

MINUTES OF THE STRATEGY CONFERENCE OF THE CLIMATE JUSTICE MOVEMENT, IN COLOGNE 15.-18.06.2023

Notes for reading the minutes

- The protocol is written in difficult language. There are long sentences. And many heavy words. So far there has not been time to revise it. We can still try. But we need support in doing so. A voice recording is also possible, if desired. Unfortunately, that would take time.
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- The protocol was written by a large number of people, which is why there are different ways of writing it, which we have left in place if, as far as we know, there is no consensus on a particular way of writing it.

- We are aware that the protocol is not always written in a low-level way, but that it also contains complicated (technical) words and foreign words. We did not have the capacity to include an overview with explanations and ask that people search for the definitions on the internet on their own.

If people have the capacity to create a glossary with explanations, please contact us at strategiekonferenz2023@systemli.org.

- If you have any additions to the minutes or transcripts of workshops etc. that have not yet made it into the minutes, please write to us by 26 July 2023 at strategiekonferenz2023@systemli.org or add them to this pad:
<https://cryptpad.fr/pad/#/2/pad/edit/QMM4Or5tMhPDNdINnBJSeOwm/>

- We will process all additions at the end of July in an updated version of the minutes, which will then be available again on the MovementHub website. These minutes are as of 16 July 2023.

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THURSDAY

1) Welcome + opening plenary session

Insights into the preparation process (also went out as an e-mail to all participants)

What were the conflicts and challenges?

- acute need for action vs. long-term organizing
- Not enough time to address problems that arise
- some groups could not manage to come Thursday already (or at all)
- there were racist violations during the Orga process, from this a critical whiteness group was formed, which could have been formed the same way
- Critically addressing the question "who is part of the climate justice movement?"

- Wish that FFF federal level is excluded, because racist behavior occurred several times, and was addressed, but no willingness for reflection could be perceived -> because of this, one person from the FFF federal level is not here today

Why did we do the conference anyway and how did our group develop?

- Meetings in fixed spaces in presence have been absent during Corona
- Attempt to come together more via a conference setting: welcome new actors, especially also acknowledge that some long-time actors are not seen in the (predominantly) white parts of the climate justice movement.

When is the right moment to cancel a conference?

- a space that is far too little barrier-free
- a space where structural racism is reproduced (as we have just experienced) ((referring to an incident on the part of university staff)
- understaffed teams, resulting in, for example, a sleeping place situation that was communicated too late and thus resulted in the involuntary non-attendance of a differently abled person who is already discriminated against by society

What does this mean for us for the next few days?

- we will discuss and argue a lot about the topics that move us
- violations will occur
- we cannot create a safe space in the society we live in

How would we like to deal with criticism?

- accepts criticism
- if you can't handle the criticism, take a breath, get out, get moving
- if you are not able to deal with the criticism on your own, you are welcome to contact the awareness (partiality and creating a safe space for the behavior of the criticized person by the awareness team clearly does not apply in this case, rather awareness sees itself as a support in the learning process)

Further organizational points

Feedback: what do I need to be good here? [points stand for individual word contributions]

- no safer spaces for neurodivergent people as well as for people from the autistic spectrum (*still being set up*)
- we have lost many comrades due to disputes in online plenaries and since the beginning of the Russia-Ukraine war; hopefulness that we will deal well with each other at the conference and use the space well for discussions
- Desire for kind interactions with each other; reminder: the movement is very academic and uses specific language, as a non-academic or even as an older person it can be hard to follow; please be aware of this
- it was said that the conference is not a space for invitations for concrete actions + dates; wish that such a space is created -> on Sunday there is a time slot for this, ~~notices are difficult because we have to change rooms all the time~~

Awareness-team

--> all information in detail in the reader via this [LINK](#)



2) Panel on the climate crisis and justice

Topic: today is about climate and justice --> the panel will provide an overview of climate and justice, we want to look at intersectionality and issues of inequality.

Moderation by Christopher from wort.wechsel-Kollektiv and Alle Dörfer Bleiben (actually Tonny Nowshin was supposed to moderate, yet can't be there because of a struggle against sexualized assault in the former party in Bangladesh)

Panel guests:

1. Amadeo: from #WirFahrenZusammen, a long-term campaign connecting climate justice movement and public transport workers
2. Lian (joined online) from "Rollfender Widerstand", a group of differently-abled people active in social movements and affected by various forms of ableisms and other forms of discrimination
3. Sulti from abolish frontex, no border campaign, who organized the Stop Deportation Camp at BER (Berlin airport)

--> All of these people are already working to bring together different intersectionalities and struggles.

Question for Lian: What does climate justice mean to you and how does it show up?

- I'm not really concentrated, the preparation was a lot at once. At some point perhaps Delyla will take over.
- Justice in this context means that everyone has access to what they need. Not everyone the same access, but according to our individual needs.
- I am also part of a film collective, which also deals with sustainable activism, currently it is about disability and being political; there, I have learned a lot from the interviews. Rollfender Widerstand has not yet a common opinion/position about everything.
- Disability makes me different and I need more support. Every person should receive that support. Disability justice is very inspiring and comes from BIPoC queers and they think all the struggles together, I find it exciting to learn from that. It's about anti-capitalism, dismantling hierarchy, sustainability, networking.
- There you can learn a lot, e.g. from Lakshmi about the topic of Care Work.

Same question to Amadeu:

- Justice means to show, together with workers and unions, that we as a social movement support them in solidarity from the outside and advance their struggle. In 2020, this rapprochement took place for the first time between public transport workers and Fridays For Future. There were still many reservations, but the rapprochement worked well. There were visits to picket lines. That was a good first step that was built on last year. This took place during the last round of collective bargaining, whereby workers in seven German states went on strike and were supported by FFF groups. There was even a joint strike on March 3. For me, it's about seeing the struggles of the workers, finding common ground, getting to know each other and fighting struggles together to fight for the common ground.

Same question to Sulti: What does justice mean?

- Our work is based on injustice. Structural discrimination and racism also play a role in our movement. I am a refugee, that is the box. I am not part of you and you are not part of me. This is how it is in this country here. I am excluded, we are isolated, criminalized. Whenever you have contact with us, you leave your comfort zone. We are a migrant refugee group in Berlin, we support our community. When they come to this country, they are put in a box. We show them what that looks like and how we fight it. We are there for each other and support our community. When I ask people on the street what time it is, they run away from me and they are afraid of me. So that's a society that I don't belong to. We try to show each other together how this country works. Going to all the offices together, looking for people who are in solidarity (lawyers). I don't know what justice looks like because I've never seen it. I also don't know if in the next 10 years I'll still be living in a society with selective solidarity, racial capitalism, stepping on each other to move up. I am alone. And not free. You are not free either. all I see in this country is injustice: at the borders, in the country, in the academy, in the schools.

One door can be opened: the community. It has to listen to each other, understand each other, trust each other, empower each other to grow. When we criticize, understand it as something you grow with us. If we tell you about injustice, you can walk out of the room, we never can. That's why I can't tell you what justice looks like.

Second question for Sulti: You said people are in the box and unreachable. The others are in their comfort zone. Do you see moments when people leave that zone and build the community you want them to build, e.g. stop deportation camp?

- Yes, for example, in Lützerath we showed society that it is possible to live together, where we are not dependent on the police and the state. But they used it to bring down the utopia. But we are the seed and we grow every day. I see it in the Stop Deportation Camp. That's where it was possible for the first time that climate groups supported such a cause and supported people who needed that support.
I see this practice. But it doesn't happen in a week, a month.
We have to show the state and the police that we don't need them, we decide how we want to live.

To Lian: Can you relate to Sulti's analysis of the comfort zone problem? What has improved, what needs to improve?

- Yes, I see that too. Many don't deal with disability. Movements are not as accessible. It's already better than it was ten years ago. I wasn't healthy to begin with and fell out completely due to chronic illness. I lost almost all friendships. That was mega hard. What many found empowering in Lützi, I also had before, but was then completely out. And had to reintegrate myself into the mainstream, which is very hard because you're on the margins. I also have privileges because I have access to the system. Since then, I've been trying to make the movement more equitable so that all disabled and chronically ill people can access it. I often approached climate camps and then people would come who thought it was cool but had no power in their structure. I don't do the counseling anymore. It takes a whole group to carry it: Why are disabled people excluded? We are always left behind anyway: In homes, not rescued in disasters, exploitation without minimum wage, no unions. Those who are still there, it is made totally difficult for them. There is no awareness of Ableism. There is a lack of language and awareness. And then there are structural barriers.
In Lützi, there was an attempt to live in rooms and build wheelchair paths, and we

hoped that it would continue to be built. But they'd rather put a tree house on every branch than build out wheelchair paths, which was disappointing. There was that at the alternate camp (during the eviction), I was totally happy about that, there was a support group there too. I have 1/10 of the energy I used to have, I need support to be there and organize ways. Through that group that got a little better, for some that was an empowering place because they had supportive affinity groups. But the overall structure is still poor. Many on the awareness team often don't know about disability. But I was happy to see that at the conference it was requested to address it. The registration form was also good, but didn't work well in implementation. Still very frustrating overall.

I would like to see us think discrimination together even better. A large part of the people with disabilities live in the Global South and often cannot flee, even with the flood disaster in Germany, how is migrating from Nigeria to Germany supposed to succeed? We have to think about the struggles together. I don't want a fight only for white disabled people. Up to now, this has often been focused on white disabled people: approach it intersectionally!

Those were two different perspectives on Luetzerath. Thanks for practical advice like setting up a signal group for support. We shouldn't get credit for how we organized the conference, because that came more from a person from Rollfenden Widerstand who brought that in.

Question for Amadeu: Where did you or workers* step out of their comfort zone?

- I think it's very bad that people with disabilities are working below minimum wage and unions aren't advocating for it, unions need to address that.
With regards to leaving the comfort zone: It's exciting to break new ground in campaigns. I didn't know picketing before. Going to picket lines at three in the morning is exciting: helping to set up, getting to know people who sign up for strike funds. In plants in Cologne, that's 4,000 workers, from all walks of life. Sometimes there are difficulties when people are so socialized in a way that they don't reflect discrimination. Sometimes it is also strategically important to ignore this in order to be able to hear people for a common struggle, to talk about who actually decides about working conditions. Because the employees are experts in their jobs. But we also discuss where there are limits to what we can say, and companies also have their corporate values, which is always in consultation with trade unions when something like this happens, in order to discuss these experiences and come closer together. This is also a process of recognizing these differences, but also setting limits when these are exceeded for people. That said, we need to find ways to continue to work together. We will have disputes in many cities in 2024 and we need a balance between fighting together and setting boundaries as a group.

Space is opened for the audience to ask questions as well.

- **Sulti:** I love that we are talking about intersectionality. We want us to make a difference and talk about responsibility. How much do you feel responsible? I have an invisible disability. Many people have this disease in South Kurdistan because of Germany. This is one of the biggest markets for chemical weapons. In 1988, between 50,000 and 100,000 Kurds were killed in Kurdistan in the Iran-Iraq war (Anfal genocide). Germany sold the gas for the extermination to the UN. Have you ever felt responsible for these people that your country is hurting and killing and taking their abilities and hindering them? Is it just about Germany, a tree or a highway?

Our first concern is: we want white people to feel responsible for what their country is doing to us. I want to ask you questions, I don't want you to ask me questions. How much more do you want to hear and see before you really bring intersectionality into your work? It's not just about trees and highways, it's about border politics, wars, arms exports, etc. Why don't you see that or why don't you want to see that?

Honestly, we say all this over and over again. I keep talking about this issue. But I don't see anything in the action that unites your work with our issues. Police was never an issue until you experienced police violence in Lützi. We experience racial profiling all the time, for years. The question is: Are you ready to engage and put your intersectionality into your work? I have to tell you: the day is not far away. Every day there are more restrictions, more money is invested in weapons and this and that. That's why I'm the person asking questions.

- **One person responds to this:** It's so important, so I personally respond: It's not an excuse, but before I started going into activism.... It feels so shitty to be a small person in this capitalism because I thought I can't do anything. I now have an organization where I see that we can really make a difference. It helps me to find an organization where I can change the system piece by piece. ... What I need are people who stand up for it and have a plan to change something.
- **Response from Sulti:** What we need in our work (like Abolish Frontext):
 - 1. We ALWAYS need solidarity-lawyers. People who lost everything on the way with a shitty boat can't afford lawyers for 5-6.000 Euro for a letter to the court.
 - 2. Accompaniment to the authorities, so that the affected people are not so discriminated.
 - 3. Organize to stop one of the biggest deportation jails at Terminal 5 in Berlin. We need people who are honest. At the borders, at the airport, in the city. People who provide rooms/apartments
 - 4. A community that supports us with all this bureaucracy. Finding work. Finding educational opportunities. Sometimes it's just a piece of paper with a stamp to stay here for 2-3 years instead of being brutally deported. All kinds of support, each other. Using your reach as organizations
 - 5. When we speak to the public. Solidarity does not mean a choice. It is a direct action. Like intervening in a racial profiling or police attack. It gives the feeling of freedom. All the experiences on our body/life/generation are a result of you living in this green capitalism bubble. We want rights, the abolition of separations (like I can't visit my family in Düsseldorf), voucher systems for purchases etc. ... the list is so long. When you are there, you see all the suffering.
- **Christopher adds:** Get married, because that doesn't solve the system but it solves a situation
- **Sulti:** That sounds like white saviourism, it's an option, but it's not a systemic solution. As well as universities. This university could accept 20 people, that's 20 people who can stay. Same for organizations. No one would say hi in the organization because when I talk about what you can do or criticize you, you either feel attacked or want to be super nice. We need a new balance, just act normal to me.
- **Christopher:** Exactly, that's why I'm neither mad nor extra sweet to you, but would stick to my point, getting married helps one person, reforming the university helps maybe 20 people, but in the end we need systemic change. Amadeo, you want to organize with workers, how can that lead to systemic change?
- **Amadeo:** By making strikes more political again. Like money and our taxes. There is enough money, but a matter of implementation. Discuss together, e.g. how the public

transport should look like. Employees can state that they love their job, but also how shitty it is and that they can't do it much longer together we can paralyze the system by shifting discourses as climate justice movement. For example, the 11 weeks-long care strike in North-Rhine-Westphalia, where no more de-solidarisation had been possible by the political establishment. We need money for public welfare, how health can look like. The money is not there, so the public is needed. For a sustainable future. We are not achieving the sector goals. For the transformation, we need experts in their job. So that we can produce sustainably and look at what we need. There is the opportunity of WirFahrenZusammen to lead common struggles in over 130 cities. First steps, because this is also radiance for the unions. So we can change the system and achieve the Good Life for All. It needs a radical change in production

- **Lian:** There is a big connection between being disabled and being discriminated against. People who are discriminated against are more likely to become disabled. Discrimination also affects mental health. Therefore, it needs to be thought of together. To Amadeo: please make public transportation accessible to us. The climate movement can improve accessibility and the struggles on accessibility and disability would be good. For example there is a new law: people on ventilation devices must now always live in a care home. One could join the demos against it etc. The climate justice movement can learn a lot:
 - sustainable activism:
 - Crietime (?). Don't ask what goal we have and then see how we can achieve it. But rather find out what our resources are and then check: what can we do with them? Not the other way around, because of priorities "oh sorry, that's not possible anymore". If accesses are not created, voices are then gone
 - More Lakshmi (Book: Care Work). In the US, people can't breathe because of the fires. We, as disabled people, have already developed solutions here because we couldn't breathe before.
 - But we don't want to be there only when we "bring" something. Everyone should be there because everyone is there. What is important is who we are and not what we can do. Decoupling of performance and appreciation ... otherwise people who can no longer perform will fall out.
- **Q&A at the end**
 - Q: It's good that Sulti said it's structural egoism ("our village, our groundwater in DE etc."). Example from North Portugal: we don't fight against lithium mining because otherwise it will be mined in other regions under even worse circumstances. If lignite is stopped here, we shift the destruction to the Global South (example: hard coal in Colombia). Whenever we perceive destruction here, it is an opportunity to see how great it must be elsewhere. EG should emphasize that they are fighting coal not only here but elsewhere. There is more nationalism, for example, in the Rhineland, where I live. That wasn't the case in the 80s, when the whole republic sucked.
 - A from the audience: Important not to fight "not in my backyard" battles. But attacking the responsible capitalists and politicians in our country is important. For example, attacking the railroads because of their responsibility for the Tran Maya. Or weapon producers whose weapons are then used in Rojava by Turkey. We can practically implement this in this country. We should think much more about how we shape the struggles here and thus provide practical solidarity.
 - Q: With regard to union struggles: the groups are privileged / not in my backyard. Can we make working people ally with that then? A great strategic

point: there is a problem with climate change, this has arrived, but it does not solve the systemic problems that contribute to climate catastrophe.

- A: All Villages Stay (Alle Dörfer Bleiben) example: We can have different organizations with different goals. At ADB, we tried to find people locally to be allies. The local allies also helped to let Lützi emerge (at least that is my perception).

- **Final round:**

- A.: Example 80s in UK, where the queer community supported the miners. They recognized the common enemy and raised money, did concerts. The miners lost, but in 1985 several hundred miners came to Pride in London. It's worth fighting together. The opportunity is huge right now, we have to start today and shut down everything in 2024 when we fight together with global struggles.
- S.: I am quite honest. We need an alliance against the colonial continuities and the control mentality ... like at the borders, for instance. I hope the climate justice movement wakes up, sees each other and acts together. You are risking the world because you are a minority. But we, the BIPoC and the Global South are the majority, you got to know this. You cannot have Justice, Chance, a better future WITHOUT us. Without us you can't have anything: from music, clothes and everything, that comes from BIPoCs. Therefore: we do it together, we stand together etc. From my group: We have to stop this deportation system. Germany is leading and the monster in financing weapons systems at the borders and Frontex. Don't trust the politics. You have relied on the Greens and we as migrants have to bear the brunt for it. Because we have no voice, your voice counts. Their rules are coming down on us. It is your work. What happens here 1x, happens in the Global South 5 million times. I am here because I have hope. ... All groups; We need to get to know each other and work together. Educate yourself! We had to learn in agony, with your weapons!
- L.: I would like to encourage everyone to deal with Ableism and enable access. Because there can be no climate justice without disabled people. We should be empowering and networking with each other on the margins of society. It should not be about us having to fight for the attention of the mainstream.
- C: It's good that we don't stop such panels. Because we have to fight the power structures (?). That's what we should be thinking about. Around the interweaving of diverse struggles like we heard today.



3) Workshops

Workshop I - Ableism & Climate Crisis

Structural problem that it was done so late.

Were annoyed, wanted to cancel, but decided to do the workshop online.

People shared that there were problems finding the contact person they were looking for from Signal Groups.

What are we talking about today? Ableism, comes from English, means approx. people are judged on the basis of abilities. People are judged on the basis of mental or physical disability

Longer definition: to understand how big the problem is, quote from

Talela T. R. Lewis

You don't have to be disabled to be discriminated against because of your body

Questions to answer:

Perspectives of disabled people due to climate disasters, and how they are affected and how access is made possible.

Time for questions at the end

1) Why is it important to consider the needs/perspectives of disabled people during/because of the climate change?

- e.g. Ahr valley 12 people drowned because of no timely warning, no accessible apps, shows importance in capitalist society - little. They are considered last, if at all. Because it is a structural problem, we have to talk about it.

We have to take care of each other, for that we need collectivisation = knowledge about what is there.

But capitalism works against this, because it strongly promotes competition, which leads to many people remaining invisible.

- Generally more affected by flood disasters

- Medicines hard to get during Corona

- We have to get there by working collectively. In capitalism / meritocracy this cannot be changed

- Capitalism profits from disabled people because they are exploited in sheltered workshops. There is also a demand for system change.

- Now the effects of climate catastrophe are already so high that disadvantages in the medical system are increasing there. In the Global South

- Poverty is also a reinforcing factor, as access is limited.

- Longer escapes also not possible as disabled person
- Severely disabled people are less likely to be rescued (Ukraine war, Corona pandemic)
- Living conditions are even more affected in the global south, as living conditions lead to impairments
- Difference between impairment (diagnosis) and disability (must also consider impairment)
- Idea that one is impaired by society, more than by one's own situation. Society puts up barriers, that is rejectionism, excluding people.
- Solutions must take into account the needs of disabled people, because they are not seen, because there is not even the possibility to express these needs. E.g. plastic straws. Life was made more difficult by banning them. Or banning cars. Because disabled people's quality of life and participation is severely impaired.

They are not interested in taking part and the demands are not being met.

- We have to listen; support demands, even if they have nothing to do with climate.
- Topic 9€-ticket : Phenomenon that often does not fit in with a wheelchair, no opponent for it, but there must be more capacities for impaired people.

2. what are barriers in your activism, how does rejectionism manifest itself in this context?

- most important non-disabled people need to consider disabled people. Often not visible, interesting lectures for example somewhere upstairs, that is clearly an exclusion. It is empowering when mentioned along with sexism, racism etc. So Ableism should declare to the left agenda
- Loudness, so quiet sleeping place need because chronically ill. This is often present. Can lead to her having a crash and an exacerbation of her illness. No compassion
- Stretches often too long to walk, or have to sit differently.
- As a person affected, you have to fight for information and organise a lot.
- Has less energy anyway. Is more invisible than sitting in a wheelchair, where you then need a lift.
- Difficulties due to neurodivergent, not recognisable at first glance, expectations from the norm, but does not work. Suffers from sensory overload, needs rest during the day and at night
- Many impressions, long journey, all the information, then one can no longer keep up because the plenary session has already taken place, then there is no strength left for action.

- Often reports a lack of understanding, which is also difficult for her to communicate.
- It's good that people are starting to realise this through Safer Spaces with neurodivergent people.
- Often capacity is not available or planned to do this well.
- Time pressure also difficult
- Reported exclusion = reduction to disability = feeling of being disabled, being reduced to body
- Only because more difficult to implement, not impossible
- Barriers= often no access to communication or decision-making opportunities
- For many people with less energy it is not possible to wait for an hour in the plenary to be able to bring in their needs.
- Proposed solution, extra communication channel for disabled and chronically ill people what their needs are, what they need to put them forward
- Not seated, poorly facilitated, long time, long way to get there
- How does Ableism manifest itself in this context, if you can't be everywhere you just fall away at the bottom?
- Because people sort themselves into how crass/many actions they've done or how much they're slaving away
- It's part of the struggle, it's exclusion and not a private thing.
- Compulsion to normalise should be questioned, went to school, very blatantly internalised.
- Side effect of inclusion - very late contact with disabled people, but this is very important for people

3. To what extent do movements reflect society?

- Performance society idea still very present, capitalist logic
- Right to laziness as a counterpart to being overtaxed by high demands
- Society based on solidarity where individualism ends

Appreciation of how much people achieve, then not so much in it anymore

Kicked out of activist work due to illness. Now out, want to fight their way back in, thus feeling powerless.

Are not present and not represented in debates.

Are in a home, in sheltered workshops -> isolated from society.

The same in activism

Structurally they are left out. Conference had to go fast. They are emotionally far down the priority list.

Experience of Hamburg Climate Camp. Realisation that she can't participate anymore, no understanding from the reference group that she is just super exhausted from less.

There is also her own rejectionism "I don't want to stop you because you want to hurry up, I'm just interrupting".

But there are ways she could have come along. So they conform to the norm or the others include them in the norm.

Because of privilege, we don't see parts of society. We need to learn to listen to the voices of marginalised people.

Understanding that it is not easy to break out of the golden cage, but we have to address it, because capitalist, neo-colonial, ableist structures fuel each other, we have to learn to deal with it.

4. how to change things positively for disabled people?

- Lots of ideas, very creative, already thought of. E.g. quiet dormitories, extra quiet dormitories.

Wanting to find ways to incorporate interests better, much faster

- You can solve problems together, tackle them

Experience with Ende Gelände is trying, doesn't see things, but when knocked on the door "here is a problem that should be solved for me so that I can participate, then efforts were always made (even if it didn't work out in the meantime).

F. How to make it better for the future?

Experience: Signal group to share when is what and be able to send requests.

On website access routes for e.g. wheelchair routes, next bus is there, there are quiet places to sleep etc.

1. make transparency what already exists, status quo

2. ask how you are and how things could be better

3. formulate wishes/offer e.g. sandwiches with

Do not be accessible

- Write applications to get grants, because it often takes money to start processes.
- Set up your own structure that takes everything into account. Don't just leave it for one person
- Removing barriers costs a lot of money. E.g. interpreter for sign language only if needed
- Better if access is selected beforehand
- Ask for experts, e.g. find people for counselling and be prepared to pay them -> not everything can be done on a voluntary basis.
- There are already many resources of those affected that need to be used.
- Disabled people do not want to have to deal with the issue of disability all the time.
- Create hybrid accesses and above all create many different accesses so that everyone can be part of it.

Disabled people need more money to live, e.g. transport, accommodation, medication - there are also fewer things to do without à Those who have the most privileges also have the most access to resources

Removing barriers often only comes from those affected. Privileged people should give space and resources so that marginalised people can work out solutions. Then listen to them and implement them.

Building needs-oriented groups creates more access for all. Spaces have to be created for this and needs have to be responded to flexibly.

There are no spaces that are accessible to all, because certain disabilities are also mutually exclusive. Therefore, different spaces have to be created.

Discussion

Accessibility for all very important point. Sign language interpreters for stage programmes are now common - but you would never do a programme only in sign language. Often access is only created for individuals. For example, neurodiversity is often equated with autism, but this excludes many other neurodivergent people.

in society approx. 1 in 10 as severely disabled statistically

in movement drastically lower (?)

Individual, pathologising interpretation of capitalism given, therefore rejectionism also strongly internalised

Question: There is a visualisation of the conference, request if we want to make something out of the workshop, request for workshop participants to take over the visualisation.

Question: What kind of work do you do, how are you organised, how many people, do you do educational work or more focus on actions and where does the name come from?

Name comes from a person in the group, rolfen = run + roll

about 15 people

also do things together with other groups

right now they do educational work together, then additionally independent of the group and also do actions, if possible

Question: how do you cope with additional or double workload, do you have any tips?

Learned to deal with Ableism, learned to take better care of themselves, learned to use resources better.

Through networking with others as well as literature, find things, principle of listening to body, that is top priority. To set oneself as a time giver, instead of going by time.

If you deal with it, it can have an empowering effect, if you don't give in to the norm, but rather

Learning to accept limits. Many overlaps with sustainable activism

Double burden (body and psyche) is often together, reinforces each other.

Being disabled is also mentally exhausting, which results from this (e.g. microaggressions)
Question to assistance if there are siblings. As if disabled people can't have friends, these are all mental situations.

Activist burnout, because activism and wage work under one hat. norms and demands of society, we have to function, self-sufficient, then even more difficult and more pressure

if basics are already difficult then even more so

Dealing with illness, like going to the authorities, also takes strength, so it's more about helping each other.

Physical mental separation is a colonial construct. It belongs together. Decisive is who is excluded, which norms have to be fulfilled.

It is extremely important to find caregivers who are aware of this or to create awareness in care groups themselves, which is not sustainable for those affected/me.

This would be positive overall if we talked about it, because unfortunately we automatically replicate things mechanically, asking where are your limits, what suits you, how can you function well?

simply select and educate people for this

Create solidary structures for basic life. Can you support each other in the group, create structures for basic income (Gemök), because it is not only about actions. It's hard enough for us to have a basic life.

Everything also difficult to organise

Asked if they could help. Yes. To open up and trust. Not to think of yourself as a renegade, in the sense of I am a renegade.

Question: Lützerath evacuation when paths were torn up, barricades erected, then question whether it was still passable and whether this had to be discussed.

Difference between inclusion and security (because then the police) in which situations or what reasons can there be that one decides to be less accessible, thus higher security. Not to entrust certain information. Or how can we find ways to avoid exclusivity. Therefore question in what situations and what conditions is it ok if it results in obstruction or exclusion.

Person here in the workshop, shares experience: When it was known that Lützi would be evacuated, consciously decided against it, because of fear of police violence, because dependent on medication, because it was already known in the media that medication would be refused. That's why the UAC helped set it up. They were able to get involved. It was ok for Mensch to open up the ways. It hurt people not to be able to be there anymore, but it was a logical consequence.

Workshop giver: Must be weighed up for each situation

Experience shows that barriers don't last long anyway, so they can wait anyway. Therefore value access more highly.

For example, barricades as doors, because they open and close. So there are solutions that are more creative, that enable inclusion.

a heavy electric wheelchair is actually a better barricade with a person in it than a few sticks thrown in.

unless wheelchair users don't want to participate anyway.

It was cool that they made an effort to organise action wheelchairs. They are very expensive. But they got wheelchairs that fit, deliberately.

Reason why it can't be done. Not enough priority, not enough resources, not enough capacity, etc.

We are aware that not everyone can be included. Because there are also opposite disabilities

Inclusion also means giving several alternatives, a choice, that people can choose how they can be involved.

Checking priorities.

It should also be about the big picture, but not mutually exclusive.

We have to get a different way of production in the world. Otherwise there will be big catastrophes. The workshop participants should also be afraid.

Reflection in groups of 2

What we have learned, what thoughts, what we have discussed today. 10min

look at equal shares of speech, each a few minutes, then the next one

Drum

Resource list

fightableism.noblogs.org

Invitation to share and learn

List should be shared, is a lot of learning stuff and interesting

Ask Christopher 😊

Thank you all for being there - each other

Workshop II - Classism I

- Class is about more than the means of production according to the Marxist definition
- It is also about a term coined by the Feminist Movement from the USA ProLoLesbians
- 2004 Hartz IV is introduced Anne sig [?] has also fought against it a lot
- Habitus, i.e. certain behavior patterns, is important for Klassismus. Mostly something unconscious.
- Traits of class habitus are mostly perceived individually, but in fact they are markers of a class
- According to Bourdieu three markers, three forms of capital
- Social capital: connections (who you know, vitamin B), access to mentoring, how comfortable I feel in groups, etc., sometimes you can buy this capital with money (therapists, coaching), access to people who do care work, have people with similar issues in the environment, formal connections (clubs, associations, fraternities), how you are seen by others.

- Economic capital: e.g. house, apartment, inheritance, debts, income, travel, expensive restaurants, being financially secure, being employed for an indefinite period of time.
- Cultural capital: music, being able to understand references to Bach, understanding art, being able to see theater, languages, formal education, informal education, vocabulary, style of dress, taste in furnishings.
- Bordieu defines according to these markers the different classes
- Markers are pronounced in adolescence. Even if a working-class child can go to university later, the markers remain.
- Markers have a particularly significant influence on education
- Classism is extremely amplified together with racism (many teachers are classist AND racist)
- BUT classism is difficult to define
- Important discourse contribution by bell hooks: the meaning of class
- Especially "class changers" can't be seen classism, often there is an adjustment to the new class
- Markers can be a help to work on the topic in activist areas.
- Other measures:
 - Reimburse travel expenses
 - Talking about classism means talking about money
 - Where do we meet (in a bar and everyone orders a beer?).
 - Is there child care
 - What complicated terms to use
 - Solid contributions instead of fixed price
- Book: Didier Eribon: Return to Reims
 - Discusses to what extent one changes even after childhood
 - How does the habitus change, for example, when studying
 - See also Daniela Tröscha [?]
- Question: How can we make our groups more accessible?
- Criticism of the academic discussion: people are not stupid, you don't have to express things simply
- Question: what kind of things are we targeting, is this interesting for people who are affected by classism?
- Classism as a conscious discourse is not present in the climate justice movement
- Problem: What to do when unions have conflicting goals?

Points of contact:

- FAU
- Kea's Cologne (Unemployed in Action Cologne)
- Basta ! Berlin
- #ichbinarmutsbetroffen (#Iampovertystricken)
- Various district works
- Tafel e.V.
- KüFA
- Kikk Berlin

Contact Presenters: janthul@aol.com, IG: @thuljan, momo10@riseup.net

Workshop III - Classism II

- (no protocol available - see Classism I).

Workshop IV - Antiracism and Decoloniality

- : Speaker slides & text excerpts
- Everyday racism is difficult (precisely because those affected have to face it on a daily basis), but more relevant is the structural problem behind it; this causes physical and psychological damage as well as intergenerational trauma --> citation slide
- Colonialism was like a "Big Bang" that made the world completely different: Enslavement as "Black Ocean" about 12 million people killed by it.
- Podcast "1.5°" by Luisa Neubauer with Imeh Ituen: What does racism have to do with climate crisis? while listening: questions
 - What made you think?
 - What surprised you?
 - What did you find strange? (huuuuh? and/or: I'll remember that)
- Thinking climate action without *non-white* people, without addressing global injustices, doesn't work
- Challenging the narrative of "development"
- "Diversity" must not just be a "face diversity" --> it is not enough to have one or more people from marginalized groups present in the room if they are not heard
- our ways of working and being active (in plenaries, working groups, conferences, ...) is only one way of working --> listen to what other ways of working there are (because humans have survived for millennia with different modes of work)
 - break the binarity nature - culture!
 - maybe we don't have to think only in terms of solutions and we don't always have to "take something with us", maybe it's also ok to go out irritated
 - people do not always have to be invited as speakers --> formats such as fishbowl, in which everyone is a speaker
- Ex. separation man-nature: the people from Namibia affected by German colonialism do not want reparations from Germany for the genocide - but e.g. access to the land on which their ancestors lie
 - who wants to get in contact with people working with namibian orgas on this topic, contact

FRIDAY

2) Kick-off: Where does the movement stand, keynote speeches

First speech: Berena from IL Cologne

- Active in antiRa struggles for 10 years.
- Aim: deep criticism of existing anti-racism, it's getting uncomfortable
- Title: when doing it right and the question of who we are becomes more important than... what does it mean actually?

exaggerated theses to be catchy: Antira dead ends in neoliberalism, not a critique of individuals but of structures.

- 1. dead ends: identity-related discussions, we want more of something else, everything should become more diverse, that is the measure of how anti-racist we are, but this is not connected to the question of what is beyond the existing, the utopia is missing, we are not able to think beyond the existing structures

- 2. situatedness: we are not free of morals, togetherness is always to be regulated, mores that are good or bad. If we do not meet our own requirements, we pick on each other and feel ashamed, lose sight of what is essential

- further dead ends: morality instead of politics:

- there are structures, processes and contents that condition our togetherness, for this we need ways and means to implement our anti-racism.

- Instead, we reflect a lot, but this is a display of things that were already present in society before (too privileged), this conveys the image of a total self-exaltation, one is given an exaggerated position vis-à-vis those affected, the image of those affected is incapacitating.

- these people are crossing the Mediterranean, don't worry so much about your barriers.

- it's mostly out of proportion, we don't trust BIPOC to do the most mundane things, not seeing their mundane survival

- This leads to self-centredness instead of practical solidarity: don't do anything wrong, don't provoke criticism.

- Where there is only the "I" or one hides behind representatives, where one does not contradict, no practice of solidarity is created.

- Reflection is not wrong, but I want to point out dead ends.

- only self-optimisation and dead ends emerge

- we need a culture of low thresholds

- we can't stand contradictions, we don't rub shoulders, we can't argue any more

- We are better organised than any company, there are working groups and sub-groups for everything, that is highly neoliberal, make us dependent, avoid conflicts, thus we remain in the existing, can no longer think utopias and do not dare to do so.

- we learn to deal with racism in the interpersonal sphere, but not beyond.

- The problem is not that you have a German passport, but that others do not have it.

- all the anger we should have and have with these conditions we don't direct at the conditions but at ourselves and each other

- If it's only about not making any more mistakes, then we can't talk about solidarity.

- What is the anti-racist goal you are trying to achieve? What are the central challenges in the German context? Who has been working for a long time? What are the struggles and places? Are you at demos, NSU monologues?

- Friends have written a text: if you can do civil disobedience, then do blockades at deportations, use the press skills you have, do climate blocks at anti-racist demonstrations, turn Friends-of-Nature houses into safe harbours, etc.

- read more: <https://blog.interventionistische-linke.org/migrantifa/die-il-ist-zu-weiss-oder-nicht>

Stephen, activist at UN interim negotiations

full video (English): <https://youtu.be/gm0cKYSBoxE>

- translated from English, not verbatim:
- Stephen Musarurwa from Zimbabwe, currently studying in Botswana.
- Berena talked about racism, I have some comments on it
 - Racism should not exist, we are all one, have the same spirit, we have to fight together
 - we from the Global South experience racism, at the same time we are taught to be racist, you too are not born racist but you are taught it
 - the UN conference has shown many visa injustices, we are not allowed to attend the conference. It seems like they are afraid of us, don't approve our visas. We are just asking to speak, how else do you know what I want to say if I am not there? It's about the injustice of not being allowed to speak. We have to apply for a visa six months in advance, but we are accredited only one month before the conference, how are we supposed to do that?

- Problem 2: Climate change

Many of you don't understand the statistics because the media doesn't show it to you: every day people die because of climate change in Africa. It's not your fault, you're not being told.

- 6 million people dying of hunger right now.
 - Mozambique, extinction
 - Malawi, huge destruction recently,
 - how much emissions does Africa have? less than four percent of global greenhouse gases
 - we, MAPA countries, we are responsible for more than 90 percent of the destruction
 - it's war: people are fighting for water
 - that's why we talk about "loss and damage"
- > how am I supposed to adapt to climate change if I don't have the resources to do it?
- 28 COPs and they can't agree on funding for loss and damage

- my story: 2008 in Zimbabwe there were droughts, either you have too much rain in Africa or drought and you have no crops, or floods or wind; many people died, I lost my neighbour

- Do we help people only when the disasters are there or do we prevent it directly or help prepare against disasters?

Why do we get so many aid payments but no money for loss and damage and no money for prevention?

- we cannot replace life, people have already died.

Mautz, Anti Rep Rhineland

- Input on the state of the movement: focus on (anti)-repression
 - I have my own experience of repression, structurally but also through the police and prisons.
 - I am part of EA structures and transformative justice.
 - This text is a pad where different people have written in, this is not a general analysis or comprehensive, but should be an impulse.

- Repression means oppressive measures by the state and judiciary for power and control, but also further: through corporations, friends and structural violence. Repression works in different ways: through fear, stress and money alongside work and violence etc.

- I would like to briefly touch on some issues:

- 1. ID refusal: this was successful for years to avoid repression, not all supported it (in the movement) and the position was fought for, but the state reacted with longer detention, also with more physical and physical violence --> prolonged detention has rather become the rule, there are many examples of this at dredger blockades, at abseiling actions, at the action of the involuntary fire brigade detention was changed to pre-trial detention

- There are more and more convictions: Neurath: 9 months imprisonment without parole for a track blockade, so Civil Disobedience (CD). So after CD we have to expect longer detention and imprisonment, we have to be prepared for that, but we are not.

- 2. civil law suits: we have to deal with that, we have experience with injunctions, but there is a lack of experience, there is more repression against demo-sanis, against parliamentary observers and press, also convictions are increasing

- Also last generation with accusations of founding a terrorist organisation: how can we protect ourselves from this? Should we organise ourselves in a more hierarchical and less transparent way? What can we learn from the Kurdish movement regarding §129? This has been on their minds for a long time, but there is no solidarity.

◦ how do we react to the intensification of repression? the state reacts, but we also have possibilities for action: can we go underground? how can we attack state institutions as part of the climate justice movement?

- Repression also has other levels: marginalised people especially experience it

◦ what does it mean to focus on MAPA in relation to repression? We can choose to take part in actions, others experience violence and repression, even death, every day without being prepared for action

◦ how solidary are we? What do we learn from racialised, homeless, disabled people and their experiences of repression?

◦ European external borders: climate as an important reason for flight, this has to be a central point for the climate justice movement, in Basel there is a no border climate camp, we need more of these links.

- we have to think beyond our own perspective to fight against repression in other countries (numerous examples worldwide)

Repression costs money, we have to redistribute it, it doesn't work well so far, especially bigger organisations have to do it.

- Repression is there and feels oppressive, the state always has new strategies, constant game of actions and reactions, we need new strategies.

- Climate justice is always a struggle against state structures

- Repression is to make us motionless, it is more powerful than us, we are in solidarity

- Capitalism, colonialism, patriarchy we have to attack consequently!

Alma, Noura and Castroya from Lützerath

- Noura: when we were asked (where the movement stands right now), we thought we knew where we stood:

◦ after the Lützi eviction I always talked about success: 30,000 people in one area, cult around Lützerath, that's the story we told the public, I thought for 1 minute about telling the story to you too, but that's bullshit: I want us to feel the uncertainty together: What the hell are we doing? where are we? what's next?

- we don't have any representative hot takes for Lützi, because there is no common plenum anymore, but have thought about it and asked people what comrades have been working on and thinking about in the last months

- There were two main questions in response:

People who have experienced police violence and action in Lützi for the first time ask: Where is the next place? Where can I go? We don't have an answer to that.

Another question, from people who were organised in Lützi: How do we create commitment? How do we see each other again? What do we do when we lose our places, where we can endure the uncertainties of what we are doing?

- Alma did a little survey, what do people say about Lützi lives

- climate justice movement after Lützi was crystallisation point of the movement, but it existed before and will exist after, we have grown in size, climate issues (not so much climate justice) etc.

- many more people in society are concerned with climate

How do we continue to organise?

- It is okay to fight a specific struggle if we don't lose the big picture.

- There is an identity crisis in the climate justice movement. We have so many groups for so many issues, if we address every issue we need too many groups, it's not feasible.

- climate justice movement is not a fixed group, we sometimes mix groups with alliances and with movements.

- how do we work towards system change? we are not the only ones who are part of social movements, we don't have to do everything (this realisation can take pressure off), there are climate justice movements out there, workers movements, when you see yourself as part of something bigger you realise that the door opens to strategies and tactics and you get a longer term perspective

- this is also exciting in an intersectional perspective, we can't take the whole space but we should think what exactly is our job? we have problems with that. Not every group has to do everything, we don't all need the same goals, we all work together and for system change it needs that

- we need to understand what power is exactly. In Lützi we had narrative and tactical power, also a bit of political power, but in our movements we don't talk so often about power and what power we want to change and can change.

- We ask ourselves: How do we continue to talk to each other? How do we do things together?

- Burn out can also often come from isolation and disorientation,

- We have to open up movement and work on our perfectionism.

- Many people ask themselves, where do we go now? We make a high-threshold entry, who does the briefing and gets people on board?

- Castroya: on repetition and pillars of the movement

- we as a climate movement are not willing to repeat ourselves, it stresses us out when people come who have no idea

- that has to get out of our heads, the system has been repeating itself for centuries, that's why it's so good, we also have to repeat ourselves

- we also lack common pillars like common health care or subcategories like Zapatistas or the Kurdish movement, we need that too

- Alma: we make people afraid (of the climate crisis) but don't address power enough and don't offer a way to organise, this offers connection point for the right, they answer the fear we have built, this is happening because the right has answers and we don't. Let's solve this!

3) Small group phase

Half an hour in group of 4-6 people and talk about it: Where does the movement stand from your point of view?

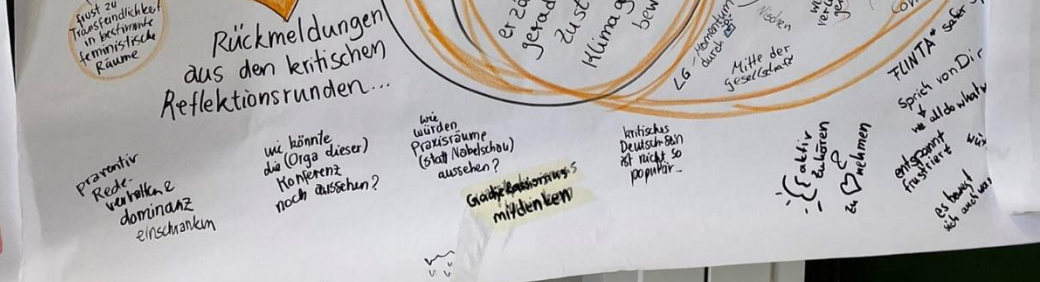
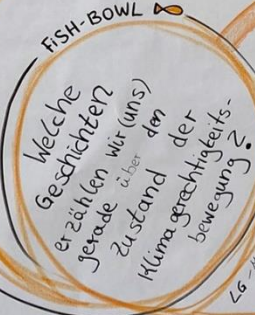
Freitag

STRATEGIE

Freitag



WO STEHEN WIR GERADE?



Hi! take a course & fill up!

Mathematischer Aktivismus

s an r/or!

Pod kriti

Analyse Strategie

FUNTA * safer space

Spricht von Di...
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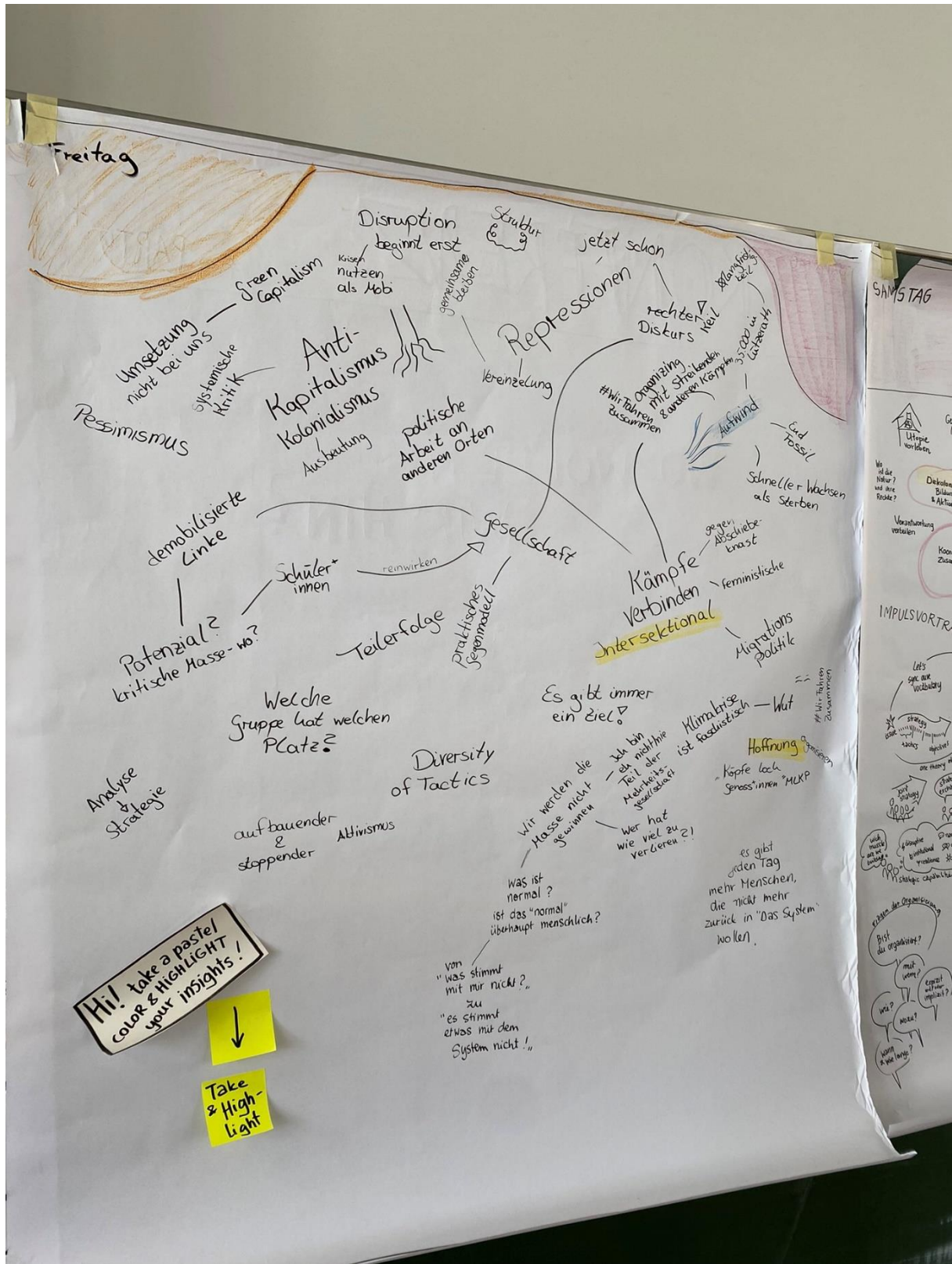
aktiv
dauern
zu
nehmen

kritisches
Deutschland
ist nicht so
populär

Geschichtswissenschaft
mitten drin

Wie könnte die (Orga dieser) Konferenz noch aussehen?

praktisch werden
internationale Perspektive
viele Widersprüche
Suchprozess
Narrative?!



4) Come together to hear from safer spaces + critical spaces.

Safer spaces

- Affected by classism

- Important to really talk to affected people, groups of people, alliances if you want to organise something against/on the issue of classism and not just about them.
- Practical measure: redistribute money (e.g. FFF to "I am affected by poverty").
- Use privileges, e.g. (socio-economic origin)!
- Overcome fetishisation of the working class --> these are also normal people with needs you can talk to.

- What can be done practically:
 - good onboarding when people are new to groups.
 - if academic terms are not necessary, do not use them
- ask what anti-capitalism, class struggle, ... means for people
- discard (seemingly) perfect activist-ness,
 - It stands in the way of direct confrontation.
 - It is better to talk to people than to deal only with theory
 - Live error-friendliness!

As a movement we have responsibility --> not all people have the possibility to just stop fighting --> be aware of this responsibility, be ready to risk something yourself from time to time (because others cannot choose the risk).

- BIPoC

- Check your own privileges --> not enough attention is paid to people on the run/with the refugee experience; workshop on privileges for white-socialised BIPoC in the second or third generation in Germany; hold a critical masculinity workshop.
- Build stronger links with Refugee Movement
- Drop BIPoC term --> ARA (Affected by Racism and Anti-Semitism)

- FLINTA*

- general flinta space does not work
 - It has to be defined which focus a FLINTA* space should have in a situation (anger, caring, menstruation,...)
- Important to create and hold space, but costs additional capacities.
 - Many small tasks continue to be done by FLINTA*.
- Frustration that many feminist spaces are (still) trans hostile
 - no free place to use
 - further discrimination
- Some issues have much more attention in society right now, just e.g. transphobia, less going towards sexualised violence against women -> should get more attention as well

Critical reflection spaces

- Critical reflection group on masculinity

In the case of small group work, it makes sense to define a framework in advance, e.g. a list of speakers, etc., in order to prevent speech-taking behaviour.

- Encourage participants to reflect on their own space-taking and speech dominance outside of the plenary situation.

- Critical reflection round on *whiteness*

- How should such a conference be organised?
- What does a joint process look like?
 - Should BIPoC be explicitly invited or should it no longer be a joint process

- Idea of building up from critical whiteness round to anti-racist practice round
- Share learning process on critical whiteness with other white positioned people, so that BIPOC do not have to take over this task
- Thinking through different forms of racism.
 - Among others, gadje racism (racism against Roma*nja and Sinti*zze) as a form of racism that is practically invisible in Germany.
 - Recommendation to a text published by Berena, who gave the input this morning: "Is the IL too white or not?" <https://blog.interventionistische-linke.org/migrantifa/die-il-ist-zu-weiss-oder-nicht>

Response

- Findings from critical whiteness rounds are repeated, the same thing has been said for years but nothing changes and that hurts

- Critical reflection round on being-German (Deutschsein)

- Shows less known dimensions of racism: besides anti-black racism also anti-Slavic racism
- If we would deal with it more, there would have been less anti-Russian racism the last months
- Germany divides into 2 parts: those who inherit and those who do not inherit
Inheritance often comes from family assets and one has to ask where these family assets come from, possibly they are war assets.

- Collection of further emotions/thoughts on what has been said

- Safer spaces must also be considered multi-perspectively; people are affected by several forms of discrimination.

- Desire that we practice active listening

If we were in a critical reflection round, we should listen to what people from safer spaces have to say (or read it up) and implement it instead of continuing to talk about how we need to talk to people

5) Plenary

Fishbowl: Where does the movement stand?

Lara apologises for a facilitation situation that Lara was asked about.

Fishbowl = A conversation, as a campfire.

What stories are we (telling ourselves) right now about ... the state of the climate justice movement?

7 + 1 seats, one remains free (numbers are the chair position in each case, but they alternate, people come from the audience and sit on a free chair, people from the circle can then stand up).

- 3: from FFF Heidelberg now FFF International: The narrative here is problematic because it talks too much about Germany. We should learn to work together. Often "discrimination experts" tend to develop and we revolve around ourselves. The practice is more important, it's

about meeting each other humanely. climate justice movement revolves around itself a lot.
Example Lützi - what can we learn from making?

- 4: FFF Göttingen (?) now FFF Occupy. Agreed, but I really don't find the question easy. We are super different actors. We tell each other very different stories about the state.

- 5: From EG. EG is in the search process, the idea of a content-related bracket, tomorrow there will be a block on the anti-capitalist alliance. Because we can't go on as we are, we are losing instead of winning the struggle. The fossil industry is winning right now, we have to find more unity and move forward together.

- 2: From LG: Many think we are telling a different story. But it is less so. Media distort. We tell that we have a momentum that we can use together. Our media attention (currently climate change) is there. We don't want to sit alone, but show how diverse we are.

- 6 From EG, but speaking as a private person: Hottake: Corona was not a dip, but the end of the movement cycle. There is hardly any movement on the upswing. State pacification tactics are taking hold. A hand is extended and aggressive movements are covered with repression. The one demand: the issue is extremely important and it is not being talked about. This demand has been achieved. Discursive power was built up. But it became a scientific discourse that is not as anti-capitalist as we think. And when you follow science so strongly, it leaves an academic imprint. We are just feeling that the implementation of the demands is not in our hands. Governments keep making climate laws, green capitalism presents itself as the solution. We lack the intentional and structural power. What movement will replace our movement? Hopefully less white, privileged, academic. I mourn, rejoice if it becomes space. Calling: everyday and economic disruption is yet to come. If we are unlucky, our main task will be to prevent the fossil fuel and right-wing rollback.

- 7. be German - e.g. attack Volkswagen. Sabotage. Like LG, has symbolic power. Automobile is a temporary concept

- 1. I don't share the perspective of 6. Yes, the police and repressive apparatus are powerful and there is a strong right-wing narrative. But I also see the rise of LG and End Fossil growing faster than EG is shrinking :-). Luetzi - even though we were evicted so quickly, there were 35,000 people. I see that we can do the old things quite well and we should try new things. e.g. #WeRideTogether. And create a connection with anti-Ra work. The wedge of right-wing propaganda can be solved better in direct contact than in the media. actually we are doing a lot right.

-

A lot of people are no longer with FFF but they go elsewhere, they still do political work. We need to see much more the political work and how they attack the system in places other than the streets. We should be more oriented towards measurable things. Things change in small and big places.

- 2 (New): Where we are as a movement, we also have to look at where the whole society is. We are in a very de-mobilised left and there is a big shift to the right. In the last few weeks alone there were no masses on the streets. What does that mean? Is related to sentiment against the climate movement. It should take up more space.

- 3. I wanted to add: We shouldn't think that the climate justice movement will end and a new movement will start instead. No, it is intersectional and the struggles belong together.

- 4. I am not so pessimistic either. We do have good options for action. But it doesn't work too well in any of the sectors. We should look at where we have potential and a critical mass to be able to move on to more thematic fields. FFF was suddenly so big because it was transferred to the whole society via students. Because there was a more direct connection to the middle-class majority. We should reach out to students (again).

- 7 (NEW): We should continue to think intersectionally. If we look at it pessimistically, and we can only do that at the moment, then that should never be a reason to give up or for pessimism. It should never change our actions. We should still fight for it together intersectionally. The successes are also in all the other areas than climate. Like strengthening escape routes, for example. There is always room for improvement, even small goals exist.

- We can celebrate detailed successes and secure them reformistically. But we should continue to name the roots. We cannot achieve all goals at the same time. E.g. ZU plus connectivity plus being low-threshold. Who can convince which people with which groups? Diversity of Tactics. What is our overall picture? We should stay in the conversation.

- 1.(NEW): Not so many contradictions but simultaneities: MaWa (Demos) AND Sabotage. Diversity of Tactics and red band = shifts in discourse. Simultaneities also enable shared learning. Eviction creates isolation and it doesn't work. I don't have an answer to that either, but it's something we can work on. We should try to stick to each other and share political work. We should be able to share and guarantee skills etc. I would like to agree with the previous speaker 1 and add: Where is the anger? Intersectionality. Climate crisis is racist, fascist. It has to be scandalised. It can only be done in cooperation and it must be visible in every protest. Don't make hierarchisation so visible.

- 6 (NEW): We need structures to last. We don't have a grand narrative that picks up "normal" people. We have anger at the status quo and reject the system. I lack a practical counter-model that we offer and pursue practically. Maybe in structures where people don't have to do everything, but can split up and see the big common picture.

- 4. hope instead of being depressed. Objectively it's right, but it's one of the most important things: giving people hope. Which groups are growing right now, which are not. The ones with growth are the ones that give hope and perspective. A discussion about objective results tends to make people depressed.

* An example of hope: There was an attack in Kurdistan, the motto was "Heads up, comrades", we can use this as an important reminder even after depressing phases, we can only go through all this shit with our heads held high. Appeal to organise hope.

* Second point, criticism also of the conference team. Often strategy debates are organised without an explicit analysis of social conditions. We need strategy debates in response to analyses of the real situation.

- 2. We have to get rid of the fairy tale of the masses. I myself was and am never part of the majority society. For me it is clear that we do not reach the masses because we take away their privileges. There were many people there and still coal is being mined. We also won the Hambi not because of many people, but because of years of militancy and organisation. It's also about: who has how much to lose? The issue of mass makes me angry, the way we talk about it.

- 3. it is difficult to make a transition, because I wanted to talk about populism. Many people don't even know what intersectionality is, it's too highbrow. We should work together on an understandable story. Discourse on the climate crisis has arrived, but it is hollowed out. What has not arrived at all are connections that exist to exploitation. We don't have a connecting story that is easy to communicate. I also experience a disconnect between building activism and disruptive activism. Only in a CED can coming together and skill sharing happen and that many people have a lot of time. It's a shame that these spheres don't come together much. Many people who organise district gardens, for example, which are totally important, are not here. There is a cultural sense of foreignness. Maybe that is something that could bring us power.

- 5. There is a lot of talk about Lützerath in the movement. Why wasn't it the success it could have been? Success was defined as attention and mobilisation. Not: keeping it in the movement in the long run. Onboarding plenums were totally full afterwards, but the existing groups didn't manage to take in that many people. How do we manage to integrate people who have been addressed politically and emotionally into the movement in the long term? It has been said that the movement is ending, but I don't think so. In the future, there will be such blatant environmental catastrophes in Germany, too, that people will see the climate movement then at the latest. We should prepare for these moments in order to get more people involved in the long term and not just try to create such mobilising moments.

- My point is that the paradigms under which many movements started are a bit suspended at the moment. Until Corona, it made perfect sense to denounce the status quo. Now, through Corona, there is crisis overlay on capitalism. We no longer have to say that the situation is shit, but we have to foreground our systemic critique in external communication. We have to find answers to this situation. Within this crisis, there are still many opportunities. The last crises brought first fascism and later neoliberalism, so crises also bring enormous dangers. We have to see the opportunity and the danger and respond to it.

- 6 I was touched by "Organising Hope". One point where I organised hope: That was on 3.3 when we organised together with the wirfahrenzusammen campaign with public transport workers. We managed to connect different groups and movements. We as climate justice movement are finally getting to a point where we understand the wage-earning class as the only revolutionary subject and that makes me hopeful.

- 7. I agree with many. I sat down here because I was moved by two words. A story I want to share: it was said 'normal people'. What our society calls normal is not human. The second was hope. I can understand people being hopeless. In my network, it goes on and on. My story, because you can tell the others: I come fully from system, that was not reflected in my environment. I always wondered what was wrong with me. I finally realised that I am okay, but the system is not. That's what FFF and all the people I met showed me. I am grateful for this time and the experiences because it has only led me to myself. The last five years have brought an insane amount. Always be aware that there are people like me.

- Where are we right now? Firstly, the climate situation is totally dramatic, we are heading for a catastrophe. We only have 3-4 years left. Socio-politically, we are experiencing a shift to the right, supported by a fossil society that wants to protect itself against change. So: the climate crisis will lead to economic crises of capitalism, agriculture will collapse. The question of power is being raised, the system is trying to defend its position. This is also shown by the border regime. This means that we have to ask the question of power: No more cosmetic

improvements or forms of action to prevent the next destruction, but the fundamental question. Intervene in power structures ourselves.

- 1st issue of sustainability: There are so many people who can no longer be in the movement because of police violence and psyche, but they have brought us this far. For sustainability we need to retain people who are there for us. Many people are so isolated in physical illness now. This has to go beyond affinity group work and people should be well socially connected.

- We should look for struggles where we don't think friends can be found. A story from a friend: 10th anniversary of the Gezi protests in Istanbul, when the parks were occupied, very diverse people who lived there came. Everyone was talking and eating together. I also talked about stories of queers and miners and GB. We need to reach out to workers first.

- 5. I have more of a concrete question: where are the spaces that we can use as a movement? By that I also mean digital spaces, where can we build a radical base? What channels do we use, how do we reach public schools, what cultural spaces do we reach?

- 6 The thing about the crisis is this: If we just react, they will run us over. We are in the middle of a crisis, that's how capitalism works. In 2008 we were still discussing the term climate justice, but even before that there was a strong movement worldwide in the 90s. We forget all these confrontations we have experienced, we don't learn from these experiences. If we repeat tactics, it means we don't learn new things. Crisis and myth and how change happens and what revolution are we talking about. We have a hard time discussing what revolution means.

- 4. by wir fahren zusammen (we ride public transport together): Nice story here in Cologne. In 2020 we joined together with workers for the first time, the head of verdi didn't want to talk to us, then there was a demo with only a few people but a warm welcome. Now since October there is a joint movement again, the verdi bosses immediately sat at the table and said they had tears in their eyes at the demo with few people. We were totally motivated, then Lützi came, many of us were there. The fact is: after Lützi, the workers withdrew their trust in us. What gives me hope: we stayed on, we are serious about uniting the struggles, to show that we are really behind you. Before the global strike, we were invited to a meeting of the shop stewards, and in the end they voted for a resumption of cooperation. The global strike was super diverse, so many racialised workers came. That gives me hope.

- I remembered what the Lützi person said, that we don't want to repeat things. Many of us are so impatient, but are only here for the organising. That was possible because I was allowed to start very naively. Heartbreak is that we didn't use potential to organise better.

SATURDAY

1) Kick-off on strategies, utopias, organizing

Today the question is: Where do we go further as a movement?

What should we do? What contradictions arise within the movement? How can we overcome them?

2) Inputs at the beginning

1) Strategies & tactics:

Different concepts: Movement, strategy, tactics, vision.

What is a movement? -> A network of informal interactions of groups sometimes also organizations that become active in cultural or political conflicts

System change (the vision) cannot be planned, so what do we as social movements plan concretely? -> Change on specific issues that can become part of a larger change, so ideally a movement has goals.

To implement it, there is a strategy, that is, a plan that divides actions into certain categories and creates a chronology of steps whose implementation is to be achieved through certain tactics.

So, is the goal of this conference to find a new common strategy or to exchange about strategies or to define without a fixed strategy, to at least think together strategically and purposefully?

Movement capabilities (The "muscles" or capabilities of a movement)

- disruptive capabilities
- narrative
- institutional
- resilience
- cooperative
- prefigurative

All these different competences are more or less present in social movements, giving a perspective of division of labor. Can we perhaps specialize?

2) Organizing:

Question to the room: how many of you are organized? Answer: Virtually everyone

Four questions as guiding questions for the input:

- With whom do we organize? This is interesting with regard to the compositions of our political organizing, which often both explicitly addresses specific groups, such as students at student demonstrations, and implicitly addresses a real group within the explicit group and often already politicized and privileged people.
- What are our organization forms? How often do the groups meet, how close are the relationships within the group, how horizontally or vertically are we organized, etc.?
- What is the goal of organizations and what are our strategies?
- What is our time horizon in our orgs? Do we put our goals and resources into short-term goals, actions strongly rooted in the here and now and its disruption, or into longer-term organizing?

3) Presentation of the collective abya yala decolonial and the perspective.

-> also in Spanish available! (write an email to strategiekonferenz2023@systemli.org)

1. How can the environmental movement be continued?

The environmental movement must unite territorially in Germany and worldwide, especially with the countries of the South. It is necessary to create a communal and transnational environmental front. Continue grassroots work in Germany on the environmental struggle, educate children, youth, etc.

The most important thing is to facilitate a human understanding among those who challenge neoliberal capitalist policies. Furthermore, it is important to create spaces where we can talk about and organize the thoughts of anti-capitalist, anti-patriarchal, anti-racist struggles. Organize workshops, use creative methods, e.g. publish brochure, illustrative books, sensitize the population to the issue of environmental justice, educate about what are the causes of environmental destruction and why green capitalism, green economy, green extractivism are not the solution to the crises of humanity, but part of the problem.

Explain in a simple language that the main causes of environmental destruction are the rich countries together with the neoliberal conservative political allies and even progressive governments. These continue exploitation with the logic of an extractivist economy in Abya Yala or Africa and it is especially the large extractivist companies that continue to plunder natural resources in large quantities to benefit a few and leave the externalities or pollution in areas that are actually territory of indigenous peoples.

At this point, we would like to emphasize that land distribution in Abya Yala has been unequal since colonial times. Most of it is in the hands of large landowners, and they usually use this land for plantations, mainly for exporting agricultural products to countries with rich economies. In addition, there is also a portion of land that is not used, while a very small percentage of land is in the hands of indigenous people who work in agriculture and produce most of the food for the national population. The conflict between private property and collective property becomes visible. Land is a collective good, a concept that indigenous communities still keep alive in their historical memory.

The task of German environmentalists is to identify the main actors and force them to take responsibility. But not to try to shift responsibility to the majority of the population, as politicians in power do, and not to play with people's morals to make them feel bad about the climate crisis and thus individualize it.

Responsible are only a few, responsible are those who develop the logic of the economy of death based on extractivism (commercialization of nature) and genocide of the bodies that are expendable for them.

The capitalist logic with its forms of production is one of the causes of the destruction of the environment and even continues the genocide and the terricide. The logic of large-scale capitalist production to reduce costs without regard for the impact on the environment, the overexploitation of nature and people must be eliminated, we must think about proposals for economies of solidarity, where it is decided what, how and how much is produced, and which operate according to other principles such as solidarity, the good life for all, balance between man and nature and reciprocity.

2 What are the strategies to be followed?

Command by obeying, say and do, these are well-known sayings from the Zapatista struggle and the indigenous struggle in Ecuador.

Uniting science with practice, giving a voice to people who are not heard and have not been heard. To do this, we need to create more alternative media, for example radios, podcasts,

workshops on environmental education and politics in general.

Make the struggles more visible in Germany as well as in other parts of the world. Work organically, i.e. from the local to the national and international level.

Our time must be appropriated to engage and organize, discuss, debate, philosophize, and make proposals for a long-term political project.

Continue to promote international solidarity, for example, what is being done with the Mayan Train, but not only with the Zapatistas, because there are other struggles in Abya Yala, in Africa and in Asia.

Do parallel actions in Abya Yala, but also in Germany and Europe.

Organize international congresses in a southern country where the problems and solutions or alternative political proposals can be worked on. To approach other realities, to open up to understand and accept that there are other worlds that have not been totally destroyed by capitalism, where we can find a reserve of communitarianism, of ethics, of community democracy, of millennial political and social organization.

Focusing on the commonalities of the struggles and not on the differences is the only way to build a common front against the system, because if everyone fights for their own interests without being in solidarity and empathy with other struggles, we reproduce the principles of the capitalist system, egoism and individualism, reproduce the ego, the egos and we do not think of the we. We think of the community in every sense of the word, the community is not just the union to live in a shared apartment to reduce the cost of rent. The community should serve us to share knowledge, experiences, to reflect, to philosophize, to solve conflicts, to practice solidarity, to organize ourselves from below and with a long-term perspective. The community could also serve us to propose what kind of power we want, what kind of democracy, the real liberation of the human being who is born as part of the oppressive system is born.

Do we want horizontal power? How can we put into practice other forms of power and democracy, even if we have very much internalized the patriarchal, vertical power, because that is what we know.

How can we liberate our bodies from oppression?

3. Which topics set?

Awareness-raising work in the trade unions, especially in the car manufacturing companies. Identification of other extractive industries in Germany and public actions denouncing the violation of human rights and nature.

Link other struggles such as anti-fascist struggles like feminism, class struggle, anti-racist struggles, etc.

Change the laws in which the right to resist is protected and eliminate the law that criminalizes environmental struggle and other anti-capitalist struggles.

4) Social movements as ecosystems

- Not one single social movement can unite all movement capabilities (see first input), so as to cooperate, we need a communication to be able to raise more energy in a diverse and decentralized way like an ecosystem.
- As a movement, we need
 - a) common ground, that is, an understanding that we want to abolish the roots of the climate crisis,
 - b) a common enemy image.
- We need to support each other, respect each other, to make progress together. The metaphor of movement ecology (as a forest of different actors interwoven like mushrooms and trees) allows us to think of the movement as a complex, interwoven

and interdependent multiplicity of different actors whose work in different fields is vital for growth and survival.

- Without diversity of tactics, the social movement ecosystem dies out.

4)

1. **Workshop I: With organizing to revolution**
2. **Workshop II: Relationship to parties**
3. **Workshop III: Trade Unions**
4. **Workshop IV: Social Justice**
5. **Workshop V: International Relations**
6. **Workshop VI: Comparison of Utopian Concepts / Communism**

WS I With organizing to revolution

- a lot of people are talking about organizing, (party, union, community, ...), so a plea for organizing is not so relevant, but rather the kind of organizing and the priority in our politics.
- Why is organizing important to me personally? (but seems to be true for many)
 - I want a long-term perspective: I see that many small groups are crumbling, many people leave the movement after 30, I want to still be part of it at 50 and not be the only one, I don't know how it is for people at 50, 60 now.
 - I don't feel like putting too much focus on action, or only interventions, because of repression, stress, political dubiousness
 - through Kurdish education impulse: many things that have kept me from organizing in a more binding and larger way: Individualism in neoliberalism ("everything has to go exactly the way I think it should"), which maybe we should unlearn
- Political reasons as thesis (feel free to contradict me, but elsewhere)
 - we can act super as a movement and everything is designed for that:
 - Group foundations = good, because empowering
 - Mass events
 - but also hostility to strategy and only reactive behavior, obliviousness to history
 - that's not bad and necessary, because that's how we get a shift in the discourse.
 - but: we don't manage to build up countervailing power (whatever that is exactly, something so that we don't always have to rely on the state in the end) in the long term over cycles.
 - → Understand organizing as a value in itself, consider where we want to go (revolution) and align organizing accordingly (not orga for campaigns, but campaigns for orga).
 - more details: <https://klimax.online/2023/05/03/organisiert-euch-lernen-von-unseren-internationalistischen-freundinnen-weltweit/>
- p.s. just because I'm wearing "Orga"-goggles doesn't mean that other things aren't important for the revolution as well
- What is organization (members, structure, goal / purpose)
 - Difference Orga - Movement
 - more details: <https://klimax.online/2023/06/08/warum-wir-starke-organisationen-brauchen/>

- Small group discussion followed by a fishbowl: how does organizing have to be, so that the form is appropriate for the goal (struggle for a better world, revolution). What are the learnings and difficulties in your groups. If necessary, address these keywords:
 - Long-term, openness, self-defense, centrality,

WS II Relationship with parties

1st part:

What is a party?

- mass groups with 10.000s of members
- able to speak on all topics
- you do not have to be active to be a member, as is the case with us
- are heard almost automatically
- Contact point for many who want to become politically active for the first time, therefore often more diverse than us
- can develop creative power
- based on competition (often dishonest, opportunistic)
- are mostly taken over by the system logic

Relationships of movement and parties

- partnered (fff, campact)
- antagonistic (anarchist groups)
- New foundation (climate list, climate collective)
- instrumental-strategic (Marx21 in the Left Party, Democratic Socialism in America DSA in the Democratic Party in USA)

People:

- Kathrin Henneberger, from EG speaker to Bundestag with the Greens, has used movement as a stepping stone
- Luisa Neubauer is a Green Party member

Experience with parties

bad

- very patriarchal manners
- reproduce power structures
- often co-opt their partners

- the power is usually not enough, once in government, to really make a cultural revolution
- Form of organization is prescribed by law
- the current parties hardly want to change anything in the system
- Greens have betrayed all goals since in the federal government
- is of no use anyway because all parties are subject to the constraints of the capital relationship.

good

- we have to join forces because it only works together
- what a party says has more hearing than a group
- internationally strong network
- influence politics from the opposition (like Marx21)
- Movements can exert pressure on left-wing parties to implement demands; they can hardly exert any pressure on right-wing parties
- Corona and 9-Euro Ticket have shown the power of parties to act
- Also make "serving suggestions," e.g., request for water use by golf courses -- offer to movement for protests

What do we expect from a party?

- mandate to us.
- Clear division of roles between party and movement
- Share resources
- Setting an example (such as redistributing the income of mandates)
- anti-capitalist basic attitude

No gos

- Nationalisms
- Hijack movement successes
- Corporate donations
- with the help of Ende Gelände into the Bundestag and then silent during raid against Last Generation
- Movement should not participate in parties at all
- Confuse party and movement

Left Party

- the party is in trouble
- [Sarah] Wagenknecht is asked by the board to quit the party

- Social movements from North-Rhine-Westphalia want to get involved in the party so as to change it
- Left Party does know it needs help.

What if the Left Party disappeared?

- No more Rosa Luxemburg Foundation that not only finances us
- No longer a force to the left of the Greens
- Invitation to those from our movement who are in the Left Party to work against the divisive course of identity vs. class politics?
- Movement people (we) hold more radical positions than many in the party
- we have ideas that are not prominent in the Left Party (limit terms of office, limit salaries)

Self-criticism of the workshop organizers

- Was not transparent enough that there is a group that is already talking to people from the Left Party
- Too many topics for 1.5h, therefore second part at 7pm

2nd part:

Discussion round on the topic of dealing with parties and especially the Left Party

1. Input from the process that led to this meeting
2. Spectrum Constellations
3. Small groups (Should the climate justice movement support parties / the Left Party and if so how could / should that look like?) + feedback.
4. How to continue

1. Input

- There is a discussion group of people from different social movements and people from the Left Party, it has arisen through personal relationships, nothing more than a reflection circle
- Have asked themselves at the beginning: Is there a common analysis of where we are as a society and the movement and what connection this has with the current state of the parliament?
 - Movement successes have little influence in politics, also due to the fact that the Greens have very neoliberal policies and the Left does not do good opposition work

- Left-wing government alliances are not feasible / stable with the existing actors
 - It is not the moment to create a new party from a movement
- Why not reorganize the Greens?
 - They are in a position of power in the government, they are tightly organized along the lines, there is not the access, nor the analysis that we can make a relevant difference
- Left: identity crisis (Sarah Wagenknecht, war question, dealing with climate...) -> this is a good moment to go into the question "can't we tie the left more to movements?"
- Important part of the discussion is that people strongly share the feeling and analysis that the left is a party like others in terms of its competitiveness and elbow mentality, hierarchical system, this gives us a funny feeling (do we want to be part of that?)
 - > feels like a rejection of what we want to build in terms of grassroots democracy; but we also get to know people who are part of the parties and of social movements and also want to organize more grassroots democratically
- Interest in ensuring that the Left Party does not go under: maintaining the resources of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, opportunities for parliamentary inquiries, parliamentary observers, etc.
- Open question: Are there progressive forces on the left, can we support them and do we want to?
- Analysis: Greens can do whatever they want because there is no real party to their left and the left will die unless there is a survival impulse
- How do we manage to organize ourselves in a more binding, longer-term, broader way?
 - > This is an answer to that, but not extra-parliamentary and outside of the party shit, so we need other answers as well.

Clarification questions for people talking to Left Party people:

- Do you just want to talk to them? Join them? Stand for election? What is the role of the movement in your mind?
 - We don't have a decided plan, we are trying as individuals to give input that from our point of view could make the Left Party organize its reboot in a way that it can be more added value for social movements
 - If the Left Party decides to do this, the question arises once again as to what the social movements think about it.
 - Suggestions we made: Organized as grassroots as possible (few levels of hierarchy and those as transparent as possible), that they consciously choose their leadership (charismatic, but also working with a basic feminist understanding), easy accessibility, anchored in local struggles, that party officials get a very limited salary and the rest is donated, that the money that is siphoned off goes into grant funds that support social movements.
 - Assumes that there will be a break with the Wagenknecht camp
 - Roles? -> is still controversial whether people aspire to become a governing party
 - There is a dissent in the conversations with the Left Party people about how important that is. But there is no person who says "no governing in any case at all"

- At this critical moment, we plan to be in exchange with people in the party to see if we can bring in structural, emancipatory elements. We plan to start a debate in these circles about the process and, if necessary, to set up demands that can be brought more strongly into the parliaments.
- Parties: better docking points for some people than social movements -> allows more connectivity via them?
- It can / should come down to people from different social movements having mandated posts as well
- Do you think revolutionary practice is possible through parties?
 - At this moment it can be an added value and a real improvement for people, as long as decisions are not counter-revolutionary, but constitute rather a revolutionary reformism (for example, reduction of working hours). We are clear that we do not abolish the state or capitalism with this, it is not either or, but a way to influence
- Have you ever studied the history of the Greens?
 - Yes, we looked at various party developments beforehand and tried to learn from them. This also showed us the strong limitations of such a project.
- Who else is sitting there? From which contexts? Another question: Can you tell us what kind of people from the Left Party you talked to?
 - We have not agreed with the people from the round whether we can make it so transparent here
 - The conversation must be very confidential, was emphasized several times in the discussion groups
 - There are many from the “movement-left”. From the movement: Climate movement and *white* people concerned with migration policy.
- Is your analysis that in this party and state system, a party can just be built better, or is that just a bit of reformism?
 - We don't believe that everyone should unite and the Left Party is what will change everything, but just an element that can improve things, there is a lot of room for improvement and the scope is relevant for us as a social movement
 - Also look what's going on right now in Spain? How was it in Chile? How does the HDP function in Turkey?

2. Spectrum setup

- Positioning along a spectrum from "agree completely" to "don't see it that way at all" and short inputs from individuals with reasons for their position.
- The following questions were asked [not conclusive]:
 - [Warm-up questions] Do we believe that political parties are the final solution to overcoming capitalism?
 - Do we think talking about political parties is "strategic" for the climate justice movement?
 - Do you think you have enough knowledge of revolutionary party politics to have this discussion?
 - "I'm afraid the movement will split over these issues".
 - "I'm afraid that too much energy will be put into these discussions, which will then be lacking for other issues"
 - I believe that the disappearance of Die Linke would have a negative impact on the climate justice movement

3. feedback from small groups

- We go in with a different claim, we need an organization that takes over the function of a party, but is not a party, we go in with the claim to learn something and then to overcome parties.
- Not knowing what has already happened is unpleasant because a piece of transparency is missing
- There were different attitudes: Save Die Linke by silent membership, perhaps also as a thank you for what it has already done for the movement.
- What does cooperation mean? The movement should be able to have a good influence on the party so that it brings something for the movement.
- Helping to enforce movement demands, by participating in internal votes.
- Making a strong case for the socialization of fossil fuel corporations
- Do people allow themselves to be corrupted when they set out on the path?
- Rosalux argument does not convince me, if necessary we will get the resources elsewhere
- Scale: does it harm the movement? It would harm if
 - The impression is created that it makes more sense to join a party than a social movement
 - If the impression is created that people can gain acquaintance through movement resources and then get into party positions
 - If it steals resources, e.g. if in future the strategy conference spends 1.5 days talking about party politics
 - The party comes into government and then makes policy against the movement, as is the case with the Greens
- Entry campaign: public relations, new image, etc. -> don't make it like "join here, coolest project ever", but "I'm joining, here we can fight for something and rebuild the place, but that doesn't solve all the problems, it needs further social movements".
- System that works according to other power logics; it sounds like you can fill the party with your own interests, but there are far more powerful actors who have more influence and only let us in if it benefits them, as opposed to the goodwill in social movements to want to work together on something.
- Need to talk about fundamental issues

4. ideas for further action

- Mailing list (not to join, but for critical guidance, process has been very cliquey so far, now trying to feed back to the movement).
- Workshop Space for tomorrow? -> Criticism tomorrow should be about movement campaigns and not party debates
- System Change Camp: where people could continue the discussion
- Invitation: discuss locally with people from the left party to understand the Struggles more
- Invitation: in the contexts in which we are active, propose that the press spokespersons and other people who get movement presence commit in writing beforehand that they will not join a party in a public way for the next 4 years.

WS IV: Social Justice

How can we connect and think together the struggles for fair rents with the struggles for climate justice?

Historically, profit interests have pitted us against each other. One reason for this is the legal situation and the greed for profit of landlords, especially large real estate corporations (such as Deutsche Wohnen, Vonovia, etc).

A very dysfunctional law, which neither really helps the climate nor is fair for tenants, and can also be abused with ease, is the modernization levy. According to this law, the landlord can permanently increase the net rent by a certain percentage of the costs spent on the apartment after carrying out individual modernization measures. It is not controlled whether the renovations really bring significant improvement in energy efficiency, so consequently the reduction in emissions is often not significant.

For the profit increase of the landlords it is better (and less bureaucratic) not to apply for (existing) subsidies from the state, but instead to pass the costs on to tenants. The rent is not only increased until the costs are paid off, but permanently.

So this legislation does not help the climate, causes the rent movement and climate movement to be in rather opposite camps, and is often abused to burden or even evict tenants.

What is the situation with the heat transition in Germany?

New gas heating systems and boilers continue to be installed, and the figures have hardly changed for 20 years. Heat pumps are still not very widespread and renovations are proceeding very slowly. Disinformation about the future viability of gas heating and about the viability of hydrogen heating is spread very successfully by the gas lobby and the FDP.

In fact, heat pumps are in the long run, especially with the cost increases for gas that will come in the next few years, in any case also the more economically sensible option. How exactly this should work in the tenant-landlord dynamic also needs to be standardized in a sensible way.

So the situation is: far from enough energy renovations, ever-increasing energy costs for households, unnecessary clinging to natural gas for heating, ever-increasing rents, escalating climate crisis. Diligent lobbying by the fossil fuel industry, especially public relations and disinformation by lobbying associations like Zukunft Gas.

Two approaches to address this situation

A)Campaign: Stadtwerke, raus aus Zukunft Gas!

(350.org, Weiter So! Collective, Munich Environmental Institute)

The fossil fuel lobby Future Gas buys political influence and tries to manipulate the public. The gas lobby clearly wants to delay the transition to renewable energy and present harmful fossil gas as a green alternative to other fossil fuels in order to protect the record profits of the fossil giants.

Only with enough financial support and social acceptance can Zukunft Gas maintain its influence.

Municipal utilities fulfill public tasks and represent an administrative unit for one or more municipalities. In Germany, municipal utilities are usually either public enterprises or privately organized as GmbHs or AGs. Their task is to supply the population with energy, water and infrastructure.

In addition, they are "obligated to the common good" by law. [Research by Correctiv](#) found that many municipal utilities are members of Zukunft Gas, which clearly contradicts this requirement.

The fossil fuel industry has hoodwinked us long enough through its lobby. It is time to take back control of our municipal utilities and our infrastructure. As a campaign kick-off, Lobby Control sent an open letter to the municipal utilities in early April.

Therefore, together with the action art collective WeiterSo! we will support various groups and individuals in the coming weeks to start local petitions to their municipal utilities. The demand: municipal utilities out of Zukunft Gas!

What has happened so far:

In the last year, about 10 municipal utilities have already left, example quote Bonn:

"Membership has offered no added value to our agenda of CO2 neutrality by 2035."

More have left since the campaign began or only noticed that ZG continued to list them on their website and asked to be taken down.

In Frankfurt, the campaign has been running for several weeks. Attac and FFF and BUND have delivered an open letter to Mainova, the faction of Die Linke has submitted a motion in the city parliament for withdrawal.

Campaigns are underway in Freiburg and Hanau.

B) Campaign modernization without apportionment

Supported by organized tenants, first decentralized locally, to expand on a national level afterwards, comes support from associations and climate movement. What can be our role there?

There is an online date for the modernization without apportionment campaign on 29.6, for this you can contact Sofia or Max or also join this Telegram group: <https://t.me/+iP-k5NLVF6ExYzQy>

And there is an online date for the public utilities campaign for interested people and local groups on 10.7 (if interested, please contact sofia.rodriguez@350.org)

WS VI: Title: Utopia - but how?

Subtitle: Overview of utopias & communist approaches to a different society.

Why talk about utopia?

- Reforms fail (climate justice is not achievable in the capitalist system (structural growth constraint) -> therefore we need something fundamentally different
- We need to determine the goal at least roughly in order to align the path with it

What is not possible (anymore) in view of the climate crisis?

- Promise of more material prosperity (in the Global North)
- Promise of extensive automation (and thus more free time)
- Progress narrative & historical determinism (determinism = predetermination), there is no linear progress, it only gets worse.

Ideas that want to "optimize" the market economy:

1. Social-ecological market economy: e.g. common good economy -> further mechanisms of competition and growth compulsion, therefore no solutions
2. Command economy: Market is replaced by plan, which is implemented by wage labor e.g. "first stage of communism" -> already better, exchange logic still exists = alienated labor (compensation by e.g. nice vacations), exchange logic (with property) reproduces property-like world relation, externalization (costs (e.g. also care work) are passed on to society and nature). If there is paid work, there is also unpaid work. Where is the border drawn, which work is paid and which is not?! Many command-

economic drafts have tendency to authoratization (whole power is bundled in the state).

3. Solidarity-based Contribution and Needs Economy: Self-organized and needs-based planning, re/production and distribution beyond wage labor, exchange and coercion. e.g. "higher stage of communism", Solidarity-based Care Economy, Anarcho-Communism, from the Global South: e.g. Ubuntu philosophy.

Zapatistas: partly in 3., but also in 2. because of money

Democratic confederalism: rather 2., in practice more likely to be classified in 3.

Structural Solidarity & Nature Relationship

- If cooperation cannot be enforced, needs must be included -> inclusion logic/structural solidarity.
- Preservation of livelihoods is part of human needs

Who does the garbage collection?

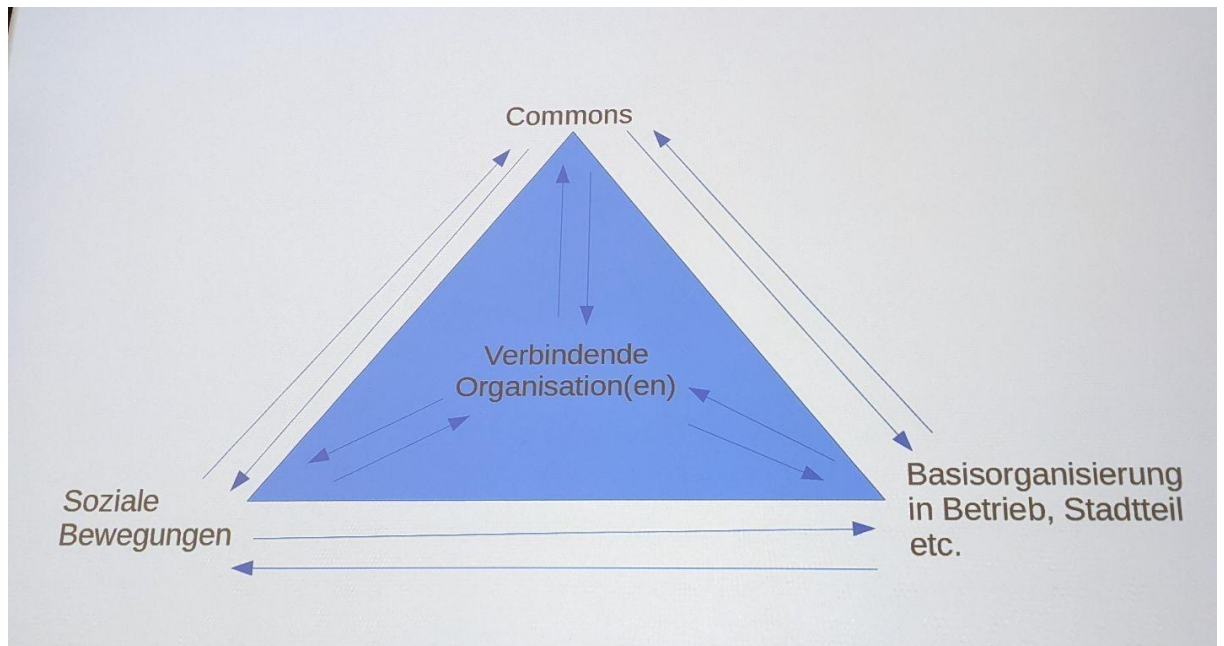
- (1. What kind of human image is behind the question?)
- People have productive needs (want to be meaningfully active)
- Variety of ways to deal with unpopular tasks: Rotation, reshaping, not doing, automation.

Coordination & Planning

- central: mostly associated with planned economy, but also council communism (staggered councils, it is always carried back to the base)
- decentralized: often in anarchist circles, small communes that can produce anything
- polycentric: there is not one global planning authority; depending on the area, the approach can be taken at different levels
- algorithmic: use digital techniques, decentralized access possible, e.g. distribution of necessary activities

What does this mean for practice?

- a society based on solidarity cannot be introduced via reforms or via the state -> social revolution (both as a process and as a rupture (moment at which people appropriate means of production and restructure society))



Discussion:

- Exchange logic: money is abstract and stores, possible on relationship level. Questionable on larger structure. It should go to needs, like management salaries, exchange without barter logic = repropocity (?) it feels fair. Skills are different, so contributions are different. Interpersonal is more direct, but also more direct dependency. Society in less direct dependency.
- Lützi: Contribution constantly put behind their needs. Lack of culture of talking about it. Collective needs can quickly become problematic.
- Help someone else and we are quit. Karma, GAIA, Magic
- Learning to perceive members' needs
- Occupations as learning spaces, learning to feel responsible
- Self-organization means that everyone takes responsibility
- To think along, to care, to be responsive. Like conference organization. Overview of what all needs to be done (mental load) is often not up to CIS dudes.
- Remedy: critique rounds, Care Revolution, repro plan.

Workshop VII: Grief (Outside. Meeting place Bistro)

Trauer in der KGB

klein anfangen
 wo fangen wir an?
 mentale ebene mitnehmen
 viele Fragen zur Praxis
 verschiedene Eingänge
 awareness
 trauma-inform
 trauer benennen

Rythmus & Orte
 check-in & emo-runde

critical connection before critical call
 MASS

Statt WUT & ANGST schüren
 TRAUER erlauben
 Hunderte Jahre & koloniale Kontinuität
 Trennung & Zusammenbau betrauern
 Trauern als revolutionärer Akt des wieder Verbindens

IN GEMEINSCHAFT TRAUERN ist Capacity Building
 mehr als Kopf
 Sein Körper & Seele
 weich bleiben & liebevoll
 spüren & raus lassen
 prävention von depression & nicht MEHR spüren
 ermöglicht potentiell was NEUES trauern
 ein!

Emotionen als Information
 Abschied macht frei
 Es wird immer wieder Situationen geben
 Da kommt noch ein Haufen Mist Aber wir vermeiden Trauer, verbinden uns nicht, aber da genau steckt wieder patriarchale & koloniale Gewalt drin: Trauer abwerten & unsichtbar machen

Intervention on classism, 3 short contributions

1) Text on the subject of classism:

Within the conference there were again and again reproductions of classicistic statements, incidents etc.. Therefore this text!

What do you really care about? Are you really concerned about the climate? Or are you just wallowing in your own juices with your movement to push your ego?

Have you really taken a serious look at your own privilege? Do you share your knowledge, skills and money with others who seriously need it?

I'm so tired of it.

What then are power and domination relations? How are they reproduced and, above all, maintained in the climate movement? Please ask yourselves these questions seriously and disturb, block them, as you have already done it often with roads, forests etc.. In the best case: destroy these power and domination relations!

Have you had any real experience(s) with this deeply classist, racist and ableist system? Do you personally experience harassment and discrimination on a daily basis, or are you reading the umpteenth book?

Solidarize with anti-classist groups. Share e.g. money, living space, knowledge!

Come out of your bubble and off your high horse!

Solidarize! Locally! Internationally! Worldwide! And damn it: Give ALL people, initiatives, associations, alliances the public space!

2) Contribution

Criticism of classist incidents within the conference.

It is done from the top down

Person affected by classism reports fear of showing up within an academic movement

Campaigners have a responsibility to open their spaces

All should be

Another person reports

FFF and Ende Gelände were not interested in Mensch.

We should not only go to high schools, but also to other schools, to youth centers and involve people

5) Plenary discussion

What should we do to be more powerful as a movement? What are next steps?

Contributions:

- Proposal: to draw a movement forest in which all organizations can place themselves
- Suggestion: we should agree as a conference on closing sentences
- Proposal: We could set an example by creating/living a model utopia
- Proposal: We should deal more actively with anti-colonialism.
 - more education
 - more practical work
 - To think about how exactly we can approach this
- How can we better distribute responsibility
 - Our society makes us unlearn this skill
 - We need to take a serious look at it

- In particular, people burn out due to the form of organization
- How can we become stronger as a movement?
 - How can we make our structures more resilient?
 - Movement feels isolated
 - Proposal: coordinated cooperation within the movement
 - More crystallization points created
 - Concrete measure System Change Camp in August
- Proposal: Organize more collectively, see potentials / from isolated structures back to joint action
 - We also need a common narrative for this
 - Suggestion: lay the groundwork here already to develop a common narrative.
 - In particular also reconciliation at times
 - There are certain times when the population is emotionalized
 - We need structures that catch these people for them to feel empowered.
- Taking self-organization seriously so as not to burn out
- Diversity of Tactics, Diversity of Narratives - not finding the one narrative but rather a vague direction
- What are leftists: we must become more. How to stay active in the movement. To take care of our survival such as a sharing/shared economy
- We can make a social analysis because we are not tied to society. We need an organization with resilient counter-power. Leap into the organized unknown
- Mourning processes. Grief helps against isolation. Sharing singleness in connection.
- What do we do at Day X, e.g. Deportation Camp Berlin, LNG Terminals, Disruptive Actions, Simultaneous Anti-Repression, Transformative Justice.
- Thinking globally about redistribution. Exchange together for this
- Ex. Lützi: We can be really many and still the government manages a "business as usual". We do not solve the climate crisis in the status quo. Perplexity currently. Bringing together with other groups to abolish capitalism.
- Abolish capitalism, build alternative
- Many at the limit. After actions, care is incredibly important. Use the resources of the "elders" who may no longer be present at events, but who can provide resources such as space, food, etc.
- People are encouraged to bring processes that have started here into the system change camp.
- Co-organizing own structures and redistribution
- Share email lists widely so people can get involved

Summary (by conference moderators):

- Networking and collaborating with each other, with people who want to abolish capitalism & with society.
- How we can become more with an organization that looks at needs
- Again / more / new crystallization points (BER, LNG ...)
- Practices: Shared Economies, Care
- Grieve more
- Actions that disrupt, where we can gain something
- Theme Redistribution, Decolonial Strategies
- Resolution of the conference instead of a strategy

What are the contradictions? What stands in the way? Other contributions/ requests to speak:

- Alliance thoughts: overcome capitalism, also continue to work on the system change camp
- Use time from now until camp to carry back to groups
- Climate justice clashes with timeframes of goals or what is possible. Climate crisis: where is nature? Biodiversity, etc. - Nature suppression was first
- Behind Strategy & Ideas: In almost all discussions, we pretend that we can eventually achieve a great, just world. At the very least, we need to get internally honest. The world is getting really shitty. That's why we need to do what we do under a new narrative (open borders just because it's getting worse).
- Is the target realistic? 1.5 degrees? Currently wanting to turn the tide casts the shadow of depression ahead. Structure vs. campaigns. We need campaigns.
- We want more permanent structures, but they are often too rigid ... especially people from outside Germany criticize the long-term plans of German groups
- We often want to be anti-something. But what are we fighting for? Creating indigenous images of the future so that people don't drift to the right
- Reaching out more to people who don't come from our bubble, e.g. #wirbauenzusammen / #webuildtogether
- What is our approach? What revolutionary work do we want to do? Or attack systems, or both? Concrete influence through direct action is at odds with strategy
- Share Care Aspects. Education, rallies, grassroots work. Capacities are needed, but connectivity, politicization, etc.?
- There is little difference from the discussion a few years ago. What is the understanding of justice? What are red lines? The king is not fighting the same battle I am fighting. We need to do more of this or that. Take responsibility, but this is not discussed further
- We want to do everything, but we can't do everything. We need to address specific points. We need hard discussions to sort things out and tackle what we can also change.
- The first step: we don't listen properly. That's why the same things happen over and over again
- Rather than burn out, form an alliance. This is not a contradiction to reactive things
- We should stay together and celebrate something like #wirfahenzusammen etc.
- Against Green Capitalism means: There is blood everywhere, even on the seeds [?] or on hard coal. We have no right to destroy the places of indigenous people. Wind turbine resources are also stolen resources. E-car batteries. It is very difficult. More energy is no solution
- Politics does not hear us where we wanted it. It needs a party. And it needs us.
- It would be very good to write down which groups are good at what and if we can solidify things. What are things that are urgent and record that.
- Strengthening the ability to deal with conflict
- We see society as more of a middle-class white center. That is problematic.
- We should take advantage of the current momentum NOW. Rising repression is coming. A more radical wing and joint demonstrations are needed

Where do we come together where not?

How do we integrate care into our strategies?

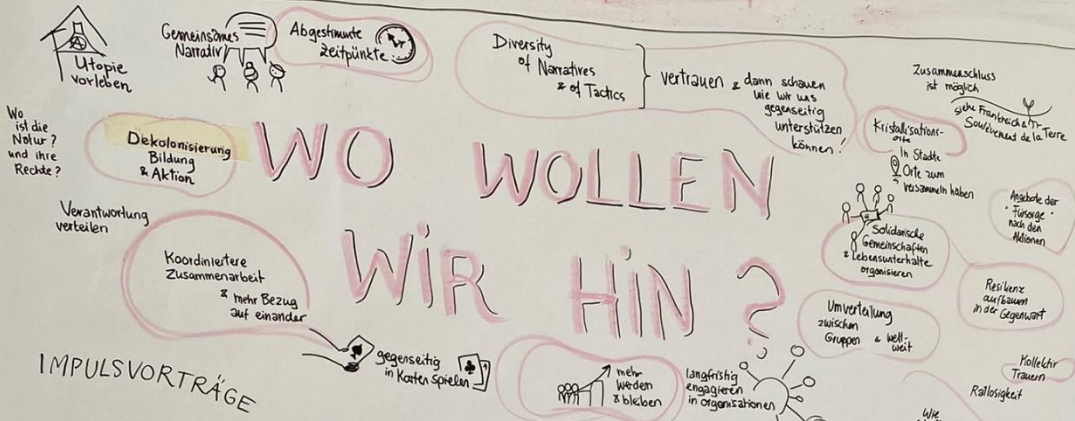
6) Small group phase again

on various topics

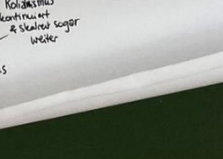
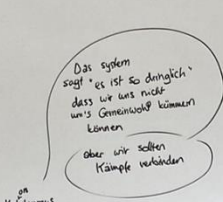
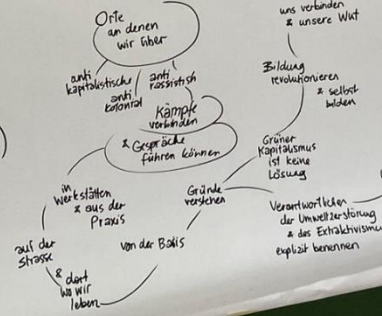
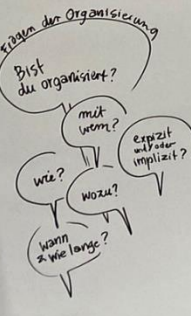
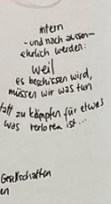
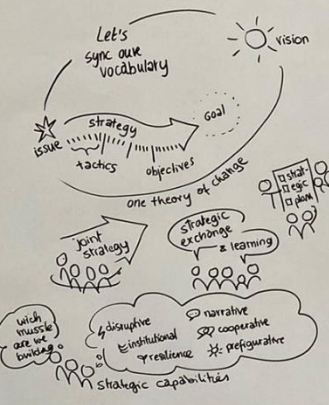
- Climate Alliance
- Organizing debate
- Bringing together migration policy issues and KGB
- Write down movement forest
- Green capitalism
- Processes and methods for tomorrow
- What can Care Work look like

SAMSTAG

KONFERENZ



IMPULSVORTRÄGE



SUNDAY

1) Concrete ideas / campaigns

The following projects were presented first in two sets and then most in small groups for 45 minutes each. Similar groups joined together on this.

- Transformation centers for everyone
- Stop deportation
- Climate Action Points
- Socialisation
- Private Jet Campaign
- Alarmphone Sahara
- Anti-Capitalist Alliance
- Rügen
- L12 (road between Keyenberg / Holzweiler)
- Decolonise Sápmi

Unfortunately, there was no documentation of the presentations. We hope a brief search on the Internet will lead to the desired information.

Anti-Capitalist Alliance (EC)

Invitation for joint further thinking, both at the System Change Camp and in a call before it.

Dear all,

in the midst of the climate crisis, we are witnessing how the intertwined crises of capitalism continue to intensify: Fortress Europe is being expanded, right-wing parties are again reaching for power, and the destruction of our livelihoods is advancing. The rulers defend the system of exploitation ever more aggressively and authoritatively.

Communities are forming all over the world, fighting for radical change and organizing themselves accordingly. This requires strength and regeneration as well as binding networking among the struggles. It is no longer enough to just think of our struggles together and superficially relate to each other - we need to connect them on a material level and develop a shared practice. Together and as united movements, we can organize a social counter-power that is needed to delegitimize, attack and challenge the exploitative system across the breadth of society.

We invite you to build a broad system-critical and anti-capitalist alliance with us.

For this, we want to come together from different emancipatory movements to strengthen each other and to achieve the efficacy we need to make a good life for all possible.

In the crises of capitalism and neocolonialism, we see multiple lines of connection of our struggles for climate justice with the struggles of marginalized groups, with anti-racist and anti-patriarchal struggles, with struggles for freedom of movement and against borders, or with struggles against fascism and authoritarianism. From these lines of connection, we want to weave a strong web together with you.

As part of the climate justice movement, we self-critically acknowledge that in many places

over the past years we have failed to connect with these struggles on more than a symbolic level and to reflect our solidarity in a political practice.

For this reason, within the framework of an alliance, we want to increasingly seek reference to the struggles that are closely linked to the struggle for climate justice and have so far been carried into our structures primarily through the work of individuals.

Such an alliance needs a self-understanding as a basis. For this we have developed first ideas, which we would like to discuss with you:

Criticism of capitalism is the link of our alliance. The climate crisis, like the other contemporary crises, cannot be solved within capitalism. Capitalism is the crisis.

We fight against every form of domination, oppression and exploitation structures. Our common practice should therefore be anti-patriarchal, anti-racist and anti-colonial. We are in a constant process of self-reflection and recognize the process-nature of our claim.

Historically conscious, we fight against fascism and nationalism. Our utopia is a good life for all. We want to reflect our utopias in our forms of organization. Therefore, we see ourselves as anti-authoritarian. We want to create spaces that are as low in discrimination and as sensitive as possible. In order to set the process of alliance building in motion, we want to create places of coming together and exchange. For the content and structural design of the alliance we would like to invite you to the "System- Change"-Camp, which will take place from 31.07. - 06.08. in Hannover.

We want to work out together with you how the exchange spaces at the camp should be designed. Please give us feedback and tell us which content and formats are important and appealing to you.

In order to discuss first ideas and to get a feeling for the response to our invitation, we cordially invite you to an online preparation meeting on July 12 at 7 pm.

Here is the link for the room where we will meet: <https://meet.livingutopia.org/rooms/zau-as5-nmq-f96/join>

This invitation may be forwarded to others and is also explicitly addressed to groups that have been critical of Ende Gelände or the climate justice movement so far. We are open and grateful for criticism in solidarity.

In all cases, feel free to write to us at allianz@ende-gelände.org

Motivated greetings on behalf of the Ende Gelände alliance small group

Alarmphone Sahara & StopDeportationBER:

- Supported: People on the Move in Emergencies
- needs: connections, use outreach to publicize deportations, financial support
- External borders are increasingly externalized, detention for pending deportation can be up to 18 months
- At BER: Departure detention usually 10 days, "transit places" detention directly upon arrival at the airport.
- Far from our attention, people are first put into deportation prisons and deported
- Topic Prison itself: Abolish prisons in general
- Schönefeld: Decision for building permit must go through the council. moderate assessment of whether this will be prevented
- Narrative:
 - Causes of migration as narratives, in the climate movement, climate migration, global north is triggering causes of migration.
 - -> Right to stay for all!!!
- Prevent DAY X BER!!!
 - Prevent construction and stall for time
 - Actions of civil disobedience

- Day X - Start of construction
- @BER_dayX (on twitter) stopdeportationcamp BER (Telegram)
- -> mail distribution list: go to your groups prepare, what can you imagine, what resources do you have -> write an email
- -> dayx-stopdeportationprisonber@systemli.org
- -> Meet soon -> in one to two weeks
- -> Research Working Group and Berlin Antira WG do Day X Orga, yallah on to the Orga all!

2) Carrying back the Safer Spaces

- Classism: nothing to carry back, but again the reminder of the input from yesterday.
- ARA Space:
 - Info sheet is created
 - There was a lot of top-down talk, especially at "wirfahrenzusammen"
 - Freedom from violence cannot be experienced by all people: Discussion about nonviolence, alliances, being nice to police, state cooperation = only satisfaction instead of action against the borders that kill very many, the system is not changed by this.
 - "They and Their" triggers funny feelings
 1. Suggestion to think about it
 - Ableism: there are many intersections of concerns
 1. Ableism has fallen behind
 2. Some people could not come because of this
 3. This place has a lot of barriers
 4. Focusing on political campaigns alone is not enough because there is no focus on other things.
- FLINTA+:
 - Taking responsibility at the conference should be reflected on in small groups (there was a brief opportunity to do this in groups of 2).
 - Suggestion to also stop and wait for people to sort out their thoughts.
- Ableism:
 - Rollfender Widerstand: lack of sleeping forums and barrier-filled place and focus on content excludes a great many.
 - There is a reading list at the info point – Desire that everyone would check it out
- Awareness-AG:
 - Compared to last year awareness was much more collective. Thank you.
 - Awareness sees it positively, that topics like racism and other incidents are meanwhile least thematized
 - If you have experienced any incidents with the people in front of the university please report back to the Awareness Team
 - Information pad on anti-Slavism (see further resources at the end of the protocol).
 - Issues we had: racism, anti-Semitism & classism. Good to have that coming up and still things have passed us by. The phone is still available for a while to follow up and email anyway.
 - Reimbursement of travel expenses collectively possible.

- List of needs or wants and if you can carry anything forward from here. And what support is needed.

3) Final reflection

1. Reflection phase: first in groups of 2, then 4, then 8, on these questions:
 1. What do you take away from the conference?
 2. consider a question for a mood picture of the whole group
2. Mood pictures
 1. Do you think your group is able and willing to do substantive work for a next strategy conference (e.g. System Change Camp) e.g. prepare strategy papers, elaborate topics etc.? Overwhelming agreement in the room, some wagging more in the middle as well
 2. Does it make sense to meet several times a year? Mood: Much agreement some restrained and also rejection
 3. Do you think we as a collective can take responsibility for the process?
 4. Is it a question of organizing conferences like the one here now, or would you rather organize a meeting next time that is linked to certain events or planned actions or certain topics, i.e. with a concrete occasion? Mood: strongly mixed mood, partly agreement with both, slight tendency towards a concrete occasion
 5. Do we want to develop a process where we can try to incorporate the demand and perspectives (of MAPA?) and learn with and from them?
 1. Strong agreement
 2. Contribution: Which "we"? There is no commitment and assumption of responsibility at movement level. And also no approaches to establish this
 3. Contribution: We should establish an alliance
 4. Intervention: Several questions were not asked here at the conference. What does climate justice mean? We need a perspective on how to grow old together
 6. Should the movement be more about data, about movement psychology? Mood picture: Slightly positive mood picture, some restrained reaction and also rejection
 7. I want us to criticize each other more in questions of strategies, tactics and forms of organization.
 1. Great approval
 2. Contribution: We should criticize each other not in public but in protected spaces
3. Word contribution: Questions to take away
 1. Climate justice is not properly defined. Who defines climate justice? And in which space do we do it?
 2. Who defines narratives about causes of migration and escape routes?
 3. How do we create collective care work?
4. Takeaway questions:
 1. People who inspired me at the conference
 2. Who impressed me
 3. who has brightened my day
 4. who made me think
 5. with whom I felt comfortable
5. Closing and Appreciation

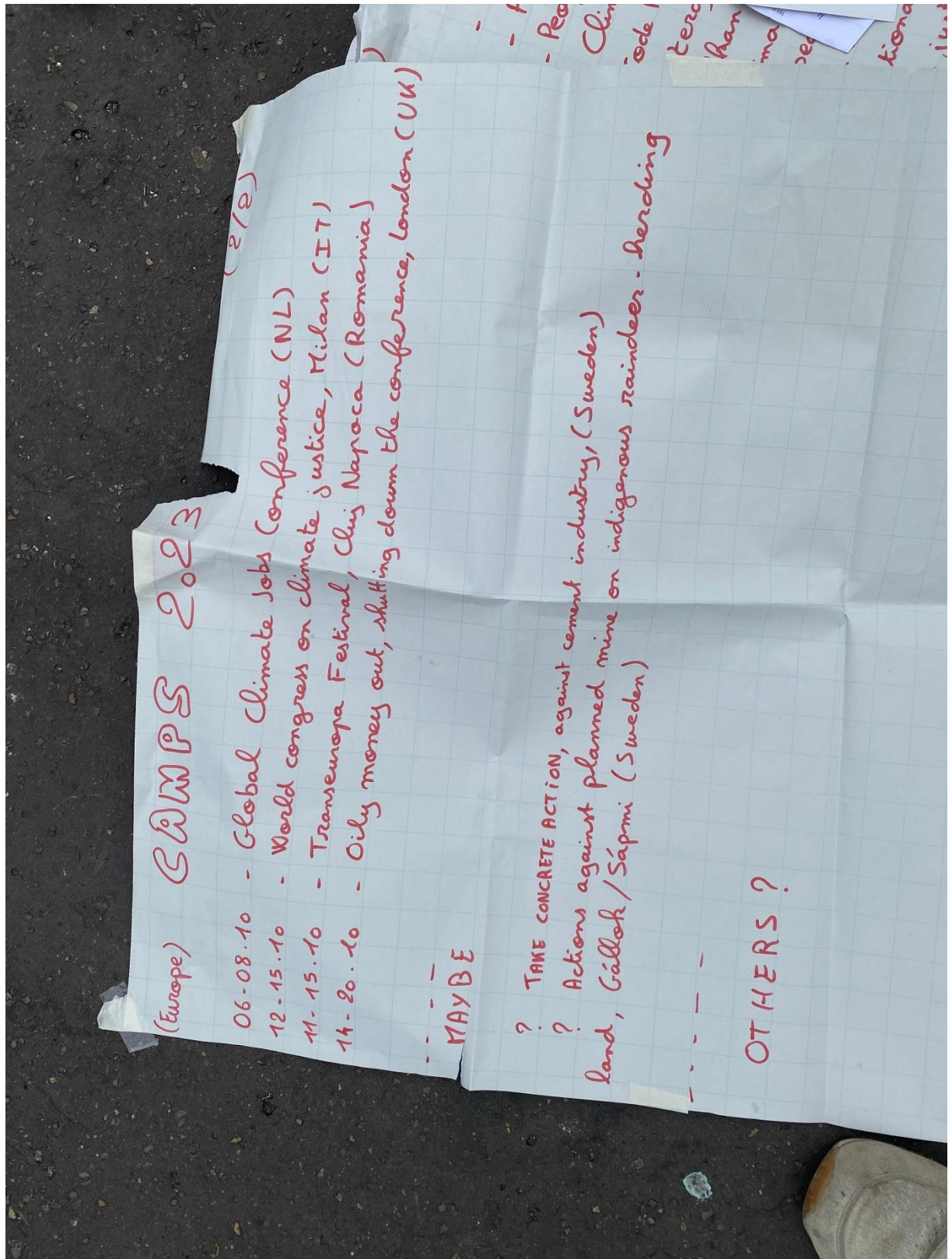
Some more information fort he movement:

1) Camps in summer 2023

(Europe)

CAMPS 2023 (1/2)

- 22-23.6 - Reclaim the Change, Danish climate justice camp, Aarhus (DK)
- 23-24.6 - People vs Polluters at Tata Steel (camp + action), Amsterdam (NL)
- 22-25.6 - People's Summit for Climate Justice + Finance Regulation, Basel (CH)
- 30.06-04.07 - Clima Summer Fest, FFF Lisbon, Bajouca (PT)
- 05-09.7 - Code Red, mass action against fossil infrastructure (Belgium)
- 06-08.7 - Intergalactic festival, ZAD Notre Dame des Landes (FR)
- 07-09.7 - Balkan anarchist bookfair, Ljubljana (Slovenia)
- 12-17.7 - Climate camp Scotland, Grangemouth
- 12-17.7 - European ecovillage gathering, (Germany)
- 12-16.7 - Riddu Riddu, International indigenous festival
- 19-23.7 - International anti-~~g~~ authoritarian gathering, S' Imier (CH)
- 20-24.7 - Climate justice camp, northern Evrosia (Greece)
- 20-25.7 - Central + Eastern European Action Camp + Training (Romania)
- 26-28.7 - Climate Social Camp, Torino (IT)
- 28.7-03.08 - Rebelligesches Zusammentreffen camp, ya-basta network (DE)
- 31.7-06.8 - System Change Camp, Hannover (DE)
- 01-06.8 - Climate camp with children (DE)
- 01-06.8 - NO MUDS, anti-militaristic camp, Sicily (IT)
- 03-06.8 - Les Résistantes, camp of and for resistance, Lergac (FR)
- 03-13.8 - No Borders Climate Camp, Basel (CH)
- 08-10.8 - Climate camp by the Ecologia Politica Network, Sicily (IT)
- ~13.8~ - Climate camp Ireland, North Leitrim
- 15-19.8 - Chaos Communication Camp (DE)
- 18-27.8 - Water tour, bikes + tractors for right to water, S^{te} Soline → Paris (FR)
- 23-27.8 - Summer university of social movements + solidarities, Bobigny/Paris (FR)
- 19.8-02.9 - VerkehrsWende Camp Berlin (DE)
- 26.8-03.9 - Transnationales Treffen für kleinbäuerliche Kämpfe, Bure (FR)
- 23.8-28.8 - Adriatic Climate Camp, XR Zagreb (Croatia)
- 04.9-15.9 - Stop DSEI, 2 weeks against biggest arms fair, London (UK)
- ? .9 - Cost of living and climate marches, (Europe wide)
- 31.8-02.9 - Klimafolkhemødet, Middelfart (DK)
- 05-10.9 - Block IAA (DE)
- 10-17.9 - Global week of action against fossil finance



Movement calendar

- Germany: <https://klimax.online/bewegungskalender/>
- EU: <https://www.themovementhub.org/events/>

2) Further resources

- Anti-Slavism Info Pad:

<https://pad.riseup.net/p/r.f39a877e5438ef5cff7f2780669b4c63>

- Pad with resources on critical whiteness: [_follows](#)

- Further written resources on strategic thinking:

<https://klimax.online/strategiekonferenz/>

- Resources on Ableism and Climate Justice:

Rebecca Maskos: Ableism and the Ideal of Autonomous Ability in Capitalist Society, <http://bidok.uibk.ac.at/library/inkl-02-15-maskos-kapitalismus.html>

"VerRücktes Klima - BeHinderte Lösungen". Anthology on Ableism and Climate Justice, edited by Locals United (BUNDjugend):

<https://www.bundjugend.de/projekte/locals-united/verruecktes-klima/>

Accessible PDF: [https://www.bundjugend.de/wp-](https://www.bundjugend.de/wp-content/uploads/verRuecktesKlima_beHinderteLoesungen_digital.pdf)

[content/uploads/verRuecktesKlima_beHinderteLoesungen_digital.pdf](https://www.bundjugend.de/wp-content/uploads/verRuecktesKlima_beHinderteLoesungen_digital.pdf)

Audio version:

<https://open.spotify.com/show/62L0tocDNYsaYg19VPuaHY?si=5a7b67c172144310>

SchwarzRund and simo tier: Ramp? Enough! Podcast

<https://rampereicht.de/>

Rolling resistance - direct action against barriers

<https://fightableism.noblogs.org/>

Blog by Cécile Lecomte, author, movement worker, freelance journalist, uncomfortable environmental and climbing activist with rheumatism in a wheelchair: <https://blog.eichhoernchen.fr/>

Johanna Hedva: Sick Woman Theory (2020) (translation from English): https://www.kunstverein-hildesheim.de/assets/bilder/caring-structures-ausstellung-digital/Johanna-Hedva/bd504a3f7d/AUSSTELLUNG_1110_Hedva_SWT_d.pdf

Lian Otter: Crip Time. The concept of "crip time":
<https://www.graswurzel.net/gwr/2022/10/crip-time/>

Eklat Münster: "Communitize Care - Ways out of the Crisis of Reproduction" https://eklatmuenster.blackblogs.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/876/2022/05/Website_Version.pdf

Andrea Schöne: Inclusion in times of climate crisis
<https://dieneuenorm.de/gesellschaft/inklusion-in-zeiten-der-klimakrise/>

Why we need to talk about ableism in the climate crisis
<https://editionf.com/warum-wir-ueber-behindertenfeindlichkeit-in-der-klimakrise-sprechen-muessen/>

Books:

Paul Lafargue: The Right to Be Lazy
https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Das_Recht_auf_Faulheit

Mika Murstein: I'm a queerfeminist cyborg, that's okay. Collection of thoughts on anti/animalism <https://www.edition-assemblage.de/en/books/im-a-queerfeminist-cyborg-thats-okay/>

Counter-Diagnosis I - III: Contributions to a Radical Critique of Psychology and Psychiatry. Edition Assemblage
<https://www.edition-assemblage.de/buecher/gegendiagnose/>
<https://www.edition-assemblage.de/buecher/gegendiagnose-ii/>
<https://www.edition-assemblage.de/buecher/gegendiagnose-iii/>

Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha: Care Work: Dreaming Disability Justice <https://brownstargirl.org/care-work-dreaming-disability-justice/>

Sources in English:

Talila Lewis: Working Definition of Ableism

<https://www.talilalewis.com/blog/working-definition-of-ableism-january-2022-update>

Srinidhi Raghavan: "The value of 'crip time': Discarding notions of productivity and guilt, to listen to the rhythms of our bodies"

<https://www.firstpost.com/living/the-value-of-crip-time-discarding-notions-of-productivity-and-guilt-to-listen-to-the-rhythms-of-our-bodies-8440551.html>

EYFA (European Youth for Action!): Care Work: Dreaming Disability Justice <https://eyfa.org/2021/10/04/disability>

online video course for grassroots groups

Climate Justice and Accessibility - Decolonial Perspectives

<https://eyfa.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Guide-and-Handout-Accessibility-Climate-Justice.pdf>

Zine "Caring Movements. Chronic Illness and activism":

https://radicalresilience.noblogs.org/files/2019/09/Caring_Movements_ZIN_web_090419.pdf

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