

# Tackling energy

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



All texts were translated from Italian.  
May 2017

# From the other side

*Against the TAP 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 have 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, on our heads.

Another important aspect is that we do not claim to be *neutral*; we therefore do not aspire to be *impartial* and 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 in the territory they inhabit, took the *other side* than 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 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 mission” or “international police operation” – or inconspicuous, guaranteeing themselves areas of political and geographical influence.

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

Finding ourselves discussing about the project of the pipeline TAP and of the proposed methods to attempt to contrast its realization, we have asked ourselves – among other things – why 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 to look around should ask, 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 in 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. To appropriate and exploit their energy resources is a good way to impose one’s hegemony. It is not a coincidence that in Sicily arrive pipelines coming from north Africa and that in Puglia there is the plan to make an other one – the TAP – landing from the Caspian Sea and coming from an ex Soviet republic. And 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 certainly 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. And 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 that 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”...), cunningly the entrepreneurs understood that this 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 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 economic saving which would result in a lighter gas bill but, besides being a shameless lie because the natural gas is destined for the european market, even if this was true, would we be willing to close our eyes in exchange of the few crumbs they let fall from their 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 employment blackmail, it is possible that the various specialists who inquire into the social fabric have identified in the pugliese population, and particularly in the salentian one, a high dose of resignation and fatalism, actually present – unfortunately – in a good part of it. For far too long this region has been accustomed to a clientist management of life, or 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 on 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 can. The misfortune of having a Governor considered a sensible person who boasts the “green” principles in its party, 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 as “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 energy-saving 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 right 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 and it cannot be differently, in spite of the technical data provided by the same multinational 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 depres-

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surization power station which would end up occupying an area of 12 hectares and would inevitably release polluting emissions, to the point that a security 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 which, according to the studies of those who want to impose it – literally – are considered “a non-significant variable”. There, this imposition and this being considered *variable* and even further *non-significant*, should alone be reason enough to push us to oppose those who, with similar statements, show themselves for who they really are: colonizers ready for anything just to affirm their interests. To show that we are alive, thoughtful and *significant*, with a dignity to defend, showing 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 on the territory 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 shown, 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 the 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 into fictitious needs.

All this has contributed to create an increasingly energy-hungry society, where the amount of power demanded to keep it running, always faster towards the abyss, is destined *to never diminish*, and where this energy is wasted in the useless attempt of producing more of it, it creates 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 wastes 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 to just defend 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 and recognize ourselves in, as a victim of the same logics of profit which would harm us and 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 purpose does the hoarding and accumulation of natural gas and energy resources have? 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 tied to natural gas is in constant growth, just as the profits connected to it. But besides commodities and the financial profit tied to a few branches of the industry, the one tied to a kind of political gain seems even more important to us; on the horizon of the next years, in fact, with the dwindling of more sources of energy, 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, we would subjugate to 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

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and those who control it will be able to dictate the prices they want, as we will no longer be able to think about or provide for ourselves any alternative, for instance on how to heat ourselves or to cook? And again, what would happen if those who have control of 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?

Hypothesis that can sound like science fiction, but upon which it could be necessary to reflect about. Because, as it has been seen, science fiction is 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”.



What could we oppose to the gas pipeline that the multinational TAP wants to build in Salento? It is a question 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 Turkey, Greece, Albania, the Adriatic Sea and part of Salento.

A *snake* for transporting natural gas and feed the evergrowing market of new energies, to produce ever more new commodities, to enrich ever more the usual known persons, overstepping the people in Salento as well as in Azerbaijan, and everywhere else in the world. For this reason we think that the only possible solution is to put oneself in first person in between things and put an *emergency brake* to this machinery that is called progress and thrown in an insane run. We simply want nature not to be devastated for the profits of some multinational corporations, who try to trick the minds by playing the card of new jobs, but we also do not want to fall into the trap of the *green economy* or the *tourist attraction*. A look to the shores full of concrete, to the lands covered with solar panels and wind farms, to the streets conceived to move ever more faster, 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 surroundings and the people, a NO that cannot be expressed with compromise. To delegate the protest to politics and institutions, to propose an alternative in San Foca or think on how to make *better use* of the financial compensations offered by the multinationals would mean to participate in spaces created by the institutions to simulate, it means 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 be about 900 km long, starting from the Caspian Sea reaching mainland in Salento, on the shore of San Foca (Lecce province) to transport natural gas. In late June, the Shah Deniz consortium in Azerbaijan - members include British Petroleum, Total and Statoil - has 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 will supply the European gas market.

### **Some questions**

Opposition to the TAP, as to any bane, as well as a struggle against a prison, is a classical “partial struggle”; partial, to be clear, not in a negative connotation, but in the sense of defining a particular aspect. But having a wider horizon in all that we do and in the struggles that we make, trying to identify the power and authority of any kind and in all their configurations, and trying to oppose it, is the goal that we have. 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 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 the 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 humans. This example, which may be valid in many other cases, poses a problem. Can we participate in a struggle while separating, differentiating?

The TAP emerged with several issues: from the environmental devastation to the war, to the plundering of resources, capitalist neo-colonialism, 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 the economy: in a word, what is called Domination is also

what governs our lives like those of billions of people and what makes us precarious, exploited, controlled, repressed, etc. Now, we do not pretend that all those with whom we are related in a struggle are comrades or whatever kind of people (just to be clear) having the same approach, but our attempt is to go in that direction.

Because when we speak or act out against exploitation, whether of nature or 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 introduction that may be evident, but it is useful to try to be clear, we come to the mode of action. One that doesn't make it impossible to get in touch with others provided it is in a horizontal and self-organized manner. The logic of institutions, 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, with the main reason that this construction would damage the tourist vocation of the territory. They immediately applied the usual standardized and institutional patterns: parliamentary delegation, petitions, participation in roundtable discussions with the TAP project – that is to say with the multinational that will make the pipeline –, self-referential demonstrations – in the sense that they are often only composed of banners with their initials –, interviews on television and in newspapers – contributing more to the spectacularization of the opposition and not to the opposition itself; especially also as television and newspapers are part of the problem. But that's how it is, everyone chooses his path and acts accordingly. What's the most important is that this is not our way of struggling and given that the opposition to the TAP also interests us 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 accomplices there to struggle together. It could happen, but considering it in a systematic way, as if it were a fact is an error that wastes, among other things, time and energy. The struggle against the TAV in Val Susa, which everyone refers to, probably contributed to this ambiguity. As if the important struggle going on there for several decades would be reproducible anywhere or would be the only feasible model. Often committees have a structure and a way of doing that is very political and that differs little from the institutional way of doing this, which we fail to see because we are blinded by an appearance of action at the basis.

Immediately putting forth our mode of intervention, without delegations, without politics and with our critique on commodities and the existent; searching accomplices or partners starting from ourselves: that is what we intend to do attempting to aim high and fight against a bane, in this case a pipeline, act against this deadly

existent. But another question arises: if we can not find anyone with whom to wage a struggle, 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 still a few ingredients to add: identification, study and fantasy can sometimes be much stronger and potent “weapons” than we might think. Even with small numbers, if one is determined, we can carry out a struggle, or at least attempt to disrupt the mechanism against 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 renouncement 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 we who do not seek consensus and do not necessarily think in terms of organization have more freedom in that sense.

### **Against delegation**

As happens always, someone in the committees is driven by a genuine intention to oppose the nuisances but his modes of action, petitions or media use, 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. All it needed to trigger denunciation and dissociation was a “No Tap “ scribbled by someone on the wall of a golf club (which is in itself already a nuisance, given that to irrigate its huge lawns it sucks the water of neighboring farmers, lowering the groundwater to alarmingly levels) which hosted behind closed doors and protected by the police, a meeting between members of the TAP and local administrators. We wonder if, when bulldozers arrive to begin the works, the sympathetic activists from the committees will demand special laws and deportation against those that will have enough will and rage to really oppose. Expecting that the various members of the committees will at one 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 very large, but we are also interested to intervene in the relations between individuals, what we are interested to put forward is a mode 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, even apart 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 favor of the project, considering it of strategic importance for the national economy and beginning to mystify the reality about the impact on the territory, 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 necessary 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 to pacify, to avoid that the suspicion 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 into the democratic cage of petitions and legal methods, pretending to participate while we undergo. Concealing 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, seeking to convince people of the goodness 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. Opposition to a nuisance can become a spark, a beginning, a fire that spreads and questions more. An opportunity to oppose in the first-person singular and to stop a monster and then stop many others, among them also the mentality of delegation. From work to school, home, leisure, the places we inhabit, pieces of life that are stolen from us and that we want to reappropriate by sending to hell the defenders of progress and this world.

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There is probably no famous writer to be found who would claim the soundness of it, but that for sure doesn't diminish its potential. A sabotage was perpetrated against the drilling engines that are doing preliminary drillings 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 cutted tubes which will provoke a halting of the works for some days as the damaged engines will have to be removed and remplaced by other ones. All this happened while the TAP published the call for tenders for the various works which would start in 2016 in the European Official Journal. A good warning for the aspirant contractors.

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

Now that the mask of political mediation fell for definitive, now that the joke of defending the interests of citizens by independent organisms turned out to be what it always has been, now that the mecanism of delegation sunk miserably, the only way to truly oppose what they want to impose on us is showing itself in an ever clearer way : direct opposition, in first person, through the attack. Some voices looking in this direction were raised for some time by now...

The old idea of expressing *in a concrete way* your own hostility towards the colonisers and speculators of the day and their supporters has finally been picked up by some sleepless anonymous insomniac who got hold of his own will and courage and threw his heart – and arms – beyond the obstacle. Probably not all share this act, castrated by a religious morality and a sacred fear for the law, but

it is also certain that many have approved this sabotage, laughing underneath as to not attract to 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 layed out and to make it ever more clear. On your own or with company, with many or with few, according to your own inclinations and needs.

Maybe then one will be able to stop laughing underneath and do it openly and loudly...

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# ■ The absent

## *Curious news and institutional opposition*

As we are persons interested in struggles, so it happens that we catch up on people engaged in them... In this curvy wandering, it sometimes happened we followed those who oppose the TAP, the huge project that would bring millions of cubic metres of gas for Azerbaijan to Salento. For sure, we didn't follow them when they went into the administrative courtrooms where they are waging their bureaucratic fight on the rhythm of appeals and official documents; neither did we follow them in the palaces of Power where they were hanging out – city councils, provincial authorities, regional administrations, Parliament – accompanied by combative men of Power, trying to block a project of Power wanted by other men of Power. No, we followed them when in a stronger, harder and more determined way they brought their restless opposition to the gas pipeline in the real and true agora of the protests 2.0 : the facebook profile of the No TAP committee!!!

It is on this profile we came across a news item that stirred up our curiosity. On the 4th of July, a post appears saying that in an area of the TAP construction site, where “*preventive archeology digging*” is going on, “*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 from 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 realisation of that project, going up to the point of affirming that “*this is not the moment for damage nor for violence*”. Bah, that could be: because in the end, it is them who head this struggle, so for sure they know well when (if) “*the moment for damage and violence*” comes. They will surely announce that moment on their facebook profile as to make sure everybody heard 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 taking from an act, nor the usual dietrologia (*beyondology*) which always pops up when something happens for real 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 drill of the TAP which was doing some preliminary drillings, sabotaged by the cutting of some tubes].

No, what struck us the most was how they managed, the No TAP Committee, to hear about the news which neither the TAP itself talk about, nor the local newspapers. For pity's sake, it is not that we are thinking that it was maybe them who committed this "vandalism", because that would give them again a trust they do not merit. 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 tens of minutes without being disturbed." Should we then think that it were the security officers themselves who informed the activists of the No TAP Committee about what happened, emitting the hypothesis of a confidential relation between the opponents of the project and its private defenders? Or was it straight away the police, emitting the hypothesis of a friendly relation between the opponents of the project and its state defenders who are always searching for useful information? We hope this is not the case, because if it would be, who knows what all the people who trusted their opposition in the wise hands of the No TAP Committee, of their official documents, of their Power friends and their facebook might think...

But at least, in the midst of this fog, on the labyrinthic roads of possibilist confusionism, those who like us are interested in struggles have a reason to be optimistic, yes they do. Somebody, some night, didn't listen to the call that the No TAP Committee for many months now has been repeating; not only the call that says "*it is not the moment for damage nor for violence*", but neither the call to not approach the construction site as to avoid tension and provocation, as they have repeated many times. But for the rest, calls are made in school and those who answer them are only those who are present. The others, the absent, do not. The absent have other ways of showing their presence.

[Published in *Brecce*, giornale murale aperiodico, n° 6, August 2016,  
for the occasion handed out by hand ]



## **AND NOW IT IS UP TO US**

### **BEGINNING OF THE TAP WORKS**

The times of mediation are over.

The beginning of the works for the TAP, with the translocation of the first four trees from the construction site where the starting hole will be drilled, has torn the veil – in case this was still necessary – of the last illusions for those who believed that the bureaucratic, institutional and juridical way could really stop the works. 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 some local village council or some appeal in tribunal wouldn't block a project that is considered to be of a "*national strategic interest*".

Now that the Law sides on its own side, now that the village administrations have to realign themselves to the directives of the superior levels and are called to order, now that the regional government, the new Pontius Pilatus, 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 a thing to state that they are defacing the shores; hoping to make businessmen – who have hearts like money boxes – feel sorry. It is senseless to point at the development of tourism hoping to bring a mercenary heading the surveillance of the TAP to reason. It is pointless to ask the guardians of order to intervene in favor 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 favor of the territory in which we are living, 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 in 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. We can still do so much to block the works and make it difficult for their project to be build on our being overwhelmed. 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 of some protest movement 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 himself in between to stop them. Everyone has a reason for complaining : environmental devastation, denaturing landscapes, impoverishment of resources, polluting of soil, air, sea... And then, as if this wasn't already enough, all complain – also them, those who head the protests – that the country is not growing, the GDP neither, the stock exchange collapses, the European Union sanctions us, the spread increases and the taxes also, while employment tackles...

Let's take Salento for example. A place in the south, backwards as is the whole south, where the State together with gentlemen decided to finally bring jobs, innovation, development : in one word, civilisation ! And without too much consequences for its inhabitants, a part from 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 they, what do they do? Instead of being satisfied with the opportunities presented to them, not only do they complain and try to block the building of this tube, but now also have started to be disrespectful towards those who should build it. And so, do we have to say they have all the reasons to do so? In the end, as stated the former PDL senator Giovanardi, it are "*five persons who want to return to the agro-forestry-pastoral civilisation of just keeping up with life during 32-33 years*".

Can you imagine that some days ago, somebody was so hard-nosed to go throw two incendiary bottles against a structure serving as 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 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 land of welcoming, so much that some years ago somebody spoke about proposing a Nobel Prize for Peace to the priest who was welcoming immigrants, a priest that was strongly opposed by the way. What would be the indescribable destiny of all these benefactors?

Who committed this vile act is not known, and all possibilities seem open. There was talking of vandalism and of organised crime, or maybe it was one of those retrograde bucolics of whom Giovanardi spoke. 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 being upset by this act. We tried, we even forced ourselves. But really, we didn't succeed...

[Published on *Finimondo*, 15/02/2017]

**AUTORGANIZZIAMOCI CONTRO TAP**

Vorremmo dar vita a un momento assembleare e d'incontro settimanale per confrontarsi, discutere e organizzare iniziative concrete contro Tap e contro le nocività che stanno soffocando le nostre esistenze. Tap è solo l'ultima in ordine di arrivo ma l'elenco è purtroppo lungo. Di sicuro c'è la voglia e la necessità di dirci contro poiché non ne possiamo più di vedere la natura devastata e sfruttata e non ne possiamo più di assistere a guerre per il gas e per l'energia. Non possiamo più sopportare morti in mare e sulla terra, in fuga dalla guerra o dalla miseria. Non abbiamo bisogno di più merci e nuovi dispositivi di controllo ma abbiamo bisogno di più dignità e libertà. Ognuno a suo modo, ognuno secondo la sua sensibilità ma con l'unico obiettivo di non far passare Tap e tutto il modello economico e sociale che rappresenta. Non in qualsiasi modo però. Vogliamo costruire uno spazio d'incontro autorganizzato e orizzontale, fuori dalle istituzioni, anche le più basse nel gradino della rappresentanza che fanno comunque parte (e ne devono rispettare i limiti) di uno Stato che si è schierato a fianco di Tap e ne è una sua costola. Lontani mille miglia da autoritari di ogni risma che dividono il mondo in categorie da selezionare o da escludere (fascisti in primis) vogliamo agire in prima persona senza portavoce o rappresentanti vari. Fuori da una logica mediatica per cui ciò che importa è ciò che dicono giornali e televisioni o addirittura Tap. Ciò che ci preme è relazionarci con esseri umani in carne ed ossa, parlarsi e agire insieme laddove è possibile. Vogliamo essere uniti da un obiettivo comune senza dover rinunciare alle nostre differenze, alle nostre idee, alle nostre sensibilità, alle nostre pratiche. Ciò che ci incuriosisce in questo mondo è la pluralità e non l'omologazione. Pensiamo che Tap non si trovi solo presso il cantiere di Melendugno ma che sempre più sarà ramificata in tutto il Salento e in tutto il mondo, avendo stretto contratti e collaborazioni con numerose ditte locali e non. Diffondere quindi un'opposizione e contrastare Tap ovunque si trovi, pensiamo possa essere una delle strade utili da perseguire senza perdere di vista ciò che accade nei luoghi maggiormente interessati dalla costruzione del gasdotto. Non resta che incontrarsi e sperimentare.

**Proponiamo una prima iniziativa per**

**VENERDÌ 19 MAGGIO ORE 21**  
**area cantiere Tap**

**Proiezione di**  
**“LA MESSA DELLE CINQUE”**  
**Film-documentario su una lotta antinucleare in Francia**



“We have to evict the area anyway.” These were the words spoken by a police chief nicknamed “Hitman” in front of demonstrators sitting on the ground, trying to prevent the trucks of a subcontractor of the TAP to leave the construction site and take away the olive trees – prelude of the start of the works to build the gas pipeline on the Italian shore. Many are getting to know the true face of the State these last days: demonstrators, singulars, even mayors with their three-colored strips. The State, its Government and its Parliament are overstepping everything, sparing really nothing: the earth, the trees, the persons, the ideas, the hearts, the bodies. Defending the multinational TAP is what matters, of which the Italian State, through Saipem and Snam, is also part, and allow the consortium to realize its useful works building a structure that nobody wants in Salento and for the most various reasons. And so the State and the Economy show what it actually means to be at war, to act against populations and territories, and 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 daily business. These days, we feel closer to Iraq, to Afghanistan, to Azerbaijan, to Nigeria, to North Dakota where resources are plundered and the lands colonised. And this is what Salento is becoming since decades. The environmental harms are piling up, from the Xylella case wanting to promote the transformation of traditional into industrial agriculture, to the so-called renewable energies, the Ilva and Cerano factories and the toxic waste buried since decades in the lands of Salento. Now comes this gas pipeline TAP, the responsible for the security of the works, present on the construction site, is a contractor, an ex-special forces hired by multinationals around the world. Another piece of war that should open eyes. The determination and the anger these last days expressed by so many individuals who are trying to block the trucks of the TAP, surrounded by hundreds of men in police uniforms, as to prevent them from transplanting the olive trees is one of the cards that can be put on the table. Together with the strong tramontana north wind, yearnings for life and dream continue to blow and 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 the house they want it!" yells the stuffy national-popular bourgeois these days when 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 going 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 pretext starts, Salento is not alone.

Standing Rock, for example, is 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 region of Alberta in Canada. If we leave the New Continent to move on to 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 Burgundy, in Haute-Vienne, in the Loire or also not so far away from Paris. And in Finland we could quote Pyhäjoki and the Gulf of Botnia.

What might be connecting all these geographical points? Not only the fact that also there structures for the exploitation of energetic resources are being built – or active since years, like in the German case –, but also that these projects wanted and imposed from above are met with strong resistance from below, with forms of struggle that often break out of the anxiety of legal dissensus, 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 to be 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 criticise the use of a certain type of energy considered polluting and dangerous – like nuclear energy – but not the need for energy as such. And this explains the reason why on the one hand, so many opponents tend to criticise 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 kilometer distance between the North of Dakota and Illinois, many redskin tribes, beginning with the Sioux, declared war. Apart from the usual petitions and appeals to the authorities (last September, there were not less than 33 000 of these), last April, the descendants of Sitting Bull set up a camp that they wanted 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 redskin tribes 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. The tribe would also not have been sufficiently consulted. 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 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 took place against pipelines and petrol. Just outside of Hythe lived a Christian community headed by Wiebo Arienes Ludwig (the John Brown of the struggle against the gas and petrol industry) who died of cancer in 2011 after having gone through various juridical calamities (suspected of being the author of sabotage actions, he was arrested while buying dynamite from an infiltrated cop). A month ago, after the last sabotage, an official of the Canadian Association of Energetic Pipelines 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 do their thing while the security officers are on the other side."

In Westphalen, in the surroundings of Niederzier, we find the notorious Hambach mine. Lignite, or dark coal, not petrol. Active since 1978, Hambach, with its 34 square kilometers and its depth of 450 meters, is the largest man-made hole in Europe. Throughout the years, in that zone, whole villages have disappeared from the surface of the earth, devoured by the carbon industry – today considered even more necessary as to avoid the use of nuclear energy – and now its further expansion is also threatening the homonymous forest for which many persons are mobilising. Some build small tree houses and live there to hinder the cutting of the forest, others dedicated themselves to other activities of disturbance. On the 25th of November 2016 for example, some people waited for the cover of the

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.

In the meantime in France, high tension lines as well as wind parks have been put into question. In Haute Durance, one has lost count of the numerous sabotage actions realised the last years to protest against a project that according to RTE (Electricity Transport Network) would accomplish a true miracle: by building two new high tension lines, with hundreds of pylons, succeed in guaranteeing not only the development of renewable energy projects, but also the biodiversity of the zone (sic!). The dependance on nuclear power plays an important role also in the building of wind parks, planned in many zones in France (like those already functioning in Puglia and many other Italian sites). But also in this case, protests and direct actions leaving the supporters of so-called clean energies stunned aren't lacking. Like the officials of the company Epuron, a multinational exploiting the wind farm in Saint-Suplice Les Feuilles, who are facing "an principal opposition from persons lacking 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 build 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, built 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, built a year before by the company Neoen; one night later, the tower in Doizieux (for the second time in a few months) from 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 reasons to exist than the intolerance and violence they display." 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.

Speaking of Finlandia, 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 element 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 in Pyhäjoki in June 2015, during the spring of 2016 fire first destroyed vehicles of the company responsible for the security of the site and then blocked the acces road to the construction site as to express refusal of any dialogue, any debate, any negotiation.

Obviously each and everyone of the opponents of various energetic 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 matters that are rarely taken into consideration as they would put into question the civilization itself in which we are living. One in all: *what purpose does all this energy have in the current society?*

When State officials and delegated 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 barrils of petrol from the Bakken Formation in North Dakota, or extract each year 30 millions of tons of carbon in the mine of Hambach? Are they worried that the food in our refrigerators does not rot, that the lights in our houses do not go out, that are daily tasks do not encounter difficulties, that the fuel for exploitation and control never lacks? This is one of the banalites that, as they accompany 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 made on the measure of the human being.

Maybe the best way to understand this is having a look at the history of energy.

It is a story that is passed on 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 to tap from as to avoid the use of polluting ressources. In reality our civilisation tends to accumulate, not to substitute.

The fact that some governments avoid the use of a certain energy source does certainly not spring from ethical worries, 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 huge global producer of carbon energy, highly polluting (the mine in Hambach is considered to be the thirth most harmful mine in Europe). And 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 an internal logic of progress (the first steam engines were very expensive and inefficient) and not even a logic of overcoming scarcity (the United States chose coal even if they possessed huge forests). It are always the logics of power that prevail, the political and military choices. The case 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, as well in Europe as in the USA. Its rise 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 claims 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 ferment which brought to the development of unions and mass parties, to the extension of general suffrage and 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 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 organisations). 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 favor of petrol. To this end, substantial funds were destined to the building of refineries.

The energy consumed by singular individuals in their houses, so present in the advertisements of the 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. To not even mention war, which devours energy in unimaginable dimensions. During the Second World War, each American soldier consumed a gallon of petrol (3,7 liters) a day, which increased to 9 gallons (33,3 liters) during the Vietnam War, then to 10 gallons (37 liters) during Desert Storm and then 15 (55,5 liters) during the Second Gulf War. The new war machines burn so much energy that their consumption isn't measured in liters per 100 kilometer, but in liters per hour. A F-15 fighter burns 7000 liters of kerosene per hour, a B-52 bomber 12000. In 2006, the US Air Force consumed 9,62 billions of liters of kerosene.

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

That the world is balancing on the edge of the abyss is an awareness, or even just an intuition, which is ever more spreading and no media-technological anaesthetic can stop it. With all revolutionary horizon cancelled from history, in front of a humanity in decay – and at the mercy of wars, catastrophes, epidemics, exodes and such – only *extinction* appears which is becoming probable even for the most optimist expert. There are no saving lifeboats in our titanic society. For those who do not want to spend their lives with prayer or indifference, as for those who do not intend to capitulate in front of fatalism, there's no doubt: *to block everything* is the minimum one could try.

The ongoing struggles around the globe against the exploitation of energetic resources do not only raise the question, but also offer a possibility. The multiplicity and contradictions of its motives should not deceive us. Yes, compared to the past, in the

third millenium it has become possible for desire for subversion to meet the 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 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 civilisation – the civilisation of money and power – surely cannot be put into question just out of respect for centuries-old olive trees and ancestral rites, or to save forests and beaches which are in big part already polluted. Only a *different* conception of life, of the world, of relations, could do this. Only this can and should put energy into question – in its use and in its requirements, therefore also in its structures – and doing so, putting civilisation itself in discussion.

And this is the nightmare of any man of power, worried for his privileges and incomes. It is not a coincidence that the bureaucrats of the European Union have declared energy one of its most sensitive points: the energy sources are "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 certain sense, power knows that the human beings could live (and even live better) without all this energy; but the State can't.

If one deprives this world of the energy that perpetuates it, what would happen? The apocalyps that the guardians of order swear that will break out when industry and commodities are blocked, with its repeatedly evoked series of rape, lynching and various massacres, or could another way of life emerge, a more simple and attentive way? Just as they won't make us accept the State waving with the need for social organisation, or make us accept work with the need for activity, in the same way, the need for energy should not make us accept nuclear plants or wind farms, petrol wells or gas pipelines. It is not about giving clean or economical energy to this society of death – the sole problem that excites the citizenist advocates of decrease –, it is about stopping it.

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

[Published on *Finimondo*, 31/3/17]



## **WE TAKE NOTE**

### **COLLABORATION OR STRUGGLE ?**

*We take note* that when you point towards the moon, the fool looks to the finger. One is more disgusted about some old stones that are being used to build a barricade than several hectares of terrain surrounded with concrete walls and fences, day and night under surveillance of armed private guards payed by those who want to impose a nuisance and headed by a contractor with former experiences in military operations all around the world.

*We take note* that the No Tap Committee tirelessly continues its endeavour of dissociation of any self-determined act of opposition against the construction of the pipeline. This endeavour of dissociation is now going on for years and helps the police to limit 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 Gathering that emerged to fight against the TAP. Amongst these decisions are the building of barricades and the removal of the Tele Norba television crew.

*We take note* that this overstepping of collective decisions becomes – in the facts – some sort of collaboration with the TAP, to whom the No Tap Committee already allowed one time, pretexting the potting of some eradicated trees dumped on the ground, to reinstall and reinforce the fences and to try to get a huge truck with cranes away from the site, which was only blocked thanks to the rage of the demonstrators. And, by the way, not one potting of olive trees was done at that time. The No Tap Committee, or some of its representatives, have to assume the responsibility for this sort of collaborationism and be accounted 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, instrumentalise the rage and the spontaneous and sincere protests of many

opponents, aiming at a media catwalk where they can brag about merits they don't have concerning the temporary blocking of the works. Without the direct opposition of many people during the transplantation of the olive trees, this would have continued and finished in just two days, not anyhow disturbed by the merry complaining of the bureaucracy and the Law of ministries, administrative courts, constitutional tribunals, Region Deputies and so forth; that same entities, the same bureaucracy and the same Law that endorsed and approved the TAP. We do not intend to be used as henchmen by nobody.

*We take note* that the No Tap Protest Gathering, by means of social media that it uses to communicate, transformed its name in No Tap Movement, pretending with this self-proclaimed definition to represent and express the whole polymorphous and varied front of opposition to the TAP. We consider this to be wrong as we do not feel represented by ideas, practices, contents and press releases that want to speak in the name of everybody. Everybody speaks for himself.

*It cannot go on*, a situation in which constantly somebody tries to seem good in the eyes of the media, letting others seem bad, no, such a situation cannot go on.

*It cannot go on*, a situation in which there are those who outcry about repression, at the hands of the commander of the police forces of Melendugno, who has a close relation with the No Tap Committee, and therefore, also with the Protest Gathering, or at the hands of the provincial president of the Arci [mostly lefty cultural circles], Anna Caputo, who defined some demonstrators as "vandals": her declarations are garbage. Is such a person, who always invokes handcuffs and prison, considered to be part of the No Tap Movement?

*It cannot go on*, a situation in which the assembly of the No Tap Protest Gathering is in the end dominated by the indications of the commander of the police and of the No Tap Committee, which will persist in its endeavour of persuasion until it has obtained the result it wants: letting the TAP enter the construction site.

*It cannot go on*, a situation in which one feels okay to compare the TAP with people who are fighting against it just because he doesn't share the method used, that by the way was decided during an assembly on the Gathering. When some years ago the No Tap Committee went to set several times around the table with the TAP to discuss with those responsible for the project, nobody dared to compare the Committee to the TAP, even though they didn't share the collaboration method of the Committee.

*A great hue and cry* has been deliberately whipped up about an old wall being used as a barricade, without giving the least thought on why barricades were erected:

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to stop or slow down trucks that had to transplant trees and allow people to approach the construction site. The fear that the families of Melendugno would have felt seeing the barricades has been used, the same families that brought their children in front of the police lines to stop them from passing, maby to hide the fear of those who want that everything just stays the same and continues as normally. Street blockades, bodies who stopped trucks from passing and barricades have broken normality, that same normality for which gas pipelines are being built and devastate the social and environmental life in a given territory.

*Having taken not of all this*, we will continue to go forward with our opposition to the construction of the TAP, as we are since several years, in the ways and in the times that correspond us the most, autonomously or with others if our own trajectories and our practices intertwine with those of others.

*To the many willing, courageous and determined ones* with whom we have shared day and night hours, experiences and hopes, the intertwining of bodies during the passive resistance and the future projects during these short but intense days of struggle, we say that we are ready to meet eachother, in a truly horizontal and self-managed way, to continue to project and express our visceral hostility towards those who want to build the pipeline, who want to impose it, who defend it and all its collaborators.

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

# ■ Identifying the enemy

*A look at the TAP consortium*

Despite the muddled procedures and the non-fulfilment of the delay period, the 16th of May 2016 the TAP consortium officially inaugurated the construction site. Representatives of all of the involved multinationals and of the States where the gas pipeline will pass were present at the ceremony which was held in Greece with Tsipras hosting the event.

In Greece and Albania, the works seem to be advancing a bit more (although not so much) than in Italy where the TAP didn't manage to respect the preliminary delays. They more or less postponed everything until October. Those who employed themselves to stop this huge project with official papers are satisfied with the work done as the TAP indeed collides with a hairsplitting bureaucracy - used as an opposition instrument - that they probably imagined to outflank more easily.

But the big supporters of the TAP don't seem to give up and confronted with the request of the citizens to respect the rules, they answer creating new ad hoc rules that tightly fit the project and can therefore easily be respected.

And so, reading and re-reading articles in the local press which obsessively repeat more or less the same news, 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 gas pipeline TAP makes completely part of the spasmodic research of this economical system and the governments that support it for energy and energetic resources that could continue to support it. The latest wars we have seen, from the north of Africa to the Middle East, have been rooted in the problem of control over these resources and the economical and geopolitical interests that derive from it.

By transporting natural gas from Azerbaijan, "the gas pipeline TAP would allow a diversification of energetic resources", say its supporters, "and such a transport would allow an enfranchisement from Russian resources" but apart from the debatableness of this assertion, denied by the agreements between the Russian company Gazprom and Azerbaijani Socar on natural gas, when you listen to the a bit too fervent words of exponents of the Italian government, one understands the TAP is a strategic matter.

This denomination has been repeated as a mantra tens of times, but now it has acquired a much broader meaning.

The TAP is not only strategical for the reasons exposed before, but also because its realization is emblematic for the functioning of the capitalist economy. Its construction and functioning forsee incomes of billions of euros. The project involves big multinational energy companies like British Petroleum (partly owning

the oil fields in the Caspian Sea) and ENI, huge corporations responsible for wars, massacres, devastation all around the globe, and therefore 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, you can find a study of the economical system in Puglia which quotes the gas pipeline and all the energy producing structures in the region. Looking at the numbers, you see 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, and other huge industrial structures.

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 in 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 do opposing huge projects or environmental nuisances, also here in Salento, weakens, abates, destroys the possibility of spontaneous, self-determined, horizontal and maybe broader and more incisive protest. Looking at the calls of such groups electing themselves as representatives of the protests and pressing themselves to ask people not to go to the construction site as to avoid tensions – with them being there to control them –, it is clear that we are not in the presence of a struggle, but of some sort of vigilance, 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. To succeed in doing this cannot be taken for granted. But we want to try it 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) got the 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](mailto:info@jp-avax.gr)

**Spiecapag S.A.S** got the 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 the curving connexions onshore and offshore. It will also build the stretch of the pipeline in the Adriatic See between the shores of Albania and Italy. This amounts up to more than 71 000 tons of offshore tubes. Schwannstraße 12, 40476 Düsseldorf , Germany  
Tel.: [+49 211 43 00 - 1](tel:+4921143001) Fax: +49 211 43 00 - 90 [info@szmh-group.com](mailto:info@szmh-group.com)

**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](mailto:info@cpw.gr)

**Industria Meccanica Bassi S.p.A** got two contracts: building, manufacturing and delivering curves with various characteristics and the building of the units for the 'intelligent' detectors for inspection and 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: [sales@bassiluigi.com](mailto:sales@bassiluigi.com)

La **Nuova Giungas s.r.l.** will be building, manufacturing and delivering the isolating joints. Via Aldo Moro, 26, 41043 Formigine MO, Tel: 059 578611

**Enereco S.p.a.** will place the pipeline on the stretch on land, connecting the offshore and onshore sections, covering the section between the landing of the pipeline 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: [info@enereco.com](mailto:info@enereco.com)

**Max Streicher S.p.a.** got a contract for placing the pipeline (together with Enereco Spa). Via Giovanni Keplero 5A, 43122 Parma Italy,  
Phone: +39(0)521 16807-1, [info@streicher.it](mailto:info@streicher.it)

**Renco S.p.a** will the PRT. The PRT terminal is the final element of the pipeline

where the TAP will be connected to the national Snam network. In this terminal will also be located the control and supervision center of the whole pipeline.

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

Legal Representative Office: Via Bruxelles, 3/A. Pesaro 20097, Email: [rencospa@renco.it](mailto:rencospa@renco.it)

**Siemens** has been contracted to build six units of turbocompressors. Half of them will be placed in the compression station next to Kipoi (Greece), 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 Meloni, 831-16152 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. Imperato 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 for engineering, delivering, building and placing (EPCI) of the offshore section of the project. The submarine pipeline will cross the Adriatic Sea between the shores of Albania and Italia, covering a distance of 105 kilometers and reaching a maximal 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

*Croat 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: +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** has been contracted for building the spheric valves and the big diameter external operators. These are fundamental components for the pipeline that will be installed by the EPC contractors on the onshore sections in Greece, Italy and Albania. German, Oberkirc, Burg Str.

**Gener 2** entered the TAP project thanks to its partnership with the Coin Group, leading retailer of clothing 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](mailto: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, [info@sicilsaldo.it](mailto:info@sicilsaldo.it)- 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](mailto: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 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 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 transferring the olive trees on the future construction site.

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

+39 3457264956 [info@mellolucio.it](mailto:info@mellolucio.it)

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

Via Giovanni Vernazza 32, Castri 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](mailto:info@ricciato.com)

**Alma Roma srl**, supervision organism 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 current private security specialist. It'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 Battle, the house by house fighting in cities.

**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 of the slaughter in the station of Viareggio on 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 building and exploiting of gas infrastructures. It consists 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 society was constituted to receive the 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:

**Distretto Nord Occidentale:** 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

**Distretto Nord:** 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

**Distretto Nord Orientale:** 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 Biele 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 (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: 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 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 Scalo (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: exploration of petrol and gas fields, production, treatment and transport of petrol, gas and condensated gas, commercialisation of petrol and petrochemical products on national and international markets.

SOCAR has offices in Georgia, Turkey, Roumania, Austria, Swiss, Kazahkstan, UK, Iran, Germany and Ucrain and commercial societies 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 Transigas 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)

Axpo has offices in Swiss and other European countries

**TRUSTED COMPANIES AND SUPPLIERS OF THE TAP**

A whole series of companies participates in the building of the TAP, subcontracting also to specialised local and international companies. 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 on-shore treatment. 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 Warsaw, Bucarest and Sofia.

Omirou & Vissarionos 1, 10672 Athens, Greece, Tel: +30 210 72 97 500

Fax: +30 210 72 49 528, E-mail: [central@kantor-group.eu](mailto:central@kantor-group.eu)

RueduMarteau81, B-1000 Brussels, Belgium, Tel: +3222352035, Fax: +3222800774

E-mail: [info@kantorqwertes.eu](mailto:info@kantorqwertes.eu)

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.

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**Gaia Sa** Monastiriou 95, Thessaloniki 546 27, Grecia

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

**C&M Engineering**

C&M Engineering a Greek engineering and consultancy firm. It will acquire the needed land parcels 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: [mail@cmengineering.gr](mailto:mail@cmengineering.gr)

**Speed Sa**

SPEED Development Consultants SA is a Greek consultancy firm that will acquire the needed land parcels 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 parcels on the TAP traject through Albania.

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### **Finimondo**

[www.finimondo.org](http://www.finimondo.org)



*“They protest against the energy that flows under their house, but inside of the house they want it!”* yells the stuffy national-popular bourgeois in the spring of 2017 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 endpoint in Turkey of the Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline that’s connect 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 fair enough reason for enemies of power to have a look at the ongoing struggle against this TAP, put together this collection of texts from anarchist comrades active in the conflict and broaden up the horizons as to favour direct intervention against everything that keeps the energy of power flowing.