Fourth European Strategy Meeting of By2020WeRiseUp

From 31.10. until 03.11., over 40 people from at least 16 different countries, from all kinds of groups, movements, and countries came together in Nuremberg to exchange about and work on how to rise up in 2020. These are the exhaustive minutes, you'll find the executive summary here.

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Thursday, 31ˢᵗ of October

- Introduction speech (welcoming the variety of people in the meeting)
- Why are we here?
    - urgency: time of crisis, time of change, time of possibility
    - empowerment
    - coming together
    - planning together
- Who is here?
  About 50 people from at least 16 different countries (Belgium, Spain, Norway, Austria, Italy, Sweden, Germany, Slovenia, Ukraine, etc.) and different parts of the climate- and social-justice movement (grassroot groups, Fridays for Future, XR, and NGOs) or coordination efforts.

Introduction into Theories of Change

- Our common goal/vision: Climate Justice
- What types of actions were done to reach our goal: climate strikes, posing demands, autonomous actions, mass disobedience, education, negotiation, blockades, etc.
- Strategy: sequence of actions in order to reach our goals
- Theory of change: "Why do we think/believe, my strategy will work?"

Brainstorming for questions to evaluate the first wave of actions

- What do you feel you have achieved (numbers but also change within movements, change within the rest of the public, change in media, change within the establishment…)?
- Did you set clear objectives ahead of your actions, and, if yes, did you achieve them?
- Did you have a theory of change in your mobilization plan and, if yes, what was it? Was your theory of change correct? Or did unexpected effects happen?
- Best & worst practices?
- Political responses?
- Achievable objectives? Where there even any?
- Result, (social) impact, reach out to general public, recruitment, empowerment?
- Alliances? Movement/community building effect?
- Media impact (bigger/smaller than expected)? Educating people (and how)?
- New or repetitive tactics? Impact?
- Existing feedback / feedback mechanisms?
- Visibility of common strategy, narrative?
- Was there coordination? How did it work? How successful was it?
- Action levels?
- Level of energy, motivation after first wave? Sustainability of mobilisation?
- Mobilised numbers and correlation to impact?
- Synergy vs. competition of actions/groups?
- Perception of actions in your or other countries?

Friday, 1ˢᵗ of November

Evaluating the first wave

Working groups per country/region

<u>Iberian Peninsula</u>
- Objectives:
  - Movement building: more connection between all groups -> Intersectionality
  - Strengthen structures and build up capacities for direct action trainings
  - Heighten media impact
  - Push political agenda and stimulate policy changes
- Short-comings/weaknesses:
  - Lack of structural and measurable objectives
  - Action call-outs put out too late -> Harder to coordinate between different actions
  - Consolidating direction ↔ alliance building
  - Too little communication of demands and positions (many people didn't know the demands)
  - Tensions between groups (XR <> 2020)
- Learning outcomes/goals:
  - Better coordination with unions between the two countries
  - Creating an element of surprise
  - Wider circulation of the narrative -> Climate justice over climate protection

<u>Central and Eastern Europe (Ukraine, Poland, Czech Republic)</u>
- Impact & Strategy:
  - Some impact (e.g. Poland: signing of demands by political parties, Slovakia: joining of a diplomatic alliance against coal, Hungary: announcement of a coal phase-out) but not enough
  - Uncertainty concerning the presence of a particular strategic approach
  - Activism as a form of empowerment for young people
- Challenges:
  - Allowing for organic growth of the movement -> limits of growth?
  - Strong dependence on NGOs
  - Outreach beyond the capital + into the far-off regions
  - Resentment over the emergence of internal hierarchies
  - Absence of self-initiative and responsibility whilst inability to deal with leadership
  - Missing sustainability & individual burn-out -> necessity of professional support?

<u>Germany (XR)</u>
- Experiences:
  - Several successful actions with mass participation + large media attention
  - Some disruptive actions lost impact over repetition -> Habituation
  - Absence of direct responses on part of politicians & governmental institutions -> necessity of intensified/different forms of disruption? (e.g. UK: some like-minded politicians empowered by backup from social movements)
  - Not all of sections of the public reachable via mass media (e.g. some consuming alternative outlets)

- Objectives:
  - Identify and target components within the system responsible for blocking chance (lobbyism, economy)
  - Develop towards a "movement of movement" -> Bridge gaps to social movements
  - Reach audiences "outside the bubble", esp. the right-leaning centre -> Organise citizen's assemblies, tailor framing and messaging to target audiences
  - Address the dangers of ecofascism & work out narratives to prevent ecofascists from entering the movement

Italy, Slovenia, Austria, Switzerland
- Objectives:
  - Increase number of participants & amplify pressure -> counterargument: small actions may have big impact
  - Raise awareness about climate justice
  - Enforce declarations of climate emergency
- Impacts:
  - Elections in Austria and Switzerland favourable to green parties
  - Emergence of new horizontal groups/movements

Mixed group: Belgium, France, Norway, Sweden, FfF International, By2020-coordination
- Belgium: Increased coordination around common dates
- Common framework and call for joint uprising going well
- Lack of visibility and internal coordination -> single groups taking action without being seen by others
- Lack of transparency regarding the links between different groups and people
- Groups mostly reactive, not proactive
- Individual blaming proved counterproductive -> instead look for commonalities
- More participants (strikes etc.) -> more impact on society
- Once radical positions and actions moving to the mainstream
- FfF International: Aggravated coordination due to exponential growth

In-Depth Feedback

FFF Germany
- 20.09: 1,5 million people, 600 local groups
- Strong support network (P4F…)
- Well-organized on the national level: 25 thematic working groups
- Online media campaign with alliance of NGOs -> positive output from paid ads based on defined target audiences

Europe Beyond Coal
- Research on coal financing and exposing those accountable
- Execution of environmental impact assessments + carrying out legal battles in order to stop the working of coal power plants
- Enforcement of price surges on power plants on the European level
- *Blackout for Climate:* browser extension blocking the presence of coal (and soon oil and gas) companies on the internet (currently being finalized)

- "Micro Targeting" -> Putting out specific messages/ads per location (e.g. could be used on members of parliament)

<u>XR Germany</u>
- One year old, already over 100 local groups
- Rebellion in Berlin: non-violent disruptions of everyday life, fostering of sympathy, plans priory communicated to the police -> Lot of support from local citizens
- No mass arrests as initially intended -> Lack of confrontational images
- High media coverage, esp. on social media
- Many new people mobilized into going into civil disobedience
- No direct reaching of politicians
- Working towards citizen assemblies (e.g. in Ireland a citizen assembly helped shifting a polarised debate on abortion towards a progressive stance)

<u>FFF International</u>
- August: 700-800 weekly strikes, now around two thousand (US: ca. 300, India: ca. 200)
- Civil disobedience helping FfF "stay under the radar" -> Protection from repression

<u>XR UK</u>
- Challenges due to exponential growth
- Need for constant evolution
- October rebellion: more arrests, more participants, more sites, more disruption -> but less media coverage, less euphoria and less impact -> No visible outcomes
- Sudden lack of understanding about the necessity of radical action & loss of public sympathy
- Uncertainty about XR's position within the broader ecology of change
- Extending theory of change, reacting towards valid criticisms (lack of diversity, affinity to police)

<u>Portugal (By2020-coordination)</u>
- Concrete proposal of joint uprising made to Portuguese groups after meeting in Vienna -> Wave turned out to work in a coordinated manner
- Different dates linked together into one narrative
- Many local actions starting on Sep., the 20th , feeding into the climate strike on Sep, 27th (highlight: blockade of 500 people from within a 20000-people march)
- Integration of various levels and tactics

Working out theories of change for 2020

Radicality

<u>Aspects of increasing radicality:</u>
- Quantitative increase:
  - Increase numbers action sites
  - Upscaling of capacities
  - Increase number of participants
- Qualitative increase:
  - Increasing action levels

- Empowering of activists
- Increase complementarity of actions:
  - Encourage more smaller, autonomous actions
  - Make actions of civil disobedience more accessible
  - Lots of small actions around same geographical areas
  - Use different ways of being radical (e.g. silence)
  - Increase creativity and element of surprise (surprise -> increased effectiveness)
  - "Good Cop, Bad Cop": Complementary alignment of action levels
  - Gradual evolution towards more radicality within movements -> Moving together
- Increase effectiveness/impact assessment:
  - Concrete definition of opponents
  - Targeting pillars of the system -> Economic damage
  - Is current action sufficient in terms of media and system impact?
  - Increase responsiveness + give small groups the possibility of rapid reaction
  - Fostering of polarization -> Forcing people to take sides & creating support for the cause
  - Being smarter + more organized
  - Radicality = effectiveness
- Increase in discourse and perception:
  - Radicality in speech (internal and external) as well as demands
  - Increase of media impact
  - Radicalisation of discourse -> Goal: Climate justice becoming mainstream
  - Radical imagination (thinking and imagining beyond "the possible")
  - Radical action creating shifts in societal truths

Why will it help?
- If we manage to step up our game on different levels, the system will either stop or adapt drastically in order to keep on existing -> thus abiding by our demands
- People taking comparatively more radical action and bearing the brunt of repression may open windows of opportunity for less "radical" movements to push for change -> "Good Cop/ Bad Cop" strategy
- Unless aimed at continuous radicalization, movements will face the risk of co-optation
- Without increased radicality/impact, media reporting will quiet down (see XR's actions) and governmental/public reactions will decrease ("getting used to it")

Further thoughts:
- Problematic mainstream connotation of the word "radical(ity)" -> alternatively, "effective(ness)" or "smart(ness)"
- Being radical meaning going to the root of the problem

Diversity of tactics

- Why is diversity important?
  - Danger of an arbitrary movement without positions/ideology
  - A more diverse movement can innovate more easily + possibility to learn from one another
  - Increases outreach, FfF attractive to other people than Greenpeace, than grassroots groups
  - Gives space for different kinds of action and avoids exclusion

- There isn't just one solution/answer but we need a diversity of tactics, actions, voices, etc.
- Diversity of targets
  - Not only governments but also finance industry, companies, etc.
    - Hypothetical example: Polish banks are pushed to adopt a "no coal"-policy which would take away financial support for Polish coal and therefore coal is phased out without governmental involvement
  - Diverse targets mean different concerned groups to communicate with and cooperate
- Forms and types of action
  - Inform staff of a target company and mobilise them to go on climate strikes and make demands to their employer (building internal pressure)
- Diversity of communication: finding the right message and mode of communication for different communication targets
- Intersectionality
  - Climate justice movement could form alliances with social movements on certain issues
  - Support other movements (peace, refugees, etc.) in their actions
  - Mobilisation of marginalized groups vs. mainstream mobilisation
  - Give other groups/movements a platform if you have one
  - Learn tactics or strategies from groups outside of the climate movement
  - Talk to groups outside of the climate movement about what they want, what they need
  - Possible alliances for systemic change, e.g. eco-feminism
  - Farmers as an important/influential group
- Coordination within the movement
  - Communication needs to be improved
  - Coordinate different actions with different groups

Size & Numbers

- Layers:
  - Support from the public
  - Organizers
  - Participants
  - Events
  - Depth & Skill-sharing
- Positive aspects of increased numbers:
  - Shifting the Overton-window by demonstrating wide public support for action
    - Important: not distancing yourself from other parts of the movement!
  - Ideally increases diversity by reaching wider parts of society
  - Increasing the reach of our message
  - Goal: everyone knows at least one involved person, normalization of taking action
  - Increases civil participation
- Caution about:
  - Only attending marches is a small commitment
    - Danger: Might leave people feeling that they've done enough
  - Need for resilient structures before doing mass mobilisation
  - Not reaching a mobilisation target can easily create a sense of failure – and marches can't grow forever

- Mass mobilisation can mean a loss in decisivenesses (by being broadly acceptable)
- Need for contextualisation of democratic change (right-exremists can also join marches)
- Co-opting – greenwashing – appropriation (e.g. brand sponsoring or police on pride marches)
- Strategic sequencing vs. one mass movement
- Need for efficacy, clear goals (focus), and framing
- Don't loose track of the objective – neither mobilising nor taking action can be the obective themselves

Debating Theories of Change

The results of the working groups and further aspects of Theories of change were debated in a fishbowl-discussion. The resulting minutes were approved in a consensus procedure, see: Outlines of a Common Theory of Change for 2020.

Open Space I

Interaction with Police

- Policing is very country specific, different approaches and tactics, ex. Portugal/Spain, France/Germany
- Age and (sometimes lack of) experience of police officers has a big impact on their tactics
- Arrests as a strategic goal is a matter of privilege, those who can "afford" to get arrested should however use it
- Recent experiences from Belgium:
  - Groups that are "softer" need to cooperate with police to avoid repression, so working with police is often necessary
  - XR "Royal Rebellion" in October 2019, Police used excessive violence to clear blockade, abusing peaceful protesters
  - Cooperation with other groups that are routinely targeted by police ensued, resulting in a big demonstration as a show of unity and solidarity
  - XR was criticised for having an "open" blockade, resulting in people being confronted with police violence without proper preparation/training (having "open" actions can however also be seen as one of XR´s strengths)
- Recent experiences from Germany:
  - Groups such as EndeGelände try to make things as difficult as possible for police, activists refusing ID to slow down the process or to make it impossible to identify them
  - Police have tried to brand groups such as EndeGelände as violent in an attempt to split the movement, this backfired with FfF expressing solidarity in june
  - Certain lack of preparedness among XR-activists for the reality of repression
- General thoughts
  - **Media/public attention on police using violence against peaceful protestors can be used to highlight routine abuse that is often unseen**
  - Groups distancing themselves from other groups within the movement due to different levels of action and/or tactics can be seen as lacking solidarity, possibly traumatizing
  - Arrests are violence
  - Legal procedures against Individuals rarely change things -> high risk of burnout
  - Using ridicule and humour in a goodhearted manner can help deescalate violent police
  - Intentionally letting oneself be arrested as a privilege? Or should privileges be put to use?

Mainstream Buy-in & Stance against eco-fascism

- Roger Hallam: No clear positioning against rightwing ideologies -> problematic statements of that people of all ideological backgrounds were welcome; no clear commitment to democracy
- Eco-fascism as a white-suprematist, anti-migrant and fascist threat
  - Eco-facist response to the climate crisis: Exclusion and hard borders
- Apocalyptic fears might attract rightwing-populists
  - Countermeasure: Practice love, solidarity, community, and diversity
- Easy solution against being attractive to the right-wing: taking a clear stance against them as a political group and against discrimination, racism, sexism, homophobia, etc.
- Exclusive tendencies to be balanced out with practises of love, solidarity and community building

Mass mobilisation

- Media attention gives your cause relevance
- Outreach to the media
  - Media-contact list (local, regional, per country) => sending information beforehand
- Use a range of communication channels (Mail, mass media, social media) to reach different groups of people
- Mobilisation needs a network of people all over the area (e.g.) country you want to mobilise
- If you don't have just one spokesperson but different faces, that makes you more relatable and avoids hierarchies
- Collaboration of different groups fruitful for mobilisation. Mutual reinforcement and empowerment

COP 25 in Madrid

- Challenges: Movement in Spain exhausted from the 1st Wave, political unrest because of the situation in Catalonia
- Action day on the 29.11 has different topic to the COP25
- Portugal ready to help out, France has strong movements
- Focus on Ecofeminism? -> Strong women's rights movement in Spain
- Focus on diversity & creativity in the action choreography
- Email to be sent out until the 5th of November asking for temperature checks from different groups/national contexts -> To be fed into the upcoming conference call of the Iberian coordination

Saturday, 2nd of November

Outlines of a Common Theory of Change for 2020

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.

- **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.**
  - 1 / 0 / 0 / 1 / 1 / 28 => consensus
- **Big numbers are perfect to increase impact, if you have a purpose for them. We are pretty good at mobilizing numbers at this point.**
  - 7 / 3 / 0 / 3 / 0 / 22 => consensus
  - Major concern 1: A few months in-between, expectations are there now, too much, too many, this is terrorizing ourselves : their is a risk of feeling of failure because they can't find capacities & energy to do in advance publicized days
  - Major concern 2: we cannot claim the wording of "we are good at mobilizing"
  - Major concern 3: big numbers can be a purpose per se
- **Simply doing something new/completely different can be radical.**
  - 0 / 6 / 0 / 7 / 3 / 14 => weak consensus
  - Major Concern 1: something new is not per se more radical, it's not the right wording
  - Major Concern 2 : we rather need something new (shared by three people)
    Major Concern 3: just something new without impact is not 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**.
  - 0 / 3 / 0 / 2 / 1 / 25 => consensus
  - Major concern 1: Diversity is more than only marginalized groups, but also other sectors of society like farmers, etc. (agreement in the plenary)
  - Major concern 2: Sounds paternalistic, let's be more humble, learn, what has happened , see it as an equal exchange (agreement in the plenary)

- **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.**
  - 2 / 4 / 0 / 4 / 1 / 24 => consensus
  - Major Concern 1: How can we do it? Mean demeanour do not show different levels, give space without losing the different levels of radicality
  - Major Concern 2 : Sometimes difficult to give space practically to different softer-radical actions
  - Major Concern 3 : respect for different methodics
- **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.**
  - 5 / 3 / 0 / 8 / 0 / 21 => consensus
  - Major Concern 1 : Do not like the word polarizing (agreement in the plenary)
- **Social justice must remain part of the movement, the goals, and the messaging.**
  - 0 / 1 / 0 / 2 / 0 / 32 => consensus
  - Major Concern: Social Justice is local & global social justice

Immediate Responses/Thoughts:
- Good summary but not an actual theory of change
- Missing element: recognition of different methods
- We should aim for a more animated exchange of experiences & viewpoints
- Differences in radicality & methods only (truly) powerful if employed in a coordinated manner
- Outward usage of the word "radical(ity)" should be cautious -> esp. if meant in a negative way
- "Social justice" cannot remain a trivial slogan, but should be approached with real commitment

Summary/Outlook:
- Some impact achieved in the autumn -> but not enough in view of the urgency of the climate crisis
- Normalization/main-streaming of climate activism shows the possibility of the system to accommodate protest
- Change & reinvention in the upcoming period is imperative -> otherwise risk of losing impact in the long run
- Numbers (of participants) are vital to heighten impact & open up spaces but there is no capacity to sustain growing numbers & use them to their full potential -> focus should be put on creating sustainable structures for training & on-boarding of newcomers
- Long term polarization is *not* our goal, although a radical approach might polarize the society around the issue of climate change
- Radicality should involve continuously shifting the window of acceptable discourse & language
- Simply doing something new/different can be radical (while that does not stand by itself as radical)
- Being radical challenges the system because it has to adapt in order to survive
- Diversity is key to extending the space of action -> Diversity can range from a diversity of tactics, messages within the narrative, creative alliances (e.g. firefighters, forest workers, tourism, labour unions) as well as the joining the struggle of other movements (e.g. justice, peace, human rights)
- Radicality and intersectionality (may be) more important for the next wave than raising of numbers
- Groups should aim to consciously occupy positions of "good cops" and "bad cops" while respecting one another in order to increase strategic complementarity, mutual growth & collective impact

- Space for individual & personal radicality in order to polarize discourse & disable positions of indifference

Elaboration of the outlines for a common Theory of Change

The following is an elaboration of the sentences on which a consensus was found on.

We have achieved some impact in the autumn wave. A lot of that impact was not equal to our expectations, the needs of the people and the urgency of the climate crisis.
Climate striking is becoming a trend, the activism we do is becoming normal. (That by itself is good but it enables the system to accommodate instead of change.)
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.

Numbers of people we can mobilize, the radicality of actions and the diversity of the movement are all key to success.

Size of crowds matters – it creates space for us to do more things and safety for a diversity of groups and people to join in. **Big numbers are perfect to increase impact, if you have a purpose for them**. We have this idea of growing to be better, but if we do not have the capacity to give tools to empower those people to do something as follow up, we cannot use the crowds to their full potential. Size needs to be sustainable, it requires structures to keep it going, and it means an overall reduction of radicality with the masses.
We have mobilized 7.6 million people worldwide during the autumn climate strikes only. **We are pretty good at mobilizing numbers at this point** – the numbers are of relative size based on country, but equally important.

We are in agreement that we need some (up to a lot) increase in radicality. Radicality is not the same thing as extremism - although it can be perceived negatively by some parts of the public, it's necessary to increase impact. Long term polarization of society is NOT our goal, although a radical approach might polarize society around the issue of climate crisis. How we speak, what is ok to demand (Overton window), the language we use to shift the envelope can also be more or less radical. Radicality can take different forms, from changing the form to being more surprising, to changing tactics completely. In this sense, **Simply doing something new/completely different can be radical.*** Being radical changes the system because the system has to adapt radically and fast to survive.

Diversity is key to creating space for climate justice, not just climate action, and goes hand in hand with radicality. It can range from having a diversity of targets (governments, industry, finance, infrastructure), a diversity of messages within the narrative which are communicated by different groups, a diversity of creative alliances (firefighters, forest workers, tourism, labour unions). Diversity also means joining the struggle of other movements (justice, peace, human rights). **Diversity in the sense of including marginalized groups is a tool to protect quality of democracy and the overall space for action, for everyone**.

For the next wave, radicality and intersectionality are more important than further increasing numbers. For that to work, **we must have the space for groups with different levels of radicality, for different groups to be able to take on the role of "bad cops" and other groups as "good cops" in a coordinated way that increases our collective impact.** (Our goal is not to be liked - although the goal for some of us might be to take the majority with us.) **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.

This diversity of approaches also applies to the messaging and the language we use. **However, social justice must remain part of the movement, the goals, and the messaging.**

Different groups and people will play different roles – but we have to accept each other and be prepared to combine the effect. If we focus on new things & more radical elements, while respecting each others' levels of radicality, we can grow together.

* Simply doing something new does not fulfil the definition of "radical".

Collecting plans and dates over the winter

Dates:
- Big mobilisation towards the 29.11. (FfF International, Ende Gelände in Germany)
- COP 25 in December in Madrid
- Strike WEF: 19.-21.01.
- March – June: AGM season for NGOs, fossil fuel companies, banks etc.
- Shell Must Fall: 18./19.05.

Thoughts:
- A lot is happening in November & December -> exhaustion in January & February?
- FfF-Strike dates may vary due to differences in national holidays
- We are seeing a clear lack of coordination/ vision of when to come together and not exhaust ourselves over months with, ultimately, a lesser impact. Let's learn the lesson from end of 2019 and try to change for 2020.

Inputs for the Second Wave

Strike WEF
- World Economic Forum (=WEF) in Davos: over 2000 self-declared global "leaders", huge carbon footprint & societal costs of the gathering (2019: 1000 private jets flewn in)
- Big protests against the WEF in the past resulting in heavy repression & division of the movement (NGOs giving in into invitations for open dialogue)
- 2020: 50-year-anniversary of WEF -> will to revive the protests
- 19-21.01: 3-day-hike, 10-15km each, low/entry level action -> legal demos in each point of the hike
- Will need at least a few hundred to have an impact -> physical blockage of the streets. However, not calling on thousands of participants: complementarity with actions in other places + logistical question.
- Manifestations 16-18.01 in Bern & Zürich
- Possibly FfF-Strikes on Tuesday (21.01)
- Uncertainty concerning concrete plans upon reaching Davos

Banktrack & 350 Presentation
- Global finance industry funding 4°C temperature rise
- 33 global banks together pumping 1,9 trillion $ into fossil fuels (order of investment sum: Barclays, HSEC, Credit Suisse, Deutsche Bank, BNP Baribas, Societé General, Credit Agricole, UBS, ING,

Unicredit, Santander) -> *Banking on Climate Change Report 2019* (Banktrack) -> report for 2020 ready in March
- Banktrack's demands under the campaign "Fossil Banks, No Thanks!", planned from March to June
- Contact: lise@banktrack.org, fossilbanks.org
- Presentation will be uploaded to the By2020-Website: https://by2020weriseup.net/strategy/

Q&A/Thoughts
- Targets: ATMs? Financial Centres? Investment Departments? -> let them lose reputation
- 1st step is raising awareness about fossil fuel investment -> public yet unaware
- Intersectionality? -> Separate reports including global social impact & human rights violations
- Danger of being taken to court for climate action by banks (happened in PL)
- Best way would be tackling investment policies, but difficult to abstract nature
- Weak spot: Corporate identity -> better to tackle a single bank & destroy their reputation instead of tackling many at once
- Caution not to promote Green Capitalism by pointing towards "more ethical" banks
- Real & logical link between 2nd wave (finance) and 3rd wave (economy)
- Actions against BNP in Belgium: stickers pointing out fossil fuel investments in 5000 ATMs throughout the country -> QR code leading to a website with explanations, Gilet Jaunes blocking fossil fuel reserves, climate activists blocking investment centre for a day
- Inaction of governments due to an underlying network of nested interests -> thus we need to focus on the financial & economic sectors
- Narrative of "World Economic Failure" broad enough to include various, intersectional struggles

Temperature check: Do we want to work on financial targeting & the sculpturing of the 2nd wave? Unequivocal & enthusiastic agreement

Working out a call for action for the second wave

Working Group 1: Focus, Impact, and Definition of Success

- Real locus of power may be not governments, but the financial industry
- Demands need to be framed in such a way as to disclose the connection between governments & the finance industry -> as obvious and easily to understand & communicate as possible
- Actions need to be tangible and concrete, e.g. targeting of a physical bank
- Targets should be diverse enough to create impact
- No focus on trade (agreements), but institutions of the financial sector
- How to target finance so that governments are not resting easy?
  - Target central banks giving loans to private banks? => major concerns in the plenary
  - Communicate connections to governments, e.g. bailing banks out during financial crises, government's inabilities to regulate the activities of financial institutions
- What to focus on?
  - Classification according to significance, accessibility and "evilness"
  - What makes a target uniquely vulnerable?
  - Which type of institution? (central or private banks, insurances, funds etc.?)
  - Bullet-proof, expert-backed arguments necessary for targeting of whichever financial institutions ultimately chosen

- Objectives/Demands:
  - Lobbyism to be brought to a halt
  - Divestment of fossil fuel investments
  - Demand a systemic change
  - Making ourselves visible as an united movement

Working Group 2: Types of Actions

- Not much to be done in Davos, security level too high & actions would not be useful anyway -> A lot of actions needed in parallel (or before/after), even if none is very big
- Complementary alignment of decentralized & centralized actions
- Goals of WEF action:
  - Justification of other (decentralized, more goal-oriented) actions
  - Raising awareness of the systemic problems of the financial industry
  - Creating fear on part of investors (name and shame)
  - Boost coordination and cooperation (shared calendars, actions, complementarity)
- Possible goals of decentralized actions (all of the above and additionally):
  - Visible and tangible disruption (districts around financial centres, functioning of branches…)
  - Impact on banks
- Targets:
  - Banks, ATMs, main financial centres, exchange centres, putting pressure on CEOs & high-ranking employees, getting bank employees on board, ad-attack/-busting, counter-fossil fuel-demonstrations
  - How?
    - Fire alarm, coins, stickers on screens, dancing & singing (disco-bedience), account closings (or refusals of later openings, such as in the case of the youth), blockades & rolling blockades, coordinating pressure points etc.
  - Different levels of action are available but all of them should have an impact
- Communication: connecting as one campaign
- Time-frame:
  - Action in Switzerland as an anchor: **call for action around the WEF in January**
    - Time-frame of two to three weeks around the WEF in Davos
    - People leaving to Davos, Friday the 17th of January
    - Hike to Davos: Sunday the 19th – Tuesday the 21st of January
    - People returning from Davos from the 24th of January on (last day of WEF)

Working Group 3: Narrative

- **World Economic Failure: the finance industry is failing us**
  - softer interpretation: divestment. Your money is being used to destroy the earth.
    - "My money my choice"
  - medium interpretation: Stop funding the climate crisis/destruction/suffering.
    - Fossil free banks.
    - "Save the people not the banks" (don't bail out banks)
  - harder interpretation: we need to overcome capitalism.
    - System change not climate change.

- ▪ "The end of capitalism is here"
    - ▪ Capitalism needs to go extinct before we do. Make the fossil finance industry go extinct.
- The connection between governments and the finance industry needs to be as obvious as possible and easy to understand, with a messaging also explaining why it's relevant (e.g. system change not climate change).
- Further ideas for narrative threads:
    - We are the sane ones, they're living in a fantasy world
    We have to understand that the dystopia is our current system. The global finance industry has absurd and grotesque ideas, not us. They're the ones who live in a fantasy world, we're the ones who are being realistic.
    - The World Economic Forum has no legitimacy whatsoever. We must know that we have the strength, the capacity, and the legitimacy to rise up for a just and liveable planet.
- Hashtags:
    - #WorldEconomicFailure
    - some kind of bank hashtag (#badbanks?)
    - take over their hashtags (#WEF20 + www.best-hashtags.com/hashtag/wef)

Consensus Proposal

- By2020WeRiseUp is issuing a call for actions against the financial industry around the WEF in January 2020.
- It'll contain:
    - A key narrative (World Economic Failure, the finance industry is failing us) and further narrative proposals.
    - Thoughts on action types and targets.
    - Thoughts on impact and objectives.
- All of the above will contain different levels of radicality.

The consensus proposal was approved by the plenary in a strong consensus.

Coordinating the Second Wave

- The **call to action** will be fleshed out and finalised in working groups (impact/actions/narrative) until end of November
- A **more detailed framework** for action with practical ideas and coordination practices will be worked on by dedicated working groups.
- One key aspect will be **sharing practices** and ideas of actions. To that end, a first list of ideas has been compiled. However, we would welcome more examples of your favorite means of action! https://by2020weriseup.net/ideas-for-actions/
- **Riot** will be used as a communication tool to that end, kicking off it's use as a communication platform for By2020WeRiseUp. Invitations are sent over the info-list.
- The European coordination team is in real **need of support**; to be able to keep on fulfilling its facilitating role. Do you like calls, website stuff, logistics planning, or any other fun aspect of grassroots self-organizing? Join us!
- To contribute to any of the above-mentioned areas of work, write to by2020we@riseup.net

General Feedback:
- Belgian Groups can give inputs from former actions
- Sand im Getriebe: not really doing actions on finance, will check back
- XR UK: finance could be included in communication, will feed back and see what happens
- Bank Track can provide information for different countries

Coordination:
- By2020 Europe coordination team cannot work out the call-out for the second wave themselves, is low on capacities or even burnt out -> needs creative work to flesh out the call-out
- Urgent need for more people with coordination capacities in the European team

What might be missing:
- Another working group on funding (falls into European coordination)
- Another working group on climate change & finance
- Back-up group for after the wave (European coordination)

Call-out:
- Should be finished before the end of the COP25
- Notice of an upcoming call-out might already be giving to groups after the conference
- Three working groups (=WG) can be joined:
  - WG1: Impact
  - WG2: Actions
  - WG3: Narrative

Input of FfF-delegates from Central and Eastern European Countries:
- Call-out will not be understood in parts of Eastern Europe (esp. Poland)
- Dominance of Western European countries in the climate movement
- Ukraine: societal education/raising of awareness as the primary goal at the moment -> less capacities at the moment for coordinated action
- Poland: more focus on internal growth + strengthening instead of joint action on the finance industry
- Wish to be let to grow internally in own speed while still being able to join global communications
- Reactions:
  - By2020WeRiseUp a platform, call to action not mandatory
  - A lot of narrative options provided/imaginable to choose from
  - We're not one unified homogenous movement -> recognition of differences between regional & cultural contexts
  - By2020: visited Eastern European countries, people from EA countries in the coordination team -> no one is alone in this

Open Space II

Speaking to power and using open doors

- Experience from Switzerland
  - Parts of the no-WEF-coalition were invited for an "open dialogue"

- ▪ "divide et impera"-strategy, WEF only aiming to paint a positive image of themselves
  - ▪ weakened the movement by splitting it (groups who accepted the invitation vs. groups who were never invited)
- Public dialogue (not behind closed doors!) creates attention
- Power-holders always seek to keep their power, if a movement becomes powerful, they'll try to either co-opt or repress it => Power must be afraid of us!

COP25 Madrid

- December 6th not ideal for FFF mobilization -> two public holidays (6th and 8th)
- If picked up, mobilization for November 29th would have to be skipped
- Do not want to invest too much energy, yet do something new & unexpected
- Focus on Eco-Feminism (strong movement in Spain, feminist movement preparing huge mobilization for November, the 25th) -> no COP25 without demands for social justice
- COP25 to happen in a big exhibition centre near the airport -> far from city centre but reachable by public transport
- Iberian By2020 coordination to have a call on November, the 5th
- Not foreseeable reaction of other national movements if Spanish climate movement were to cooperate with movements in the Spanish state (Catalan, Basque independence movements, social justice movements)
- Ideas for actions:
  - ○ Has to be a clean & visually comprehensible message
  - ○ Actions should have a hook & tell a good story
  - ○ Should be escalative, not deescalative
  - ○ Idea: similar action to the shoes-action in Paris during the COP21
  - ○ Making present voices of people unable to come or/and already deceased due to consequences of climate change

Sunday, 3rd of November

Objectives for 2020

- COP 26 (9-20 November 2020) is a symbolic date – decisions are going to be taken before November 2020. Therefore, we must achieve the change the change we need before November 2020.
- Objective should be SMART: **S**pecific, **M**easurable, **A**chievable/Ambitious, **R**ealistic, **T**ime-based,e.g.: By the end of 2020, 75 % of the population switch to a plant-based diet in the UK
- Exemplary objectives from different countries:
  - Germany:
    - Shut down all coal power plants
    - Introduce a free or 365€ public transport ticket, Pendlerpauschale abolished; car-free cities
  - Benelux:
    - All policy decisions taken must be in line with climate goals (1,5° C) by June
    - Workers working in fossil industries starting to be retrained by July
    - 100 % coordination of struggles (farmers, social…) by summer
  - Iberian Peninsula:
    - May 2020 have at least 50-100 in citizen assemblies (1-3 by country) in Europe
    - Overload legal system with climate cases
  - Central Europe:
    - Campaign against stock markets, investors (redirecting money into non-fossil investments)
    - By COP26 all EU countries plus UA announce coal phase-out by 2030

Looking ahead to the third wave

*See also the *

Existing plans

- FfF International: 22nd April 2020: 50th anniversary of earth day. As it's a Wednesday, it might be turned into a three-day strike.
- XR International: 3rd major rebellion probably in the second half of April 2020. Possibility to make it last until beginning of May (1st of May as intersectional date)
- Shell Must Fall: Shell's annual general assembly (shareholder meeting) will be cancelled by dutch groups. A people's AGM will take place 16-17 May 2020, the mass action on 18-19 May 2020.
- Polish groups have big plans for June
- Belgian groups are looking into simultaneous blockades of cargo airports and harbours
- AniCa is planning a mass action against an industrial slaughterhouse in May or June 2020

Third Wave – Objectives

- Need to achieve tangible change
- Need to establish mechanisms to measure success
- Socially just progressive taxes on CO2-intense products
- Various contexts => objectives need to be context-specific but specific

- Objectives regarding the European Union (e.g. climate goals as part of Maastricht treaty
  - Full lobbying transparency put into law + no more fossil fuel lobbying on the EU level by autumn 2020
- Declaration of an effective climate emergency by April/May 2020
- Changing social norms about the economy and consumption throughout 202
  - Combining a significant stock-market drop with a positive sentiment in April/Ma
  - Fossil fuels regarded as toxic industry/investment by July 2020, no more public funded fossil fuel projects, investments or subsidies
  - Discussions about how, not *if* to transform societies & economies by September 202
  - Fostering empowerment by showing people that they have the power to stop the dysfunctional system
  - GDP no longer a measure for economies by September 2020 => economy judged in regards to sustainability, „economy for the common good"
- Tangible improvements for people
  - Test runs for unconditional universal basic income in most European countries by November 202
  - Four day working week popularised by October 2020
- Major railway expansion project all over Europe starting September 202
- EU countries committing to carbon neutrality by 2050 at the latest before the COP in November 202
- Progressive taxing of CO2 with profits being used for a just transition by October 202
- Discussion shifting from climate protection to climate justice by September 202
- Mechanisms established to ensure the implementation of politicians declarations (watchdogs, citizens assemblies, commissions) by October 2020

Third Wave – Actions

- Possible Targets for 3rd Wave:
  - Energy
  - Tourism
    - Cruise-ships, private Planes/Airports
  - Finance
    - Both Public & Private
  - Ports/Airports
    - Blockades, Disruptive Actions
  - Arms/Weapons Industry
  - Food Industry
    - Meat Production
    - Water/Bottling Industry
    - Deforestation/Palmoil/Soybean
    - Food Waste
    - EU-Agro-Subsidies blocking Global Justice
  - Clothing/Textiles
    - Make something, locally
    - Workers strike/designer strike
  - Automotive / Transport
  - Advertisement/Marketing
  - Celebrity/Consumerism

- Shaming excessive use of Resources instead of celebrating global lifestyle
  - Waste Exports
    - Blocking waste exports, return waste to origin
  - Multinational Corporations
    - Address tax evasion
- Possible Actions:
  - Consumer Strike, Return Packaging to Sender
  - Blocking/Targeting the product chain for a specific industry/company (Investment -> Production -> Transportation -> Marketing -> Sales)
  - Cooperation with unions on the 1st of May?

Third Wave – Narrative

- Avoid: putting responsibility on consumers, individual scapegoating. We have to try to live the change that we want to see → but we don't have to be perfect, can have contradictions
  - avoid people turning against each other, don't focus too much on individual responsibility ("these are the bad guys") but highlight systemic problems
  - Criticism: The system is sick and makes us sick
  - The system itself creates oppression
  - All issues are linked. Humans are a part of nature not apart from it
- Phrasing should be positive and re-framing existing values
  - Values are used in the wrong way at the moment (e.g. chocolate is love, smoking is freedom
  - Prognostic framing (where do we want to go?)
    - Connect to UN-sustainable-development-goals
  - De-growth as an alternative – wealth is not only economic wealth/growth
  - Brainstorming for positive messaging:
    - sustainable jobs
    - more value to care work
    - four-day work-week
- Make people believe in the possibility of change
  - We're the change we've been waiting for
  - Another world is possible
  - **Be active with our actions and narratives not reactive!**
- Test the narrative before putting it out there (climate outreach website
- Sequence of narratives, linked to different actions

European Coordination

- Help needed urgently
- Not only individual people, but whole groups may use a rotation system to assist with tasks
- Website:
  - No special skills required
  - Mostly help needed with uploading
- Funding:
  - Writing applications and reports, accounting

  - By2020 has no legal status: cooperation with EYFA, an organisation team providing legal status to grassroot movements
- Translation:
  - Currently many translators, but new languages – esp. Eastern European – would be appreciated
- Strategic thinking/Outreach:
  - Coming up with narratives, thinking about objectives, impacts etc.
  - Outreach being done on the basis of strategic thinking → talking to groups on the national + European level
- Organizing the next meeting: around 5 people needed
- Suggestions:
  - Specific working packages could be shared in Riot

Feedback

Feedback was given with the 5-finger-method:
- *pinky = What came to short;*
- *ring finger = What I'll take with me;*
- *middle finger = What I didn't like;*
- *index finger = What I'd like to point this out;*
- *thumb = What I liked*

What came to short:
- Hearing and listening to voices from other countries/contexts, highlighting existing problems and discussions, possibilities of exchange/skill-sharing
- Discussing what has worked and what hasn't
- Not enough time to come up with SMART goals
- More measurable evaluations of impacts
- European coordination, integration of new people came to short

What will be taken back home:
- Sharing of methods and experiences
- Making connections between countries and movements, creating synergies
- Raising awareness of existing actions and movements → creating open doors for participation
- Possibility of reaching a working basis with such a heterogeneous group of people → By2020 providing a neutral terrain to work together

What didn't go well:
- Gender imbalances in discussions
- Hierarchies of knowledge/power, few voices dominating the room
- Too long and lethargic breaks
- Too little intersectionality/mostly *w*hite positioned people
- Reproduction of cultural stereotypes → Paternalism
- Many things/positions not explained before
- Little presence of social movements

What went well:

- Facilitation, logical structuring of the meeting
- Reaching of a concrete planning phase
- Balance of rules and flexibility
- Diverse group, different age groups
- Good food

Next steps

<u>Upcoming European meetings:</u>
- 24.01 - 26.01: Parents for Future Networking Meeting in Berlin, open to all ecological and social movements, space for around 600 people
- 08.02.: Shell must Fall conference -> to be added

<u>Next By2020-meeting:</u>
- Questions: Timing of the next meeting? One or two meetings before the third wave?
- Meetings take up a lot of energy, thus frequency should be scaled down ($\rightarrow$ March and June?)
- Most critical points: logistics and funding
- Working groups need to be functional and participative in order to ensure the efficiency and continuity of physical meetings $\rightarrow$ have one meeting in the beginning of march preparing proper alignment for the 3rd wave?
- Location should be reachable for all $\rightarrow$ Central/Central-Eastern Europe most pragmatic choice (Czech Republic, Germany, BeNeLux)
- Possibility of acquiring funding may vary according to location
- Location is a political choice, but choosing a politically more aware location without at the same time aiming for diversity in outreach would be an empty gesture
- Brussels: easy to acquire accommodation and funding, easily reachable
- Hosting a meeting in a certain place can be an opportunity to promote/staff upcoming actions
- Temperature checks:
  - One face-to-face meeting before the 3rd wave -> 60% positive, 30% neutral, 10% negative/blank votes
  - Two face-to-face meetings -> 20% positive, ca. 70% neutral, 10% negative/blank votes
  - Having the next meeting in Czech Rep./Poland -> 20-30% agreement, most neutral
  - Having the next meeting in Brussels -> 80% agreement
  - Having the next meeting in February: ca. 40% positive, 50% neutral

<u>Internal Communication:</u>
- Temperature check: Is there a wish to use Riot as a common tool for coordination?
  -> almost unequivocal agreement

<u>How to coordinate dates?</u>
- Inform other groups *before* announcing action dates publicly
- Create a shared spreadsheet $\rightarrow$ Veto against using Google, Riot has a tool called Etherpad that automatically puts dates send in a chat room in a shared calender
- While coordinating something, take pre-existing dates in the By2020-framework into account
- Include other groups in decision-making processes $\rightarrow$ inviting people, having delegates from other groups

Appendix

Feed-in from Action Papers

The following groups sent action papers in time: Alliance against Animal Industry (DE), System Change not Climate Change (AT), Collective Climate Justice (Basel, CH), United for Climate Justice (LU), Rise by 2020 (NL), Radical Rest (Berlin, DE), XR Germany (DE), Tour de Lorraine (SW), FFF Ukraine (UA)

Remark: The groups work on a variety of subjects and use various tactics.
Remark: The groups differ in size, level of experience, as well as theories of change.
Remark: Several groups will have their own strategy meetings in November and December.

Identified Challenges from the 1st wave:
- Breaking through public discussions about form ("protesters blocked X", "there was police violence", etc.) and instead centring demands in the discourse.
- Identifying right points of intervention to maximize economic/political disruption and public support at the same time.
- Balancing decentralization and efficiency
- Need for action training
- Unclear objectives (criteria for success)

Discussion Points
- How to articulate existing grassroots groups with new mass organizations like FFF and XR
- How to interact with NGOs
- Extending the demands to reach out to other, similar, climate-related topics (e.g. arms production, militarization of border regimes)

Proposals for the 2nd wave
- Finance as the theme; World Economic Forum as a date: 14-21 January (main event 19-21)
- Some groups mention they don't have capacity to organize the 2nd wave

Plans or Ideas for the 3rd wave
- Shell Must Fall, Annual General Meeting as target, May
- International camp in Luxembourg, April, including an international strike
- Action camp against animal industry, April-June 2020, in Wiesenhof, Germany
- Swiss climate strike May 15th
- Side-note: Several NGOs in the US seem to be calling for Earth Rise 2020 on April 22nd

Summaries of the action papers

This is only a summary of the call for papers that By2020WeRiseUp issued.

Table of Contents:

1. Action Alliance against Animal Industry
2. Collective Climate Justice Basel

1. Action Alliance against Animal Industry

The **AaAI** is an action alliance putting the spotlight on the intersectional connection of **climate change and animal production**. Their vision is building towards a collective and solidarity society that respects the planetary boundaries and feeds upon sustainable agriculture instead of industrial animal production.
Established at the initiative of AniCA in July, AaAI intends as their first agenda point to set up a multiple-day action camp in Lower Saxony in spring/early summer of 2020 (Apr-Jun) with a **mass action of civil disobedience targeting Wiesenhof,** one of the main actors of the German meat industry. With this action, they situate themselves within the coordinated uprising of #by2020, which they capture as a vital driver to build momentum and bring together struggles across borders and nations. As their main wish, they appeal to other climate justice actors to lend them support by joining the alliance, mobilizing for the mass action and including the topic of animal production within their narratives of climate-destructive sectors.

2. Collective Climate Justice Basel

In July, CCJ executed an action targeting the Swiss banks Creditsuisse and USB that created a huge stir in public discourse. But due to the heavy repressions they faced - and on the basis of which they are now working on building up a **swisswide solidarity network** - CCJ is still in midst of a reflective process and thus unable to make concrete plans for new actions in 2020. However, they are intending to partake in actions already taking place within the joint waves and considering politicizing and using their pending trials to place their demands. In general, they are determined to work further on the intersection of finance and climate change.

4. Radical Rest

Radical Rest is a newly formed initiative from Berlin that promotes the withdrawal of participation in functionalist capitalist structures as a form of radical civil disobedience. As of now, the young initiative is busy building up its strategy, forging alliances with like-minded groups and preparing for decentralized direct forms of action. These will include bold forms of protest like flashmobs, "restins" and performances in public spaces such as malls, shopping streets and airports. Furthermore, the initiative intends to provide an emotive support structure to activist spaces, for instance by conducting recreational workshops in camp-like settings or offering support on request to activist groups. Therein, they seek to work towards a profound transformation of the current dysfunctional structures within the realms of work, labour rights, gender and global justice. As of now, the group is still in a formative phase and thus equipped with limited resources, but they have a **strong will to participate in a coordinated building up of pressure** and are counselling as to how contribute best on different scales. They are in strong **support of a diversity of tactics**, which in they insist should be backed by **structures of recreation** in order to enable efficient, multifarious and long-lasting actions in short periods of time without activists burning out.

5. Dutch climate movement

Both in terms of critical mass and diversity of tactics, the Dutch climate movement has recorded great successes this year. In March, the Dutch movement saw its biggest climate demonstration to date, which had great potential to build up momentum. However, this opportunity was missed since the organizing NGOs focused on influencing upcoming elections rather than building up the movement. The strike in September, organized this time by grassroot organizations instead of NGOs, proved as a further important force of mobilization.

The level of collaboration between different climate groups is rather high, enabling pore politicized activist to steer groups in a more effective direction. But compared to other countries, the Dutch climate movement is still relatively weak. This is mainly due to a general **deficiency of coordination between different regions and parts of the climate movement**. A role model for this is the city of Maastricht, which has set up a delegate coalition on climate issues. The campaign directed against Shell put forward by Code Rood offers an opportunity to unite different groups. Furthermore, the campaign has the potential to draw in people from different groups on more of an anticapitalist and decolonial basis. Another weakness of the climate movement is the **reluctance to put forward demands**.

In their analysis of the political landscape, the Dutch movement points out the weak position of the established left and labour movements in the Netherlands. This, they say, is mainly due to the shortcomings of the Leaders, who may in theory be supportive of climate justice, but in practise often lack the confidence and commitment to follow through. In fact, none of the political parties on the left are committed to building up the climate movement and put pressure on corporations and the government. Moreover, the Dutch movement observes that the Dutch government will often cave in to the protests of the reactionary (far-)right immediately. With regard to the Unions, there is a lack of involvement within the climate movement and a Union wide discussion of the meaning of climate change for workers is yet to be stimulated.

On the operational basis of the so-called 'Dutch Model' – the practise of tripartite negotiations with state, corporations and unions/NGOs – a climate agreement has been negotiated, which the Dutch movement regards as a neoliberal and woefully inviable measure. In general, the Dutch movement fears that the government-implemented climate policies will a) install the idea that climate measures are already being taken and street mobilizations are no longer necessary, b) make certain parts of the left partly responsible for a neoliberal deal and c) raise the cost of living for working class people, thus enabling the far-right to tap into anger about the climate agreement, by increasing indirect forms of taxation.

In the future, the Dutch movement expects the right to move from a more climate denialist to an ecofascist position. But luckily, there are strong links recently being established between the antiracist and climate movements.

6. Strike WEF

For the 50th annual meeting of the World Economic Forum, Strike WEF are mobilizing for a threeday-march to Davos. For their action to be more potent, they appeal to those unable to come to Switzerland to **organize actions prior to and immediately after the WEF in their respective countries** to prevent the WEF participants from reaching their destination. Furthermore, they play with the idea of asking FfF to host an off-strike on Tuesday, the 21st. Two challenges in their view are a) the current **shortcomings of action training capacities** and b) the **importance of insistent communication to the public** as to why actions as such are neccessary. Apart from the march, they note that there is a general climate strike planned for May, the 15th in Switzerland. In the future, they hope to extend their protest to international arms trade and militarized border regimes.

7. System Change, not Climate Change!

SCnCC's main point of interest has been the topic of **mobility**, including the engagement for car-free cities and the resistance to airport expansion. By strengthening alliances with local resistances and conducting direct actions of civil disobedience, SCnCC attempts to intervene in public discourse and put the critical discussion of individual motorized traffic on the public agenda. Thereby, they see it in their power to stimulate a paradigm shift towards a more sustainable way of living.

In 2019, SCnCC has forged new alliances and collaborations with local action groups and instituted the development of their strategies and internal structures. As a result of this development, they are looking ahead to have ample potential in 2020 to conduct more frequent and long-lasting actions of CD within the set framing of joint waves.

As remaining challenges, they identify a) the **lack of sufficient action training capacities** and b) the **short-coming of common discussions around expected responses** from part of targeted politicians and companies. They recommend further developing the formal and supportive structures enabling actions of CD (trainings, climate camps, legal help, strengthening of strategic alliances and dissemination of knowledge + resources) as well as facilitating the access to alternative visions and ideas by more convincingly communicating the necessity of escalation and simplifying the ways for new people to get involved. Within the by2020-network, they identify the possibility of spreading knowledge and promoting + supporting each others actions.

8. XR Germany

Starting from the 7th of October, XR has held an international week of action in 60 countries with city protests, mass blockades of roads and bridges, glue-ons, as well as a range of creative and performative protests. In Germany, there was a rich camp program with daily open assemblies and a model citizen assembly. Media reporting was wide, with a polemicized debate on tactics, character and form.

As their major challenges at the moment, XR Germany listed their present incapability to mobilize a large-enough critical mass, as well as **difficulties both of centring discussions of demands over debates of form within public discourse** and **identifying the right pressure points that simultaneously maximise political/economic disturbance and public support**. Additionally, they lamented the **time wasted in detail discussions and ideological debates**, as well as the **lack of collaboration** with other groups. Other points were time pressure and the difficult act of balance between decentrality and efficiency.

Regarding the upcoming escalation, XR Germany **commits to take joint action targeting Brussels and the EU** and **states interest to participate in other coordinated, decentralized actions** at the national and regional level - targeting, for instance, whole supply chains, several outposts of a certain party/company or other common targets forming parts of the "toxic system". Thus, in general, XR Germany is open to join an agreed set of tactics and targets but cautions that there might be difficulties due to the set action consensus as well as some internal factors. However, right now XR is still in the midst of its evaluation process and will only after its national meeting from 6th to 8th December be able to give a conclusive answer regarding plans for the near future.

Looking back at their own attempts of escalation in 2019, XR Germany opines that in order to scale up the resistance, there is a dire need of **uniting more actors around a common storyline** – broad enough to unite but specific enough to be effective – **focusing on few chief dates of prolonged mobilization**. Involved actors should be mapped according to power, resources, geographical distribution, specific expertise and strengths, communicative power and target audiences, as well as access and blocks to public opinion and encouraged to **work together despite ideological deviations**. Mutual strengths should be opted for combination, while weaknesses should ideally be evened out. As a memo to themselves, XR Germany also stresses the importance of reaching out to other, more diverse

groups – **bridging the divide between environmental and social justice movements** – and **being more inclusive in their tactics**. With other groups, they'd wish to exchange information about possible targets and fill each other's rows in terms of coordination.

For the selection of targets, a **systematic decision process** should be introduced in order to identify and select those with the highest possible impact. Ideally, attacks on selected targets should stir both love and support on part of the public as well as fear on part of politicians. As tactics, XR Germany recommends appealing to the public to **make civil disobedience more mainstream** – which presupposes being "approachable" and transparent about one's identity -, building up a welcoming community culture, maintaining open communication with the police and hosting citizen assemblies.

To approximate their vision of a better, more communal, connected and regenerative society in addition to a transformed economic system, XR Germany ambitions to put pressure on media outlets in order to put the question of change on the public agenda, reach out to low-income classes moving "the 99%" against the "exploitative 1%" – and possibly enforcing re-elections.

Shell Must Fall – Update

Campaign updates

People's AGM 16-17 May 2020, The Hague
- The weekend ahead of the SMF! Mass action a coalition of different organizations (including Code Rood) will organize a People's AGM to provide a space for a cultural and political program including workshops, discussion and performances. Central to the program of the People's AGM will also be the presentation of the SMF! research report with proposals on how to dismantle Shell.

SMF! Mass action 18-19 May, The Hague
- We are in full process of scheming and sketching the mass action. As this action will take place in an urban space we will be experimenting with various tactics inspired by various other movements including Hong Kong and XR. More concrete information will follow as soon as possible but to give you a rough idea imagine a mix of various tactics ranging from swarming, street blockades, special missions and surprise actions.
- Action trainings and briefings (including legal briefings) will be organized during the 3 days ahead of the action. Therefore we encourage everyone from abroad to ideally come already on the Saturday the 16th but on Monday the 18th the latest!
- A SMF! UK chapter just launched and they are looking into options to organize a parallel action to the SMF! action on the 19th of May in The Hague. This would be a great addition to our action as Shell is partly an anglophone corporation. We still need to contemplate on this a little but so far we see the parallel action in the UK as the only decentralized SMF! action next to the mass action in Den Haag and would encourage people in other country than the UK to focus more on getting people to our action rather than organizing their own decentralized action.

SMF! camp 16-19 May 2020, The Hague
- We are committed to provide sleeping places for people as well. However, we are still looking into various alternative options from the classic 'camp'. Depending on the action format we are also considering to host people in decentralized safe spaces all over Den Haag. We will send an update on this as soon as we have more information.

SMF! Mobi-kit

- The SMF! Mobi- kit will be available in different languages hopefully by the beginning of next week. We will upload it to the shellmustfall.nl website but also share the download link with this mailing list. If you are considering to organize info events in your country definitely have a look at the material.
- Also we have freshly designed propaganda material which we would like to send to you. If you want posters or stickers please send us an email with your address and an indication of how much material you would like to receive and we will send it to you!

Trajectory from now till May 2020

These are the rough next steps we envision for the international mobilisation in the upcoming months:

- Nov- Dec '19: People start to organize SMF! info events all over Europe and potentially beyond
- Nov-Dec '19: We would like to do country specific zoom calls to check:
  - what support is still needed with mobilisation
  - what the potential is to organize transport from the that country to the action
  - We will email you in the upcoming week(s) to plan a date for such a country specific call
- Jan '20: Decentralized SMF! action week in NL, with the option of organizing low threshold actions in other countries as well (e.g. Brandalism actions)
- February 8th '20: SMF! Action Conference in NL where all international allies are invited to come. Goals of the conference will be:
  - Discuss next steps to further build momentum towards the action
  - Check-in with international allies who would like to provide logistical support for the action(!)
- Feb-May '20: Continuation of info events + Start forming affinity group all over Europe+ organisation for transport to the action

Next steps

In the upcoming week(s) we will reach out to you to schedule country specific calls to check-in about mobilisation but also the potential to provide logistical support/ taking on supportive roles during the SMF! action. Also again if you would like to receive promotion material send us an address and an indication of how many poster and stickers you would like to receive!

Looking forward to the exciting months ahead!
Your SMF! International Team

List of the ports and cargo-airports with the biggest carbon footprints in Europe

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Harbours / cargo ports

460 million Tonnes a year
- Rotterdam port (NL)

208 million Tonnes a year
- Antwerp port (BE)

138 million Tonnes a year
- Hamburg port (DE)

60-80 million Tonnes a year
- Marseille port (FR)
- Bremen/Bremerhaven port (DE)
- Valencia port (ES)
- Port of Algeciras (ES)
- Le Havre port (FR)

40-60 million Tonnes a year
- Trieste port (IT)
- Contstantza port (RO)
- Genoa port (IT)
- Port of Grimsby and Immingham (UK)
- Port of Bergen (NO)
- Port of Milford Haven (UK)
- Gothenburg port (SE)
- Piraeus port (EL)
- Algeciras port (ES)
- Felixstowe port (UK)
- Barcelona port (ES)
- Marsaxlokk port (MT)
- Gioia Tauro port (IT)
- Southampton port (UK)
- Gdansk port (PL)
- Algeciras port (ES)
- Sines port (PT)
- Port of Dunkirk (FR)
- Port of Bruges-Zeebrugge (BE)

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Cargo-airports

2200-2300k Tons a year
- Frankfurt/Main airport (DE)
- Paris-Charles de Gaulle airport (FR)

1700-1800k Tons a year
- London Heathrow airport (UK)
- Amsterdam/Schiphol airport (NL)

1200-1300k Tons a year
- Leipzig/Halle airport (DE)

900-1000k Tons a year
- Adolfo Suarez Madrid-Barajas airport (ES)

800-900k Tons a year
- Koeln/Bonn airport (DE)
- Luxembourg airport (LU)
- Liege airport (BE)

500-600k Tons a year
- Brussels airport (BE)
- Milano/Malpensa airport (IT)

300-400k Tons a year
- Zurich airport (SW)
- Muenchen airport (DE)
- East Midlands airport (UK)

200-300k Tons a year
- Barcelona/El Prat airport (ES)
- Wien-Schwechat airport (AU)
- London Stanstead airport (UK)
- Kobenhavn/Kastrup airport (DK)
- Frankfurt-Hahn airport (DE)
- Zaragoza airport (ES)

100-200k Tons a year
- Helsinki-Vantaa airport (FI)
- Oslo/Gardermoen airport (NO)
- Maastricht/Aachen airport (NL)
- Lisboa airport (PT)

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