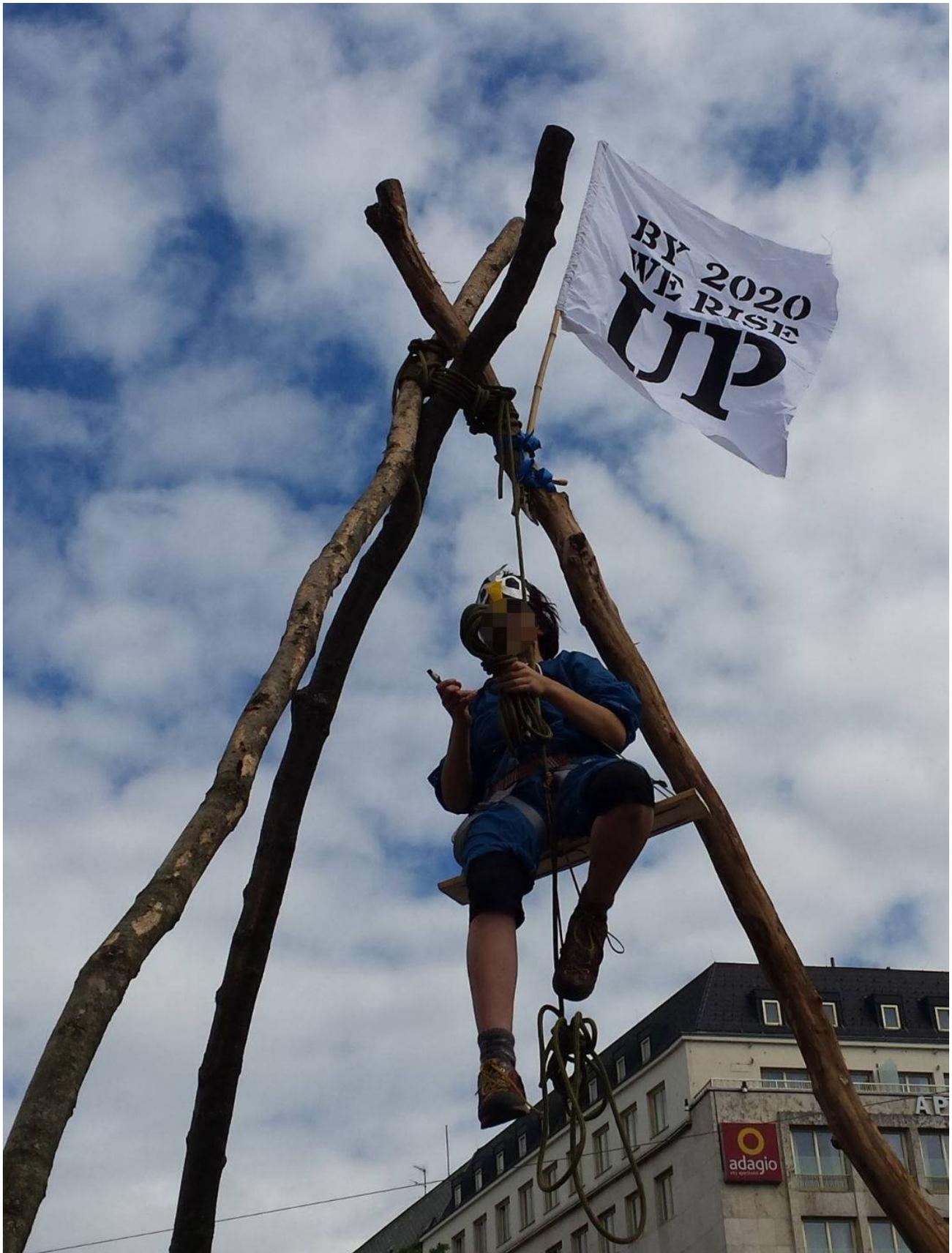


2nd European strategy meeting of By 2020 We Rise Up



Short Summary

Who was there?

Groups and individuals from (in alphabetical order) Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, and the UK

Disclaimers

#1 None of the ideas listed here are aiming at imposing anything on anyone. By2020 is a platform, a coordination effort brought about by independent grassroots groups and activists from different European countries. As such, all meetings, tools developed, and suggestions made are only aimed at enabling and pushing for a strategy discussion on a coordinated and strategic uprising coming in waves of actions designed to seriously disrupt the system in order to achieve climate justice.

2# Unfortunately, for security reasons, a lot of the feedback per country etc. or from more concrete discussions could not be included in these minutes. We strongly encourage you to directly reach out to other groups in your country or in others to find out what is happening there.

What was discussed

Day 1

- * What we'll be working on – overview of 4 days, today, & why, getting agreement on agenda
- * 2019 Map of Europe – what does it look like?
- * Where are we right now with preparations?
- * Learning from past experiences and failures

Day 2

- * Discussing different tactics
- * Real-life exercise on visualising the first wave per country

Day 3

- * Experience-sharing theories of change and demands
- * Looking into intersectionality
- * Working on core messaging and demands

Day 4

- * Visualising the first wave
- * Communication
 - outreach communication
 - internal communication (which tools, how to show the escalation etc.)
 - external communication (narrative, to the public etc.)
- * Mandate for By2020
- * Next steps

Objectives

- * Build a sense of progress and excitement
- * Create a rough visualization of the timeline
- * Create narratives and communication tools/strategies
- * Deepen theories of change and help with concrete planning (actions and demands)
- * Gain a sense of possible shared actions and demands

DAY 1

Map of Europe

- * What kind of disruption do you want to see happen?
- * How will your country be changed afterwards? (society, land, economic and political system)
- * What remains of the old system?

Where are we at?

A simple checklist of progress per country/group:

- Enough/key groups have joined! We are almost done networking
- We are pretty clear about our objectives/ what kind of disruption we want
- We are pretty clear about our demands
- We are pretty clear about the types of action we can/would like to take
- Specifics like time, place and format are set, we are in practical prep now

Learning from failure: embrace failure and learning experiments!

Ende Gelände: mass action in the Lausitz 2016

- * *Problem*: objectives were achieved “too easily” => people occupied railways and power station => perceived as too aggressive by population; failure of communication throughout whole action
- * *Ideas of improvement*: prepare participants better; reach clear consensus/objective (is the aim to evoke a good public opinion? Then take them into account); have plan B/embrace dynamic and short term change; prepare for success

Climáximo: Camp in Gas 2019

- * Planning mass actions step by step around certain moments (e.g. political conferences etc.)
- * *Problem*: dependent upon these meetings to take place; gap, when canceled
- * *Ideas of improvement*: embrace creativity to not waste whole planning process (e.g. action training instead of action); generally applicable backup plans

Extinction Rebellion in the UK in April 2019

- * *Problem*: problematic communication between different levels (rapid response team & people on the ground) during rebellion week
- * *Ideas of improvement*: establishment of feedback bodies and spokes council; general strategy;
- * *Problem*: throughout process wobbling balance; too many different levels; nervousity; pressure in spite of tension
- * *Ideas of improvement*: respect; patience; take external factors into account; new, creative ideas to overcome tiredness

Fridays for Future Germany

- * *Problem*: weird hierarchies, organization, no real structure (everything evolves around certain key people that manage lots of things. Plenaries controlled by them)
- * *Ideas of improvement*: plenary ideals; no hierarchies; raise democratic awareness
- * *Problem*: single fighters; autonomous local groups; trouble to agree on demands and level of escalation
- * *Ideas of improvement*: clarity; communication

DAY 2

Tactics

Leading Questions:

- * Why does this tactic/action work?
- * What can make/break this tactic?
- * What are the hidden assumptions behind this tactic and its effect?
- * Who is it „for“, which audience?
- * What is the best and worst result it can have?

Interventions at meetings for false solutions

- * targeting AGMs (annual general meetings)
 - corporations have a legal obligation to hold AGMs
 - possible complications: non-public, one needs to have a share to attend or be invited by shareholders, change of dates
 - no AGM has been successfully blocked yet but a success would have a huge media impact and real consequences for the company
 - Code Rood will block Shell's AGM in 2020: <https://code-rood.org/en/shell-must-fall/>
- * targeting political meetings
 - take over the stage that has already been set
 - example: standing up from the audience and taking over the microphone
 - narrative framing needed, also in the aftermath
 - complications: no systemic disruption, less interesting after the first time, possible security risks in getting close to important political figures

Tactical frivolity

- * definition: making fun of power and thus being subversive
- * possibilities:
 - reinventing
 - playing someone else's role
 - being ridiculous
- * examples:
laughing, sticking out tongue, behaving child-like, dancing, narrating the ongoing process, embracing insults / making fun of yourself, inventing new lyrics to well-known songs, chanting slogans, changing the use of space (e.g. turning a bridge into a garden)
- * preconditions:
 - practice needed in order to make use of it when under pressure / in tense situations
 - has to be collective / many people
 - has to be unexpected, silly, out of place, cross lines
- * tactics:
 - create chaos, disruption, confusion, draw attention => create space for others to do more serious stuff
 - confusion and laughter of audience as ultimate aim
 - releases tension, possibly de-escalates tense situations

Occupy camps / Disruption of capital cities

- * power localised in capitals, huge impact in disrupting them
- * key: enough people => make it accessible
 - non-violence
 - infrastructure
 - media & messaging are important
 - make it fun to appeal to a broad public
- * plan about 3-4 months (or weeks?) to facilitate/plan mass disruption, networking and structure (working groups) are key
- * prepare and plan for legal consequences
- * de-escalation team to deal with e.g. right wing extremists
- * challenge: re-gathering after police interference

Real-life exercise on visualising the first wave per country

We thought about what we can imagine based on what is already planned and what we thought should be planned in order to make the first wave of action a success in different countries. The first wave was visualised in groups per country in three working steps:

- 1.) Country analysis
- 2.) Objectives
- 3.) Targets

Lead questions for country analysis:

- * What is going on in society, people's level of awareness, quality of life?
 - * What is going on in politics, what are the current goals?
 - * What is going on in the economy, big companies, trade ?
 - * Is there any disruption already happening?
- Looking at the current political/economic/social situation of countries and integrating this in strategy thinking.

Target evaluation:

- 1.) What (or who) is blocking a just climate transition? How are they blocking it? Try to identify specific parts of the system's nodes of power!
- 2.) Which parts or positions are the most powerful? Which are the most vulnerable (to disruption) right now? An ideal target has a lot of power and is very vulnerable.
- 3.) Prioritize objectives (disruption) for the next months, using vulnerability.

DAY 3

Theories of change

Extinction Rebellion (=XR)

Two clear voices in XR, not one unifying theory of change.

- * Based on social science and change: mass mobilization around civil disobedience, respectful, disruptive (self-sacrifice, people doing it themselves: need to sufficiently disrupt the economy). Movement also has to be resilient or it won't be able to continue (waves are increasingly disruptive and adaptation plans to face reactions from governments).
- * Some are weary of disruption. They think it's possible to reach sufficient change through the current system.

How is change brought about?

Stuff is tried out and reflected upon. When an idea is good enough, then it's implemented: do it, move forward. Don't wait until you have a perfect plan, acting can bring solutions, make sure you'll be resilient.

Probability analysis:

If capital cities are held for long enough and with enough people, then shift is going to take place (especially if nonviolent).

What type of organizing do you need?

- * Social dynamics elements coming together: people who are not involved in anything
 - * Organized structures
 - * Pre-figurative counter-cultures: living the change.
- all three elements are interconnected and XR is a combination of them all. Direct action, broad and decentralized actions, contact, living the change (regenerative culture, self-care, community care, world care). No opposition between actions and building momentum-based organizing

One day of actions is not enough: the longer, the more effective.

- * Capital cities are better targets than infrastructures (in terms of actual impact).
- * In the 1970s, theory of change according to which if you were to tell the truth about a situation to people, governments and companies, they would react and change would happen; this has remained the mindset of many climate justice actors up to today even though this theory has been proven wrong since.

Iberian Peninsula

By2020 dynamics started there last November with Climaximo and Ecologistas en Accion.

How to get to mass civil disobedience? The aim is to reach a turning point.

- * Build a movement under a common branding around the idea of ecological crisis
outreach work: tools (webinars, PPT, video...), coordination meetings (23rd February, presentation, list of ideas for actions on the long run...; may 21st: escalation manual, mandate on how to escalate)
- * Engage as many people as you can in a common narrative
discussions (different backgrounds including different themes, managing diversity, understanding NVDA..), communications (website in Spanish), team, task force on demands
- * Gain social disobedience capacities : capacity building workshops

- * Generate a culture of NVDA with phases of escalation:
 - decentralized actions between now and September
 - camp with daily actions, targeting politicians ? Building on social discontent + existing political culture
- * Massive civil disobedience (for climate justice) in 2020
- * Changing the climate narrative

Demands

XR (quite broad) and Climaximo (quite detailed transition pathway) provided two examples of how to draft demands. We brainstormed around these in groups and had feedback in the plenary.

Example Portuguese demands:

- * start retraining workers (e.g. one day a week dedicated to retraining)
 - * public renewable energy companies
 - * public electric bus companies
 - * exact number of new train and metro lines necessary
 - * reduce working days and hours
 - * energy independent public buildings
 - * regulations against planned obsolescence
- Reasoning:
- * Thought exercise: Is this a good idea without climate change at all?
 - * Demands are ideally socially acceptable and politically impossible in a neoliberal system

Example XR demands:

- * Tell the truth: the government must tell the truth by declaring a climate and ecological emergency, working with other institutions to communicate the urgency for change
- * Act now: government must act now to halt biodiversity loss and reduce greenhouse gas emissions to net zero by 2025
- * Beyond politics: government must create and be led by the decisions of a Citizens' Assembly on climate and ecological justice: Parliament must cede power to an ongoing CA which will become the sovereign institution for decision-making
- * End Ecocide: implement ecocide law and lobby internationally
- * Climate justice: mission statement

Further discussion and work:

- * Climate emergency on its own as a vague term, possible additions could be:
 - immediate cancellation of all new fossil fuels projects
 - climate as measuring rod for all future licenses and investments
 - launch transition negotiations with unions and workers
- * Brainstorming possible European demands:
 - just transition
 - staying under 1.5°C
 - divesting from fossil fuels
 - no more fossil fuel projects
 - companies have to retrain workers

Intersectionality

- * How to reach out to other climate justice groups?
- * How to reach out to other groups/ populations?
- * To be discussed more in depth during the next strategy meeting (August)

- * Wishlist of groups to reach out to: antifa, animal rights activists, women's marches, scientists, Beyond Europe, missing outreach in central and eastern Europe, faith groups, trade unions, solidarity campaigns, activists with special needs, squats, NGOs, support structures (kitchens + legal teams), forest and biodiversity protection groups ...

Core messaging for By 2020 We Rise Up

Having core messages as By2020 as an offering to use and adapt for supporting/participating groups was unanimously seen as useful. Their rough structure was agreed upon although further work needs to be done. They are:

- 1) The climate catastrophe/crisis/emergency is already here
- 2) Nobody is coming to save us, we all need to rise up
- 3) We are rising up against this/a (?) deadly system out of love and rage
- 4) We are solving the problem by trying / We are showing the way by walking
(= we don't have all the answers but that's ok and we have to try)
- 5) We're fighting for a future that leaves no one behind

One thought exercise we found useful in answering the question of why we are rising up was to think about four different angles to that question:

- * reality („fact is..“)
- * identity („We are...“),
- * action („We're doing/blocking/protesting...“)
- * values („We want...“)

Cutting room floor of further ideas and wordings:

- * Our future is collapsing, we're in climate and ecologic emergency. It's time to protect life. It's time for an uprising with love and rage.
- * Together we are the wave of change needed
- * We are life/nature defending itself
- * Greedy capitalists are stealing our future and we the people are taking back power
- * We take back power from the elite/greedy companies stealing our future
- * We are the sand in the machine that is destroying our planet
- * To change everything we need everyone => To save everyone we need everyone
- * Climate crisis calls for system change
- * Our future is collapsing
- * We have to take action ourselves because no one is coming to save us
- * Streets full of people, not empty words will bring the change we need
- * We are (the) hope

DAY 4

Visualising the first wave

Leading questions:

Which duration would be ideal/doable? When to start, when to end? How to end? Which peak(s)?

Four groups worked on these questions individually and contributed their ideas to the plenary; suggestions and ideas that were mentioned by all these groups were then submitted to a temperature check in the plenary.

Group 1

- * There are already dates fixed that cannot be changed.
- * The crest of the wave isn't the 27th; disruption starts after
- * Holding on for four weeks might be impossible for many groups
- * Would be more comfortable with a shorter end date (7th of October for instance). Then what follows after would be uncoordinated actions in cities; our push is about getting the ball of disruption going.
- * Ending strong point could be the 17th or 18th with a narrative such as: we did all that we could, we've done our part of the job. If you don't listen to us, we will come back, only stronger
- * Ending date doesn't matter too much, as long as it's properly communicated.

Group 2

- * Narrative: who is involved? Nonviolence is key to avoid the risk of states fighting back groups. If the platform per se doesn't use the term nonviolent, then groups can work with one another in that direction on a regional/local level.
- * 20-27th: peaceful opening, educational moment
- * Crest: civil disobedience, occupations, lectures, workshops etc.
- * Ending should lead to regeneration and recuperation periods.
- * A few attention points:
 - what happens during negotiations
 - going back to communities
 - co-optation
 - how to organize after the first ending
 - fixed ending is necessary
- * Closing ceremony to emotionally help people and make them feel that the first wave has ended: beautiful and symbolic

Group 3

- * Rather than a wave, imagine of a thunderstorm in the sea with many different waves in different waters. Different countries starting at different peak dates
- * 27th as a first peak: occupation of capital cities (some already planned) for as long as possible.
- * Bear in mind that protests will fade out: less and less people will attend
- * Ending could be all coming together in Brussels (17th - 18th October): not necessarily with/ for an action, but could be with a formal ending and announcing the second wave, so directly looking at the next step.
- * Agreement: need to talk about violence, even if we don't reach a huge consensus together.

- * After the 17th of October, could plan integration work (people from the outside joining to prepare the second wave), training, let's prepare for success: let's not be caught off guard if things go as well or better than planned!

Group 4

- * Having waves within the wave to avoid draining energies too much.
- * Week of 20th to 27th: taking stock of the more “traditional” mobilizations that will take place around that time (Fridays for Future, NGOs, UN special climate summit, 21st: international day of peace). Using that time as a legitimization moment with a lot of media work done by all groups, relaying the urgency and the cry of people on the streets for change (collective media campaign).
- * Then, 27th, mass mobilization, leading to camps being set up on the 28th and 29th in all cities identified as relevant (capital cities, main regional cities ...). Disruption on identified targets (not only cities, but targets identified as strategically relevant) to go strong for around a week until the 5th of October. Then break.
- * Restarting on the 8th of October: anniversary of the IPCC report on 1.5°C! Disruption until 13th.
- * Week leading up to the Brussels summit: putting economic life on hold, coordinating with trade unions to organize strikes across Europe, encouraging parents to take their kids out of school (could be continued as protest and reclaiming power after the summit).
- * 13th to 16th : “preparing” the EU summit. Planning mass demonstrations along with heavy media work and educational work. Actions of going to Brussels for neighboring countries (while still “holding” cities/ strategic points back home). EU summit also has a strong climate justice element of narration to it with responsibility of Western countries.
- * 19th to 21st (weekend): traditional NGOs protest actions after the summit, mass popular mobilizations again (demonstrations etc.). Using the presence and logistical support from NGOs to set up the people's assemblies for the week following the Brussels summit and reclaim the decision-making process on climate and social justice. Ending of the first wave after a week of debates, work on demands and preparations for the second wave.
- * After the 27th of October: recuperation time, integrating newcomers and building decision making structures on the ground (probably way more decentralized by that time), planning the actions and coordination of the second wave.

Temperature check in plenary on common elements identified in the four proposals:

- 1) Build up towards 27th of September: 100%
- 2) Common ending as narrative: 90%; lesser agreement for common ending as a date
- 3) Action around the EU summit and maybe keeping going on longer : 90%
- 4) Framing the ending as a) celebration and b) coming back in 2020: 100%
- 5) Don't end if there is energy to keep going: 70%
- 6) Involving NGOs in our work, getting their help for logistics etc.: 40%. One general feedback: need to talk to the global majority to know about how to deal with NGOs
- 7) Capital cities as targets 80%; include it in the narrative: 50%
- 8) By2020 internal team works out a proposal for the first wave to be voted upon during the next European strategy call: 100%

Communication

Outreach communication

1) Potential allies

- * Intersectionality: A lot of work still needs to be done regarding intersectionality. It was discussed in Basel but little has been done so far. Reach out to antifa, feminists, animalists,...

- * Trade Unions: separate chapter to other groups. Probably a specific strategy and plan is needed to approach them, but it definitely needs to be put in the agenda how to proceed with themselves
- * Camps: some work has been done with climate camps. Still this needs to be systematized: make sure there are responsible people to: a) identify all climate camps, b) check if it's possible to have a slot provided for by 2020, and c) make sure somebody attends the camp and covers the session
- * Beyond climate camps we need to cover other type of camps such as antifa or feminist camps.

2) Empowerment/ownership

- * NDVA trainings: one of the bottlenecks for escalation is the lack of disobedient culture in many places. Way to overcome this and start making people aware of what it means and make them start feeling the idea of by2020 (and feeling ownership about it) is to have NDVA trainings
- * Presential meetings: are a classical way to build trust and ownership. No matter how many call meetings we organize, we should try to make sure we meet. A way of building ownership is try to organize a small action at the end of the meeting or at least a group picture with an agreed banner (or a banner that has been painted during the meeting)

3) Tools

- * Visuals: consensus regarding the need to produce some visuals (like graphics) in order to visualize through outreach work that the wave is indeed going to happen, that the escalation is on its way. Agreement to use the symbol of the WAVE, identifying some milestones in the wave as we did? previously to the discussion in the plenary. Suggestion to include elements of the wave in the narrative (like transparency -like water out of which the wave is made of-, strength, no way back, decision, emerging,...) in order to make it attractive
- * PPT: to have a basic power point presentation which can be adapted/translated to different languages in order to present the basic by 2020 info-list
- * Video: produce a short video
- * Sticker: having an empty sticker with only the logo (w/o the name on it) can be used by different groups to adapt to their contexts.
- * Marker: invite people to have a black marker and spread the hashtag widely

4) Additions during plenary:

- * sell the idea as a mass-movement that is already occurring (self-fulfilling prophecy)
- * we are missing a narrative to show how escalation is happening

External communication

1) Handing over a toolbox (while clearly stating that no one is imposing anything on anyone! All elements listed in these minutes and communication tools are merely aiming at supporting the effort towards a common strategic uprising)

- * The By2020 internal group will be working on texts and communication elements to be handed over to groups and used as they wish (not press releases but “groups releases” to be used as unifying communication instruments/wording/language elements).
- * There will be at least two editions of such texts, they can freely be used as support to individual communication strategies:
 - one after the 3rd European strategy meeting (second half of August) to announce the fact that the first wave is coming and help prepare both traditional and less traditional (guerrilla communication tactics) ones.
 - one for the beginning of the first wave
 - other possibilities: one around the EU summit, one for the end of the first wave – if the latter doesn't coincide with the EU summit)
- * For this toolbox, experiences and feedback in communication from groups would be much welcome: ex: feedback on leafleting a neighborhood that is going to be occupied, organize events

in working-class areas ... Please send us resources some if you have documents and “how to” on communication (both traditional and more on the ground)

2) By2020 will never communicate externally in its own name, media work will always be done by groups who can decide to talk about by2020 or not

3) Brainstorming on how to deal with asymmetry of power and tense relationships between

* small/ big grassroots groups:

either have joint actions with joint communication (mentioning one another’s participation) or splitting dates during the waves and having dates where big grassroots are taking care of mobilization and are visible, and days when different smaller groups come together and are visible (both “sides” can of course call on people to go and bring numbers to the other days)

* NGOs/ grassroots groups:

need the numbers NGOs could potentially mobilize and the radicalization of their supporters they could bring about. How to deal with the risk of them co-opting actions and the uneasiness some groups have regarding their policies? First, the relationship with NGOs varies a lot from country to country, so no definite answer/ problem. Just brainstorming. Ideas: having set dates during which NGOs could be in charge of mobilizing (ex: 20-27th September, around the Brussels summit...) and they wouldn’t be visible during the rest of the waves. They could call on their basis to join the wave without bringing in visuals/ flags etc.

4) Neutrality and respect in communication:

even if a group doesn’t fully agree with what another group is doing (tactics, messaging...) ideally everyone would restrain from communicating such tensions to the wider public/ the press to avoid divide-and-rule tactics being played against us (which will be anyway a tricky point, for example during negotiations times). If asked about an action that is not theirs, spokespeople could stick to lines such as : “I don’t know what this group is doing, but I know that with our group we are doing x because y - nothing is changing, the emergency is here and I know the government is still not doing what it should...”

5) Suggestion of having people representing different groups and movements part of a “media response team”, people who will be in touch before and throughout the waves to deal with independent communication from their groups and looking at ways of coordinating communication

Internal communications

Brainstorming on how to improve horizontal communication and work:

Before 1st wave:

* Crabgrass is a group networking tool, it is used on the riseup platform.

- could be structured in Groups and bigger networks of existent groups (idea: European network, national groups)
- every group/network/individual can organize visibility & security of every data/discussion by themselves
- every group can have discussions, internal CG mail-function, share data files
- *please* only invite people that you and a second person know personally into a group – we can’t do that work by one person for the whole network
- security guideline to be set up on start page (which data should be how visible – as proposal)
- library for shared data will be set up
- leftover task list will be set up (isn’t that more for internal by2020 work ?)
- trying to set up CG calendar
- how-to’s (e.g. use PGP, install Wire, use CG, ...) will be shared within some structure

- deadline-work can be done via CG so everyone knows how process is going
- * Wire is very much preferable for phone calls. Zoom is insecure and TelKos via Wire are the only safe option (jitsi or riot break down all the time)
- * encrypted emails (PGP: how-to videos on youtube)
- * How to translate all your CG content into English (would be nice)? – translation tool „matecat“?
- * As a general idea, it could be good if, within groups, everyone could think about getting buddies and should share workload/ emo support → crucial for sustainability!

During 1st wave:

- * coordination person per city/region? knows whats going on, has all contacts and internally communicates and connects between movements? person would be in direct contact to all other coordination persons... good idea in terms of hierarchy-building and responsibilities? Pls feedback. Who would like to/ can we find coordinators?
- * can we modify web page to give access to movements? How to control no one is trolling or dominating with their content? ideas: text box tool on web page to fill in press statements, link to riseup cloud for pictures?
- * most communication work will happen within acting groups anyway. They should have contacts of allies.

Mandate for By 2020 We Rise Up

- * redesigning website
- * gathering communication toolkits
- * setting up crabgrass to share documents on communication, mobilization, strategies
- * keeping going with the coordination and facilitation process
- * use monthly European coordination tools to get the process to move forward
- * thinking about having an emergency response team for the first wave
- * conflicting opinions on By2020: there is still the lingering fear that By2020 is trying to become an organization/ group/ movement, and we have to keep on fighting this impression. Some groups want us to take more initiative and be more propositional. We'll keep on trying to find the right balance.
- * also, how to make By2020 a planning space and a supporting space without turning it into a skillsharing space (but making room for it ?)
- * clarity as a key factor; things can be adjusted, but be clear in the message and go ahead with the work

Next steps

- * countries are now in charge of taking care of their own strategy processes; By2020 will keep on supporting if needs be, and will keep going with general coordination work (actions and demands and supporting networking)
- * suggestion: use the climate camps, gatherings, summer schools of all kinds to get together, plan and organize
- * European strategy calls (one per month) will from now on be decision-making spaces too
- * concrete elements of work: building communication narrative, tactics and frameworks out of work done during this meeting + collect communication material from groups
- * next physical meeting: second half of August, during the German climate camp (<https://by2020weriseup.net/action/klimacamp-im-rheinland/>). Stay tuned for the exact dates!

Love and rage to all !!