monetary benefit, seeks to convince people of the benefits of this work but also of its inevitability. The people are children, like someone said, and this is the moment for candy.

If that's not enough, the fact that this construction is considered to be of strategic interest, can at any moment lead to its militarization. But behind this discourse hides a fear, a weak point of those who are in power. The opposition to a noxious project can transform into a spark, a beginning, a fire that spreads and questions more. An opportunity to oppose in first-person and to stop a monster and then stop many others, among them also the mentality of delegation. From work to school, from home, to leisure, the places we inhabit, are pieces of life that are stolen from us and that we want to re-appropriate by sending to hell the defenders of progress and this world.

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n° 5, August 2013, Lecce]

### LAUGHING DEEP DOWN A SABOTAGE AGAINST THE TAP

There is probably no famous writer to be found who would claim its aptness, but that surely doesn't diminish its potential. A sabotage was perpetrated against the rigs that are doing preliminary drilling for the TAP, the joint-venture that will build the gas pipeline from Azerbaijan to Italy. We heard of broken windows, damaged control terminals and cut cables which will result in a suspension of the works for some days, as the damaged engines will have to be removed and replaced with new ones. This happened as the TAP just published in the European Official Journal a call for tenders for the various works which would start in 2016. A good warning for the aspiring contractors.

Although the legal proceedings have not yet concluded, and the arrival point of the gas pipeline has not yet been made official, in reality by now everybody knows this will be in San Foca (province of Lecce) and the various souls of institutional opposition – from the mayors to the committees – seem resigned to this decision, by now only complaining about being fooled by – mostly local and regional – politicians and not having been protected by Justice – magistrates, administrative courts, law enforcement.

Now that the mask of political mediation has definitively fallen, now that the farce of the defence of citizen's interests by independent organisms has revealed itself to be what it always has been, now that the mechanism of delegation has miserably sunken, the only way to truly oppose what they want to impose on us is showing itself more clearly and sharply than ever before : direct opposition, in first person, through attack. Some voices in this direction have been raised for some time now...

The old idea of expressing *concretely* one's own hostility towards the colonizers and speculators of the day and their supporters has finally been picked up by some anonymous insomniac who took a hold of their own will and courage and threw their heart – and arms – beyond the obstacle. Probably not everyone shares this act, castrated by a religious morality and a sacred fear for the law, but it is certain that many have approved of this sabotage, laughing deep down as to not attract too much attention.

The nights will still be many, with starry skies or rainy clouds, as will come many days, cold or sunny, before the TAP project sees the light of day. There's still time to go on this road which is only slightly paved and to make it ever more clear. On your own or in company, with many or with few, according to one's own inclinations and needs.

Maybe then one will be able to stop laughing deep down and instead do it openly and loudly...

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(aperiodic wall newspaper) n°2, April 2015]

### The absent

Curious news and institutional opposition

As people interested in struggles, it so happens that sometimes we also follow those engaged in them... In this tortuous wandering, it has sometimes occurred that we have taken an interest to those opposing the TAP, the huge project that would bring millions of cubic metres of gas for Azerbaijan to Salento. Surely, we didn't follow them when they went into the administrative courtrooms where they are unceasingly waging their righteous bureaucratic battle to the tune of appeals and official documents; nor did we follow them in the palaces of Power – municipal, provincial, regional councils, Parliament – where you can often find them, accompanied by combative men of Power, trying to block a project of Power wanted by other men of Power. No, we followed them where, in a stronger, harder and more determined way, they unleash their relentless opposition to the gas pipeline, in the true agora of protests 2.0 : the facebook profile of the No TAP committee!!!

It is on this profile we came across a news item that stirred our curiosity. On July 4th, a post appears saying that in an area of the TAP construction site, where "preventive archaeological excavations" were taking place, unknown persons have removed the fences" by cutting "the iron wire". The post continues stating that "the news of this fact doesn't come from the TAP consortium, but form the No TAP Committee which immediately took distance from this act".

Strange practices coming from those who say they want to stop a project – we were thinking –; to take distance from an act that obviously aims at stopping the realization of that project, to the point of affirming that "*this is not the moment for vandalism nor for violence*". Well, that could very well be: because in the end, they are the ones leading this struggle, so for sure they would know when (if) "*the moment for vandalism and violence*" arrives. They will surely announce that moment on their facebook profile as to make sure everybody hears about it. You just have to wait. Clearly, communicating about something that happened just for the sake of taking distance from it, equals giving precious indications to the investigators.

But what astonished us the most was not the distance taken from an act, nor the usual conspiracy theories which always emerge when something happens for real, nor when they point out that "*it is like this story about the drilling engine in the Capitano zone a year ago, which makes us think that they themselves are provoking the damage.*" [They refer to a rig of the TAP which was doing some preliminary drilling, sabotaged through the cutting some cables].

No, what struck us the most was how they managed, the No TAP Committee, to hear about this news, which neither the TAP itself talked about, nor the local newspapers. By no means are we thinking that it was maybe one them who committed this act of "vandalism", because that would give them a trust they do not deserve. But what then? It might for sure also be that the construction site is visible from a distance: in the end, the No TAP activists are far seeing people, so far that they came to the point of defining themselves as "sentinels", but it is also true that the post speaks of "an area that is under surveillance day and night by a local private security company", so that the "authors of this act therefore would have eluded the surveillance and worked for several minutes without being disturbed." Should we then think that it was the vigilantes themselves who informed the activists of the No TAP Committee about what happened, assuming a confidential relation between the opponents of the project and its private defenders? Or was it directly the police, assuming a friendly relationship between the opponents of the project and its state defenders who are always searching for useful information? We sincerely hope this is not the case, because if it were, who knows what all the people who trusted their opposition into the wise hands of the No TAP Committee, of their official documents, of their friends in high places and their facebook followers, might think ...

But at least, in the midst of this fog, on the labyrinth paths of possibilist confusionism, those who, like us, are interested in struggles have a good reason to be optimistic. Somebody, one night, didn't listen to the appeal that the No TAP Committee has been repeating since months; not only the one *"it is not the moment for vandalism nor for violence"*, but also not the one to not approach the construction site, in order to avoid tension and provocation, as they have also repeated many times. But for the rest, attendance is taken in school and those who answer are the ones present. The others, the absent, do not answer. The absent have other ways of showing their presence.

[Published in *Brecce*, giornale murale aperiodico, n° 6, August 2016, on this occasion handed out]



The times for mediation are over.

The beginning of the works for the TAP, with the explantation of the first four trees from the construction site where the first hole will be drilled, has teared off the veil – in case this was still necessary – of the last illusions for those who believed that the bureaucratic, institutional and juridical roads could really stop this project. It has been clear from the beginning that this kind of opposition cannot stop such a gigantic project involving several States and very strong economical groups, just as it was clear that neither some local council nor some court appeal would block a project that is considered to be of "national strategic interest".

Now that the Law sides on its own side, now that the municipal administrations have to realign themselves to the directives of higher authorities and are being called to order, now that the regional government, the new Pontius Pilatus, has properly washed its hands to feel and appear not guilty, we can no longer foster any illusions. It won't be enough to appeal to the survival of some olive trees to stop the bulldozers defended by a private contractor. It won't help to point out that the shores will be defaced, hoping to pull a string in the heart (shaped like a piggy-bank) of a businessmen. It is senseless to bet on the development of tourism in an attempt to reason with a mercenary heading the surveillance of the TAP. It is pointless to ask the guardians of order to intervene in favour of the citizens: it will be the State asking them to keep an eye on the citizens.

One single way remains open: the way of our direct intervention, in favour of the land that we live in, of our health, of our lives and of our dignity. Fight in first person to block a useless and harmful project, yet another devastating project imposed upon us for the interests of a few. The actual works have just begun and there's still a long way to go before they will be completed. There is still much to be done in order to block and obstruct their project built on our subjugation. Will we all be there?

[Flyer handed out the 21th of March 2017 in front of the construction site of the TAP and in Melendugno]

## ■ A "great" country...

What a country Italy is. No project can be built without some contrary voices being raised; not a day goes by without hearing about some movement protesting against this or that project. There's no construction site that can start without somebody protesting against it, or works that can begin without somebody putting themselves in between to stop them. Everyone has a reason for complaining : environmental devastation, destruction of the landscape, resource depletion, pollution of soil, air, sea... And then, as if this wasn't enough, all complain – also them, those who head the protests – that the country is not growing, the GDP neither, the stock exchange is crashing, the European Union sanctions us, the spread increases and the taxes too, while employment drops...

Let's take Salento for example. A region in the south, backwards as the rest of the south, where the State in accordance with some real gentlemen decided to finally bring jobs, innovation, development : in one word, civilization! And without too much consequences for its inhabitants, except for a small, insignificant steel tube transporting gas, natural gas you know, destined not only for the Italian nation, but for part of the European Union. And people, what do they do? Instead of being satisfied with the opportunities offered to them, not only do they complain and try to block the construction of this pipeline, but now have also started pulling little pranks against those who should build it. And so, what should we say? That they are right in doing so? In the end, as stated by the former PDL senator Giovanardi, it's only about "five persons who want to return to the agricultural-forestry-pastoral age, where the average life expectancy was 32-33 years".

Can you imagine that some days ago, somebody had the nerve to go throw two incendiary bottles against a structure serving as the headquarters for the TAP – Trans Adriatic Pipeline, that's how the consortium of gentlemen is called. Luckily only one bottle exploded, and in the end the damage was irrelevant: just a blackened wall, but the problem is to be found elsewhere: what message does such an act convey to the companies involved in bringing progress and development? Salento is known as a welcoming land, so much that some years ago somebody spoke about proposing a Nobel Prize for Peace to the priest who was welcoming immigrants, a priest who, by the way, also met a strong opposition. Perhaps this is the fateful destiny of all benefactors? Whoever committed this vile act remains unknown, and all possibilities seem open. There were rumours that it could have been an act of vandalism or of organized crime, or maybe it was one of those retrograde bucolics whom Giovanardi spoke of. Vandals, criminals, bucolics... all people who do not understand anything and do not know how to properly be in this world, all people condemned by the majority of the decent people.

By the majority, but not by all. Yes, because for example we didn't succeed in getting upset by this act. We tried, we even forced ourselves.

But really, we didn't manage...

[Published on Finimondo, 15/02/2017]





"We have to evict the area anyway." These were the words spoken by a police chief nicknamed "Hit-man" in front of demonstrators sitting on the ground, trying to prevent the trucks of a TAP subcontractor to leave the construction site with some eradicated olive trees – the first step in the construction of the gas pipeline on the Italian shore. Over the last days many are getting to know the true face of the State: demonstrators, individuals, even mayors with their green, white and red sash. The State, its Government and its Parliament are crushing everything, sparing nothing: the earth, trees, persons, ideas, hearts, bodies. What matters is the defence of the multinational TAP, which the Italian State, through Saipem and Snam, is also part of, allowing the consortium to accomplish the work necessary for the construction of a project that nobody wants in Salento, for the most different reasons. This way the State and the Economy show what it actually means to be at war, to act against populations and lands. This is what happens anywhere in the world where the economical interests, the money, the profits, the exploitation of resources, of nature, of persons, are a daily affair.

These days, we feel closer to Iraq, to Afghanistan, to Azerbaijan, to Nigeria, to North Dakota where resources are plundered and the lands are colonized. And this is what Salento is becoming since decades. The projects harmful to the environment are piling up, from the Xylella case, caused by the promotion of the transformation of traditional agriculture into an industrial one, to the invasion of the so-called renewable energies; from the Ilva and Cerano factories to the toxic waste buried since decades in the lands of Salento. Now comes this gas pipeline TAP, which has contracted for the permanent surveillance of the site an ex-special forces, a mercenary hired by multinationals around the world for protection. Yet another piece of war. The determination and the anger expressed by so many individuals over these last days, trying to block the trucks of the TAP, surrounded by hundreds of men in police uniforms, in order to prevent the uprooting of the olive trees, is one of the answers to be into play.

Together with the strong Tramontana wind, yearnings for life and dream continue to blow as the sparks stir up the fire.

No TAP, No State, No Capitalism

[A flyer handed out in Lecce during a no tap demonstration, 2/4/2017]

## What's the purpose of energy ?

"They protest against the energy that flows under their house, but inside of their house they enjoy having access to it!" scoffs the stuffy national-popular bourgeois these days while noticing what's upsetting a small village in Puglia and spreading out to the rest of the country. Fights between police and opponents in front of the future construction site of the TAP (Trans-Adriatic Pipeline), the gas pipeline of about 3000 kilometers travelling from Azerbaijan to Turkey (TANAP, Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline), continuing through Greece and Albania, crossing the Adriatic Sea to finally reach the shores of Lecce in Italy. In this struggle where it is not always easy to understand where reason ends and excuses begin, Salento is not alone.

Take Standing Rock for example, an Indigenous reserve in North Dakota in the United States. Hythe on the other hand is a small village of not even a thousand souls, lost in the north of the province of Alberta in Canada. If we leave the New Continent and look instead at Europe, in Germany we find Niederzier, a small city of about 15 000 inhabitants in the Northern Rhineland-Westphalen. In France then several such places come to mind, like the Haute Durance, in the High Alps, just at the border with Piemonte in Italy. Or the small villages in Burgondy, in Haute-Vienne, in the Loire or also not so far away from Paris. And in Finland we could mention Pyhäjoki and the Gulf of Botnia.

What might be connecting all these geographical points? Not only the fact that sites and structures for the exploitation of energy resources are being built – or active since years, like in the German case –, but also that these projects are wanted and imposed from above, but are being met with strong resistance from below. With forms of struggle that often break away from the anxiety of legal dissent, these places are bursting out in open revolt (from the sadness of petitions to the euphoria of sabotage). Now, as a synonym for the power that allows life to manifest itself, energy almost never runs the risk of being put into discussion. Everybody wants it, because nobody likes weakness, immobilism, paralysis (that come along with a lack of energy). This makes that the accumulation of energy, the location and exploitation of its sources, is universally perceived as a self-evident fact, always positive and therefore worthy. One can criticize the use of a certain type of energy considered polluting and dangerous – like nuclear energy – but not the need for energy itself. And this explains the reason why on the one hand, so many opponents tend to criticize the decisional arrogance and the technical choices concerning various energetic projects rather than their goal; and on the other hand that the supporters of such projects are shocked each time one dares to oppose what in their eyes represents more or less the continuation of life on earth.

In the United States and in Canada for example, the target of the protests is a petrol pipeline. Against the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAP), covering the 2000 kilometre distance between the North of Dakota and Illinois, many indigenous nations, beginning with the Sioux, declared war. Apart from the usual petitions and appeals to the authorities (last September, there were no less than 33 000 of these), last April, the descendants of Sitting Bull set up a camp that was intended to be a center for cultural preservation and spiritual resistance against the pipeline, joined by thousands of demonstrators (with many whites amongst them). And there, at the convergence of two rivers – in a place that many natives consider sacred – several demonstrations were held, ending up with violent clashes with the police.

It seems that the Sioux are against the passing of the pipeline on their territory because it would destroy historical and religious sites that are important for their history and because it would compromise their water reserves. Furthermore, the tribe would have not been sufficiently consulted in the planning of this project. On the other side, the *Energy Transfer Crude Oil* insists that this pipeline – apart from being a more secure, ecological and economical system for transporting petrol – would help the United States to be less dependent of politically instable regimes and would create thousands of new jobs.

On the other side of the border, in Canada, on the 15th of January 2017 somebody used the engines on the construction site to dig up and destroy a section of another pipeline in construction, causing damages of over 700,000 dollars (but without causing toxic spills). The region of Hythe is a zone of rich traditions, where in the last decades hundreds of direct actions have taken place against the pipelines and the oil industry. Just outside of Hythe lived a Christian community headed by Wiebo Arienes Ludwig (the John Brown of the struggle against the gas and oil industry) who died of cancer in 2011 after having gone through various juridical ordeals (suspected of being the author of sabotage actions, he was arrested while buying dynamite from an undercover cop). A month ago, after the last sabotage, an official of the Canadian

Energy Pipeline Association sorrowfully pointed out that "despite the presence of security personnel, if one or more individuals out there want to cause damage, they can enter and cause damage while the security officers are on the other side."

In Westphalen, in the surroundings of Niederzier, we find the notorious Hambach mine. Lignite, or brown coal, not petrol. Active since 1978, Hambach, with its 34 square kilometers and its depth of 450 meters, it is the largest man-made hole in Europe. Throughout the years, in that zone, entire villages have disappeared from the face of the earth, devoured by the carbon industry – today considered even more necessary in order to avoid the use of nuclear energy – and now its further expansion is also threatening the homonym forest for which many people are mobilizing. Some build small tree houses and live there to hinder the clear-cutting of the forest, others dedicate themselves to other activities of disturbance. On the 25th of November 2016 for example, some people waited for the cover of night to attack with fire some structures of the energy multinational RWE in the surroundings of the mine. And in the beginning of January of this year, the railroads of the mine went up in flames.

Meanwhile in France, high tension lines and wind parks have been put into question. In Haute Durance, the acts of sabotage carried out over the last years to protest against a project are countless. According to RTE (Electricity Transport Network) this endeavour would accomplish a true miracle: by building two new high tension lines, with hundreds of pylons, it would succeed in not only guaranteeing the development of renewable energy projects, but apparently also help the biodiversity of the zone (sic!). The dependence on nuclear power plays an important role also in the construction of wind parks, planned in many areas of France (like those already functioning in Puglia and in many other Italian locations). But also in this case, protests and direct actions are leaving the supporters of so-called clean energies stunned. Like the officials of the company Epuron, a multinational exploiting the wind farm in Saint-Suplice Les Feuilles, who are facing "an opposition just based on principles, from persons lacking any real arguments, while we are playing the cards of transparency and information". They promote a source of renewable, non-polluting energy and therefore do not understand why in the whole country, attacks are taking place against the towers built to measure the winds: in the night between the 4th and the 5th of April 2016, the tower in Fertrève was brought down in the region of Amognes, constructed by VSB on the property of the mayor of the village; between the 31st of October and the 1st of November, the tower in Châtenay-sur-Seine was cut down, erected a year before by the company Neoen; one night later, the tower in Doizieux (for the second time in a few months) operated by the company Abowind was destroyed. According to the mayor of this village, it was an "act of vandalism committed by a small group of totally irresponsible persons who have no other purpose in their life than the intolerance and violence they manifest." More recently, in the night of the 11th and the 12th of February 2017, the "Dissident Action Collective Wind of Rage" brought down a wind tower in Savigné, owned by the company RES.

In Finland, not everybody is prepared to allow Fennovoima – partner of the Russian state company *Rosatom*, the only company in the world capable of delivering each single component necessary for nuclear power – to build the nuclear power plant of Hanhikivi in the Gulf of Botnia, a project in which many international corporations are involved. Apart from protest camps, and after a sabotage action against heavy machinery on the construction site of Pyhäjoki in June 2015, during the spring of 2016, a fire first destroyed vehicles of the company responsible for the security of the site and then blocked the access road to the construction site to express the refusal of any dialogue, any debate, any negotiation.

Obviously each and every one of the opponents of various energy projects in construction all around the world have their own good reasons to fight, from the preservation of traditions to the preservation of nature and of life itself. But there exist also more universal matter that is rarely taken into consideration as it would put into question the same civilization in which we are living. One for all: *what purpose does all this energy have in current society?* 

When State officials and delegate administrators of multinationals speak about energy and the necessity of finding new energy sources – being nuclear or wind, carbon or gas –, what are they actually speaking of? For what reason do they prepare themselves to extract 7,4 billions of barrels of petrol from the Bakken Formation in North Dakota, or to each year extract 30 millions of tons of carbon in the mine of Hambach? Are they trying to prevent that the food in our refrigerators will not rot, that the lights in our houses will not go out, that our daily tasks do not encounter difficulties, or rather that the production of goods continues in full steam, that the war machine is well oiled, that the fuel for exploitation and control never lacks? This is one of the banalities that, as it accompanies us 24 hours a day, one tends to forget: the purpose of energy is to make *this* world function, this world that is certainly not people-friendly.

Perhaps the best way to understand this, is by having a look at the history of energy.

It is a story that is passed down starting from a lie, the lie about energy transitions. These transitions do not exist, they have never existed. One didn't go from wood to carbon, then from coal to petrol, then from petrol to nuclear... The history of energy doesn't have such transitions, only additions. This masks another lie, the lie about alternative energy sources from which to draw in order to avoid the use of polluting ones. In reality this civilization tends to accumulate, not to substitute.

The fact that some governments avoid the use of a certain energy source certainly does not stem from ethical concerns, but from strategic choices. Germany for example, although the country is one of the leaders in the sector of solar energy and (for the moment) intends to not use nuclear power, is at the same time a major global producer of the highly polluting carbon energy, (the mine in Hambach is considered to be the third most harmful mine in Europe). During all these years the consumption of coal, although inferior to the petrol consumption, only increased. More coal is burned today than in the past.

Historically the energetic transitions/additions do not obey to an internal logic of progress (the first steam engines were very expensive and inefficient) nor to the logic of overcoming scarcity (the United States chose coal even if they possessed huge forests). Rather the prevailing logic is always the one of power, politics and military strategy. The example of petrol is emblematic in this sense. Its main role is actually connected to the hegemony of the United States. During the 20th century, the cost of petrol has always been higher than the one of coal, both in Europe and in the USA. Its ascent would therefore be unexplainable from a solely economical point of view. Coal is cheaper, but it has a huge disadvantage: it has to be extracted from mines piece by piece, loaded on convoys, transported on railroads or waterways, then charged into blast furnaces that have to be fed, surveilled and cleaned. This means that coal gives the people who extract it - the miners - the possibility to interrupt the energy flow that feeds the economy. Their demands could therefore not be ignored by the ruling class, which at the end of the 19th century saw in the struggles of the miners the unrest which eventually brought to the development of unions and political parties of the masses, and to the struggles for general suffrage and for the adoption of social security laws.

The petrolization of the world therefore corresponds to an attempt, by the government of the USA, to weaken the worker's movements. Petrol is extracted on the surface, it is more easily controllable and transportable, it requires less workers and with more diversified tasks (which hinders the forming of strong worker organizations). One of the goals of the Marshall Plan was exactly to encourage the European countries – infested with the subversive virus that led to numerous insurrections in the first half of the last century – to abandon coal in favour of petrol. To this end, substantial funds were destined to the building of refineries.

The electricity consumed by singular individuals in their houses, so present in the advertisements of energy corporations, is totally irrelevant compared to the energy needed by the civil and military industry. One single company is capable of consuming each year an amount of energy equal to the amount used by the inhabitants of a whole city in their houses. Not to mention war, which devours energy on an unimaginable scale. During the Second World War, each American soldier consumed a gallon of petrol (3,7 litres) a day, which increased to 9 gallons (33,3 litres) during the Vietnam War, then to 10 gallons (37 litres) during Desert Storm and arrived to 15 (55,5 litres) during the Second Gulf War. The new war machines burn so much energy that their consumption isn't measured in litres per 100 kilometre, but in litres per hour. A F-15 fighter burns 7000 litres of kerosene per hour, a B-52 bomber 12000. In 2006, the US Air Force consumed 9,62 billions of litres of kerosene.

These are examples and considerations that lead us to reflect on some more fundamental questions: *what purpose does energy have and who profits from its extraction*?

That the world is balancing on the edge of an abyss is a realization, or even just an intuition, which is spreading more than ever, with no media-technological anaesthetic able to stop it. Having erased from history any revolutionary horizon, faced with mankind on its belly – and at the mercy of wars, catastrophes, epidemics, exoduses and such – the looming *extinction* is becoming more probable even for the most optimist expert. There are no lifeboats in our titanic society. For those who do not want to spend their lives in prayer or indifference, for those who do not intend to be crushed by fatalism, there's no doubt: *blocking everything* is the minimum one could try to do.

The ongoing struggles around the globe against the exploitation of energy resources do not only raise this question, but also offer a possibility. The multiplicity and contradictions of its motives should not deceive us. Of course, differently from the past, in the third millennium it has become possible that a desire for subversion is intersected by a hope for survival on the same ground, the ground that wants to hinder and stop the technical reproduction of the existent. But it is also an encounter bound to turn into a clash, because it is evident that *a part of the problem cannot at the same time be a part of the solution*. To live without all this energy, which is needed only by politicians and middlemen, you need to want to live without those who search, exploit, sell and use energy. The energy needs of an entire civilization – the civilization of money and power – surely cannot be put into question just out of respect for centuries-old olive trees and ancestral rites, nor for the salvation of forests and beaches which are in big part already polluted. Only a *different* concept of life, of the world, of relations, can do this. Only this can and should put energy into question – in its use and in its requirements, therefore also in its structures – and in doing so, it puts into question civilization itself.

And this is the nightmare of any man of power, worried about the protection of his privileges and profits. It is not a coincidence that the bureaucrats of the European Union have declared that energy is one of its most sensitive points: energy sources are a "critical infrastructures" that have to be defended at any cost. That's why the Italian government declared the TAP to be a "strategical" project. In a way, power knows that human beings could live (and even live better) without all this energy; but that the State couldn't.

If one deprives this world of the energy used to perpetuate it, what would happen? Perhaps the apocalypse that the guardians of order swear will be unleashed if industries and commodities are blocked, with its repeatedly evoked corollary of rapes, lynchings and various massacres, or could another way of life emerge, a more simple and careful one? Just as they won't make us accept the State because of a need for social organization, nor make us accept work because of the need for activity, in the same way, the need for energy should not make us accept nuclear plants or wind farms, refineries or pipelines. It is not about giving clean or economical energy to this deadly society – the main problem that excites the citizenist advocating degrowth –, it is about stopping it.

Cutting the energy, fighting against old and new energy extractions doesn't mean one wants to push humanity into a dark obscurantism: on the contrary, it is a wager for a future finally freed from the blackmail of survival and of the orders of politics and economy, to be discovered under the sign of autonomy for each and every one.



We take note that when someone points at the moon, the fool looks to the finger. More indignation is stirred over some old stones used to build a barricade than over several hectares of terrain surrounded by concrete walls and fences, kept under the permanent surveillance of armed private guards payed by those who want to impose this hazardous project. The security being headed by a contractor with former experiences in military operations all around the world.

We take note that the No Tap Committee tirelessly continues in its endeavour of disassociation towards any self-determined act of opposition against the construction of the pipeline. This disassociation is now continuing since years and helps the police to narrow down the field of suspects.

We take note that the No Tap Committee, or some of its representatives, undermine in an authoritarian way the decisions taken collectively in the Protest Group that emerged to fight against the TAP. These decisions include the erection of barricades and the removal of the Tele Norba television crew.

We take note that this disregard for collective decisions becomes – in practice – a form of collaboration with the TAP, to which the No Tap Committee has already given concessions to once before, when, with the excuse of re-potting some eradicated trees dumped on the ground, permitted the installation and reinforcement of security fences and allowed a huge truck with cranes to leave the site, eventually only blocked by the rage of the demonstrators. And, by the way, not one of olive trees was re-potted at that time. The No Tap Committee, or some of its representatives, have to assume the responsibility for this sort of collaboration and be accountable for it when – and if! - the works continue and the TAP will be built.

We take note that the No Tap Committee, or some of its representatives, manipulate the rage and the spontaneous and sincere protests of the many opponents that TAP met over the course of the last days, aiming at a media spotlight where they could brag about the temporary blocking of the works, a merit they have no claim to. Without the direct opposition of many people during the transplantation of the olive trees, this process would have continued and been completed within a couple of days, only to be accompanied by sterile complaints. This would have certainly pleased the good peace of bureaucracy and of the Law, Regional Administrative tribunals, Constitutional courts and the Region and what have you, the same organs, the same bureaucracy and the same Law that endorsed and approved the pipeline Tap. We do not intend to function as nobody's henchmen.

We take note that the No Tap Assembly, in its communication through social media, changed its name into No Tap Movement, intending with this self-proclaimed definition to represent and express the entire manifold and varied front of opposition to the TAP. We consider this wrong, as we do not feel represented in their ideas, practices, contents and press releases that aim to speak in the name of everybody. Everybody can speak for themselves.

*It cannot continue*, a situation in which somebody is constantly trying to be considered as the good one in the eyes of the media, letting others be considered as the bad ones. No, such a situation cannot continue.

It cannot continue, a situation in which there are those who call for repression, such as the municipal police chief of Melendugno, who pursue a close relation to the No Tap Committee, and therefore, also to the Protest Group. Not to mention Anna Caputo, the provincial president of the Arci [Italian Cultural and Recreational Association], who described some demonstrators as "vandals": her declarations are garbage. Is such a person, who demands handcuffs and prison, considered to be part of the No Tap Movement?

It cannot continue, a situation in which the Protest Group of the No Tap is under the thumb of the municipal police chief's recommendations (and of the No Tap Committee), which will persist in his persuasive endeavour until he has obtained his desired result: letting the TAP enter the construction site.

It cannot go on, a situation in which it is allowed to compare the TAP to people who are fighting against it just because one doesn't share the method used, that for that matter, was agreed upon during an assembly of the Protest Group. When some years ago the No Tap Committee went to sit several times around the table with the TAP to discuss with those responsible of the project, nobody dared to compare the Committee to the TAP, even though they didn't share the method of collaboration of the Committee.

A great fuss was deliberately stirred in regards to an occasion when an old

wall was used as a barricade, without giving the least thought to why the barricades were erected: to stop or slow down trucks arriving to remove the trees, allowing the protesters to approach the construction site. The arguments they use are based on the supposed fear that the families of Melendugno would have felt in seeing the barricades, the same families that brought their children in front of the police lines to stop them from passing. Perhaps with these statements they try to hide their own fear, the one of those who want that everything just stays the same and goes back to normal. Street blockades, bodies stopping trucks from passing and barricades have broken normality, that same normality for which pipelines are built and which devastate the social life and environment of a given territory.

Having taken note of all this, we will continue with our opposition to the construction of the TAP, as we have since several years, in the ways and in the times that correspond us the most, autonomously or with others, depending on whether our paths and practices cross the ones of others.

To those willing, brave and determined, with whom, during these short but intense days, we have shared night and day, experiences and hopes, the interweaving of bodies during the moments of passive resistance, we say that we are available to meet, in a truly horizontal and self-organized way. We want to continue to project and express our visceral hostility against those who want to build the pipeline, against those who want to impose it, against those who defend it and against all its collaborators.

Enemies of the TAP disordine@riseup.net *Melendugno, 11th of April 2017* 

# Against the TAP, let's block everything

We will attempt to discuss energy and to what it is linked. To do so, we will take as a starting point the construction of a gas pipeline of several thousands of kilometres long which in its path will cross the place where we are living. The pipeline is called TAP and should transport methane from Azerbaijan to Salento (Italy), crossing Georgia, Turkey, Greece, Albania and the Adriatic Sea. We will use conditional clause as the pipeline isn't finished yet, although works have kicked off in several concerned countries. It is for us an occasion, for the umpteenth time, to understand why we want to fight against a specific nuisance and how to do it.

We confronted the question of the centrality that energy plays in a system like the one we are immersed in. There's no context that doesn't need, for its own survival, production and energy resources in an ever exponential growth. We could say, without decending into banalities, that everything turns around this point.

The last years, we have seen a multiplication of energy production. Proportionally to the multiplication of commodities the sources to produce energy have also seen a sharp rise, which is also due to the depletion of certain raw materials. Technology and research have developed new systems which allow for increased energy production. One example is solar energy, most probably the next frontier of a production of energy needing evermore sophisticated techniques which can be used everywhere: for civil and industrial purposes to supplying houses, schools and factories, for military purposes to supply structures and apparatuses which make the war machine turn. Recently, news came out of an airplane capable of flying without fuel thanks to solar panels. Another example are the nanotechnologies and its applications for the building of machines (often for technological-computer use), capable of functioning with solar energy.

This diversification of energy sources seems to be constant and an urgent and fundamental requirement for a system which tries to reproduce itself and is always on the look for new ways to exploit this planet and its resources until exhaustion. A dominant ideology rules the theories and modalities adopted in the research, production and distribution of more and more energy. In order to do so, it is necessary that everything succumbs and be turned into energy. Places, life ecosystems or survival, economy of territories, organised on a state level or on a tradition level. When you look to a place before and after the advancement of the "progress of energy", you will be struck by the transformation of its geography. In this direction develops also the use of language. Vast uncultivated lands are called deserts to fill up with infrastructures of all kinds which will bring welfare, development, work and so on.

#### **Irreversible changes**

But how the need for energy is fundamental for the continuation of this system can also be understood from other aspects. Constantly subjected to impulses and stimuli of all kinds we assist, often inert, to the changing of our lives, our perception of what surrounds us, to the levelling of the human being to a robotic model and the living beings into commodities. The human being as the other living beings are guinea pigs in a series of experiments which are preparing the future, or the immediate present. It's enough to look to the use that's made of instruments like smartphones which have totally revolutionised the approach people have amongst each other from a relational, communicational and emotional point of view. People communicate fast, so one always has to be on guard, always ready to answer, always present. Such changes are irreparable. They make human beings become machines, to codify or de-codify signals, images, words; on a social level, they generate automatons which seem united by a unique language, but speak actually all different languages because the unique language is not a real language, but a fragmented bunch of data. Those who don't master the language are cut out. If it is true that we speak a language of thoughts, whatever they might be, so a language that modifies, alters or worse, diminishes our capacity of words, cannot but diminish also our capacity of thinking. But although this an important aspect, it would now bring us too far.

#### **Intertwined complicities**

So, why is all this energy needed and what does it mean to begin or continue to challenge it in a perspective that tries to block, interrupt, destroy the flux. The pipeline the multinational consortium TAP wants to build and is partly already constructed, has given us the further step in the development of this thought. Everywhere we see the economic and state Power try to build plants of all kinds to extract resources. From wind to solar energy, form biomass to nuclear power, from carbon to petrol. And when we go deeper to understand who intervenes in the building of these plants and infrastructures, we see that the technical reproduction of this world is already part of the projection of these huge works. With the financial exchanges in the first place. With the intervention of companies and multinationals that are specialised in the sectors of social control, war, forging of our chains. Amongst those working for the TAP, one has to highlight the presence of the Italian companies Bonatti Spa and Carlo Gavazzi Impianti, which will fabricate and lay the tubes of the pipeline. These companies were highlighted some decades ago for their participation in the building of nuclear power plants in the '80 and for their presence in the hot spots around the world where energy resources could be exploited, territories could by colonised and wars could be waged. The example of Bonatti is sufficiently significant of how the presence of these companies in the world is functional to the conquest of resources by Western States and how wars have been spread.

Another example is of involved multinational corporations is the Indian company Himachal Futuristic Communication which will lay out the fibre optics along the pipeline. This multinational collaborates with the Indian military defence and brags about its products for the so-called "Smart Cities", from CCTV surveillance to all kinds of apparatuses that make the cities fast, permanently connected, technologised and controlled in all aspects. Or the company Honeywell, present in various countries, which will build a system to centralise data from the whole pipeline and brags about its intelligent robots and its hyper-technological clothing for (specialized) work security. Or Siemens, whose name can be found on so many machines of common use, or the Saipem, part of the Italian Eni, who will construct to submarine part of the pipeline. And finally, there are the big brands like Coin or OVS, linked in Albania to the company Gener 2, which a part from constructing bridges and streets, build in partnership with these two companies, big commercial surfaces.

#### Interrupt, block, remove

We have found many reasons to fight against a gas pipeline, but we would like to start again from the initial question. What is the use of all this energy, how can we interrupt its flux. The European Union marked energy as one of its most sensitive points: energy sources are "critical infrastructure" to be protected at all costs. That they are not used to light the lamps in the house is quite evident, and good night to those who want a de-growth in consumption to protect the environment and life on this planet.

There seems to be no doubt about the fact that the production of evermore energy aims to reproduce the social and technical organisation of this system.
With all its ma-chines, the military ones in the first place, the industrial and technological ones in the second place, and the ones destined to control and management in the third.

To interrupt can mean to undermine, at its foundations, the primary necessity of this world, a necessity that supplies and supports authority, power, economy and therefore States and Capital. And from the other hand, this is what once in a while happens when we hear talk of burned perol wells, sabotaged pipelines, radical fights against the extraction of carbon which is supplying the war industry, as happens in the forest of Hambach in Germany or where people try to stop the building of oil pipelines like in North Dokata in the USA, which will cancel the life and history of those who live there.

The language of thoughts is often a simple language, to destroy what harms is but its immediate reflection.

#### Project

We ask questions, and from theory to practice, we ask ourselves how to make an anarchist projectuality possible. We think that amongst the various possible roads, to have our own projectuality seems the most suitable road for us. We reaffirm concepts that many consider simply evident, but maybe they are not so evident for everyone. In any case, we think one can intervene in a specific struggle starting from what we are, individuals against authority and against politics, in whatever from they appear. We therefore believe it is important to not leave aside this starting point.

On a theoretical level we take as a starting point what a specific hazerdous project, like the TAP pipeline, represents inside this energetic and economical system, and what it can mean to fight against it to block or interrupt a flow as to create a rupture, which could be of some significance in the current state of things. However, from a practical point of view we believe that the multiplication and spreading of acts of resistance and attack is a feasible and reproducible road.

By attack, we do not only mean destructive or decisive acts, but also of acting by taking initiative, building for ourselves possibilities and perspectives, instead of acting only in a defensive way, answering to plans others have imagined. Spreading counter-information, taking them by surprise, acting with immagination, identifying targets, causing damage, opening breaches. And, amongst other things, suggest hostility towards the many collaborators of these works. A method to try to intervene without delegation, without compromise, with clarity. And to go where? The particularity of a certain project in construction and the fight against it can be a spark that might generalise the attack from two points of view. A method which spreads and a practice that are being reproduced, a theory which propagates and becomes international. Energy, technology, control, war, borders, economy, authority. If those fields are often not so definable, certain and clear, but ramified and present in all aspects of life, also resistance and attack can ramify and spread out. In a world of people with their heads hanging down, waiting for a beep that will wake up their senses, of overload of all kinds of commodities and of all kinds of nuisances, to remove, to take, to block, to destroy is what cannot be postponed any longer.

July 2017

Propositions

Tautology – an illusory definition that simply restates in different words what should be the object of an explanation. An embarrassing banality at times passed off as original thought. In the political field it is the beautiful progressive souls who often fall victim of it, the same ones who were once the electoral base of the leftist parties and today are the unskilled labour for the various citizenist movements. They notice that rain is wet, they launch appeals against speculator bankers. They realise you get burned if you put your hand in the fire, they thunder against war massacring civilians. In recent times - from Catalonia to Salento - they are overflowing with indignation. They've suddenly realized that the State doesn't serve its citizens, that it's the citizens who are in the service of the State! They, who so often looked on policemen with gratitude, imagining them helping old ladies to cross the road, can't come to terms with seeing them facing them with shields and truncheons as they invade a referendum polling station or a little seaside town in order to prevent electors from voting or the inhabitants from moving around.

As the summer with its influx of tourists to attract, entertain, never frighten, is over, the TAP construction works have started again in Salento. And as the yard is located in an isolated area, the honest swift workers at the service of TAP quickly erected a robust enclosure to delimitate a "red zone" which can no longer be crossed, watched over by public and private security that have blocked all the access roads, including the country ones. Then, to be even more secure, strict controls have been extended to the nearby town of Melendugno and the surrounding roads, thus preventing the free circulation of traffic. The beautiful souls are astonished, they didn't expect that (neither they nor the mayor who is on their side). So they changed their mantra, from the denunciation of this public work «because it is dismantling the social state» they have passed to the denunciation of the «suspension of the state of rights».

Thank goodness Salento isn't everywhere. And it's even better that the TAP, on the other hand, is – and how! They might well try to «secure» one site, but they will never be able to secure all the sites, offices, houses, yards, depots, structures ramifications... of all those who participate in the TAP project. And if some of these points are isolated in some town dotted throughout Italy or Europe, others, on the contrary, are near somebody's home (if not exactly near home, in the open countryside).

They want to give gas to this world. Why don't we give gas to the revolt?

[Published on Finimondo, 17/11/2017]



On Friday 24th November, at around 7pm, about fifty demonstrators gathered outside the President hotel on Via Salandra in Lecce, which hosts the carabinieri mobile units coming from outside the region and deployed to watch over the TAP yard and the red zone in Melendugno. With whistles, stadium trumpets and cooking pans they gave life to a very noisy disruptive action, and through a loudspeaker they explained that there will be no truce for those who collaborate with and make profit from the construction of the TAP gas pipeline.

An hour later, the demonstrators moved to the streets of the historical centre and passed in front of the TAP premises, where eggs filled with paints were flown at the entrance door.

On Sunday 26th November the noisy demonstration was held once again.

# WE KNOW WHERE YOU WORK

Text of a leaflet distributed and fly posted in the city and near the University of Salento

The fact that TAP is not only an energy infrastructure but it also involves the idea of a world was made even more obvious on 20th November, as parliament members, ENI and TAP executives and shit like that were gathered together during a conference organized at the University of Lecce. The conference was interrupted owing to protests inside and outside the hall and many showed indignation at the role of the University, openly lined up on the side of the powerful. However the fact that the University is not a cradle of free thought but a factory of technicians who are to run the world should be known to everybody. As they are constrained by exams, debts and credits, students have no longer the time to reflect, discuss, oppose. Except in rare and sporadic occasions, when the routine of classes and exams is interrupted by some awareness that can't be postponed.

However universities are normally at the service of the most powerful. It is sufficient to think of the very tight link between University and war, of research financed for military and control purposes, of the interference that big lobbies have over universities so that they can influence studies which have undisputable scientific value but which actually serve the profits of some multinationals.

The same goes for the University of Salento, which invests all its energies in nanotechnologies and engineering.

Now the University of Salento openly collaborates with TAP, as it helps with the monitoring of the olive trees uprooted by the multinational to build the gas pipeline, hosts conferences whose speakers are persons involved in massacres like TAP country manager Michele Elia, and warmongers like ENI executives, whose responsibilities in Libya are strictly linked to the death in the sea of thousands of desperate people. Finally, through the voice of its professors like Boero's, [the University] defends what can't be defended by intervening in the press in order to give reassurances on the safety and utility of the gas pipeline and to give credibility to a harmful and imposed work that the majority of people don't want.

Among other things Mr Boero can't even claim to be impartial, as he has been given commissions directly paid by TAP for years; for this reason he's simply an accomplice of the devastation that TAP wants to bring over the lands where it is to go through.

But if the university is no longer a factory of idea and agora of critical thinking, it can always become a place of conflict: between the builders of a world made of war and exploitation and those who want to destroy it.

And so against TAP, let's block everything! Enemies of TAP

# Identifying the enemy

A look at the TAP consortium

Despite the muddled procedures and the failure to comply with the requirements, on the 16th May 2016 the TAP consortium officially inaugurated the construction site. The ceremony was attended by all the representatives of the involved multinationals and of the States where the natural gas pipeline will cross. The event took place in Greece, hosted by Tsipras.

In Greece and Albania, the works seem to be in slightly more advances stages than in Italy, where the TAP failed to comply with the preliminary requirements which would permit the proceeding of the work. They more or less postponed everything until October. Those who have worked to stop this huge project through official documents are satisfied with their accomplishments, as the TAP indeed collides with a hairsplitting bureaucracy - used as an instrument in its opposition – that they probably imagined to outflank more easily.

However the great supporters of the Tap pipeline, do not seem discouraged when faced with the citizens' request for the respect of the rules, the answer is to create new ad hoc rules, tailor-made for the project, which will be easily followed.

And so, reading and re-reading articles in the local press which obsessively repeat more or less the same news, there emerges the doubt that by pointing the finger, one doesn't succeed in seeing the moon anymore.

It is evident that this is a matter of perspective.

The pipeline TAP is fully integrated into of the frantic research, carried out by this economical system and by the governments that support it, for energy and energetic resources that could continue to secure its future. The latest wars we have seen, from the North Africa to the Middle East, have been rooted in the fight for the control of these resources and the economical and geopolitical interests that derive from them.

By transporting natural gas from Azerbaijan, "the pipeline TAP would allow a diversification of energetic resources", declare its supporters, "and such a transport would allow an emancipation from Russian resources". Aside from the doubts that arise from of such a statement, disproved by the agreements between the Russian company Gazprom and Azerbaijan Socar on natural gas, when hearing the slightly too earnest words of exponents of the Italian government, the TAP can be mainly considered a strategic matter.

This term has been repeated as a mantra dozens of times but which now acquires a much broader meaning.

The TAP is not only strategical for the previously exposed reasons, because its realization is emblematic for the functioning of the capitalist economy. Its construction and functioning foresees a revenue of billions of euros. The project involves big multinational energy companies such as British Petroleum (partly owning the oil fields in the Caspian Sea) and ENI, huge corporations responsible for wars, massacres, and devastations all around the globe, one of the causes that forces thousands of people to flee their own home and search for a possibility of survival elsewhere.

Lastly, the natural gas that this big pipeline will transport, shall serve above all the needs of the industry and therefore of the economy and its productive, repressive and military apparatus.

On the website of the TAP, one can find a study of the economical system in Puglia, which of course mentions the pipeline and all the energy producing structures in the region. Looking at the numbers, one can deduce that Puglia is producing double the energy that it needs, but in the provinces with a bigger industrial concentration like Brindisi and Taranto almost two thirds of the produced energy is consumed by the industrial complex. This is the case in the provinces where one finds the Ilva, the biggest steel factory of Europe, and a petrol refinery of ENI, both producers of cancer and death, and Cerano, a huge carbon-driven energy plant, again producing cancer and death, just to mention a few.

This means that the closure of Ilva and Cerano, the shutting down of ENI and other monsters would allow a decrease in energy production, avoid covering the lands with solar panels and wind towers (Puglia is the most densely covered area), stop spreading wars around the globe and maybe allow us to live better.

But this is a not a narrative in line with the current times. In fact, it is a timeless narrative.

One cannot think of opposing the narrative of the TAP without taking into account a whole series of questions that are intertwined. Who needs all this energy ? What do we have to do with yet another harmful project ? What social consequences, apart from the environmental ones, will the project have on our lives and in the territories it will cross ?

From such questions emerge considerations on how to fight this project and which methods we want to use. Continuing to feed a representative and legalist system, as some groups opposing huge projects or environmental hazards do, also here in Salento, weakens, abates, destroys the possibility of spontaneous, self-determined, horizontal and perhaps a broader and sharper protest. Looking at the callouts of such groups self-declaring themselves representatives of the protests, going so far as to ask people to not go to the construction site in order to avoid tensions – eventually they would also show up to make sure the calm is kept –, it is clear that we are not in the presence of a struggle, but of some sort of act of supervision, of monitoring.

Obviously, everyone should do what he or she sees fit and call the things by their name. But what to do then?

A research has brought us to the identification of people who have signed contracts with the TAP to build the pipeline. Some of these huge companies subcontracted some local companies to participate in the works. Our intent is to put sticks in the wheels of those who participate to this project. The success of this cannot be taken for granted. However we want to try anyways, in the hope of finding next to us (or us next to others) people who want, for the most various reasons, to hinder this new huge project. Without delegation, in first person and on the same side, the side that separates us from the TAP and its supporters.

#### **WORKING FOR THE TAP**

**Bonatti Spa (an Italian company)** EPC contract – engineering, development and construction – for almost 760 km of pipeline in Greece and Albania. They will build two stretches in the north of Greece and other stretches of about 360 km between Kavala and Ieropigi (on the border with Albania). Bonatti consists of:

#### Bonatti S.p.A.

Via Alfred Bernhard Nobel, 2/A, 43122 Parma Tel: 0521 6091

Bonatti is present in Saudi-Arabia Egypt, Algeria, Kazakhstan, Austria, Libya, Mexico, Canada, Mozambique, France, Germany, Iraq, Rumania, Spain and Turkmenistan.

Subsidiaries:

Carlo Gavazzi Impianti S.p.A. Marcallo con Casone (Milan), Italy Carlo Gavazzi Arabia Jeddah, Saudi Arabia Carlo Gavazzi Egypt Cairo, Egypt Carlo Gavazzi Alg Algiers, Algeria Gavazzi Impianti Kazakhstan Atyrau, Kazakhstan

Eurl Bonatti Algérie Hassi Messaoud, Algeria

Bonatti Rohrleitungsbau Ges.mbH. Klagenfurt, Austria

Bonatti Al Dawsr Tripoli, Libya

Bonatti Mexico SA DE CV Nuevo Leon, Mexico

Bonatti Construction Canada Inc. Calgary, Canada

Associated Companies:

Proyecto Camargo Ramones, S.A.P.I. de C.V. Distrito Federal - Mexico

Enhl-Bonatti Limitada Maputo - Mozambique

Isker Bonatti Kazakhstan Atyrau – Kazakhstan

J&P Avax S.A. got the EPC contract together with Bonatti.

16 Amarousiou-Halandriou Street, 151 25, Marousi, Greece

Switchboard: +30 210 6375000

Fax: +30 210 6104380, email: info@jp-avax.gr

**Spiecapag S.A.S** EPC contract for a stretch of 185 kilometers in Greece between Kipoi and Kavala, and two stretches in Albania (215 km). Spiecapag will also build the river-crossing on the Greek-Turkish border, where the TAP will be connected to the Trans Anatolian Pipeline (TANAP).

Immeuble Gershwin, 165 Boulevard de Valmy, 92707 Colombes Cedex – France

Phone : + 33 1 57 60 95 15, Fax : + 33 1 57 60 97 78

**Salzgitter Mannesmann International GmBH** will deliver about 270 km of linear tubes for the onshore stretch and curving connexions for both the onshore and offshore stretches. It will also build the pipeline in the Adriatic Sea between the shores of Albania and Italy. This amounts to more than 71,000 tons of offshore tubes.

Schwannstraße 12, 40476 Düsseldorf, Germany

Tel.: <u>+49 211 43 00 - 1</u> Fax: +49 211 43 00 - 90 <u>info@szmh-group.com</u>

**Corinth Pipeworks S.A**. will deliver 495 km of linear tubes, 270 000 tons in total.

2-4 Mesogeion Av, 11527, Athens, Greece, T.:

(+30) 210 6787680, Fax.: (+30) 210 6787520 Email: info@cpw.gr

**Industria Meccanica Bassi S.p.A** has two contracts: building, manufacturing and delivering joints and welded curved parts with various caracteristics ;and the building of the units for the 'smart' detectors used for the inspection and the cleaning of the pipeline.

Via Bassi Luigi 8, 26865 S. Rocco al Porto (LO)

Phone +39 0377 56023 +39 0377 454300 - Fax +39 0377 569371 - E-mail: <u>sales@bassiluigi.com</u>

The **Nuova Giungas s.r.l.** is the winner of the tender for the design, manufacture and supply of insulating joints.

Via Aldo Moro, 26, 41043 Formigine MO, Tel: 059 578611

**Enereco S.p.a.** Has been awarded the contract for positioning the gas pipeline. This is the construction of the section on land that will connect the offshore to the onshore section, covering the route of the pipeline from the landing to the PRT.

Via Divisione Carpazi, 14 – 61032 Fano (PU), Italy

Via Einaudi 84/88 - 61032 Fano (PU), Italy

tel: +39 0721 8741- fax: +39 0721 861885 - email: <u>info@enereco.com</u>

**Max Streicher S.p.a.** contracted for installing the pipeline (together with Enereco Spa).

Via Giovanni Keplero 5A, 43122 Parma Italy,

Phone: +39(0)521 16807-1, info@streicher.it

**Renco S.p.a** Will build the PRT. The terminal is the final element of the pipeline, through which the TAP will connect to the national Snam network. In addition to the function of receiving and fiscally measuring the incoming gas, the PRT will host the control and supervision centre of the entire pipeline.

V.le Venezia, 53. 61121 Pesaro (PU)

Legal Representative Office: Via Bruxelles, 3/A. Pesaro 20097, Email: <u>renco-spa@renco.it</u>

**Siemens** has been contracted to build six units of turbocompressors. Half of them will be placed in the compression station next to Kipoi (Greece), while the other half in the station of Fier (Albania). Siemens has offices and production facilities in all European countries.

**Siemens Milano Bicocca** Viale Piero e Alberto Pirelli, 10, 20126 Milano Tel. 02/243.1

**Siemens S.p.A.** Via Trattati Comunitari Europei 1957/2007 (n°9) – 940128 Bologna (BO)

**Trench Italia S.r.l.** Bragno, Strada Curagnata 37 – 17014 Cairo Montenotte (SV)

**Siemens S.p.A. Scandicci**, Via Don Lorenzo Perosi 4/A – 50018 Firenze (FI) **Siemens S.p.A.** Via Enrico Melen, 83I-16152 Genova

**Siemens VAI Metals Technologies** S.r.l. Via Luigi Pomini 92 – 21050 Marnate (VA)

**Siemens Healthcare Diagnostics S.r.l.** Via Piero e Alberto Pirelli 10 – 20126 Milano (MI)

Siemens S.p.A. Via Piero e Alberto Pirelli 10 – 20126 Milano (MI)

Siemens S.p.A. Via Vipiteno 4 – 20128 Milano (MI)

Siemens S.p.A. Via delle Ortensie 16 – 70026 Modugno (BA)

HV-Turbo Italia S.r.l. Via Nino Bixio 3 – 21020 Mornago (VA)

Siemens S.p.A. Via F. Imparato 192 – 80146 Napoli (NA)

Siemens S.p.A. Via Prima Strada 35 – 35129 Padova (PD)

Siemens S.p.A. Via Laurentina 455- 00142 Roma (RM)

Siemens S.p.A. Strada del Drosso 40 – 10135 Torino (TO)

Siemens Transformers S.p.A. Via di Spini 9- 38121 Trento (TN)

**Saipem SpA (ENI group)** has been contracted to engineer, deliver, build and place (EPCI) the offshore section of the project. The underwater pipeline will cross the Adriatic Sea between the shores of Albania and Italy, covering a distance of 105 kilometers and reaching a maximum depth of 820 meters. Optic fibres will be placed next to the tubes.

**Saipem S.p.A.** – Via Martiri di Cefalonia, 67 20097 San Donato Milanese (MI) Italy, tel 125201

Other locations:

via Luca Guarico 91, Roma 00143 t: 0645655886

via Toniolo 1, Fano 61032, Pesaro e Urbino t: 07211681

Località Facciolo – Frazione Triparni 89900, Vibo Valentia t: 09639611

Via Lungomare 11, Arbatax 08041, Nuoro t: 0782650900

Via delle Industrie 28, Marghera 30175, Venezia t: 0419650311

Croatian location

Alda Colomella 2, 51000 Rijeka Croatia t: +38551659700

French location

Energies 1/7 avenue San Fernando, Montigny-le-Bretonneux 78884 Saint Quentin Yvelines Cedex, France t : +33161378888

Swiss location

Global Projects Services AG Uetlibergstrasse 134, 8045 Zurich (CH) t:  $\pm 41432102200$ 

Sigurd Rück AG Badenerstrasse 9, 8004 Zurich (CH)

Spanish location

Saipem Ingenieria & Construcciones Av.da de Manoteras 10 Edificio C Planta n°3, 28050 Madrid España

Belgian location

Saipem SPA Belgium branch 11, rue des Colonies Bruxelles

**Rma** contract for the supply of ball valves and large diameter actuators. These are fundamental components for the pipeline that will be installed by the EPC contractors for onshore construction that Tap will choose in Greece, Italy and Albania.

Germany, Oberkirc, Burg Str.

**Gener 2** entered the TAP project thanks to its partnership with the Coin Group, leading clothing retailer in Italy. Gener 2 manages two sales centres, Coin and OVS Industry, in the ABA Business Center

ABA Business Center, Piano 7, Rp Papa Gjon Pali II, Tirana, Albania,

Tel +355 44501700, fax +35542248312, email: info@gener2.al

Sicilsaldo SpA will build the access roads and bridges in Albania.

Zona Industriale II Strada 93012 Gela - Italy

tel. +39 0933 924448, fax. +39 0933 912533, <u>info@sicilsaldo.it</u>- P.IVA 01380260859

**Terna SA** got an EPC contract for the compression stations in Greece and Italy together with Renco S.p.A

85, Mesogeion Ave, Athens 115 26, Greece,

Tel: +30 210 6968000, Fax: +30 210 6968098-99, info@terna.gr

**Himachal Futuristic Communications Ltd. (HFCL)** is an Indian company based in New Dehli which will place 1550 kilometers of optic fibres, assuring communication between all the nodes of the pipeline. The company is involved in everything that has to do with communication and control and collaborates with the Indian Armed Forces.

**Honeywell Srl Italia** will deliver the SCADA system (Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition) for telecommunication and security of the gas pipeline, with the supervision center installed in Meledugno.

Monza, via Philips 12 20900 (Mb), via S. Cannizzaro 23/a 0156 Roma

**Sme strade srl** will collaborate in moving the small stone walls found on the construction sites.

Via Venezia e via Goffredo Mameli 67, Copertino (Le), 0832935587

Trivelsonda s.r.l. Drilling and prospection.

Via degli Stagnini 8, zona Industriale Squinzano (Le), 0832785237

**Mello Lucio** will collaborate in moving the olive trees from the future construction site.

Via Prov.le per Novoli km.1 Carmiano (Le) Italia 73041

+39 3457264956 info@mellolucio.it

**Messapia srl.** terrain adjustment of the zone where the transplanted olive trees will be put.

Via Giovanni Vernazza 32, Castrì di Lecce (Le)

**Ricciato** delivers trucks for the transplanting of the trees.

Campi Salentina (LE) Via Lecce 5 – 73012 Tel. +39 0832 720166

Fax +39 0832 721007 info@ricciato.com

Alma Roma srl, supervision of the construction site in Melendugno

Via Prov.le per Melendugno, 73029 Vernole (LE) Via I. Adriano 9/E, 73100 Lecce.

**Claudio Moruzzi**, security head of the TAP, ex-paratrooper and currenty private security specialist. He's a contractor, a mercenary in the service of the petrol and gas multinationals all around the world and with experience in war zones, in particular Close Quarter Battles, the house by house fighting in urban areas.

**Luigi Quaranta,** Senior Media Advisor of Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP) AG, former journalist of Corriere del Mezzogiorno

**Michele Mario Elia** is the current country manager of the TAP in Italy. Born in Castellana Grotte (Ba) in 1946. From 2006 he was delegated administrator of the Italian Railroads. He was put under investigation for the Viareggio train derailment of the 29th of June 2009.

# TAP STOCKHOLDERS

The stockholders of the TAP are **BP** (20%), **Socar** (20%), **Snam S.p.A.** (20%), **Fluxys** (19%), **Enagás** (16%) and **Axpo** (5%).

#### 1. Snam

Snam is one of the leading European actors in the construction and exploitation of gas infrastructures. It consistes of Snam Rete Gas S.p.A., Gnl Italia S.p.A., STOGIT S.p.A., Italgas S.p.A.TIGF (gas transport in the south of France).

The new company was constituted to receive a third European energy package. The most important stockholders of Snam are CDP Reti (28,98%), followed by Cassa Depositi e Prestiti (CDP) (8,54%).

Snam is organised in districts:

North West District: Corso Taranto 61/a, 10154 Torino t: 0112429311

Centro di Carmagnola, via Monteu Roero 26/1, 10022 Carmagnola (TO)

Centro di Genova, vico Intermedio 1c, 16161 Genova, t: 0106981258

Centro di Santhià, via Olivetti, 13048 Santhià (VC), t: 0142561303

Centro di Tortona, S.P. per Viguzzolo 6, 15057 Tortona (AL), t: 0131861927

Centro di verbania, via B. Intra 26, Località Trobaso 28923 Verbania (VB), t: 0323571651

North District: via C. Zavattini 3, 20097 San Donato Milanese (MI), t: 0251872611

Centro di Brescia, via Dalmazia 100, 25125 Brescia, t: 0303541702

Centro di Castellanza, via Jucker 24, 21053 Castellanza (VA), t: 0331501000 Centro di Cremona, via Milano 7, 26100 Cremona, t: 037223675

Centro di Dalmine, via Locatelli 118, 24044 Dalmine (BG), t: 035561010

Centro di Gorgonzola, via Verdi 55, 20064 Gorgonzola (MI), t: 0396084888

Centro di Novedrate, via Provinciale Novedratese 1/b, 22060 Novedrate (CO), t: 0362501853

Centro di Pavia, via Roma 18, 27028 San Martino Siccomario (PV), t: 0382498407

Centro di Rho, via dello sport 19, 20010 Cornaredo (MI), t: 0294967707

North East District: largo Rismondo 8, 35131 Padova, t: 0498209111

Centro di Codroipo, viale Veneto 1/a, 33033 Codroipo (UD), t: 0434360400

Centro di Marghera, via Botterigo 111, 30175 Marghera (VE), t: 0415389424

Centro di Montebelluno, via Feltrina Sud 137, 31044 Montebelluno (TV), t: 0423302700

Centro di Rovigo, via delle Industrie 37, 45100 Rovigo, t: 0426324508

Centro di Trento, via Negrelli 4, 38015 zona industriale Lavis (TN), t:0461246562

Centro di Verona, via F. Tomba 13, 37061 Ca di David (VR), t: 0458550036

Centro di Vicenza, via Battaglione Val Leogra 92, 36100 Vicenza, t: 0444563038

Distretto Centro Occidentale: via del Commercio 9/11, Palazzine 3-4 00154 Roma, t: 06524961

Centro di Arezzo, via Delle Biole 18, 52100 Arezzo, t: 0575381366

Centro di Avezzano, via Tiburtina Valeria km 112,5, 67060 Scurcola Marsicana (AQ), t: 086336207

Centro di Guidonia, via Nomentana km 15, 00012 Guidonia Montecelio (RM), t: 0774570050

Centro di Pisa, via Don Minzoni 3, 56010 Migliarino Pisano (PI), t: 050804081

Centro di Scandicci, via delle Fonti, Località La Pieve 50018 Scandicci (FI), t: 055720516

Centro di Spoleto, via Flaminia Vecchia 228, 06049 Spoleto (PG), t: 0746200292

Centro di Terracina, S.S. 148 Pontina km 102, 04019 Terracina (LT), t: 0773753041

Centro di Viterbo, strada Rinaldone 24, Località Poggino 01100 Viterbo, t: 0761251418

Distretto Centro Orientale: via M. E. Lepido 203/15, 40132 Bologna, t:051400114

Centro di Civitanova Marche, via S. Pellico 34, 62012 Civitanova Marche

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(MC), t: 0733898100

Centro di Fidenza, via Bologna 9, 43036 Fidenza (PR), t: 0521964034

Centro di Forlì, via Cervese 23, 47100 Forlì, t: 0543720788

Centro di Reggio Emilia, via Pasteur 10/a, 42100 Reggio Emilia, t<br/>:0522558050

Distretto Sud Occidentale: via G. Ferraris 66/f, 80142 Napoli, t: 0815697111

Centro di Benevento, contrada Piano Cappelle 41/a, 82100 Benevento, t:0824834995

Centro di Caserta, via G. De Falco 29, 81100 Caserta, t: 0815206535

Centro di Lamezia Terme, S.S. 280 Bivio Aeroporto, Località S. Eufemia 88040 Lamezia Terme (CZ), t: 096851732

Centro di Palmi, via Felice Battaglia 42, 89015 Palmi (RC), t: 096646228

Centro di Sala Consilina, S.S. 517 km 0,950, Località Voltacamino 84034 Padula (SA), t: 0975574093

Centro di Salerno, via T. Caruto 24, 84131 Fuorni zona industriale (SA), t: 089302095

Centro di Tarsia, contrada Ferramonti, 87040 Tarsia (CS), t: 0981952061

Distretto Sud Orientale: vico Capurso 3, 70126 Bari, t: 0805919211

Centro di Brindisi, via E. Fermi 5/d, 72100 Brindisi, t: 0805057390

Centro di Foggia, via A. Gramsci 111, 71100 Foggia, t: 0881633411

Centro di Matera, via del Commercio 83, 75100 Matera, t: 0835262812

Centro di Vasto, zona industriale Porto di Vasto, 66054<br/> Vasto (CH), t:0873310110

Distretto Sicilia: contrada Mezzocampo via Florio 21, 95045 Misterbianco (CT), t: 0957574311

Centro di Caltanissetta, contrada Decano 71/a, 93017 San Cataldo Scal<br/>o $(\rm CL), t: 093529596$ 

Centro di Giardini Naxos, traversa di via Chianchitta 186, 98035 Giardini Naxos (ME), t: 090621667

Centro di Mazara del Vallo, contrada Capo Feto via Siccome Terrenove, 91026 Mazara del Vallo (TP), t: 0923651213

Centro di Ragusa, Contrada Croce Varino, 97100 Ragusa, t: 095471444

# 2. Socar

The State Petrol Company of the Azerbaijan Republic (SOCAR) is active on many fronts: with the probing of petrol and gas wells, with the production, treatment and transportation of petrol, gas and condensated gas, with the commercialisation of petrol and petrochemical products, offered on national and international markets. SOCAR has offices in Georgia, Turkey, Roumania, Austria, Swiss, Kazahkstan, UK, Iran, Germany and Ucrain and trading companies in Swiss, Singapore, Vietnam, Nigeria,...

# 3. BP

British Petroleum is an international petrol company present all over the world.

BP Italia SPA, BP Energy Europe Ltd

Milan Head Office, Via Anton Cechov, 50/2, 20151 Milan

BP has offices in different European countries.

## 4. Fluxys

Fluxys is a group active in gas infrastructure on the European market. The company is based in Belgium. The company participates in many infrastructures like the Interconnector and the BBL pipelines that connect the UK with Europe, the liquid gas terminal being built in Dunkerque (France), the NEL and TENP pipelines in Germany and the Transitgas pipeline in Swiss.

Piazzetta M. Bossi, 3 20100 Milano

Fluxys has offices in different European countries.

#### 5. Enagas

Enagás is the leading gas transport company in Spain, with presence in Mexico, Chile and Peru. A consortium of Enagas and Odebrecht will be building a new gas pipeline in the south of Peru of 1000 kilometers.

Enagás S.A. Paseo de los Olmos, 19 28005 Madrid Tlf. 902 443 700 / (+34) 91 709 92 00

# 6. Axpo

Axpo is a Swiss group that produces, distributes and sells electricity on the international markets.

#### **Offices in Italy**

Sede Legale e Direzione Generale e Commerciale Axpo Italia S.p.A.

Via Enrico Albareto 21, IT - 16153 Genova

# Presidenza & Relazioni Istituzionali

Via IV Novembre 149, IT - 00187 Roma

# Sede Legale Axpo Gas Service Italia Srl

Via Enrico Albareto 21, IT - 16153 Genova

#### Sede Generale e Commerciale

Via Di Vittorio 41, IT - 20068 Peschiera Borromeo (MI)

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#### **RELATED BUSINESSES AND SUPPLIERS OF THE TAP**

A whole series of companies participates in the building of the TAP, subcontracting also to specialised local and international enterprises. The following list is not definitive.

## Statoil

Statoil is based in Norway and supplies technical services for offshore treatment. Its headquarters are located in Stavanger and its main stockholders are Deutsche Bank and JP Morgan Chase Bank.

**E.ON Technologies GmbH**, based in Germany, supplies technical services for onshore treatment of gas. It has offices all around Europe.

E.ON Italia spa Via Amerigo Vespucci, 2 20124 Milano

E.ON Italia spa Piazza della Repubblica, 22, 20124 Milano

E.ON Energy Trading spa Via Andrea Doria 41/G 00192 Roma

E.ON has a contract with the editor Feltrinelli for supplying energy to all its stores. It is the main private player on the Italian electricity market and has offices everywhere.

E.ON has offices all around Europe:

E.ON SE, Brüsseler Platz, 145131 Essen

E.ON UK, Westwood Business Park, Coventry, England,

E.ON Sverige, Carl Gustafs väg 1, 205 Malmö, Sweden

E.ON Climate & Renewables GmbH, Brüsseler Platz 1, 45131 Essen

# Kantor

Kantor Management Consultants is a European consultancy company based in Athens and Brussels, but also has offices in Warshaw, Bucarest and Sofia.

Omirou & Vissarionos 1, 10672 Athens, Greece, Tel: +30 210 72 97 500 Fax: +30 210 72 49 528, E-mail: <u>central@kantor-group.eu</u>

Rue du Marteau 81, B-1000 Brussels, Belgium, Tel: +32 2 235 20 35, Fax: +32 2 280 07 74

E-mail: <u>info@kantorqwentes.eu</u>8 Lysenko Street, Office 9, 01030 Kyiv, Tel/ Fax:380 44 27 92 435

# JV Topmaps

Joint venture of Greek consultancy companies Makedoniki ETM EE, Gaia S.A. and Geomatics S.A., they are subcontracted for updating property ownership along the construction site through Greece.

Makedoniki Etm Ee Greece Tel 2310888950, fax 2310888960

# Gaia Sa Monastiriou 95, Thessaloniki 546 27, Grecia

Nea Smirni, Atene, Tel 2310516732, 2310540107, email: <u>info@gaiasa.gr</u>

**Geomatics Sa** Zaimi 8-106 83 Athens Tel. 210 3832 264 - 210 3302 514 Fax 210 3807 154 e-mail: info@geomatics.gr

# **C&M Engineering**

C&M Engineering, a Greek engineering and consultancy firm. It will acquire the needed land in Greece.

C & M Engineering SA 99, Pratinou str.116 34 - Atene, Grecia Tel .: (+30 210) 72 20 014 Fax: (+30 210) 72 20 298 E-mail: <u>mail@cmengineering.gr</u>

# Speed Sa

SPEED Development Consultants SA, is a Greek consultancy firm that will acquire the needed land in Greece for the TAP.

Averof 30, Athina, Grecia, Telefono:+30 21 0821 4407

# ABKons

ABKons is a finance and legal services firm in Albania. It will acquire land for the TAP traject through Albania.

Themistokli Germenji, Tirana-Albania, <u>info@abkons.com</u>, tel: 35542258326, fax: 35542258326

# TAP OFFICES

# Trans Adriatic Pipeline AG

Lindenstrasse 2, 6340 Baar, Switzerland Tel: +41 41 747 3400 Fax: +41 41 747 3401 <u>enquiries@tap-ag.com</u>

# Trans Adriatic Pipeline AG Albania Branch

Building No.12 (ABA Business Centre), 9th Floor, Office No.906

Papa Gjon Pali II street, 1010 Tirana, Albania

Telefono: +355(4)4 306 937 Fax: +355(4)2 265 685 tapshqiperi@tap-ag.com

# Local office of Korça

Blv. Fan Noli, edificio n. 4, second story, 7000, Korça, Albania Tel: +355 (4)4 813 052 <u>Alketa.Zallemi@tap-ag.com</u>

# Local Office of Fier

Blv. Jakov Xoxa, Hotel Fieri,third story piano, 9300, Fier, Albania Tel: +355 (4)4 813 052 <u>Dhimitraq.Marko@tap-ag.com</u>

# Local Office of Çorovoda

District Çlirimi, Çorovoda, 5300, Skrapar, Albania

#### Tel +355 (4)4 813 053 Erjon.Piperku@tap-ag.com

#### **Trans Adriatic Pipeline AG Greece Branch**

5, Chatzigianni Mexi street 115 28 Athens, Greece Phone: +30 213 0104500 Fax: +30 213 0104533 <u>tapgreece@tap-ag.com</u>

# **Project office of Thessaloniki**

43, 26th Octovriou & Kefalinias str 546 27 Thessaloniki Tel: +30 2310 553926 Fax: +30 2310 513568

# Local office of Thessaloniki

5 Ag. Georgiou Street, Pilaia Thessaloniki, P.C. 57001 Tel: +30 231 6006 800 Fax: +30 213 0104 533

## Local Office of Komotini

17, Irinis Square & Papaflessa str, 69132 Komotini Tel: +30 25310 72686 Fax: +30 25310 29577

# Local Office of Kozani

15, Alexandrou, 50100 Kozani, Greece Tel: +30 246 105 0807 Fax: +30 246 105 0809

## **Trans Adriatic Pipeline AG Italy**

Via IV Novembre, 149 00187 Roma, Italia Tel: +39 06 697 6501 Fax: +39 06 6976 5032

#### Trans Adriatic Pipeline AG Italy, Ufficio Operativo

Via Templari 11, 73100 Lecce, Italia

Telefono: +0039 0832 249721 tapitalia@tap-ag.com

#### **TAP Info Point**

Via Mozart 9, Melendugno (Le)

Ufficio Operativo TAP Via Einaudi, Melendugno (Le)

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# Contacts

# Biblioteca Anarchica Occupata Disordine [Squatted Anarchist Library Disordine]

Via delle Giravolte, 19 73100 Lecce disordine@riseup.net

**Brecce**, giornale murale aperiodico [*aperiodical wall newspaper*] disordine@riseup.net

# Finimondo

www.finimondo.org

"They protest against the energy that flows under their house, but inside of their house they are more than happy to have it!" yells the stuffy national-popular bourgeois in the spring of 2017 after seeing what's upsetting a small village in Puglia and spreading out to the rest of Italy. Fights erupted between police and opponents in front of the future construction site of the TAP (Trans-Adriatic Pipeline), the new gas pipeline which will link up Europe with the Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline that's connectect with the gas fields in the Caspian Sea. The new gas pipeline will cross the north of Greece into Albania, where it will continue through the Adriatic Sea to finally reach the shores of Lecce in Italy, where it will connect with the existing gas transport network.

The TAP project, as most other energy projects, are considered of utmost "strategical" importance by power. A good enough reason for enemies of power to take a closer look to the ongoing struggle against the TAP. This is a collection of texts by anarchist comrades active in the conflict and wishes to broaden the horizon to favour direct intervention against everything that keeps the energy of power flowing.