



Solidarity will win

*It's all about
organisation*

A small guide for climate activists and those who want to become active.



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*One has
a moral
responsibility
to disobey
unjust laws.*

Martin Luther King Jr.

①

Introduction

What it's all about

Have you seen the powerful images from the *Ende Gelände* movement in Germany? They show thousands of people blockading roads, occupying lignite coal mines and railway tracks to stop coal extraction and consumption and to demand change. They show people using their bodily autonomy to disrupt our absurd reality of climate crisis. They illustrate the collective joy of people acting in solidarity with one another. They enact the possibility of another world.

Ende Gelände means 'here and no further' in English. We are a climate justice movement organisation in Germany that since 2015 has organised large-scale mass direct actions against the lignite coal industry in the country. We have mobilised thousands of people from around Europe to collectively put their bodies on the line to stop the extraction and consumption of coal. At our last action camp there were around 6,500 participants and we have become the largest mobilisation of people taking direct action for climate justice in Europe.

But when we take action we are not alone. Together we join with friends, strangers and other people who shared our belief that it is worthwhile to fight for a sustainable and just future. We have known solidarity. This togetherness we call organisation.

Do you hear the call to join with others and build a new future? This is what this booklet is all about.

Let's organise!

We as the authors of this booklet are part of the international climate justice movement and are active as a group, the *Interventionist Left* (IL), in the *Ende Gelände* alliance. Our last years at *Ende Gelände* have been marked by spectacular actions in open pit lignite coal mines and an increasingly well-functioning campaign for climate justice. Enthusiastic about the dynamics and empowering experiences of mass civil disobedience, many of us have wanted to pass on this resistive spirit to our home towns all year round. As a result more and more local groups and alliances have been formed, which enhanced, widened and anchored the movement. Without this growing organisation and the merging of various groups to form the *Ende Gelände* alliance, these successful actions would not have taken place.

They call us hippies, eco-terrorists, left-wing perpetrators of violence and advocates of chaos. We call ourselves activists who are courageous and committed to the fight for a livable and just world based on solidarity. We are proud of the actions and the disruption we have caused to the fossil capitalist infrastructure - we want to stop and denounce the destruction and injustice right where it happens!

And if action is the blossom of our movement, then organisation is our root system. We want to celebrate the beauty of our collective work and our mindful organisation in the climate justice movement. For us, this is crucial. The way we organise ourselves, how we behave towards one another and act together does not only decide how much we can change; it also paints a picture of how we want to live together in the future. Basic democratic, consensus-oriented working and organising is the practice that changes and carries the new within itself. We need it so that experience is not lost. We need it in order to be responsive, to anchor our ideas and to gain the ability to act. And not only in large national contexts, but also in local groups. It is only by joining together in groups where we live that we are able to act in a concrete way that changes our personal lives and our social conditions.

With this booklet we want to support the development of local political groups. We cannot provide a one-size-fits-all or master plan. However, of much more value: you will find experiences, tips and tools on how to unite, look out for each other and act together to find your own solutions. We have refrained from strategy or theory discussions here, even if they are important. Instead, we offer you some simple and some less simple tools on how to lead these discussions together and effectively. In this sense, this booklet is intended to make a contribution to the transformation of the existing world into a livable and just one based on solidarity. Solidarity will win!





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Get organised!

Building local climate justice groups

All beginnings are difficult. That's why we have collected a few thoughts here that, in our experience, will set you up well. However it is about more than the beginning. It is the basics that enable good cooperation in groups. It can be easy to quickly forget the small building blocks in favor of the big social questions.

Before the first meeting



Finding like-minded people

Together you are less alone. If it works well, it can be much more fun! Building a group creates a space for creativity and discussion and tasks can be spread over several people. There will be many more people around you than you think who want to get involved. You just have to find them! For example, in your circle of friends or at climate politics events in the area. Of course, posters or flyers will also help you to find like-minded people, whether in the pub, your local cafe, at university, in a sports club or at work - as well as on larger e-mail distribution lists, online platforms and social media.



Finding place and time

Once you have found a few fellow campaigners, you can decide when and where you would like to invite them to for a first meeting. Is there an interesting event you can follow up on? Which public places are particularly suitable for a meeting? It is often nice when there are snacks and drinks on offer. It is important that the place is easy to reach and that it is quiet to enable a focused meeting. People's houses are less suitable because they increase people's inhibitions in going to a stranger's house. They also make public announcements more complicated.



Collecting first ideas

It can be very helpful to enter the first meeting with initial ideas for possible activities, actions or topics. Are there any climate policy debates coming up in your city about transport, a fossil fueled power station or other struggles that you can take up? Are big events like *Ende Gelände* just around the corner and you want to inform people about them and mobilise towards them? There are no limits to your creativity! It has been shown that it is often concrete suggestions and actions that allow a new group (but not only) to grow together in the first few weeks. People join a group because they

want to get actively involved and not because they just want to meet. Of course, flexibility and openness are still very important. People will bring inspiring ideas to the first meeting. These should also have a chance to be implemented. Think about possibilities to open the room for further ideas.



Sending an invitation (early enough)

Send an invitation via e-mail distribution lists a few weeks before the planned meeting and post notices or similar. In a nutshell: what is the meeting about, where and when will it take place, and most importantly, what are your plans for the first meeting? It is advisable to send a reminder shortly before the meeting.



Structuring and preparing meetings

A well-structured and prepared meeting is half the battle. Think about what the goals of the first meeting are and what you want to achieve. How can you make the meeting participatory and create a pleasant atmosphere so that everyone can get involved and feel comfortable? What is on the agenda and what is the best way of working (getting to know each other, collecting topics, open discussion or small groups on individual topics etc?) Think in advance about what materials you will need - pen and paper, computer and video projector? One or more people should facilitate the meeting and make sure that you can cover as many of the items on your list as possible - and if not, decide in time and together to move one or more items to the next meeting or to meet for longer.



Do you need support?

It is important that you can manage everything well and feel comfortable in your roles. Otherwise think about who can help you with the preparation and facilitation etc. You can also consider inviting external speakers who can, for example, introduce a climate topic or report on their experiences in setting up climate justice groups.



During the first meeting



Prepare the room, bring materials with you.

Be on site early enough before the start to prepare the room. It is best to write down the agenda legibly for everyone. Providing drinks and snacks are a good idea - and the arrangement of chairs (with or without tables) in a circle means everyone can see each other.



Facilitating the meeting

At the first meeting set an atmosphere for joint interaction and create a common culture of communication. You are responsible for ensuring that there is a respectful and supportive relationship with each other. This means, among other things, that everyone can meet with openness and curiosity, have their say and are able to speak. It is crucial that one or more people facilitate the meeting. Make sure everyone doesn't speak at the same time, that you making progress and that you don't go off topic. Facilitation will structure the meeting and it will ensure you are more likely to reach your goals. The facilitators should make their role clear at the beginning and understand they are partly responsible for how well the meeting goes for everyone. Caution: as a facilitator you have a very powerful position. What you say as a facilitator often carries much more weight than what others say. If you want to introduce a discussion you have a strong position on you should not take over the facilitation or you should give facilitation up for this discussion. Consider how you can deal with your role as a facilitator as fairly and as transparently as possible.

Methods such as a final go-round where everyone can give feedback are useful for involving everyone.



Getting to know each other

In order to be able to fight together for climate justice in the future, trust and knowledge of everyone's respective abilities and motivations is necessary. It is therefore worth taking time to get to know each other at the beginning of the meeting. With an in-depth round of getting-to-know-each-other or, depending upon the size of the group, more intensive discussions in small groups, you can find out who is there, people's backgrounds and how they are connected to climate justice topics. This breaks the ice between participants and creates the mood for fruitful and focused discussions. It is also important to ask why people have come and above all, what their expectations are. You should ask if someone has already come up with concrete ideas at the meeting. It is often easier to talk in small groups first rather than in large ones.



Presenting and adapting the structure of the meeting

At the beginning, tell everyone what you as the organisers have planned for the first meeting. How should it be done? What are the items on the agenda? What do you want to achieve and how long should the meeting be? Also, see how your proposal for the meeting meets with the expectations and ideas of the other participants. You may need to adapt your plan to the needs of others.



Have an open and reflexive attitude

Especially at the beginning of a group-building process there are (almost ;-)) no stupid ideas and suggestions. It is important that everyone becomes part of the process. This means that everyone can actively participate and collaborate and that everyone is taken seriously by listening to the different wishes and ideas in the decision-making process. Of course, there may be proposals that are mutually exclusive, politically unconvincing or far too ambitious for a new group. You will have to discuss this at some point, but not at the first meeting.

When it comes to questions concerning your approach, it is helpful when the facilitator encourages the group to make dynamic decisions (by making

clear proposals) to move the process forward. Longer policy discussions can initially block the process.

It can be helpful to make quick temporary decisions and try them out for an agreed-upon period of time before re-evaluating them.



Do you have any clear ideas on how you want to proceed after the first meeting?

It is important that you conclude the first meeting with one or more ideas that are as concrete as possible so that people are motivated to return the next time and feel that they can make a meaningful contribution to the group. As preparation group, you can bring a concrete proposal to your first meeting and put it up for discussion. For example, suggesting a flash mob or an Ende-Gelände-info-meeting, so you can start right away. If you do not want to dampen the group's creativity, you can also prepare a slot for the first meeting where you can develop your first ideas together with everyone present. Think about a good method to make sure that all suggestions are heard, that as many people as possible get involved, and that you openly discuss which of the ideas you immediately decide to act on.



Minuting discussions and/or decisions

In order for you to retrace what you have agreed on after a few weeks, the results of your meeting should be recorded (on paper or digitally). This is helpful to make new people aware of what you have discussed so far. You should record what you have discussed, what decisions have been made and who has taken on what tasks. The idea is not to control a person afterwards, but rather to remind them of the tasks they have agreed to do. So at the beginning of the meeting get someone to take minutes or take it up yourself and make that transparent. Very important: send the records to all participants relatively soon after the meeting.



How do you want to communicate and stay in touch?

In order to be able to send the records and to stay in touch, you should have a contact list for email addresses and mobile phone numbers circulated dur-

ing the meeting. Anyone interested in continuing to build the group should add their details. It makes sense to set up a mailing list (e.g. riseup.net) or a secure mobile phone group (e.g. with the app Signal) relatively soon. Before you circulate this list, you should all consider how you want to stay in contact and communicate in the future. It can be worthwhile to focus on secure communication from the start. Although try not to debate principles at the very beginning. First look for pragmatic solutions with which you can easily involve new people in your communication and support each other with respect to people's differing levels of technical knowledge.



Setting discussion topics for the next meeting

In the first meeting you should make sure you talk about how and what you want to discuss at the next meeting. Otherwise, people can be de-motivated fairly quickly. Are you interested in more in-depth topics? Do you want to organise an action soon? For some it might be important to first clarify how exactly you want to work with each other.



Scheduling the next meeting

During the first meeting you should have the date, time and place for the next meeting already determined. To keep people motivated the second meeting should not take place more than a week or two after the first.



Finding new people for the preparation of the next meeting

Find a new preparation group for the next meeting so that those who organised the first meeting do not have to do all the work again and, above all, to actively involve the new people. Make sure that these people can get in touch with each other relatively soon after the first meeting.



Duration of the meeting – less is more

Make sure you do not overload the first meeting with content or draw it out too much. It should not last longer than 1.5 or 2 hours. Aim for a conclusion that leaves people wanting more.



Socialising after the meeting

Politics should also be fun! Getting to know each other better and exchanging ideas in an exciting and less formal setting is good. Where could you get together after the meeting? Is there a nice pub around the corner? Is the weather good enough to chill outside?



After the first meeting



Following up on the last meeting, prepare the next one

Those who organised the first meeting should get in touch with those who want to prepare the next one as soon as possible. First, evaluate the first meeting: what went well? Where is there room for improvement? How was the feedback from the participants? Take people's constructive feedback seriously and include it in the planning of the second meeting. Think about what should happen next. What are the goals and how can you achieve them with appropriate methods? Think about who can take on which role (organisation, facilitation, minute-taking etc.) at the next meeting. Maybe it would be helpful to have a timekeeper? Reconsider the practical things again: is the place right? Which materials do you have to bring? Should there be a good conclusion etc.?



Sending out the minutes and reminding everyone a few days in advance

Send the minutes out to everyone who was present relatively soon after the first meeting. These notes should include who has agreed on which tasks. Remember to resend an invitation for the second meeting a few days before it takes place.



Defining the framework

Invite everyone who can imagine becoming part of your new climate justice group to think about how you would like to organise yourselves. These things are sometimes relatively mundane, but very important: how often do you want to meet - every week, every two weeks or only once a month? Where do you want to meet? Is there a pub with a side room, a housing co-op, a meeting room of an NCo or something similar? Make sure that you can meet there regularly and do not have to change location every time. Also consider whether the place you choose is suitable for political meetings and

whether you can create a pleasant working atmosphere. It makes sense to involve everyone when it comes to structuring your meetings. In many groups it has proven to be a good idea to structure the meetings so that they are varied. For example, you could consider splitting the meeting into two parts – one part for content and one for the organisational aspects. You might invite a speaker for the content part. There may also be other people in your group who would like to prepare a discussion on a topic. Especially at the beginning, take enough time to discuss content and strategy. In the organisational part you can then prepare your first small action or public event (for example) relatively quickly.



How do you want to work as a group?

In the beginning the basics of how you work together will be determined and a political culture will be established. In many groups, people often work in pairs, which means individuals rarely take on tasks alone. This is more fun, work is only half as difficult, and people can talk to each other and, above all, learn from each other. If you have a lot of things in mind, then it makes sense to work in small groups of two or however many people for a certain period of time. Many groups make sure that for a defined length of time there are always people who are responsible for sending the minutes, compiling the agenda for the next meeting and facilitating. This helps to create continuity and to keep track of things. Just as important as a good organisational structure is the question of how you want to relate to one other. Here are some basics - for example, make sure that it is not always the same people who talk. It can help if a person pays special attention to this (for example the facilitation team) and/or a speakers list is kept. With a speakers list, one person notes down requests to speak (by hand signal), puts them on a stack and then invites people to speak in the appropriate order. People who have not said anything yet can be prioritised or be moved directly to the top of the list. Alternating between men and women can prevent only men from speaking. Watch out that all positions are treated seriously and taken into account. Let others talk and listen actively. Be empathetic and interested in engaging all people in the conversation. Be transparent about differences in opinions and find a way to talk about them. Be sensitive to all the needs of people in the group. Keep an eye on how social power affects your group: When, for example, do certain people dominate conversations or take on tasks and roles that are often linked to greater recognition (for example, representing the group at a larger meeting vs. taking notes and cleaning up)? Do

different people feel comfortable in your group? What do you need for your group to become a place of attentive and sensitive interaction? You can try to make the group work together in the way you would like to see society. It is crucial that you, as a new group, decide together which things are particularly important for your cooperation and which are not.



Getting started – first activities

In order for a group to keep going and for everyone to feel that things are moving forward and that importantly everyone is involved, collaborate on an initial project. Agree relatively quickly on what you want to start with. Is there currently an *Ende Gelände* mobilisation on the horizon that you would like to support with an event or action training? Think about a creative action that can beautify your city. Use your heads and write a great climate justice paper. Organise a series of events on climate justice in your city. Together you will be able to come up with something good!



Defining your goals and making a work plan

You have already met several times, clarified your “infrastructure” such as where and when and carried out your first small activities together. Now is the best time to strategically consider what your political goals are and how you can best contribute locally with your resources to achieving them. How can you contribute to climate justice within your local (and perhaps national) area? With local issues you will get more attention as more people are affected and are easier to mobilise. What issues can you address within your locality and where do you see the chance to achieve small wins? This is important so that people recognise what is worth fighting for and how their commitment makes a difference. Is there a coal-fired power plant that needs to be shut down? Which climate-damaging large corporations are on your doorstep? Are there any climate-damaging lobby groups in your area that need to be exposed? Do people in your city want free public transport and cycle lanes instead of a city for cars? Strategic questions include who supports your cause and with whom you can make alliances. Once you have defined your strategic goals, think about activities to implement them. Do information events or film screenings help because you want to educate people first? Do you need attention? Then think about a sensational action,

for example working with artists and trying something completely new. Set up a demonstration. Make a schedule for the activities and define the time by when said activities should be implemented and which goals should be achieved. At regular intervals take the time to think about what is going well and what is not. Do not just look at the output, but - very importantly - pay attention to the people in your climate justice group. Think about how you would like to work as a group to achieve your goals and activities.



Learning from each other, passing on knowledge and experience

All people in a group contribute different life experiences, different knowledge etc. Make sure to create an atmosphere in which each person's abilities are valued. There is also a constant coming and going in many groups. In order for you to learn as a group, it can make sense to compose a so-called "How-To", in which you write down important information and experiences and add to them regularly. What are the basic rules when writing a press release? What things should not be forgotten when organising an event or direct action? What do new people in the group need to know in order to get started? But also practical info is important: where can we print cheap flyers or which locations are suitable for interesting events?



Be visible, approachable and open to new people

As soon as the first projects are in the pipeline, you should think about how you can become visible and above all how you can be found. Build a simple website to introduce your new group and promote your activities. There is software that allows you to create a website without any previous knowledge within about an hour. Examples are: wix.com or squarespace.com. You can also register here:

⇒ www.ende-gelaende.org/en/get-involved/local-groups

Make your group easily approachable. For example, set up an e-mail address that you check regularly and respond to. Be open to new people. You can organise meetings for interested people at regular intervals. You can also announce your group meetings openly and invite them directly. Early on, think about how to integrate new people. Organise a buddy system. This means

that a person who has been active in the group for some time is the contact person for a new group member. The “Buddy” and the “Newbie” can get together before the actual group meetings and talk about what is going on in the group, what is being worked on and how the new person can get actively involved. Larger groups often have a guide for this. Also think about how you can get new people involved in the current group as actively and as quickly as possible. This is often easiest if the new people can easily participate in various tasks.



Networking with other groups

Who wants to do political organising alone and isolated? In order to develop a certain relevance and effectiveness, you should network in your city and beyond. Not necessarily only with other groups that work on similar topics as you, but also think outside the box and link your fights with those of others. In a first step you can think about who is politically active in your neighborhood or town and with whom you want to build a network with. Write it down, arrange a get-together, support their work and promote their call-outs, invite each other to your meetings or talks, etc. Join already existing alliances such as *Ende Gelände* and take part in their nationwide meetings.



Getting to know each other and having fun together

Especially at the beginning of a group formation it is important that you take your time to get to know each other. People have different backgrounds and come from different political contexts and are used to different kinds of political engagement. Create a respectful attitude and a way of working together on the same level. Political work is supposed to be fun - celebrate a party together, invite each other to your birthdays or go on a trip. Or take part in an action as a group. And very importantly: celebrate your successes!



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Action

speaks louder than words

With the right actions we can intervene in the course of things and turn them around for the better. Together we can feel and create the possibilities for social change with many different activities. Together we are louder and make our concerns more visible. But where and how to start? There are always more things to do than is possible for one person. That is why we have to be wise about what we do and pick our battles! What action will help us in a particular situation? How do we gain attention, increase our numbers, build pressure or achieve concrete improvements on the long road to a world of climate justice?

Tactic Star

The tactic star is a method to help us plan an action in a strategic, effective and purposeful way by asking a number of critical questions.

Goal and s

What is the aim of the action? What do we want the action bring us closer to? What are the consequences of climate justice? Is the action worth the effort? Is the action relative to the situation? What will come afterward?

Afterwards

Celebrate success, no matter how small! And evaluate: what were the highlights of the action? Where are opportunities for improvement? What was successful? What are the next steps?



Resources

What is needed to carry out the action? Do we have the necessary capacities? Is the action worth our energy, time and money? How do we distribute work fairly?



Group/organisation

How is our group affected by the action? Are we well prepared and motivated for the action? Can we use the action to share knowledge in our group? Does the action help us to win new people for our group?



Target

What people/groups can influence the achievement of our goal? What do we tell them with our action? Can our action make them change their behavior or implement our demands? Or can our opponents turn the public against us through our action?



and strategy

the action? To what extent does it move us closer to our long-term goal? Is this action part of an existing campaign or is it a new initiative? How is it different from what has come before? What are the risks and rewards?



Time

When should the action be carried out? Can we take advantage of unforeseen events or new developments? Can we use the action to trigger new developments that benefit us and harm our opponents?

Message

What is our message? What does the action convey? Do we communicate values that are important to us? Are we addressing the values and basic assumptions of our desired audience? What story do we want to tell? Can the audience identify with the story, the characters, and the message?



Action image

Does the action tell the story itself? Does the action convey our intended message? Do observers intuitively understand it without us having to explain it? How does the action appear? (Serious, cheerful, angry,...)



Audience

Who is this action aimed at? What reaction do we want to achieve? Will the action encourage sympathisers to become actively involved themselves? How can the action get outsiders to agree to our demands?



Forms of action

Small interventions in everyday life



Transpi

You have something to say and you want it to be seen? Hold it up at a demo, hang it between trees or dangle it from a bridge. Think of a powerful and succinct slogan. With a few meters of fabric and some colour it starts! It is best to project the text onto the fabric using a video projector and then trace it with a pencil. Then you can colour the message and make the banner look nice. More detailed instructions and information on other forms of banners can be found on these websites: ⇒ asmaa-algarve.org/en/campaigns/take-action-participa/what-can-you-do/how-to-make-your-own-protest-banner
⇒ www.youtube.com/watch?v=y-yFsvu5Sk



Putting up posters

Posters are and remain one of the most effective advertising for events, content or larger campaigns. If done well, they immediately appeal to viewers and can be present in the city for a while. You need: wallpaper paste, a brush and a great poster. To create flyers and posters etc. you can use the free software Gimp. You can find inspiration and technical help for your designs here: ⇒ crimethinc.com/posters ⇒ collection-politicalgraphics.org/main.php?module=objects ⇒ calwhj.wordpress.com/2018/04/21/how-to-make-your-own-political-art-poster



Ad-busting

All over the city there is advertising for fuel-guzzling SUVs, the airline Xyz has once again come up with a great story about why it is totally desirable to fly from London to Barcelona and you do not have to search long for a sexist ad poster! Make your anger productive. With small interventions many messages can be turned into the opposite. This is a creative way of drawing attention to grievances. Inspiring examples and tutorials can be found here: ⇒ brandalism.ch ⇒ twitter.com/SpecialPatrols

Events inside and outside



Film screening

Do you know a political film that is exciting? Organise a film screening! Whether in the local cinema or self-organise it with a projector and screen in the park, on in the market square, the university pub or in the housing co-op. Films are often a great basis for conversation. Prepare facilitation and questions for a discussion afterwards. You can find some exciting films on page 42.



Public talk

Do you have knowledge about a topic that you would like to share and discuss with many people? Have you stumbled across an exciting speaker or want to get into conversation with a broad audience? Then a talk is the right format. Everything you need: competent speakers, a good room, an appealing event title and advertising, for example with flyers & posters and a good facilitator for the introduction and for questions and discussion afterwards. If you want to have different perspectives on a topic you can also organise a panel discussion. Invite at least two people who disagree. Combined with facilitation and lively questions, nothing stands in the way of an exciting and stimulating evening.



Pub crawl

It's hard to beat a pub night! It is a great format to discuss in a relaxed atmosphere, or for a group to get to know each other better. It offers interested people the opportunity to make contact and get into conversation. The sale of drinks and perhaps a collectively cooked meal offers the chance to raise some money for the group. If you need more money it is a good idea to organise a solidarity party, where the revenue from selling tickets and drinks goes to your cause.

Hitting the streets



Info stall

With an info stall you are visible and approachable. It is an opportunity to talk to people who would probably never come to one of your actions or events and to offer them materials. In order for the info stall to be interesting for passers-by it should be attractively designed. Use banners, inviting music and theme-specific things. In some cities and areas there are legal requirements for info stalls. It is worth informing yourself beforehand so the police cannot stop it.



Demonstration/rally

Demonstrations or a rally on a well-chosen occasion are an excellent way of drawing attention to concerns and bringing one's own position to the public. If they succeed and many people participate, they are encouraging because individuals can learn that they are not alone. Especially in smaller cities, a demonstration or rally can easily interrupt the usual course of events and can be strongly received. In most Western democracies demonstrations and rallies and their participants are protected by the right of assembly and are subject to special protection. The messages you want to communicate are important and must be well thought out. By using appropriate slogans, banners and placards the issue can be made self-explanatory to outsiders and the media. These messages also belong in the press release and other publications that are written before and after the campaign. All participants could also wear a distinguishing mask, a uniform colour or costumes. This lends the whole event a collective expression, which is encouraging for oneself and also outwardly impressive and coordinated. For larger demonstrations it can be a good idea to rent a small truck and place a sound system on the loading area. For small demos, a cargo bike or a hand cart can be sufficient. Think of a small stage and above all a sound system that can be used to make speeches and play music that can be clearly heard by all participants. Cars, loudspeakers and megaphones are often available from a trade union or the student's union of a university. But do not let technology dictate the mood. Make yourself visible and audible with a clear presence, great banners and your energy.



Civil disobedience

When we speak of civil disobedience, we can often think of the “classical actions” of the black civil rights movement in the USA. Of Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks, who refused to give her seat on a bus to a white woman. We can think of the woman of Greenham Common occupying a nuclear missile site in the UK in the ‘70s and ‘80s. We can think of people living in trees to stop new road building in the UK in the ‘90s, or people crop-trashing genetically modified crops. We think of *Ende Gelände*, the blockades of coal infrastructure and the occupation of opencast coal mines. But we also think of the smaller actions of civil disobedience and direct action: squats on land and in houses, support for illegalised migrants. We think of actively refusing to cooperate with unjust structures and adhere to unjust laws along with the appropriation of the things people need for a dignified life. We think of the collective courage that is needed to say “no” to injustice openly - and of the courage and determination to actively oppose it. We think of grassroots democracy and collective self-organisation that is fundamental to many actions of civil disobedience and that is crucial when building alternative structures. We think of “another world” and believe that the way to it also leads to civil disobedience actions. To prepare for an action of civil disobedience or a demonstration and counter fears of participation, it can be good to organise and participate in an action training workshop.



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④

Climate Justice

A short history of a movement

„Bourgeois Environmentalism“:

Passing on problems and faking solutions

“**E**nvironmental protection” only became a major topic of public debate in the Global North after the Second World War. This primarily revolved around the widespread use of chemical pesticides in agriculture. In the 1960s, the first local environmental campaigns were launched (particularly in the USA) against (among others) dirty factories and toxic waste dumps in people’s neighbourhoods. The factories were often led by rich white people. These campaigns were successful in so far as to force factories to relocate to other neighborhoods. The new locations were often inhabited predominantly by African-American, Central and South American, and East Asian or indigenous American communities creating an ‘environmental racism’ issue. The desire for unpolluted air around one’s home became summarised in the phrase, “Not in My Back Yard” (NIMBY). These environmental activists at the time merely passed on ecological and health problems to social groups that stood below them in the social hierarchy.

Environmental protection – a social question

Subsequently, two new frames of reference were formed: the classic white privileged environmental protection was accused of structural environmental racism due to the principle passing it on. In the Communities of Colour, movements were founded that demanded environmental justice on the assumption that environmental problems must be perceived as social problems within social hierarchies and exploitation systems. Without this understanding, environmental problems cannot be solved, but can only be shifted ‘downwards’.

What has been described so far refers to the topic of the environment in general. For climate change in particular something very similar applies:

The first major public debate on climate change subject began in the 1980s, and here too an elitist view dominated: the climate crisis was seen as a common problem of ‘equal’ parties. Differences in the main contributors to the problem and extremely different effects throughout the world remained invisible. In addition, it was assumed that the market could be used to solve the problem. These were the assumptions with which the climate policy debate began during the famous ‘Earth Summit’ in 1992 in Rio, Brazil, which formed the first global climate policy framework, the ‘Kyoto Protocol’ (1997).

These were the same dynamics as the first environmental movement of the Global North in the 1960s. The climate crisis was not regarded as a problem of hierarchy and exploitation, and the supposed solutions created new injustices without solving the problem. An example of this is the introduction of CO₂ emissions trading, which enables rich countries such as Germany and Canada to continue to emit more CO₂ by buying emission permits from poorer countries. This “technical and market-based approach” ignores the differences between those who continue to benefit from the climate crisis and have historically caused it and those who suffer most from it. It has also proven to be completely ineffective in other respects. A “social solution” to the climate crisis presupposes that the economic foundations of ecological problems are tackled. The current economic system relies on the extraction of fossil fuels, the expansion of industrial agriculture and the growth of the export-oriented trading system. The climate crisis can only be mitigated if the economic power structures and the capitalist economic system are dissolved.

Climate protection is manual labour: struggles for climate justice

When indigenous activist Tom Goldtooth of the Indigenous Environmental Network first called for “climate justice,” he created the central term for a movement that would later form.

Many of the organisations, most of which originated in the Global South, which later formed the core of the movement and founded the Climate Action Network (CAN), met for the first time in Bali in 2002 and formulated the Bali Principles of Climate Justice. Two years later, other groups in South Africa came together and criticised the use of market mechanisms, such as emissions trading, as false solutions. Shortly after the 13th UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Conference of the Parties (COP) Conference in Bali in 2007, critical organisations separated from the more moderate Climate Action Network, whose lobbying strategies ran nowhere, to establish the Climate Justice Now Network. The first press release of the new organisation contained demands on which the climate justice movement still relies on today.

In the second half of the 2000s, a series of climate camps, occupations and blockades in Britain and Germany helped an anti-capitalist climate movement gain a foothold in Europe. For the activists, the 2007 G8 summit in Heiligendamm and the 2009 UN COP in Copenhagen represented turning points at which the mainstream efforts to contain the ongoing climate crisis proved to be hollow promises on many occasions. This led a number of climate groups to believe that climate change mitigation must be done themselves, which means working directly to keep fossil fuels in the ground.

A series of large-scale protests of civil disobedience since 2015 organised under the slogan “Ende Gelände” in various parts of Germany have demonstrated how the demand for an immediate withdrawal from fossil fuels can be put on the political agenda by utilising strategic protest interventions. *Ende Gelände* sees itself in the tradition of the anti-nuclear movement and builds on the organisational capabilities of the protests against the transport of nuclear waste since the mid-2000s. In August 2015, around 1,500 activists blocked RWE’s Garzweiler open-cast mine as part of the Rhineland climate camp. In May 2016, some 4,000 people blocked the Welzow-Süd open-cast mine in Lusatia and associated coal infrastructure. The “Schwarze Pumpe” (black pump) power station was almost shut down. In August 2017, thousands of activists returned to the Rhineland to paralyse the coal infrastructure of the Garzweiler plant. On the action days, people blockaded the railway tracks of the RWE lignite coal trains and slowed down production. In November 2017, during the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change Conference in Bonn (COP23), once again thousands of activists blocked the coal excavators at RWE’s opencast mine. In 2018 around 6,500 people from across Europe attended another camp in the Rhineland where thousands blockaded the railway tracks of the lignite coal trains again.

*The future of the planet:
Anti-capitalism or global catastrophe*

Together with the international climate justice movement we see the need to limit the global rise in temperature to 1.5 degrees celsius - as provided for in the Paris Agreement. We are convinced that this goal cannot be achieved if we wait for change from above. Instead, we rely on civil disobedience as an essential tactic for mitigating the severity of the ongoing climate crisis on protest actions, at climate summits, coal mines and plants, at airports or against companies focusing on fossil fuels. In this way, we want to make visible the production conditions and production areas that inevitably lead to the climate crisis. We cannot rely on solutions from green capitalism. The concept of green growth is based on the hope of decoupling the destruction of nature from economic growth. This has not worked for 30 years. It can never work. In the capitalist logic of production companies must guarantee growth and open up new markets in order to maximise their profits. This compulsive growth governs over both green technologies that are supposedly environmentally friendly and traditional technologies. In order to reduce greenhouse gas emissions at the necessary speed, 80% of fossil fuels must remain in the ground. To achieve this, the economic and social system based on expansion and the destruction of nature must be overcome. A radical social transformation is needed.





5

Watch out

Books and movies



Books

Fossil Capital. (2016)

The author convincingly demonstrates that the ongoing climate crisis is a result of capital's historical reliance on fossil fuels and the capacities of control and command that this afforded to the capitalist system over labor power. A smart analysis of why the fights against capitalism and fossil fuels are intimately connected.

The Shock of the Anthropocene. (2016)

In a dialogue between science and history, this book dissects the theoretical buzzword "anthropocene" and explores paths for living and acting politically in this rapidly developing geological epoch.

Ecology Against Capitalism. (2001)

This is one of the earlier eco-Marxist texts that traces the connections between capital's imperative to boost profits and expand production, and the increase in greenhouse gas emissions. It is also one of the first that argues that capitalism is not capable of reversing the course and adopting an environmental-friendly accumulation model.

⇒ monthlyreview.org/2001/10/01/ecology-against-capitalism

Capitalism's Twin Crises: Economic & Environmental. (2002)

Another early text by an eco-Marxist who makes the argument that both the economic and ecological crisis under capitalism are fundamentally tied to the heart of the system. It rejects however the view that the internal contradictions of capitalism can bring an end to this system and argues that only a mass movement can replace capitalism with an environmentally sound socialism.

⇒ monthlyreview.org/2002/09/01/capitalisms-twin-crises

Roots in quicksand. (2017)

Reflections and tools from and for the climate justice movement.
Published by ausgeCO₂hlt.

**Imperial way of life: On the exploitation of man and nature
in times of global capitalism.** (2017)

In this book, Ulrich Brand and Markus Wissen show how our patterns of production and consumption function at the expense of resources, labour and the natural CO₂ sinks of the world and continue the exploitation of humans and non-human nature.

Organizing cools the planet. (2011)

Tips & tricks on organizing for climate justice.

⇒ More at: organizingcoolstheplanet.wordpress.com

Organisation & Practice: A political handbook. (2014)

This book collects many tips & tricks from the political work of different groups. Many practical checklists ensure that nothing is forgotten.

Beautiful Trouble: Handbook for an irresistible revolution. (2015)

The book gathers many creative forms of action and clever principles along which actions can be planned.

What every environmentalist needs to know about capitalism. (2011)

The book does not limit itself to a call for social upheaval, but rather meticulously points out the conditions that are necessary in order to fundamentally change society. Furthermore it gives the necessary instructions for the organisation of resistance against the further destruction of our livelihoods.

Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital. (2015)

In this historical and philosophical work, Jason W. Moore convincingly shows that today's global crises (finance, climate, food, work) are a result of how capital has been organizing nature by appropriating labor, food, energy and raw materials since the 16th century. His critique of capitalism urges us to go beyond seeing Nature and Society as separate entities, and to recognize how this separation itself is a fundamental condition for capital accumulation, and the class, race and gender-based violence and exploitation.





Films and videos

Intro to Climate Justice. (2011, 3.45 min)

In this short video, climate justice and climate injustice are vividly explained with detailed crayon drawings. It's a great introduction to the topic.

⇒ youtube.com/watch?v=5PQKYt6H4Fw

Capitalism and the Environment. (2017, 14.40 min)

Scientist and Youtuber Mexie talks about capitalism's detrimental influence on the environment, with a focus on climate change.

She critiques neoliberal solutions to environmental problems like carbon offsets and stresses the need for a system change.

⇒ youtube.com/watch?v=ltmd-POalpo&t=163s

Beyond the red lines. (2016, 90 min)

A film that shows the history of a growing movement, which commits to civil disobedience and takes the transformation towards a livable climate into its own hands. It portrays three initiatives in the run-up to and during the 2015 World Climate Summit in Paris.

⇒ beyondtheredlines.org/en

This changes everything. (2015, 89 min)

The film is an attempt to re-imagine the daunting challenge of climate change. It portrays 7 communities on the front lines and combines these stories of struggle with Naomi Klein's analysis on how climate crisis and capitalism go hand in hand.

⇒ thischangeseverything.org

15 minutes for climate justice, with Tadzio Müller. (2014, 16 min)

Tadzio Müller explains the concept and background of climate justice and puts forward a theory on what society and politics must do to achieve the goal of a livable climate.

⇒ youtube.com/watch?v=Cnede6NvgIM

Wake up, freak out. (2008, 12 min)

A lovingly made animated film, which shows the dramatic effects of crossing the so-called „tipping points“ for earth's climate.

⇒ cinerebelde.org/wake-up-freak-out-then-get-grip-p-83.html?language=en





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Good luck!

Contacts

Interventionist Left (IL)

The *Interventionist Left* is an association of radical left groups and individuals from the undogmatic and emancipatory left in the German-speaking world. We are active in social, anti-racist, feminist and climate struggles and are involved in anti-fascism and anti-war politics.

⇒ klima@interventionistische-linke.org

Ende Gelände

Ende Gelände is an alliance for an immediate exit from coal. Our focus is currently on capitalist energy infrastructure and the dirtiest of all fossil fuels: lignite coal and its opencast mines. With mass actions of civil disobedience, we are sending a widely visible signal to a turn towards genuine climate protection.

⇒ www.ende-gelaende.org

Reclaim the Power

Reclaim the Power is a UK based direct action network fighting for social, environmental and economic justice. Since 2013, we have held large action camps in solidarity with frontline communities affected by fracking and fossil fuel extraction. We believe in taking direct action for climate justice, we are anti-capitalist, anti-hierarchical and recognise that all oppressions are linked.

⇒ reclaimthepower.org.uk

Plan C

Plan C is a British anti-capitalist organisation. *Plan C* exists to organise in, beyond, and against capital. The initiatives and movements we have been involved with include: Rojava solidarity, radical municipalism, antifascism, Women's Strike, Feminist Anti-facist Network, Transnational Social Strike, tenant unions and workplace unions.

⇒ www.weareplanc.org

GB
Extinction Rebellion

Lancaster
Leeds
Nottingham

Birmingham
Oxford
Bristol
London
Brighton

Free the Soil
AGRICULTURE & CLIMATE-JUSTICE CAMP
Gastivists
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Kiel
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Groningen
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Marburg
Gießen
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Frankfurt
Würzburg

Paris
Nancy-Épinal
Karlsruhe
Stuttgart
Tübingen
Freiburg

Konstanz
Bern
Lausanne

Italy
Global Project
No Grande Navi (Venedig)



Local climate groups

A current overview of groups working on climate justice, perhaps also close to you, can be found here:

- ⇒ ende-gelaende.org/en/get-involved/local-groups
- ⇒ reclaimthepower.org.uk/local-working-groups

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Online copy

You can find this brochure digitally on the *Plan C* website.





interventionistische-linke.org