Fifth European Strategy Meeting of By2020WeRiseUp

From March 4th until March 8th, as part of a grassroots summit, up to a hundred people from at least 23 different countries, from all kinds of groups, movements, and countries came together in Brussels to work, plan, and strategise together for the upcoming year. These are the exhaustive minutes, you'll find the executive summary here.

In the following, "the movement" doesn't refer to the By2020-platform but to the movement for climate justice as a whole, created by all existing groups. "We" is to be understood as representing the participants of the conference, as groups or people, as part of the climate justice movement.

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Wednesday, 4th of March

Welcome

- Welcome speech welcoming the variety of people in the meeting
- Who is here?
  In attendance were people from at least 23 different European countries representing mostly climate justice but also some social justice groups from all parts of the movement (grassroot groups, Fridays for Future, XR, and NGOs) or coordination efforts. The number of participants fluctuated due to the nature of the grassroots summit between at least thirty and up to a hundred on a daily basis.
- The principal aims of the agenda were:
  - Empowerment
    - Turning a calendar full of European actions into a synergetic wave
    - Skill-sharing & Networking
  - Strategy
    - Objective of the 3rd and 4th waves
    - Meaning, importance, specifics: impact, tactics, targets, objectives, coordination, etc.
- Sociogram: How familiar are you with By2020?
  - About two thirds of attendants felt as if they had a good idea about what By2020WeRiseUp as a platform stands and aims for
- Recap:
  - For an introduction into By2020, see the Beginner's Guide.
  - Outlines of a common theory of change, as agreed upon in a consensus during the Fourth European Strategy Conference in Nuremberg:
    - We must change for the upcoming period – if we do not reinvent (strategies, tactics, the language we use, ourselves), we risk losing impact in the longer run.
    - Big numbers are perfect to increase impact, if you have a purpose for them. We are pretty good at mobilizing numbers at this point.
    - Simply doing something new/completely different can be radical.
    - Diversity in the sense of including marginalized groups is a tool to protect quality of democracy and the overall space for action, for everyone.
    - We must have the space for groups with different levels of radicality, for different groups to be able to take on the role of "friendly faces" and other groups as "mean faces" in a coordinated way that increases our collective impact.
    - We also must create space for personal/individual radicality - exposing ourselves, being personally radical, "polarizing" means that the majority cannot live in indifference, no matter how they react.
    - Social justice must remain part of the movement, the goals, and the messaging.

Sharing 2nd wave-actions

- Switzerland
  - Hundreds of activists marched and skied to Davos for three days, blocking one of the two roads leading to the summit
  - Swiss activists walked free after their trial brought on by the bank Crédit Suisse
  - Massive media action asking Roger Federer to stop supporting Crédit Suisse reached mainstream newspapers and forcing a reaction both from him and the bank

- Portugal
  - Targeting banks such as Santander, Bank of China and BNP Paribas but also taking it to the ministry of finance and to company insurance Allianz. Raising awareness + NVDA
- Italy
  - FfF Italy targeted Eni, one of the seven supermajor oil companies in the world which is in part owned by the Italian state, in many cities.
- Belgium
  - Targeting the Brussels motor show and two weeks later disrupting and successfully preventing most of the official "debriefing from Davos" conference in Brussels, with other 200 activists and a convergence of 25 groups.
- Austria
  - Dancing dinosaurs brought Fridays for Future activists with other groups to the Vienna car fair in a joyful but determined action.
- Sweden
  - Creative NVDAs targeting banks

Timeline for 2020

The timeline was put together beginning of March and before the full extent of the Covid-19 outbreak and government's containment measures were clear.

March
- February 26 – April 12: 40 Days of Action (Faith XRUK)
- March 13-14: National FfF Strikes in France, Portugal, and the UK
- March 21: International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination – national demonstration planned in NL
- March 28: Housing Action Day
- March 28-29: Meeting and strike for climate justice and against mega works (Venice)
- March 28-29: Movement of Movements conference (XR)

April
- April 3: National/digital FfF strikes in Poland, Ukraine Czech Republic, and Netherlands
- April 5: Creative mass action (non-NVDA) in Rimini, Italy
- April 5-19: Hambach forest skillshare, Germany
- April 13th: 100 days of the new government. XR Action in Spain
- April 13-18: XR NL Rebellion Week @ The Hague
- April 14-19: Food Sovereignty and Climate Justice Camp Cologne
- April 16: Launch of browser extension Block Fossils Out (by Europe Beyond Coal) - digital direct action
- April 16-19: XR Switzerland Rebellion Week @ Geneva
- April 17: Block Bayer @ Cologne
- April 17: Tell the truth campaign directed at media companies by a climate justice action coalition in Poland
- April 17-18: Farmer actions in Belgium
- April 20 - 26: Fashion Revolution Week
- April 20-26: Bure, France: Semaine Antinucléaire
- April 22: Global Earth Day
- April 23 - May 23: Ramadan Action in collaboration with XR Muslims XRUK
- April 24: FfF Global climate strike

- April 24: Galp must fall, Lisbon

May
- May: Ende Gelände targeting Datteln IV, no concrete day yet
- May 04 -11 (open end-ish): Rebellion wave in Germany (Berlin), France, Australia, Canada, Finland, and the US
- May 11-17: Rebellion wave in Austria (Vienna)
- May 15: Strike for Future, Switzerland
- May 15: Action against the construction industry in southern Germany, Wurzeln im Beton
- May 15 - 19: Climate camp in Huelva Port, led by 2020 Rebelión por el clima Sevilla
- May 15 - 23: Climate camp in Barcelona, led by 2020 Rebelión por el clima Barcelona
- May 16/17: Future Beyond Shell - people's summit, Den Haag, Netherlands
- May 18/19: Shell Must Fall - Den Haag, Netherlands; mass civil disobedience Blockade of the Shell Shareholders Meeting.
- May 18-24: XR Spain rebellion wave
- May 20-25: Animal liberation skillshare in Hambach Forest
- May 23 - July 4: NVDAs by XR UK & 3rd International Rebellion
- May 23: Blocking the COP of oceans, Lisbon, Portugal
- May 26-28: Stop the War on Migrants action on UDT arms fair (Rotterdam)

June
- June 2 - 5: XR Norway, Week of action
- June 6: European FfF-demonstration in Belchatow, Poland
- June 6 - ?: XR Sweden Rebellion
- June 6 - 14: Austrian climate camp 2020, mass action against automobility on June 12
- June 11 - 19: XR Marseille action
- June 12 - 19: XR EU rebellion in Brussels, EU-summit June 16-18
  - after the EU-summit: heads of state returning to their countries
- June 13 - 20: Lower Saxony, Germany: Together Against the Animal Industry - PHW ade! Action camp against the animal industry company PHW

July
- June 29 - July 9: Collective Climate Justice (Camp + decentralized actions), Basel
- July 9 – 14: Climate Camp Scotland, including an action against fossil fuel industries and a planning meeting for COP26
- July 10-12: Encontro Ecologista Galiza
- July 11 - August 23: 13th edition Alter Tour 2020, France
- July 30 – August 13: Climate Camp in the Rhineland, Germany

August
- August 7-9, Greece camp against oil & gas extraction
- August 24-30 - (exact dates tbc) Radiaction camp and mass action against nuclear power

September
- September 4 - 6: Limity Jsme My, mass action against coal, Czech Republic
- September 5 - 25: Jai Jagat, Brig-Sion-Montreux-Lausanne-Geneva (1 week at UN, 1 day for climate activists for talks), they are interested to create joint actions during their way (but also in the countries before Switzerland! let's do something together!)
- September 6-12: Venice Climate Camp, Italy

- September 13 - 15: EU-China summit in Leipzig (both XR and Antifa groups announced massive protests)
- September 27: Ende Gelände, Rhineland, Germany
- September 26 – Oct 2 - Switzerland : GENEVA Festival and Forum Jai Jagat 2020
  https://jaijagat2020.eu/geneva-events/

October
- October 3 - 5: Collective Climate Justice Camp (3rd) & Action (5th), Switzerland

November
- November 9-19: COP26, Glasgow, UK

Thursday, 5ᵗʰ of March

Objectives & Tactics

Objectives

Breakout groups: What are our groups' objectives? What would we like the movement's objectives to be?

Groups' Objectives
- Build alliances
  - Connecting with indigenous resistance
  - Combine activism from climate & animal rights
- Mass mobilisation (x3)
- Take money and social licence away from fossil fuel industry
  - Target economic structures
  - Practical divestment vs / & ideological, ecological narrative
- XR's: Tell the truth, act now, beyond politics (x3)
- Mass civil disobedience
  - Escalate to COP26
- Fossil Fuel infrastructure
  - Against airport expansion
  - Make city car-free
  - Stop oil and gas emissions in Greece
- Zero emissions (x2)
  - Escalate to elections (Norway 2024)
  - Poland: Neutrality by 2040
- Economic system change by 202?
- 1.5C target (x2)
- Raise awareness
- Citizens assemblies

Climate Justice Movement Objectives
- XR: Tell the truth, act now, beyond politics (x3)
- FFF: Climate Justice + Human Rights
- Propaganda for a better energy policy
- Athens initiative against oil + gas extraction = stopping expansion (x2)
- Intersectional, inclusive movement → climate justice
- Unified strategy strengthening movement
- Change the economic narrative / bring anti-capitalist narrative to wider movement
- De-colonialisation of the climate movement
- People decide, not lobbyists.
- Mass mobilisation (x2)
- 3.5% active in discussions
- Synergy in diversity
- Scale up + coordinate civil disobedience actions to create awareness in the public, put pressure on economic and fiscal sector on politics → climate justice

Tactics

Breakout groups: Which tactics have we tried? What has worked? Why?

- Outreach
  - Politicians lobbying (but being tough)
  - Public education
  - Educate businesses
  - Engaging workers
  - Engaging media
- Creative tactics
  - Fake blood, fake oil, visual actions
- School strikes (x4)
  - Looses attention after a while if a critical mass of people join, it becomes disruptive long-term
  - Attention from government
- Block fossil fuel events
- Civil disobedience / NVDA (x6)
  - Adapted to regions,
  - Public awareness
  - Newsworthy
  - Challenge political institutions
  - Disruptions
  - Target:
    - Crossroads, finance institutions, government institutions, occupation of key infrastructure.
- Demonstrations & campaigning
  - To be a "friendly face" to counter image of terrorists given by repressive governments
  - In front of government buildings, pressuring those responsible
  - Relatively safe
- Subvertising (subverting advertising)
  - Advert spaces
  - Street art
- Hunger Strikes
- Reputational attacks
  - Twitter storms etc.. digital activism
  - Cut links between opponents
  - Truth telling campaigns
  - Toxic tours
  - Boycotts
- Change from the inside. People working "within the system"
- Clean – ups picking up trash

What do we need to achieve maximum impact as a movement?

Feedback from breakout groups about what is missing from our movement(s), aka. from the climate justice movement as a whole

Group on: What is missing in terms of ecosystem of movements?
- By2020WeRiseUp coordination in terms of time & space
  - Coordinated narrative – connecting in specific times and work towards specific narrative

- ○ Each group has space for what they can do and freedom but with similar time and narrative
- Lacking representation in which groups are here
  - ○ Lots of FfF and XR, not so many grassroots-groups *[note: grassroots are more familiar with CJA and were therefore more likely to choose the CJA-track during the grassroots-summit]*
  - ○ Not all countries, not a huge diversity of groups, how can we reach more?
  - ○ For small groups, little incentive to join.
- How can we engage?
  - ○ Through emotions,
  - ○ Physical meetings like this, easier to connect
- Lack of respect / mandate / legitimization for decisions made here
- Show benefits for actors to work together within a joint platform such as By2020

Group 2 on: What is missing in terms of ecosystem of movements?
- Environmental connection to other struggles?
  - ○ Two approaches_ take other issues into our movements or support other movements.
- Discussion platform in each country,
- Mass movement – further than activist circle
- Resources to teach about alternatives
- Strong alternative media resource
- International learning to increase radicalisation and skills

Group on: What is missing in terms of objectives?
- More concrete and focused
- Movement focusing on more different actors – target biggest polluters?
- More SMART goals?
- Cluster groups into subgroups?
- What does success mean?
- Some objectives more open / not against something = system change, justice.
- Quagmire of details in solutions – discussions instead of action.
- Example: German Zero – bottom up climate law initiative before next election.

Group on: What is missing in terms of tactics?
- Polar opposite ideas: We are missing
  - ○ More disruptive actions
  - ○ More accessible actions
  - ○ Connecting tissue is complimentary of actions --- communication channels
- Longer actions
- Technical blockade, strategic cooperation
- Framing the local/global
- New or unexpected tactics
- Action news platform
- "aggressive" shareholder activism
- Actions without a risk of being arrested
- Creative, replicable actions
- Make activism mass compatible
- Empathy dialogue actions

Group 2 on: What is missing in terms of tactics?
- Too little activists

  - More training + mobilisation.
- New ideas of media attention -> more people to join
  - More fun in actions!
  - Fun striking again, some strikes have become more routine.
  - Striking exams?
  - Media attention requires we do something new
- Occupation of public institutions and buildings
- Importance of waves + times to rest
  - Either each organisation takes turns or we go together and then rest together
  - Not putting actions on the same day.
- Visioning the future in disruptive actions

3rd wave – Maximising impact

*On the working basis of the preceding session, breakout groups focused specifically on the upcoming months. Key takeaways from every working group put into **bold**.*

Coordination
- **Resources, Specificity, Communication, Language, Theory of change, Intersectionality, Narrative, Levels of coordination.**
- We need more **resources and volunteers** for coordination
- Be more **specific** in the desire and hope. Ask what you need. Every movement has to have and give an overview of what they can and cannot offer.
  - We need to know each other better (diversity in coordination platforms) to work better!
  - Idea: "Card game of the climate justice movement " (collective description)
- Can we agree on a **communication platform**?
- Language can be a challenge – English is merely a compromise and often not a native language
- Intersectionality remains a challenge
- What are our theories of change?
- Build a climate movement **narrative** – mobilise locally
- There is need for **coordination on different levels** (existent: local, regional, national, transnational, European) that would ideally feed into one another

External communication
- **Do it strategic! And coordinated or at least synergetic**
- To whom do we talk? Public, politicians, and How?
- Imagine one person and talk to her/his/they. You imagine an Avatar/person (social media marketing)
  - What do they know?
  - What do they need to understand us?
  - What do we want to transfer?
  - On what channels can we reach them?
- Call to action: as exact as possible
- Use positive and constructive wording
- Focus what we want , not what we do not want
- Official media < ----- > social media
- Different group's communication
  - We are not in competition, but allies

　　　◦ Integrating our different perspectives

Internal communication
- **Two main aspects: security + accessibility**
- There are too many channels and platforms. We need a channel that's friendly for newcomers
  - Channel allowing access
  - Channel allowing security and potential anonymity
  - Allow decentralization and federation
  - Having 1 platform collecting different groups
  - Different circles of security and access to get into more internal communication

Tactics to increase escalation and pressure
- **The two main threads are disruption and accessibility.**
- **The combined solution is complementarity** – no one has the correct answer but we all have parts of it
- Questions:
  - How do we escalate while still respecting each others principles, values and tactics?
  - How can we make our actions more creative, more disruptive?
  - What is our common ground?
  - How do we synchronize our actions?
- Preliminary answers:
  - Focus on working together, without the need of finding a common narrative, easy to arrange
  - Digital activism
  - Complement our tactics collectively
    - For example: Mass NVDAs + small affinity group actions
  - Less people, more tools (e.g. lock-ons) would increase efficiency
  - Small things, small actions. Performative, creative and disruptive
  - Give ourselves enough time to plan + prepare
  - Identify targets for disruption

Objectives
- **What is our common ground in regards to objectives?**
  - **Objectives might match short or long term.**
  - **Differences can best be handled through common, concrete projects!**
    - There is no way that all groups will agree to the exact same action form, targets, narrative, demands AND press work – but we might be able to agree on some or even most!
- International thematic working groups
- Get rid of the growth paradigm
- Change the dominant narrative about participating in society and the climate catastrophe
- Framework for a division of areas to take action on
- Centralised research basis
- A medium to discuss, track and visualize changes in our objectives
- Narrative tackling the root causes
- Long term goals
  - Use research that is there, absolute carbon budgets planetary boundaries
  - Collaborate and split tasks. NGOs do research and skill-share, grassroots groups do actions
  - Lawsuits, regulations, etc. – what do we need to change?
- Short term goals
  - Divestment, closing of polluters

- ○ Polls, have we shifted the Overton window

On the urgency of the climate crisis and targeting AGMs

The presentations were kindly provided by Climaximo and Europe Beyond Coal

The state of the climate crisis
- • *The slides of the presentation can be found on the By2020-Website. The following commentary to the slides was written by the presenting person. The numbers indicate corresponding slide(s).*
  - ○ 1) The level of investment in renewable energies is promising, with most of new energy deployment being made in solar panels and onshore wind (hydropower is not really renewable and there's already an overexploitation of available rivers and consequent degradation of water and emissions connected to organic matter submerged).
  - ○ 2) Nonetheless, there is still a massive investment in fossil fuels, namely in coal, and the global south, namely China and India are now the world's biggest emitters (although the US is the biggest producer of oil and gas, as well as northern countries such as Russia, that export fossil fuels to the south, where the factories produce the products that are then sent to the West, so its still the same geographic injustice).
  - ○ 3/4) The IEA predicts a further increase in fossil fuels, namely oil and gas, and a slight decrease for coal up to 2030. We should be aiming at a 50% cut of emissions by 2030, and they predict an actual increase. The cut should be massive, and most importantly in coal, but in oil and gas as well. The expansion of renewables without replacing fossils is a useless effort, as renewables don't take CO_2 or methane from the atmosphere.
  - ○ 5) The capitalist economy only knows you to grow and how to extract more resources. The level of raw materials in 2017 was of 100 GT between mineral, ores, fossil fuels and biomass, with only 8.6% being cycled (Global Circularity Gap report 2020).
  - ○ 6-8) Emissions are still on the rise, aggravating a tendency that goes back as far as the end of WWII. The annual mean growth is also on the rise.
  - ○ 9/10) 2019 is the year with the highest emissions ever, with a 0,6% growth projection compared to 2018 . Oil and gas production and emissions increase, and there was a small decline in coal. The only time emissions dropped was in the financial crisis in 2008. The coronavirus crisis and predictable recession will probably make emissions go down again.
  - ○ 11) We are now living with a temperature that hasn't been recorded in the world since the interglacial Eemian period, about 125 thousand years ago. We were probably a million (?) homo sapiens there, living in very specific locations. The CO_2 concentration in the atmosphere is unparalleled in the last 3 million years (we are about 300 thousand years old as a species), but probably more, but we have no reliable proxies for determining the concentration before that.
  - ○ 12-14) in 2019 many local and regional records of highest temperature were set, and 2019 is the second warmest year on record. In the top-10 of hottest years, all are in this century, and the six hottest years on record were the last six.
  - ○ 15-18) In terms of warming, the last decade was the one that increased temperature the most, following a tendency that started in the 1950s. Europe's summer was scorching, with many places recording average temperatures above 36ºC. In Australia, there were temperature anomalies in December exceeding 16ºC, which meant temperatures above 50ºC.
  - ○ 19) This February, in the Antarctic there was a recorded temperature of 20,75ºC, much warmer than most of Europe in the same period.
  - ○ 20) In Mozambique, cyclone Idai destroyed the second biggest city, Beira, and probably killed tens of thousands, but the ability of the state to save, help and reconstruct is minimal. The city will probably be moved inland and hundreds of thousands of refugees will leave to other

places. Less then a month later, another cyclone, Kenneth, landed in Pemba, also in Mozambique, wrecking this city.

- 21) In Australia, with peak temperatures there were massive fires and we are now seeing white middle class people having to run away from climate catastrophes. But still they are not filthy rich, so the government still supports fossil companies.
- 22-25) The dimension of the fires in Australia is of a continental magnitude, breaking previous records (that are also mostly in the last years). Yet the level of emissions is still less than a third of the emissions associated with Australia's coal and gas exports and less than a half of international aviation. It has doubled Australia's domestic emissions.
- 26) In Brazil, forest fires in the rainy season were mainly of direct human action, with a day of fire supported by the fascist government of Bolsonaro which wants to open exploitation of the Amazon and has attacked indigenous communities with unprecedented violence.
- 27/28) We are currently heading to a over 4ºC increase if the pathway of emissions continues. If current policies are actually implemented, it can go down to 2.8-3.2ºC, to be able to achieve 2ºC or 1,5ºC compatible pathways, emissions need to drop dramatically. There's a measurable gap that can tell us not only that governments and companies are lying but also by how much they are lying.
- 29) The 2º and 1,5ºC 'safety threshold' is theoretical, to try and stop runaway climate change, but many tipping points are already well underway.
- 30-37) The year was also marked by the biggest mobilisations ever on climate justice, with the climate strikes, XR and Blockadia pushing activism into the forefront. It is now in our hands to stop this madness. We didn't choose this time, it happened to us, we can only choose what to do with it. We choose to fight and we will fight to win.

Targeting AGMs (= Annual General Assemblies)
- *Slides will be put on the By2020-Website and linked here.*
  - *Minutes will be added from the presenting person*
- Communication:
  - Be personal: names and faces of the CEOs
  - Image: around fire and #weneedfirefigthers
  - TEBC will provide free material without brand to be use for all movements
  - Block Fossil Out digital – a software that will be launched in April that block sites that are connected to fossil fuel

Strategy Workshop I

The strategy workshop was kindly developed and held by activists from Tractie, La Transicionera, and Climate Justice Program.

Model I: Movement action plan

Strategy role-play (advantages and problems were identified by participants themselves):
- There is a refugee camp in your city with terrible living conditions. The city counsel is not providing shelter or humanitarian help an you want to do something about it.
- Roles:
  - Bringing friends together to create a playground for children
    Citizen → *low-key involvement, appealing to many people*
    - *Advantages:* Visible achievement and beneficiary impact; emotional involvement; link to the people; children are most vulnerable but whole families are supported; human values
    - *Problems with taking it to the extreme*: No long term-impact; unsustainable; perpetuating

the problem; too much belief in the institutions fixing things

- ○ Mobilizing contacts with connections and resources to pressure the city council to shift their short-term politics by campaigning
  Reformer → *using the political system to have a wider impact*
  - Advantages: Direct link and not necessarily as much effort to achieve results; long-term impact if successful; by the action you´re pointing out that council is failing
  - *Problems with taking it to the extreme:* Too easy to ignore; highlights and possibly reproduces positions of privilege as politicians only tend to talk to those already in power
- ○ Mobilizing a group to block the local government until they act and improve the situation
  Rebel → *drawing a line, putting problem on the agenda*
  - *Advantages:* Polarizing and taking away the space for indifference; forcing people to position themselves; win new allies; self-empowerment by shutting down the perceived root of the problem; winning time (either pressuring a wanted decision or delaying an unwanted one); even going to trial might be beneficiary in terms of providing a platform for the topic (longer term)
  - *Problems with taking it to the extreme:* Confrontation leads to oppression that potentially leaves the people taking action isolated ignored, and persecuted; possibly losing support of citizens; possibility of marginalizing yourself
- ○ Get in contact with the refugees, set up a communication structure, establish a contact, find a way to influence the decision makers to create a fundamental shift in politics
  Organizer → *long-term, structural impact*
  - *Advantages:* Giving the people that are actually affected a voice; matter of respect; not appropriating struggles; empowerment for the refugees
  - *Problems with taking it to the extreme*: Not seeing the whole picture, help may not be wanted; getting lost in organizing without ever getting anything done / creating ever more meta-structures without getting to the base of the problem; reflecting too much about what people really want instead of taking action
- ○ Structural problem within movements: **activists tend to believe their own role to be the best in the world and want to only go for that kind of action**

Theoretical explanation

- *A short article explaining the Movement Action Plan, including an illustrative diagram, can be found on the* [By2020-Website.](#)
- Theory of change behind the model: change will come when a majority of people from the general public believe in that change
- Stages: Business as usual → normal channels fail (but that can still be ignored) → conditions ripen (more and more actions and awareness among larger public) → take off (big part of society becomes aware) → activist failure (activists get frustrated cause there are no real outcomes – action creates reaction: power holders will make empty promises, criminalize, marginalize or try to win over activists) → BUT majority of public are aware of problem, only don´t have the answer → success, answers are being found → move on
- Trigger events can accelerate and cause take-off
  - ○ Can be external or created by the movement itself
  - ○ Regarding the climate crisis e.g. global strikes or Australian brushfires
  - ○ Different roles (mentioned above) have different developmental lines during the cause of time (E.g. number of rebels drop in phase of activist failure, role of the citizen needs to be paid attention to and taken care of after the take-off to keep broader public engaged
  - ○ If the different roles don´t complement each other, there's a high risk of movement-inefficiency
- Multi-layered action plans needed to mobilize many people from different action levels and regions

- E.g. mass civil-disobedience action and climate litigation and low-level campaigning
- Self-care is important because people will be in there for the long run and governmental commitment/ successes cannot be trusted. Activism can be very frustrating

Self-assessment in the Movement Action Plan *(groups positioned themselves on the MAP)*
- Businesses as usual: (none)
- Normal channels fail: (none)
- Conditions ripen: XR Belgium, XR Poland, Money Rebellion (XR), FfF Netherlands, Athens initiative against oil and gas extraction, FfF Ukraine, XR UK, XR Austria, YFC/FfF France, ScnCC (Austria)
- Take-Off: XR Germany, CCJ (Switzerland), CaCC (UK), 2020 Rebelion por el clime (Iberian By2020-coordination), FfF Italy, FfF Iberian peninsula
- Activist "failure": FfF Poland, 350.org, Ende Gelände, Reclaim the Power
- Win majority of public: (none)
- Success: (none)
- Moving on: (none)

Model II: Momentum-driven Organising

You can find the presentation on which the following minutes are based on the By2020-website.

Two historically dominant models of organising
- Structure based organizing (e.g. unions, Saul Alinsky, Ella Baker)
  - Deep leadership development
  - Concrete and winnable demands targeted at decision makers
  - Building strong organisations
  - Based on a monolithic power model (only power holders have the power to change things)
  - Theory of change: we leverage power of a base of decision makers to win concrete reforms
- Movement based organizing (e.g. Frances Fox Piven, Martin Luther King)
  - Grows through moments of whirlwind
  - Broad demands that speak to high ideals, not necessarily winnable
  - Mass escalation, non-violent direct action
  - Based on a social power model (a lot of people have the power to change things)
  - Theory of change: by engaging in mass disruption to the status quo we create a crisis and change the political weather
  - These two different types of organizing have alternated during the course of history
- Momentum based organizing tries to combine both organising types

Momentum based organising
  - **Cycle of escalation, absorption, and active popular support**
    - Self-assessment on the momentum cycle
      - Absorption: XR UK, XR Austria, ScnCC (Austria)
      - Between Absorption and Escalation: XR Germany
      - Escalation: By2020 Spain, Portugal (FfF + Climaximo), FfF Poland, XR Wroclaw, XR Poznan, Athens initiative against oil & gas extraction
      - Between Escalation and Popular support: Ende Gelände, FfF Switzerland
  - Different tactics needed to target different groups of allies/opponents
    - Spectrum of support: opponents - active opposition - passive opposition – neutrals - passive allies - active allies – movement
    - You need to target the public to diminish support for the opponents; you cannot achieve

    success only by targeting the opponents
- ▪ Not just passive but active and sustainable support is needed - this is where absorption comes in: giving people who are joining something to do directly , mass training, communication…
- ○ **You need to convince the public three times:**
  - ▪ 1.) There´s a problem
  - ▪ 2.) Institutions are part of the problem
  - ▪ 3.) The solution we offer is the right one
- ○ Tactics on action planning:
  - ▪ Polarize; changing your place on the spectrum of allies and opponents is a moral question
  - ▪ Make it simple
  - ▪ Make it matter (people believe something if it's meaningful to them, not because it's true)
  - ▪ Demands can either be symbolic or instrumental (see the [By2020-advisory on demands](#))
  - ▪ The cycle takes you upward through different scales of escalation but trigger events remain important
- ○ Tactics on self-organisation
  - ▪ Recruit, try to absorb people into active support at every step of the movement
  - ▪ Have few layers within your movement
  - ▪ Give everybody a role
  - ▪ Develop a relation culture (“culture eats strategy for breakfast”), e.g. XR's DNA

Friday, 6th of March

Strategy workshop II

The strategy workshop was kindly developed and held by activists from Tractie, La Transicionera, and Climate Justice Program. After recapping on the earlier parts of the strategy workshop, they were applied in working groups

Strategy-Terminology
- Goals & objectives = the change you want to see
- Tactics = the things you want to do to make that happen
- Strategy = how different objectives & tactics play together to reach your overall goal

Strategically targeting the public
- Priorities:
  - Messaging to young families, students, teachers
  - Linking with other groups and struggles
- Identifying questions per groups:
  - Young families and parents: What world do you want your children to grow up in?
  - Students: What world do you want to live your life in?
  - Teachers: Wouldn't you like to teach your students the truth? How will you motivate your students if there is no future for them?
  - Groups of people fighting for other causes: How can we support you when climate change will impact you more?
  - Farmers: What do you do when you can't count on the seasons?
  - Churches: Shouldn't we protect creation?
  - Industrial workers: Wouldn't you prefer a job that isn't negatively impacting others and the environment? *[Comment: It's probably best to target them in another role than as industrial workers as people tend to identify with their jobs and are afraid of losing them.]*

Tactics
- Three types of trigger events:
  - Created by ourselves
  - External events we cannot influence like natural disasters
  - Political events that can be targeted, e.g. EU summit, COP
- Utilising unpredictable events (e.g. natural disasters, corruption cases, etc.)
  - Basic and adaptable framing and narrative
    - Good coordination channels to communicate and exchange quickly
    - Embassies are always available as possible target
- Predictable events
  - Plan one big event/action for the 4th wave decided by us
  - Decide on things like narrative, time-frame, targets, complementary of tactics, etc. beforehand

Absorption
- Have (better) integration concepts for new people
- Make an overview of your organisation: Is it simple enough to be understood immediately?
- Support structures for affinity groups
- Active listening – build trust (between different types of groups)
- Elements of fun needed!

- Hope – inclusive
- Change our communication depending on whom we are talking to
- Organise skill-shares
- Start from being heard as an individual

Narrative

Breakout group split up into two groups due to the initial group's size

<u>Narrative I</u>
- To think more clearly about narratives, we can discern **different elements** out of which narratives are made:[1]
  - **Problem**: What is wrong? (e.g. fossil investments, mining expansion, or the system). To be precise: who is portrayed? (the opponent/villain)
  - **Goal**: Where do we want to get to? (e.g. weakening fossil free institutions, no new fossil infrastructure, system change)
  - **Actor**: The heroes! who is going to solve it (citizens, politicians, movements, unions, …)
  - **Action**: What do the heroes need to do? (divest institutions, block or occupy stuff, connect to other movements)
  - **Narrator**: Who tells the story?[2] (youth, 'regular citizens', rebels, workers, grandparents)
  - **Public**: Who is listening, who do you want to connect with?
- We can also discern between **different kinds of narratives**
  - There are **pathway narratives**, meant to get us one (or a few) steps further, showing the pathway to where we want to get. These can be for example 'divestment', 'declare emergency', 'keep it in the ground', 'just transition'.
  - There are **meta-narratives** like 'system change' or 'climate justice'. They are bigger, overarching narratives made to connect groups, struggles, movements and narratives. Within these meta-narratives, different sub-narratives exist and can be aligned, even if they are sometimes in ambiguous or tense relation with each other?
- In our discussions, different points came up:
  - We wondered what is the hegemonic narrative? Someone said that today this narrative is: the citizen is the problem and the citizen is the solution via green consuming to reach 'sustainability'. The narrators are corporations, governments, media (and often citizens themselves). The public is the broad population.
    - How to deconstruct and counter this narrative?
  - Telling a narrative isn't only by speaking or writing, it is often by <u>doing</u> things. We can show the problem by showing the solution, we can show we can already do things differently.
  - We had a discussion on using the same words and (meta-)narratives in different contexts. People from Poland FFF for example stated it was hard for them to stress the 'system change' aspect to not marginalize themselves. Others felt we should be explicit in our anti-capitalism. There's no consent in the group to explicitly state that 'the system is the problem'. However different roles and different contexts allow for different words and stories.
  - A German XR member wondered how to get from climate change as a problem to climate justice and system change (as steps of radicalization).
  - How (meta-)narratives are translated to specific publics of course matters. For some publics, some words are very loaded and to be avoided (like capitalism). It is good to get our stories very clear and intuitively understandable.
  - To transform people we should look at where audiences are, not at where we think they

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1 Based on the article: Luederitz et al., Many pathways toward sustainability. Not conflict but co-learning between transition narratives, in: Sustainability Science 12 (2017), p. 393-407.
2 Often for climate change this is scientists – they're not good at touching common notions or playing on emotions.

should be. Departing from their everyday realities and connecting through common notions (like the notion 'solidarity' we have in common with unions). This connects to what was said during the presentation of momentum driven organizing: "people find something true because it matters to them, not the other way around." We should keep that in mind and not equalize our ideological positions with our narratives.

Narrative II
- A good narrative
  - points out that the system is the problem
  - makes the problem matter to people! (e.g. polarisation: Which side are you on?)
    - "It's *your* moral decision to take"
  - allows for different stories to be told under the umbrella-narrative
  - targets the ones who are missing from the movement
- Ideas:
  - Simply declaring a European uprising (for examples, see existing By2020-offerings for external comms, especially the core messaging, or other existing narratives going in this direction)
    - not all that appealing to people outside the movement
    - not targeting anyone
- Aspects:
  - Problem – Solution
    - Making the problem concrete makes it matter, e.g. fossil fuel industry – talking about "the system" or similar tends to paralyse people => communicate an achievable objective
      - "Fossil fuel industry must fall/end" spikes the question why and names the target
    - "It's enough"/We're not waiting for governments any longer
      - In some languages, e.g. German there's a double meaning of something having to stop and something being sufficient
    - We need to shift the power/people before profit => democratic decisions about fossil reserves
    - Combination: **Fossil [industry/world] must fall and power has to shift so [we, the people] are rising up – are you?**
  - Actor – action (What does the hero of our story need to do?)
    - Avatar is moving towards us on the spectrum of support, hasn't taken action yet but is now / has taken part in marches but is now becoming an active part of the movement
  - Narrator – public
    - Using or spiking questions, ideally moral questions
    - Coordinated declaration of a European uprising by sending a press-release at the same date
    - "It's enough": In face of continued government inaction, the European climate movement is declaring its own climate emergency. We cannot wait for governments any longer but will rise up all over Europe. [less complicated phrasing!]
      - Option to sign it individually after it has been issued?

3rd wave – from strategy to action

Wave proposal of the Iberian coordination

Context
- Spain and Portugal = Iberian peninsula

- Coordination space : Spanish 2020 Rebellion pour el clima
  - Groups : Climaximo, XR, Ecologistas en accion, Climaccion, Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, and dozens of other groups
  - Aim: building waves of resistance
  - 60 people met in February to plan and strategise together and, among other things, came up with a proposal for the 3rd wave

Presentating the wave proposal
- Wave structure:
  - Kick-off moment in March
  - 24th of April as launch of the wave
  - Several actions in May targeting AGMs and Harbours
  - EU Rebellion in June as a moment of coming together
  - Narrative proposal: Fossil economy must fall!
- Advantages:
  - Nationally flexible dates
  - Flexible concept/narrative: infrastructure and governments can be targeted; can be narrowed down to single companies, can be upgraded to capitalism must fall
- Weaknesses:
  - Negative slogan, may need expansion from groups
  - Not intersectional
  - No common demands
  - Only indirectly connected to (post-)colonialism as well as the ecological/biodiversity crisis

Discussing the wave proposal
- We should make this more than the sum of its parts
- 13th of March is too early for a common kick-off – but depends on national/regional coordination
- Start with online activism to warm up the wave
- 'Fossil economy Must Fall' sounds better as a phrase than as a slogan, doesn't invite lots of imagination, and has no just transition angle
- Other than the narrative, there were no objections to the framework

World café: Strikes, AGMs, infrastructure (camps), and EU Rebellion

Strikes on the 24th of April
- *What's the role of the action?*
  - Gain public support and popularity
  - Demonstrate the global scale of the movement
  - Mass participation and producing images
- *How does it relate to the movement's objectives?*
  - Demonstrating broad international support for the movement's aims
  - Spreading the movement's narrative
  - Polarisation:
    - NVDA during the marches
    - Online – offline pressure
- *How to centralise or de-centralise the action?*
  - Shut down schools or universities
  - Be aware of parallel actions happening that cover different parts of movement theory
- *Open questions:*

- Moving people towards the movement on the spectrum of support:
  - From which population part?
  - For what purpose?
  - How are increasing numbers going to help the wave?
- FFF is at different points in different countries:
  - Where are countries in the movement cycle?
  - How/why can tactics be changed towards escalation?

AGMs
- *What's the role of the action?*
  - Blame and shame
  - Each country has one big corporate target that can be directly interrupted
  - Demonstrate that the climate crisis and fossil fuel companies are directly connected
  - AGMs can address shareholders inside the company
- *How does it relate to the movement's objectives?*
  - Intersectional due of the inequality of geography of impacts of Shell and other companies
- *How to centralise or de-centralise the action?*
  - Connecting AGMs and port blockades or other actions against the companies

Targeting infrastructure (on the example of climate camps targeting harbours)
- *What's the role of the action?*
  - Create economic impacts in the ports
  - Connect with workers in the ports: from passive opponents to passive allies
  - Normalize civil disobedience
  - Reinforce local action context
  - Intersectionality and climate justice
  - Awareness raising
- *How does it relate to the movement's objectives?*
  - Mass mobilization
  - Directly targeting fossil fuel companies across Europe which import gas: Sheel, Enagas, CAPSA
  - Highlighting intersectional and (post-)colonial issues
- *How to centralise or de-centralise the action?*
  - Can be decentralised by social media
  - The experience of actions in Spain can be used in other countries as well
  - Solidarity actions in other countries with harbours are easily replicable
- *Contact:*
  - Huelva: acampadaclimaticahuelva@protonmail.com
  - Barcelona: acampadaclimatica@protonmail.com
  - Telegram: @AcampadaClimatica

EU rebellion
- *What's the role of the action?*
  - Grand finale of the European wave: targeting the European Union & corporate lobbyists in Brussels Mid of June about the European climate and biodiversity policy
  - It can be a moment of coming together for lots of groups and countries - strengthening the movement of movements. XR formed a European coordination group and invites other groups to get in touch for joint planning of modules.
- *How does it relate to the movement's objectives?*

- Highlighting that governmental institutions and company lobbyists are part of the problem
- Visioning and prototyping the system change by creating lots of actions, positive experiences during week of action, with open assemblies, creative action, inclusive action
- Pressure **EU national governments** / **EU Council** to **tell the complete truth** about the situation (before June, during June) and demand the immediate maximization of climate action efforts instead of setting relative targets **- Climate & Ecological Emergency Plan**
  - **Shifting public discourse** in recognizing the climate crisis as a matter of political will and responsibility
  - Creating awareness for the **democracy deficit** of European ecological and climate policy and **bring democracy to Brussels,** e.g. by organizing open assemblies
  - **#BlockTheBlockers** Name, shame and block **corporate lobbyists** as the main blockers to the common good
  - **Movement of movements**: Grand finale for the By2020WeRiseUp 3rd wave
  - **Local contribution**: Beautify Brussels and amplify it's sense of local solidarity. Let this be our calling card: The circus comes to town, actually making life better for people.
- *How to centralise or de-centralise the action?*
  - Centralise: Mobilising to Brussels for a massive week of action
  - Decentralise: actions can be planned parallel to Brussels action, in the warm up or within the Brussels frame side by side with other groups: i.e. Send-off- and welcome-back-actions targeting heads of state; local, regional, national warm up actions targeting respective climate and biodiversity policy; blocking the blockers (lobbyists, AGMS) on all levels
- *Synergy with other parts of the wave:*
  - Create a general action framework for decentralised action
  - Joint press releases, social media amplification, picking up/referring to each other's messages
  - Mobilizing to the streets both ways and together
  - Building on each other's strengths (expertise, reach, people, connections, creativity, diversity)
  - *We* aim for civil disobedience everywhere, also inside institutions
- *Contact:*
  - Telegram Channel: https://t.me/joinchat/I7hQvROAqU0Iqkl52noOBQ
  - Email: networking@extinctionrebellion.de

Working groups for the 3rd wave

Objectives
- **Weakening system from in- and outside** (as a first step to topple it)
  - Weakening the system from the inside:
    - Talk to workers
    - Focus on targeting/ scaring shareholders
    - Create fear within AGM towards investors
  - Weakening the system from the outside:
    - Destroy the : "There is no alternative!" narrative
    - Targeting harbours and AGMs from same companies.
    - Choose a few companies (choice of which ones based on for e.g. if we have data, if intersectional possibilities, if already campaigns on...). If company is not present in your country, you can look at a financial support (bank, BlackRock) that might be present in your country.
- **Reinforce our own movement(s)**
  - Every part of the movement has a role! Ecosystem
  - Targeting more precisely, aiming at a result

- Look at the position of local groups in local/more general movements to choose wisely on what to focus on
- Training ourselves on some targets
- **Be a part of escalation**
  - All the above, plus:
  - Focus on general population, youth, workers.
  - Social media is a tool to use to connect to give visibility to other struggles or struggles happening on other continents
  - Be more than the sum of our parts
- This is a broad set of objectives so there is possibility for local groups to choose and adapt the ones that fit them.

Coordination
- Current coordination and internal movement communication:
  - There online platforms, monthly call, website… => **lots of channels!**
  - There are not enough people joining the connection calls and putting energy in internal organisation of coordination.
- Proposals:
  - Strategic communication team?
  - Can a system be set up that makes communication possible during or from action to action?
  - **Delegate system**: communicate how many per group can attend (ideally 2 delegates per group)
    - Reasoning: Not all groups will agree to use the same communication channel but all delegates can use the same communication channel
    - Only an estimated 2-3 hours per week are needed to be a delegate
  - We need to value our networking and common strategising
- [By2020-advisory on communication channels](#)

Narrative
- Framework:
  - **Send out a common declaration as European climate justice movement**
    - as a partially shared press release
      - *first paragraph identical (only translated into the respective language)*
      - *further paragraph to be group-specific (action-announcement, messaging, etc.)*
    - and a call to action
      - *common paragraph to be uploaded on a neutral website (i.e.: not the By2020-website)*
      - *two possibilities for calls to action on the neutral website*
        - *individuals signing the declaration*
        - *urging people to join their nearest climate action group*
    - This would be a suggestion to groups, not a mandatory format.
  - Background: last autumn there was no synergy in common messaging
- Content-ideas:
  - Power has to shift so [we, the people] are rising up for life and justice – are you?
    - Only addresses passive supporters!
      - Counterpoint: The movement can be the message
  - The fossil fuel [industry/world] must fall
  - Climate spring / Summer is coming
  - The house is on fire => We need firefighters
  - Let's rise up for life and justice

- Temperature-checks on content:
  - Let's rise up... *(unanimous agreement)*
    - for life and justice *(8 down)*
    - to shift power *(2 down)*
    - for life *(less agreement)*

Tactics
- EU Rebellion moment/union
  - Needs places/actions to meet and logistical resources.
    - Mass NVDA action with affinity groups and decentralised actions
    - Global Strike on April 24th strike
    - Red lines as base line might be more realistic than an action consensus
    - Helpful would be a toolkit, a digital platform, and maps of connection
  - Digital rebellion/activism
    - Needs to be synchronised
    - From sending e-mails to shut down websites
  - Small affinity group actions
    - Ideal for maximal disruption
    - Can be easily complementary to mass actions
      - Mass action provides media attention and some security against police brutality
      - Affinity group actions can provide additional or more disruption

Working groups for the 3rd wave – consensus

Explaining consent procedure
- Idea: not voting a minority down but everyone actively supporting a decision
- Levels of consent:
  - 1) Minor concerns: agree, but minor concern
  - 2) Major concerns: major concern but agreeing – possibility to be heard, taken into the minutes
  - 3) Veto: not supposed to be personal but political – blocks the decision
  - 4) Stand aside: cannot agree (e.g. personally) but will not block the decision
  - 5) Blank vote: I don't know enough, etc.
  - 6) Agreement: I agree fully with this decision

Consent procedure on the summary of the discussion about theories of change:

All of the following statement were approved in a consent procedure, meaning that everyone actively supported it. Major concerns are taking up in the minutes, they are to be read as still supporting the consensus.

- **Objectives of for the 3rd wave of By2020 as a platform for the climate justice movement are**
  - **weakening the system from the inside and outside**
  - **reinforcing our own movement(s)**
  - **being a part of escalation**
    - 5 minor concerns
    - 3 major concerns
      - These objectives can be applied to any platform in any wave, so concern what the added value? Should these be made less abstract and/or more measurable and linked to a certain narrative. Concerns about defining the objectives before defining the narrative.
      - Regarding the first point: the term system is too broad. We could narrow it down to „the

fossil system" or „ecocidal" system. System as an abstract term also includes representative democracy for example and this is problematic.

- 3 stand asides
- 4 blank votes
- 0 veto
- 37 in agreement

- **The following three working groups have a mandate to work as a part of the By2020-platform**
  - **Tactics**
  - **Coordination**
  - **Narrative (including the mandate to design a common declaration to be shared as press release and call to action)**
    - 1 minor concerns
    - 2 major concerns
      - I don't think it's realistic to finish this work outside of this conference.
      - Concerns about the declaration: Who will be involved? Will there be a feedback process? If not it could be considered as being pushed onto the movement too much.
    - 2 stand asides
    - 7 blank votes
    - 0 veto
    - 49 in agreement

Saturday, 7th of March

Specifying working groups for the 3rd wave

While the working basis and mandate of the working groups was specified, newly joined people got a recap of the meeting up until this point in time. The working group's mandates were re-affirmed in a consensus on Saturday evening.

Objectives for the 3rd wave (working group feedback 1st slot)

- Weaken the system from the inside and/or outside
  - Weaken the structure from the inside: work with or towards workers, scare shareholders, create fear for their business model
  - Change popular understanding and acceptance of the system, contribute to change the narrative of what is normal, raise awareness and therefore possibilities for support in the long run, create losses (visible from the outside or not) to the companies mentioned below by (1) concrete disruption (blocking AGMs + disrupting harbours + (maybe) targeting other infrastructures) (2) financial targeting by taking action against their financial supports (banks) and BlackRock.
  - Names of the agreed targeted companies (implementation depending on groups' capacities and existing plans): Shell, Total, BP, Uniper, Exxon, Enagas, CAPSA, RWE, Eni

- Reinforce our own movements through:
  - Make strategy and coordination between our groups easier and more natural, by practising them around planning the 3rd wave
  - Increased impact, and feeling it from our side
  - Through increased impact, increased empowerment, helping us to keep internal people in our different groups, keep energies up and absorb newcomers more easily by finding roles for them
  - Learn to work out and apply strategies internally (where do our groups situate themselves on different social movements models, see: Strategy Workshop I)
  - Train on choosing targets and tactics, and therefore implementing complementarity between movements, preferences and experiences
  - Train on targets and tactics, gain experience on them for another wave

- Be part of an escalation approach
  - Reasoning behind this objective: climate justice is not going to be achieved in three months. However, the third wave/Spring can help us go in this direction concretely by weakening the system on specific points and reinforcing ourselves on others. By fulfilling both above-mentioned objectives and choosing what we do through a strategy of weakening the system in mind thanks to our complementarity, we can achieve an escalation "step by step" without burning ourselves while increasing our impact.

Narrative
- Mandate from yesterday: Working out a narrative for the 3rd wave and a common declaration of the European climate justice movement rising up as a partially shared press release and call to action *(for groups wishing to share such texts)*.
  - Issued on the same day by groups all over Europe
  - First paragraph to be a common declaration, further paragraphs group-specific (own plans, messaging, demands, etc.)
    - Common declaration to be put on a neutral website

- Two calls to action: Sign this declaration individually + Join your nearest climate justice group
- Working structure: Mailing list + Pad
- Narrative
  - Let's rise up … *(almost consensual)*
    - A: for life and justice (8 down)
      - include ideas of democracy and social justice as positive aims
    - B: to shift power (2 down)
      - Whereto?
    - C: for life (less agreement)
- Objective of the narrative:
  - To pose passive supporters a moral choice to get them to join?
    - People in power are the problem. They know but don't act
  - To broaden support?
- Brainstorm:
  - Shape your future (50%), Take your future in your own hands
  - Communicating to the public: democracy-frame (consensus!)
  - Communicating to an avatar: (60%)
  - Accessibility to intersectionality (80%) => System change (consensus!)
  - Climate spring / 2020: Spring for climate justice (90%)
    - Offers possibility
    - Something new
    - Youthful
    - Things sprouting, coming up
    - Positive wording
    - Fossil winter is ending
    - Careful to not forget about posing a moral question a la 'Which side are you on?'
  - 'Climate' has to be at the core of the narrative but on it's own is too narrow! (consensus)
    - aspects of justice have to be woven in
  - No future without change (70%)
  - The fossil era is ending – but how is up to us (60%)
  - 2020 is the year that matters (80%) but we have to be careful to put all of our baskets
  - Naming the problem (fossil fuels + power-holder's inaction) to make clear that the problem aren't individuals, isn't consumption
  - Care-Framing (70%) (eco-feminism: put life at the centre, care-economy, taking care of earth, taking care of your children, contrary: carelessness)
- Consensus:
  - 'Climate' has to be core of the narrative but aspects of justice need to be a part of it as well
  - We want to pose a moral question: Which side are you on?
  - Democracy-frame
  - Ideas we liked: Climate justice spring + talking about care

Coordination
- How much time can we dedicate?
  - A handful of people said they'd able to commit a limited amount of time to the working group.
- What do we need?
  - people thinking about logistics
  - a facilitation team (consisting of more than one person)
  - a process for getting feedback from external groups

- GetCourageNow is offering itself as a coordination platform
  - Platform for different groups and campaigns consisting of a chat, pad, calendar and other tools (comparable to G Suite).
  - layered system with ring authentication
  - will be started out beginning in May (limited to XR Germany at the start)
  - Why should we trust GetCourageNow?
    - Answer: You shouldn't.
    - The system is decentralized and open-source
    - The XR server will be secured properly
  - The platform cannot help us with the third wave, to be reconsidered afterwards
- Tasks
  - logistics
    - easy and clear way for people and groups to join the process
  - content
    - develop a text for the website and spread info on how to evaluate feedback given by groups
    - ensure inclusiveness in the process
  - Three people volunteered to facilitate the working group.
- Open questions
  - How to get the delegates?
  - How to ensure inclusiveness?
  - How should the starting process look like?
  - How to get people to sign up for the WG?

Tactics
- Purpose of the group:
  - Sharing, improving, and learning
  - Tactics consultants for active group (community of practice)
  - "50 shades of tactics" toolkit
  - Workshops on tactics
  - Reinforcement for online activism: communication and disruption improvement
- Concrete steps:
  - First outputs by 23rd of March
  - Working through collaborative pads

Beyond the 3rd wave: Q&A with the UK coalition

During the grassroots-summit, there was a track to prepare and plan for COP26 (9-19 November in Glasgow, UK) that was hosted by Reclaim the Power (RtP). First results of this track and the By2020-conference regarding the autumn were exchanged, among others as part of this Q&A.

Presenting the UK-coalition working on COP26:
- **UK**: Broad coalition of civil society groups working towards COP26, from large NGOs to small grassroots groups (COP26 Civil Society Mobilisation Coalition).
  - Initiated by Friends of the Earth Scotland, War on Want, Action for Climate Justice
  - Aim: getting all groups to work together.
    - Raise money for accommodation, logistics
    - Provide accommodation and meet the needs for people from the Global South
    - Mass mobilisation (proposal at the moment: big march)

- ○ **Structure**: working groups on mobilisation, narrative, media, logistics, solidarity
  - ▪ Work on decision making, how political should it be, etc.
  - ▪ Working process in the preliminary stage
  - ▪ Based in London and Glasgow, parallel processes.
  - ▪ Reclaim the Power will be supporting the climate camp in Scotland this July.
- ○ Political situation in the UK:
  - ▪ Difficult dynamics between Scotland and England and between Scottish government and UK governments. Backup space being booked in London (Excel centre).
  - ▪ Director of COP26 has been fired recently, replaced by someone with no idea of climate.

Q&A
- • Q: narrative of coalition?
  - ○ A: Narrative not yet decided, probably looking at lowest common denominator narrative
- • Q: Aren't we going to talk about whether we want to go to COP?
  - ○ A: This discussion is not happening. Doing something different. Key aim: Getting everyone to work together. Meetings structured according to the needs of NGO people.
    - ▪ Q: How can we who want to do something different help in scaling up disruption? Maybe not going and doing something at home?
      - • A: Collective answers needed. Decentralised direct action with common narrative would be amazing.
- • Q: Most of us want to disrupt, want to do the next step. What is better, decentralised or centralised in Glasgow?
  - ○ A: There are talks around disrupting London, but being discussed in COP26 track. Might be Equally useful to have disruption around Europe.
- • Q: does the UK need support?
  - ○ A: We're not yet at the stage where we know what exactly we are going to do.
- • Q: What's the process from now until autumn?
  - ○ A: RtP meeting in April in Bristol. Need for more radical grouping getting together. Possibly it would make sense to create email/phone list, set up Zoom call.
- • Climaximo proposal: Glasgow declaration. Included a summit at/in parallel with the COP, commitment by social movements to emission reduction by civil society action. Shift the narrative. Even a successful COP is a disaster.
  - ○ Comments: Empowerment tool for everyone. France: coordinate decentralised action.
  - ○ Answer: UK coalition will talk about Climaximo proposal.

Beyond the 3rd wave: Autumn gets real

Breakout-Groups tried to identify leading questions for planning and strategising for the autumn.

Occupy COP
- • *Proposal:*
  - ○ Tactical proposal to occupy places of power and hold assemblies (which could already ratify the Glasgow agreement) underline up to the COP
  - ○ Relation to the movement's objectives:
    - ▪ Not addressing power-holders any longer but making own decisions
    - ▪ Weakening the system both from the outside (occupying places of power) and inside (calling for a strike of all government workers)
  - ○ Possible narrative: power to the people
  - ○ Objectives:

- - ▪ Stopping the system from working
  - ▪ Taking up space AND offering it to other struggles
- *Questions:*
  - ○ Time frame?
  - ○ How do we demonstrate coordination?
  - ○ Open call or not?
  - ○ What is the target? Ministries, town halls, infrastructures, fossil fuel headquarters?
  - ○ How long are we staying?
  - ○ How to combine the two different actions (occupying + hold assemblies)?
  - ○ Narrative?
  - ○ Organization of the action, how are we going to do it?
  - ○ Centralized or not?
  - ○ Should there be any action consensus?
  - ○ How closely connected should the assemblies be with the Glasgow agreement and the COP?

Narrative
- *Proposal:*
  - ○ Delegitimizing the COP: we need new institutions
  - ○ We want to contrast the COP
  - ○ We want to take back the power on climate action.
  - ○ Civil disobedience before the COP helps to legitimize and normalize climate action
- *Questions:*
  - ○ How do we reclaim the narrative of climate action, out of institutions, back to the streets?
  - ○ Do we respond to COP or ignore it?
  - ○ Do we frame the fall in connection to the cop or as unrelated?
  - ○ How do we give credibility to the Glasgow agreement?

Global social justice to be taken into account
- *Questions:*
  - ○ What is the role of Europe in the global context?
  - ○ How can we connect to indigenous people worldwide?
  - ○ How can we take social justice into account?
- *Proposal:*
  - ○ Political process that can be targeted: EU-Mercosur Trade Agreement
  - ○ National level actions are needed.
  - ○ Outline is similar to COP15

Reaching agreement

Presentation of proposals

COP + By2020 + The Glasgow Agreement
- *The group worked on proposals based on the following questions:*
  - ○ Do we frame the autumn in connection/contrast of the COP?
  - ○ How can we give the Glasgow Agreement credibility?
  - ○ How to reclaim the narrative on climate action?
- *Their proposals are:*
  - ○ We aim to delegitimize the COP

- We want to take back the power on climate action
- We want to contrast the COP (as we think we cannot ignore it)
- Civil disobedience actions before the COP help giving the Glasgow Agreement credibility
- *The plenary gave positive feedback but there was also critique:*
  - It's primarily governments of the global north that are blocking proposals. Delegates from the global south and NGOs are doing good work in the COP, and delegitimizing the COP is a very Western proposal.

Occupy COP
- Tactical proposal to occupy places of power and hold assemblies
- Logic: we're not addressing the power-holders any longer
- Possible narrative: power to the people
- Objective: taking up space and offering it to other struggles => intersectionality
  - Holding an assembly in front of occupied places
  - Discuss the Glasgow agreement
- Create a working group working on this proposal
- *The plenary gave positive feedback.*
- *Questions:*
  - What sort of discussions have taken place to ensure that on the national level something is taking place, where actions and measures are really needed?
    - One idea was for actions to take place in different countries at the same time/date (national parliament, ministries, town halls, headquarters of energy companies, etc.)
  - Do we plan to discuss the Glasgow agreement in other places before the COP in Glasgow?

Global action in solidarity
- Take action against global events like the EU-Mercosur Trade Agreement
  - biggest trade agreement ever
  - 700+ mio. people affected
- We propose to include this into the narratives and objectives of the 4th wave
- Formal political procedure starts in Autumn 2020
- European platform (By2020) to connect to this issue
  - Neocolonialism
  - Tailored for the agricultural business
  - Food security and food safety undermined
  - It will foster the oppression of indigenous people (e.g. Bolsonaro in Brazil)
- *The plenary gave positive feedback.*
- *Questions:*
  - Do you already have planned a specific action for the proposal?
    - It's a framework for planning actions on many different targets, there are no actions planned yet.
  - Can the trade agreement still be stopped and when will it go into effect?

Levels of consent on the proposals for the 3rd wave

Explaining consent procedure
- Idea: not voting a minority down but everyone actively supporting a decision
- Levels of consent:
  - 1) Minor concerns: agree, but minor concern
  - 2) Major concerns: major concern but agreeing – possibility to be heard, taken into the

minutes
- 3) Veto: not supposed to be personal but political – blocks the decision
- 4) stand-aside: cannot agree (e.g. personally) but will not block the decision
- 5) Blank vote: I don't know enough, etc.
- 6) Agreement: I agree fully with this decision

<u>Consent procedure on the different proposals:</u>

All of the following statement were approved in a consent procedure, meaning that everyone actively supported it. Major concerns are offered to be taken up in the minutes, they are to be read as still supporting the consensus.

By2020WeRiseUp is intending to continue it's work as a platform for coordination, strategy, and escalation. It's mandate is re-newed by it's supporting groups.
Due to a lack of personnel capacities in the current facilitation team, supporting groups will make their best effort to reserve a certain amount of their own personnel capacities for coordination on a regional as well as European level.
- 0 minor concerns
- 0 major concerns
- 10 stand-asides (a majority of these due to lack of mandates from their respective groups)
- 0 blank votes
- 0 veto
- 15 in agreement

COP + By2020 + The Glasgow Agreement
- *Inconclusive temperature check: Every proposal was voted on separately.*
- **We aim at delegitimization of the CO**
  - 5 minor concerns
  - 3 major concerns
    - COP is the place where today decisions are taking in relation with CO2 emissions. It can also be the place for movements and organizations to put pressure in politicians. COPs are failing, but narrative around trying to delegitimize them could push some organizations out of the Glasgow agreement. Can we change the statement and use other words? Open question to move forward.
  - 3 stand-asides
  - 2 blank votes
  - 0 veto
  - 10 in agreement
- **We want to take back the power on climate action**
  - 1 minor concern
  - 1 major concern
  - 3 stand-asides
  - 4 blank votes
  - 0 veto
  - 16 in agreement
- **We want to contrast the COP (as we think we cannot ignore it)**
  - 1 minor concern
  - 0 major concerns
  - 1 stand-asides
  - 0 blank votes

- ○ 0 veto
- ○ 25 in agreement
- **Civil disobedience actions before the COP help giving the Glasgow Agreement credibility**
  - ○ 1 minor concern
  - ○ 1 major concern
    - ▪ The credibility of the text also lies in the fact that we will start force emissions to decrease before the end of 2020. If we do all our actions before the COP and then go home, this won't be seen as credible and won't help our movements keep going.
  - ○ 2 stand-asides
  - ○ 7 blank votes
  - ○ 0 veto
  - ○ 17 in agreement

Occupy COP *[confusing working title as <u>it's not</u> about the COP itself but about leading up to it]*
- **Tactical proposal to occupy places of power and hold assemblies**
- **Logic: We're not addressing power-holders any longer**
- **Possible narrative: Power to the people**
- **Objective: Taking up space and offering it to other struggles**
  - ○ 0 minor concerns
  - ○ 0 major concerns
  - ○ 3 stand-asides
  - ○ 2 blank votes
  - ○ 0 veto
  - ○ 18 in agreement
- **Giving a mandate to a working group for a possible 4th wave on this basis**
  - ○ 0 minor concerns
  - ○ 1 major concern
  - ○ 1 stand-asides
  - ○ 5 blank votes
  - ○ 0 veto
  - ○ 15 in agreement

Include the EU-Mercosur trade agreement into narratives and objectives of the 4th wave
- 0 minor concerns
- 3 major concerns
  - ○ Too narrow on this one agreement (which is a boring technical agreement). It should be broader than the EU-Mercosur trade agreement. The issues in the trade agreement are important, but there is more than just this trade agreement to focus on.
- 2 stand-asides
- 8 blank votes
- 0 veto
- 12 in agreement

Specifying the mandate of the narrative working group:
- **Climate has to be at the core of the narrative but aspects of justice need to be part as well**
- **We want to pose a moral question: Which side are you on?**
- **Democracy-framing**
- Illustrative examples: 'Climate justice spring' + Talking about care(lessness)
  - ○ 2 minor concerns

- 3 major concerns
  - It doesn't have political relevance without a concept and a slogan.
- 1 stand-asides
- 1 blank votes
- 0 veto
- 14 in agreement

Specifying the mandate of the coordination working group:
- **Internal structure:**
  - **At least 3 core people / facilitation team to ensure the working group keeps running**
  - **Logistics team**
  - **Content (How to coordinate and communicate within the movement)**
- **At least one delegate from each group to feed into the working group**
  - 0 minor concerns
  - 0 major concerns
  - 2 stand-asides
  - 2 blank votes
  - 0 veto
  - 17 in agreement

Re-affirming the mandate of the tactics working group:
- **The tactics working group has a mandate to build on a working basis of:**
  - **Sharing, improving, and learning**
  - **Tactics consultation for active group (community of practice)**
  - **Working out a toolkit**
  - **Workshops on tactics**
  - **Reinforcing online activism**
    - 0 minor concerns
    - 1 major concern
      - Telegram requires a phone number and is not anonymous. To be inclusive we should exclusively use communication channels that don't have such usage requirements.
    - 0 stand-asides
    - 9 blank votes
    - 0 veto
    - 12 in agreement

Closing Speech

These are trying times. The European has decided – for the second time in only five years – to rather turn the Mediterranean sea into a mass grave than to recognise the human right to asylum. Authoritarian regimes and parties are on the rise or already in power in many parts of the world. The climate crisis is horrifyingly close to spiralling completely out of control.
These are not only trying times, we're living a historic moment. This year alone will already be crucial as to whether these trends continue or whether we can turn the tide. If there is hope in these times, it lies in taking action. So thank you, all of you, for being the hope in this world.
And please, remember: We need to work and plan and strategise together to win this. This is not to say that we shouldn't challenge or criticize each other! But we need all of us. None of us have the one correct answer but we all have parts of it. We can only save this world in our diversity and solidarity. We can do this – but only together.