

Minutes of Second International Mobilisation meeting

13-15th March 2009, Copenhagen

(network now called Climate Justice Action)

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Summary of Decisions:

p.12 Remit for Danish logistics working group:

- Accommodation, convergence centre, food, info, medical, infrastructure. Group does its own funding.

p.14 Remit for process working group:

- Make sure that the network is involved in the development of the agenda
- Ensure that facilitation is organised
- Ensure that people from different regions and backgrounds are able to participate in the network's processes (we do not see it as our job to actively seek out and invite new groups/individuals -- we see this as being solidarity/outreach, action/mobilisation)
- Ensure that all other groups are communicating and keep oversight of the process
- Look after internal communications: put together a newsletter at least once per month
- Ensure that minutes are taken and sent out to the network via the mailing list and website
- Still need to decide on internal working group communications and the way to contact the process group (i.e. setting up the process group email account)
- Responsible for international meetings
- Responsible for communications

p.18 Consensus on supporting the following events:

12 Dec- FOE International Flood & GCC Global Day of Action

12 Oct - (Belem) International Day in Defence of Mother Earth

24 Oct - 350.org global day

around COP15 summit - People's Assembly & the Tribunal

Remit for media working group:

p.12 Media group combines mainstream and activist media. This may be separated at some stage. (not a plenary consensus)

p.23 Pro-actively creating spaces through active media work (organising press conferences, linking the media to the knowledge and stories we have in the network) and acting, not only reacting, to the media.

p.24 Mass action timing:

The mass action will be focussed in the second week of the summit.

p.24 List of current existing working groups (just for info:

- Copenhagen logistics
- Action/mass action
- Solidarity & visas/invitations/funding group
- Mobilisation
- Media/messaging
- Process
- Web

p.18/24 Network principles for cooperation:

1. Unity: We are stronger together. We will use our common platform to coordinate our efforts and work together whilst recognizing our diversity. We are an international movement and will practice solidarity.

2. Respect: The network is made up of groups with diverse opinions and tactics. We will respect this diversity. No members of the network will use the network to criticize or disassociate themselves from other members of the network

3. Trust: The network will only make public statements that have been agreed by the network. Members of the network will not use the actions of other members to further their own aims without previous agreement.

p.25 'Creating new spaces' mass action proposal

To be developed by mass action group. Two elements:

1. Climate justice delegation accompanied by our march go to the fence
2. Meet at the fence our allies delegates and others from inside coming out:
 - At the fence we create entirely new space where we will hold people's climate justice assembly
 - Tactics at the fence: try to take our message as far as possible – moving to the police line and through it if we can
 - Dates: Wednesday 16th or Thursday 17th

Call to action:

p.26 Consensus on updated version of call to action

p.26 Consensus that groups cannot alter the text to include 'politicians'

p.27 Consensus to include something about reparations in the callout

p.27 Goals:

A group will go away and write up the original version with all the contributions made the first time round, to produce a longer fuller version, then a shorter version for messaging.

p.27 Mobilisation working group:

Need autonomy and trust from the network:

- Autonomy so can start now and don't have to wait until the next meeting to get poster ideas etc. approved by the whole group
- Trust to make good intelligent decisions, not to run own agenda but to best get the message of the network out to all of our groups
- Once a month group will send an update email to list

p.28 Funding for Solidarity working group:

Group will employ someone to write funding applications: Euros1,000 for ~1month

p.28 Media working group:

To start a proactive media strategy tomorrow. To organise a pool of spokespersons to represent the network in the name of the network, so that we have people with the necessary competences ready for September and able to do media around the next gathering.

p.28 Next meeting:

Time pressure have meant we have been unable to hear dissenting views in this meeting which has been frustrating: at the next meeting we will use Friday as well

p.28 Website:

All groups will put a description and contact email address on the wiki and report on their activities.

p.29 Name of network: Climate Justice Action

Saturday 13th March

- reminders: language translation going on, speak clearly, use hand signals

Mapping the Movement:

- go-round of people present (see appendix 1 for details)

Documenting our Strategic Goals:

- As a group, what are we trying to get out of this mobilization? List that was sent on listserv will be handed out, then we will brainstorm new additions, then break into 10 working groups for half-hour to discuss and prioritize strategic goals.
- Current suggestions from listserv document:
 - discredit market based solutions
 - locate the changes that need to be made in the area of production and away from individualist consumption solutions
 - shift in activist communities from talk about 'climate change' to 'climate justice'
 - take successful direct action within the mobilization
 - have an effective online infrastructure so that people inspired and who want to participate in direct action groups in their communities can network with others
 - promote building alternatives and resistance as two key methods
 - big shut down of emitters around the world
 - highlight problems of/delegitimize carbon trading
 - expose and prevent corporate greed and influence in the negotiations
- Added suggestions:
 - delegates from global South to get involved and stop the process
 - amplifying voices of the South
 - focus on corporate land grab (land rights, biomass)
 - movement building (workers, students, peasants, unemployed, indigenous, etc)
 - expose link between global financial and climate crisis
 - job creation through investment in public infrastructure(s)
 - develop the international days of climate action
 - messages kept informed by climate science
 - to challenge the North growth machine
 - defensive common ownership of sustainable energy and all energy resources
 - connect what offsets in the North means for the South
 - new jobs for environment, renewable energy, and closed loop economy
 - get World Bank out
 - no offsets
 - no Asian Development Bank
 - ecological debt and reparations as part of climate justice
 - weaken vested interest in fossil fuel industry
 - make Copenhagen a good example for reduced co2 emission through direct action
 - international tax/money in international climate fund
 - promote idea that fossil fuels need to stay in the ground
 - strategy for reaching out to stronger forces than we are here
 - expose climate convention as climate WTO
 - support indigenous resistance for land rights and autonomy (i.e. REDD)
 - utilize inside/outside strategy
 - launch ongoing direct action movement globally

- control the media message
- turn the tide of international action from false solutions to real solutions!

Report back from discussion groups:

- not to influence UN talks but change terms of the debate
- expose "business as usual" politics in climate talks like carbon trading, immigration controls
- promote DIY climate politics through direct action in Copenhagen and elsewhere
- movement building by relating to key social forces such as workers, students, peasants and unemployed with workers, peasants, and indigenous movements in the south
- promote collective solutions which reinforce peoples' rights to land, food, water & housing
- connect actions globally with common slogans/message
- awareness raising
- movement building (civil dis for South, workers unions)
- economic system change (alternatives, financial crisis, ecological debt, production consumption)
- mass action
- COP related advocacy strategy, i.e. our "own deal" (influence without legitimizing)

Disagreements (i.e. unclear):

- "shift in activity from climate change to climate justice,"
- "successful direct action"
- "expose corporate greed"
- "environment jobs"
- "Copenhagen as a direct action example,"
- "carbon tax,"
- "convince delegates from global South,"
- "fight N growth regime."

Agreed on:

- discrediting market based solutions
- locate the changes that need to be made from production
- online infrastructure
- promote alternatives and resistance
- shut down emitters
- highlight problem of carbon trading (delegitimize was removed)
- connect carbon offsets with effects in the south
- World Bank and IFIs out of the process
- ecological debt and reparation to the South
- weaken fossil interests

Disagreed on:

- UNFCCC as a WTO
- controlling media
- false solutions

Small number of strategic goals:

- concepts more than words
- building global movement for system change
- make climate talks understandable to all

- holding those in power to account in need for reparations
- building/promoting alternatives and resistance for/to climate justice
- expose corporate interests and false solutions (can't reduce)
- promote alternatives to resist false solutions (work towards a positive way)
- movement building
- transition (towards climate justice)
- clarification on needs for media (controlling the media message)
- big shut-down
- shift from change to justice
- movement building
- support indigenous resistance to REDD (issue of goals, tactics, etc.)
- issue of non-concreteness and rhetorical

Agreed on:

- use climate forum as way to discuss
- bring awareness, consensus
- specific targets such as World Bank, REDD, oppose carbon offsets

Talked about a few of the goals, but not all of them. We want to lift and agree on:

- "Highlight problems of/delegitimize the carbon trading as solutions" and linked this to offsetting an land issues
 - "Promote both building alternatives and resistance as two key methods to fight climate change"
 - "Shift in activist communities from talking about climate change to climate justice"
 - Global days of action - linking our actions and try to spread them over the world
 - "Expose and prevent corporate greed and influence in the negotiations
-
- Also talked about the importance of making a better analysis of the COP-process to understand it better.
 - necessary to expose links between climate & agricultural issues
 - ecological debt & reparations
 - local democracy
 - financial crisis and climate change
 - amplify voices of South
 - no need for international financial organizations
 - highlight impacts of north and south
 - coordinate international actions
 - disagree on the UNFCCC WTO theme
 - changing the agenda and terms of debate
 - expose business as usual (carbon trading, racism in climate change debates)
 - DIY politics
 - defined social movements/forces
 - promote collective solutions
 - connect actions globally
 - communicate around the world (movement building)
 - disagreed on idea of green jobs, and the slogan.
 - discredit market based solutions
 - locate changes that need to be made towards areas of production
 - delegitimize carbon trading
 - had a discussion on the COP itself as a solution
 - stop false solutions (nuclear, carbon offsets, corporate lobbyists, WTO)

- radical movement building
- indigenous peoples
- climate WTO
- hijacking corporate media agenda (350ppm)
- support southern delegates
- disagreed on carbon tax and job creation

- **repetition:**

awareness raising, movement building, civil disobedience, voices from global south, reparations, systemic change, stop false solutions, focus on land rights (indigenous rights), promoting alternatives and resistance, expose corporate interests and false solutions, IFIs and offsets, proposed slogan: stop false solutions.

Diversity of Tactics Proposal/Discussion:

- Discussion for a basis for working together how do we confront it/how we deal with the media
- Proposal: Would like to agree on a diversity of tactics – a condition for collaboration: if this is not the basis of unity then many groups will feel excluded and opt out.
 - No group in the network will publicly dissociate itself from the actions of other groups; we agree autonomy of action. I.e. no condemning of the actions of other groups: for example the media team denouncing a "violent" action (e.g. painting the Bella Centre red), and saying "no comment" to the media rather than dissing a group because they talk about the Tobin Tax
 - That the network as a whole respects the autonomy of groups within it, but opinions can be expressed via one's own group (such as the Green Youth). The network will never distance itself from forms of action by a break in autonomy or perceived autonomy. Issue of being too autonomous. Thus, a need for trust and recognizing these two dynamics, moving beyond our personal, normal ways of working.
- Limits: Subjectivity of violence; civil disobedience. Violence against people?: culturally specific. Issue of the South: radical actions will be condemned by the media, masses, governments, to the potential detriment of the people of the South.
- Regarding media: Turning what the media baits us with around (i.e. what is "violence," Molotov cocktails or irresponsibility for climate change); "we neither condone nor condemn."
- Regarding diversity of tactics: Complementary tactics, needs a practical, delineated basis. Spokes-council model (present the nature of your plans clear to the rest of the group)? Need for transparency, especially from radical groups.
- Need for a network position, and how to treat each other. Network not as a public persona. No limits on what each organization can do.
- Need for solidarity and communication (links back to transparency, to act in solidarity to be prepared and not be disempowered)

Direct Action Proposals:

- Presentation of proposals and ideas from groups that are already in the Handbook p.9 (collected from the listserv)
- Summary of Danish situation:
- UN security/police inside and outside Bella Centre. Danish police only 10,000 don't have a lot of time or money, but have a lot of pressure.
- Danish police tactics: fond of tear gas (strongest; need for gas masks!), armoured vehicles to disperse people, no dialogue, also have pepper spray and batons. Sometimes use dogs during mass actions (G13, for example) to frighten and also attack people. Like to do mass arrests. Can't be arrested for more than 24 hours (72 if a foreigner) without charges.

- Tradition of mass actions in Copenhagen.
- 3,500 hostel rooms booked for international police for the meeting
- Successful mass action (G13) had an agreed upon codex (principles for how you act), which was "no intentional damage." Led to a lot less beatings.

Proposals:

- Atmospheric Disorder (Hamburg): Feedback from last German meeting in February. To be discussed more:
 - lock in (issue of legitimizing summit with this action; logistics of cold weather)
 - lock out (issue of when to start, other logistics)
 - DIY Climate politics (choosing a non-Bella Centre place that focuses on problems of climate change, like a coal power plant)
 - Go in/Shut down.
 - They suggest going in and shutting it down. Diversity of tactics for getting in.
- Some in Copenhagen:
 - Surgical actions that strike at delegates, lobbyists, etc. Denying them access to the meeting. Mass actions surrounding and blockading the conference. Bring in their own delegation. And perhaps most importantly, global days of direct action, because this is a global issue and a global struggle.
- Global Day of Action
 - Big march in Copenhagen, for the purpose of complementing and adding force to direct action, and unity of many. Open and inclusive, diverse views respected. 5th and 12th of December?
- UK Climate Camp International Working Group (Birmingham):
 - target corporate lobbyists encouraged, final days a mass action to be decided at the time (blockading delegates in or shutting down the conference)
- Anonymous Action Proposal 1:
 - We try to force our way in, if we don't get in then we ask them to come out (Bolivian delegation likely willing?). Need for a forum in front of the Bella Centre.
- Anonymous 2:
 - Need for clear points that we follow and can have targeted actions from, maximize the number of people on the ground if we have a mass day(s) of action.
- Friends of the Earth:
 - Friendly march from somewhere in Copenhagen to the Bella Centre, 12th of Dec friendly, filmed, choreographed event in the centre of Copenhagen.
- Ecological Debt Tribunal:
 - Tribunal (i.e. trial; people's political court) in Copenhagen about climate injustices and debt in Brazil and Bolivia (and other indigenously, locally related places) against multinational corporations.
- Global Justice Ecology:
 - Mass action to take place at strategic moments during the conference. Two weeks (7th to 18th/19th), with break weekend in between. Delegates are there during the first week, the ministers come the second Wednesday to basically rubber stamp and sign (that's when media and celebrities come). Emphasis on timing, not necessarily locking in or out. Two points: may shut down the metro, people on inside doing actions.
- IBON/People's Protocol on Climate Change:
 - regional workshops (Asia/Pacific, Africa, Latin America), national seminars (around Europe).
- Further ideas/proposals:
 - One day where everyone in their own country shuts down their largest emitter of CO2

- Support no offsetting/ build upon cap and trade
- More dialogue proposals
- Secure space for ClimaForum
- Shut down traffic to protest private motorization
- Global direct action: Before the conference, or on early days, go for certain targets (coal powered plants, airports) in different parts of the world at once (already WTO remembrance action on November 30th)
- Day devoted for agricultural issues
- Shut down the airports in the countries where the problematic delegates come from.
- Help those with global accreditation or are being kept out (esp from global South) in.
- Mass silent protest (used against Rio Tinto in AUS)
- Build a climate armada, go for Maersk (shipping company), the biggest climate criminal in Denmark.
- Actions against immigrant and/or deportation centres
- Build community with those who can't/won't join us (practical stuff, like light use or grocery shopping)

Common Ground:

Split up into six working groups, each on a different topic: discuss slogans, demands and strategic targets. Working groups are:

- **Exposing corporate interests and false solutions**
- **Network principles for cooperation**
- **Supporting affected & indigenous communities**
- **Movement Building**
- **Social, economic and systemic questions at the heart of climate debate/solutions**
- **Alternatives**

Report backs:

Exposing corporate interests and false solutions

- Addressing that there is no ownership of intellectual solutions\no market solutions carbon trading and offsets
- Targets:
 - Inside/outside Point carbon
 - world business
 - politicians
 - institutions corporations/wto
 - international emission trading association media point carbon
- Slogans:
 - our climate is not your business
 - you trusted the bank with our money now you trust them with our climate
 - no fuel- fool
 - they wrecked the economy now they wreck the climate
 - no to neoliberal illusions yes to peoples solutions
 - stop the greenwash
 - we wont leave you to recycle
 - green capitalist illusions are not solutions
 - endless profit means the end of the planet.

Proposed to end up in some propaganda.

Network principles for cooperation:

- respect is the key word
- No members of the network will criticize or dissociate themselves from members of the network USING THE NETWORK ...we have two opposing groups- total diversity of tactics- not attainable in this network, people wanting a non violence agreement
- Trust: members of the network will not dishonestly use actions of other members of the network to further their own interests; the network is made up of groups with diverse tactics and we will respect their autonomy
- Unity: we are stronger together; we will work from a common platform and will work together; we are an international network and will practice solidarity

Supporting affected & indigenous communities:

- We want to not speak for but amplify what they say
- no rights no REDD
- Survival is not negotiable
- climate justice now
- listen to the voice of the south
- feed people not cars
- no to overconsumption
- la tierra no se vende y la tierra
- la tierra es n tesoro
- y vale mas que oro
- defend mother earth
- survival of all nations and peoples
- we demand more UN funding to bring more southern and indigenous participants to the COP
- support demands of small island nations and indigenous peoples
- just and fair delegations
- no problems with visas
- support for land rights and food sovereignty
- any agreements have to respect UN declaration on rights of indigenous peoples
- targets IFI's world bank the industry exhibition space
- climate criminals and suspects in attendance
- delegations that have been most destructive to indigenous rights (especially US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand)
- steps make sure that we have enough organisations that are offering accreditations
- fund raise for people to participate
- support what comes out of the tribunal for climate justice and also the peoples protocol on climate change
- we want to have more discussions with affected groups
- use what comes out of October 12th, use what comes out of the Indigenous Summit on Climate change
- Proposals send this into working groups ie messaging for slogans,

Movement Building:

- hard to come up with strategy to build the movement without knowing what it is about
- framework for building a movement- before, at and after COP
- at: actions need to be inspiring and draw more people in, at least some of the things we do should be easily accessibly for people outside the existing activist community, reach out to existing activist communities - making links between foreign labour, financial crisis etc
- Provision for mobilizing as many people as we can to get to Copenhagen as well as in peoples'

- own communities, focus on the financial crisis and economics
- Slogans: climate ..., never trust a COP

Social economic and systemic questions at the heart of climate debate/solutions:

- Slogans:
 - Climate Justice Now!
 - social change not climate change
 - capitalism is at the heart of climate change
 - stop overproduction for overconsumption
 - Kyoto Protocol: privatising our air
 - billions vs. billionaires
 - end the fossil fuel empire
 - stop climate change: make capitalism history
 - we need to change the system
- Demands:
 - need to redistribute wealth, redistribution
 - socialisation of production- and de-centralisation so it is not a monopoly of the state
 - against carbon markets
 - equity and end the end of patriarchy
- Outreach:
 - groups we need to reach out to: unemployed people and radical arms in trade unions
- Targets:
 - rich countries
 - oil and coal companies- need to be put out of business,
 - NGOs supporting carbon markets

Alternatives:

- no one single alternative: focus on many different alternatives and ways of living
- important with community owned energy sources, renewable energy is not about technology it is about democracy, community controlled energy systems are more democratic, food sovereignty and the shift to local production, massive shift in the way we subsidise, leave the carbon/fossil fuel in the ground
- driving force for change- self organized, non-corporate, non carbon driven future
- talked about consumption- didn't come to agreement- alternative development to growth paradigm
- energy should serve human need and not corporate greed

Working groups:

- **Logistics:** working on private and public accommodation- couch surfing group
- **Media and Messaging:** combined now, done nothing so far
- **Action:** were going to join with looking at possible targets inside and outside, action themes, choreography for the action - not stepping on each others toes--> need to think of process for this, legal support team
- **Solidarity:** important widening our networks - lack of diversity in people at Poznan
- **International Coordination:** so far have organised 3 international meetings, prepared agenda for this meeting, inviting people to be involved in the network
- **Process and Facilitation:** was supposed to exist until this meeting and then be reconstituted; produced minutes from Poznan and bulletin that people have received; have not set up communication infrastructure for each group

- **Web:** active but isn't working and is in bad communications with other groups; web page and structure need support
- **Mobilization:** day of action on agricultural specific, scientific base for mobilization
- **Climate No Borders:** acting against immigration and deportation centres
- **Floating Cities:** setting agenda before COP
- **Zero Carbon World Concert**
- Something / an action based around ecology...non human
- **Principles drafting group**

Report back:

Danish Logistics:

- **REMIT:** Accommodation, convergence centre, food, info, medical, infrastructure. Group does its own funding.

Media:

- **REMIT:** Media group combines mainstream and activist media. This may be separated at some stage
- Proposes
 - need to decide a name for the network
 - identify two or three goals for the group
 - if members of media team make mistakes they are not castigated but treated with sympathy

Action:

- coordinate the actions
- do not plan actions
- think about the choreography/timing
- think about themes e.g. agriculture, energy

Solidarity:

- provide a space for the South
- coordinate a decentralised event
- support diversity
- ensure climate forum fits with the global movement
- make sure statements are out a month in advance so groups from global south can discuss and sign them
- not organising funding for people from the global south to attend - mobilisation group will do this
- how to ensure that global days of action during summit are identifiable as one big coordinated thing, ways to link up what's happening in the south with what happens in Copenhagen
- not organising visas (hadn't considered it)

Mobilisation:

- goal: to get as many people as possible to COP15
- ideas: put together an basic infokit for global distribution
- need to coordinate with media/messaging
- produce stickers, flyers, posters etc.
- need to be granted autonomy and trust by the network to produce materials
- only one person in group is from outside Europe so group are limited in what they can do right

now - would like more people to join with knowledge and ideas about how best to mobilise outside Europe

- input:
 - bear in mind not just getting people there but also where they come from
 - does remit include translating all publicity materials? → they will try; materials will be made as simple as possible
 - how will mobilisation be done - will specific groups be targeted to ensure representation or will just a blanket attempt be made
 - is group responsible for funding and visas to get people from global south here
 - possibility of setting up huge screens in big cities around the world
 - NB. be careful what you say re. visas

Website:

- should moderation happen on the email list -- need to discuss with process
- moderator: Some think it is very needed because there are currently too many messages that people can't read -- should go on the website instead
- need to recruit more people with technical skills to work on the website
- discussed web forum, whether it was working or not
- discussed wiki, it's working well
- need more people to help with contact email address as are receiving emails in many languages
- low volume announcement list also needs moderators
- input:
 - how regular will newsletter be? → depends on how many people get involved, it's a lot of work

Process (see appendix 2 for detailed minutes):

REMIT:

- make sure that the network is involved in the development of the agenda
- ensure that facilitation is organised
- ensure that people from different regions and backgrounds are able to participate in the network's processes (we do not see it as our job to actively seek out and invite new groups/individuals -- we see this as being solidarity/outreach, action/mobilisation)
- ensure that all other groups are communicating and keep oversight of the process - we do not do that work ourselves!
- look after internal communications: put together a newsletter at least once per month
- ensure that minutes are taken and sent out to the network via the mailing list and website
- --->we still need to decide on internal working group communications and the way to contact the process group (I.e.: setting up the process group email account)
- responsible for international meetings
- responsible for communications
- input:
 - where does international coordination fit in now? → it needs to be taken up by another group, it's too much for the process group to take on as well
 - is it process' responsibility to start new working groups when they are needed? → will identify gaps and highlight them to the group to take action on; will not just go ahead and create the working group themselves

Project groups:

Agriculture:

- an issue which can also offer an alternative as well as criticising the status quo

- talked about situation in Denmark; would be good to have a one-day focus on agriculture during the summit mobilisation
- talked about pork industry in Denmark
- talked about spreading information about agriculture & climate change within the network
- input:
 - would be nice to link this with soy production elsewhere, which is also land grabbing (as the pig industry is in Denmark), to have unified actions

Science:

- had a whisky in the bar, talked about science as a political tool

Climate and No Borders

- thought about how to mobilise groups from other networks? → this is part of mobilisation
- groups will work together

Floating City:

- will make sure principles are communicated well
- size of project, need for funding
- need more people as lots of work to be done right now
- having an all-day meeting tomorrow

Zero Carbon Concert:

- nobody came to working group meeting so it's going to be difficult to organise it
- will try to spread word around internet for musicians & web geeks who might be interested
- person who proposed the event is too busy organising the zero carbon caravan to do this as well so hopes others will take it on otherwise it won't happen

Ecology & Species

- talked about different actions that could happen during the week
- may create some visual representation of numbers/facts etc. about threatened species

Sunday 15th March (from 11am)

Observation:

This meeting feels like activist business as usual, and then the COP will be business as usual and we'll all play our allocated roles – we seem to be trying to put our individual favourite projects together rather than having a transformatory mobilisation that goes beyond those things – needs to be highlighted so that we can go beyond that. How are we going to work together to have a rupture in business as usual? We need to transform as radically as we want them to transform – there is a greater sense of urgency inside the COP than there has been here!

Summary of yesterday:

- points of agreement include that climate change is urgent and we need to do something; there is an opportunity for us to change something very important by engaging with these issues
- there's always friction when people get together like this
- some people feel that we need to know where everyone else is standing; yesterday's conflicts were a normal part of this process
- by the end of the day it felt like there were emerging some common goals, we do have lots in common

Decisions about Action at the COP15 in Copenhagen and globally

- want to be able to take action plans back to our countries to mobilise people
- facilitators seek permission to use strong facilitation to try and move the process forward
 - dissent that the discussions have been too technical and not enough politics
 - dissent that the facilitators are playing too much on the need for efficiency – too pedantic, too many cliques need to be more open to new people/people with little knowledge
- it's really easy to say 'let's be transformational' but in the end it's all of these little things that people are working on that count
- all human organisations are messy and imperfect and those writing the agenda have been basically trying to predict the future – please have some understanding and tolerance for the people that have been doing the mundane boring things
- it has been expressed that people are worried about moving ahead with tactics before deciding about common goals/strategy
 - it's important to consider that we are supporting an evolving process in a diverse group where all arguments haven't been settled, but we still move forward – the Zapatistas call it talking while walking
 - active consensus of 'talking while walking'
- facilitators have tried to develop basic goals from all the discussions and working groups yesterday

Proposed goals of the mobilisation:

1. to promote the rights and voices of indigenous and affected peoples
2. to build and strengthen the movement for climate justice
3. to expose the role of false and market based solutions and corporate domination in worsening the climate crisis
4. to highlight alternatives that can provide real, effective and just solutions to the climate crisis
5. to begin to identify and address the root social, economic and ecological causes of the climate crisis toward a just transformation of society

nb: this is not a final statement, this is a working draft – we can take it with us to mobilise in our communities but it can certainly be amended and approved as we go

Comments/amendments:

- add political to 'social, ecological and economic causes of the climate crisis'
- on point 1: add not just to promote the rights but also to call for reparations for the debts owed to indigenous people
- add working poor, rural poor and urban poor to 'indigenous and affected peoples'
- on point 3: need to categorically say that we have to have a systemic change
- on point 3: to promote awareness for the need for total systemic change and expose the role of false solutions
- 3: would like to remove 'market based' from solutions – this doesn't just include IETA but things like personal carbon taxes or carbon caps
 - the person who has raised this can live with it being left in
 - would like to strongly criticise the market based solutions being proposed without removing any type of market solution that could be proposed – perhaps the drafting committee could go away and do this?
 - someone has suggested to change it to 'profit based' instead of 'market based'
 - facilitator would like to mark this section for future debate -- but when would this happen?
 - at September meeting there was a huge discussion on this and it was carefully crafted in the call to action, so we should leave it to a drafting committee to work it out
- concern that this is very watered down, more so than what will be happening inside the conference
- 5: to begin to identify the causes? We know this is carbon! Need something more concrete.
 - It's about **root** causes, e.g. why are factories emitting carbon (because it's profitable!)
- where is the word 'planet'? -- this word must be included to make it a broader ecological statement
- would like to see 'promote globally an awareness of the extreme urgency of the climate crisis' in there somewhere as a goal of this mobilisation. Consensus!
- 2: for people from the global south we need 'common but differentiated responsibility' principle; to recognise the historical responsibility of northern countries
 - north/south is the wrong way to divide it? → but this is about recognising historical responsibility.
- we need to acknowledge who we are and who we are representing. We need to include local representation otherwise we will turn into the united nations! → person to go and explain that to the drafting committee as it's not entirely clear.
- 5: is too vague. When it comes to economics and politics we should be able to identify the causes more specifically, e.g. capitalism and authoritarianism. We should also be including libertarian, increasing people's freedom, in our proposed solutions
- things that are missing:
 - 1: needs to include something about empowering people, the disempowered and disenfranchised
 - “take action to avoid catastrophic climate change”....that means keeping fossil fuels in the ground
 - ecology: need to include other species as well as just people
 - there is no consensus about leaving oil in the ground (or other fossil fuels?)

Principles of unity and cooperation read out:

1. Unity

We are stronger together. We will use our common platform to coordinate our efforts and work together whilst recognizing our diversity. We are an international movement and will practice solidarity

2. Respect

The network is made up of groups with diverse opinions and tactics. We will respect this diversity. No members of the network will use the network to criticize or disassociate themselves from other members of the network

3. Trust

The network will only make public statements that have been agreed by the network. Members of the network will not use the actions of other members to further their own aims without previous agreement.

Mass action discussion:

- this is just about stuff that we cooperate on as this global network.
- 23 proposals presented yesterday!....Divided into categories by a drafting group last night:

Global Actions: 6 proposals -

- 1. 12 Dec FOE International Flood & GCC Global Day of Action -- CONSENSUS**
- 2. 12 Oct (Belem) International Day in Defence of Mother Earth -- CONSENSUS**
- 3. 24 Oct 350.org global day -- CONSENSUS**
4. 30 Nov The Day The Earth Stood Still -- direct action globally around the world
 - concern that it is still a vague idea and not developed enough for consent
 - group will go away and bring it back to the plenary with more detail
5. shutting down home airports (preventing bad delegates from arriving)
 - can't ask the whole network to do this
6. global consumption boycott in solidarity with Copenhagen
 - no agreement

Parallel Forums to COP15:

- People's Assembly on Climate Change (talking about the People's Protocol) – not the same as the Civil Society Climate Forum
- Tribunal on ecological debt and reparations: victims of climate change
- Klima Forum: the Civil Society Climate Forum, but has changed it's name to Klima Forum 09
 - to provide large spaces for press work and meetings etc. and provide logistical assistance & space to host the other two conferences
 - the Klima Forum is happening anyway, outside of this network. We're not deciding on this.
 - There are already many issues in working with these NGOs. Tears have been shed already!
 - proposal to come up with a set of principles of cooperation for working with Klima Forum & other forums
- proposal to stop this discussion now and move onto mass action proposals; but conferences from the global south need to be supported by us, not pushed aside in this discussion.
- we need to recognise a differentiation between things that we support and things that we are working on: we can support something without putting network time and energy into it.
- these two forums are urgent and important initiatives, we should decide now on whether we support them.
- **Decision on supporting People's Assembly & the Tribunal: no dissent: CONSENSUS**

Actions in Copenhagen:

2 types of actions have been proposed

- **Ongoing, tactical actions, to happen throughout COP:**
 1. DIY climate politics
 2. targeting bad delegates
 3. highlighting global south voices inside
- **One-off Mass Actions:** 9 proposals
 1. go in
 2. ask delegates to come out
 3. mass traffic shut down
 4. thematic day on land issues
 5. neon signs on buses
 6. target immigration/deportation centres
 7. mass silent protest/funeral for the earth & victims of climate change
 8. MAERSK climate armada
 9. shut down the conference
 10. DIY climate politics: shut down a/some big emitter(s)

Clarifying questions:

- We need a date!! → we will decide one soon
- How are we deciding on these, are we just saying if we think they're a good idea? Lots of actions are good ideas. Why was the synthesis proposal cut out, it has an ongoing internal logic.
- Surely we need to know what our tactical goals are before we can decide the value of any of these action proposals?? Tactical goals are NOT implicit in the type of action.

Things to be considered:

- Are any of these not for the whole network to do but instead for affinity groups to do? E.g. are they tactics within a broader strategy?
- Do we want to do these as a whole network?

Proposals for process:

- we need to prioritise: we need an action and a date decided at this meeting
- to decide on an action, we need criteria: e.g. Easy to participate in, unambiguously climate focused, etc.
- we must focus on what we will do together – need to be able to go home and work on this
- if we can decide on purpose of actions together then we can decide what action is best to achieve this particular aim
- we don't all have to work on everything together – this network is an umbrella and many different people will plan many different things under this umbrella – lots of things we don't have to choose between as we can do many of them
- would like to see how the choreography of the whole two weeks might look
 - create a framework for dates
- need to address the question of what do we want to achieve at COP15
 - need a rupture, to be seen and heard and to make it impossible for us to be denied
- we need to find a space and way for doing it; how to mobilise/reach out to the people who will be here anyway, and make sure our voices will be heard in the media and elsewhere
- we are only 140 people and we are creating the possibility for hopefully thousands of people to express themselves, so how can we create a framework for as many people as possible to express their different wills to stop that process or influence that process
- need to focus on core issues (I.e.: shut it down or not), not an orchestrated two week action plan

- the ultimate goal is to prevent catastrophic climate change, so we need to hear why each more specific goal is a better or worse idea: no lowest common denominators

Is this group interested in hearing about concrete proposals for mass action by people who have thought of them?

- yes – but we want overviews of proposals, someone to champion them, not all the details
- no – we heard this yesterday, we should talk about the goals of the mass action
- need to hear the justification and motivation behind each proposal: what will it accomplish? then we can have a fuller discussion of them

DIY climate politics

- we are disagreeing on the point of 'is no deal better than a bad deal' so addressing the summit with our action is probably not the way to go, so what else could we do for which we have a common basis of unity? Go on the streets in every country – DIY climate politics – doesn't mean affinity group actions, it means mass action but many possible targets
 - we can do this action whilst still disagreeing on whether to shut down the summit or not
 - it is a mass action that addresses our goals from this morning

see p.11 of meeting handbook: 4 tactical parts

- applies a variety of tactics that work in unity to affect the COP process and be a platform from which we can launch direct actions, without needing a consensus on our approach to the COP15
 - blocking delegates/lobbyists on a mass action
 - talking to the COP process
 - launching our own delegation
 - global direct action
- no matter what they sign it isn't going to save the planet and we're still going to have to do it, so we need to delegitimize ideas not institutions
- want to block delegates away from the summit to attack their ideas and not the institutions
- we have already agreed on shared goals, so how do we deliver this message (to the delegates for those who believe it is a legitimate space, or to the people if you don't believe it's legitimate)
- go to the demonstration on the 12th
- bring the message to the delegates (voices from the south)
- the demonstration should end at the Bella Centre and those who want to do actions there should

Systemic change/make it our summit

- need to attack the summit in order to have a systemic change
- call to go in and make it our summit – go in en mass
- perhaps on the final day

Targeting bad delegates

- G8 members? not alone – the truly bad people will also be lobbyists and greenwashing NGOs
- bad delegates are those that don't want to prevent catastrophic climate change – block those that don't have proposals that do this
- do it by scientific principle otherwise we will be destroyed in the media
- the real danger is that a month or two before the summit they will say they will have a concert and everyone will march away from the summit and because it won't have clear demands it won't do anything
- need to bring out the real concrete solutions

LUNCH :D

Afternoon session:

- there's a bunch of things we need to decide by the end of today, but we're going to spend the next hour finishing off the mass action discussion.

Feedback from lunchtime meeting of groups from the global south:

- thought about the immediate things that need to be discussed this afternoon:
 - common action: Believe there will not be any consensus on any action aiming to shut down the conference: would suggest that the common action be used to promote the slogans agreed upon. Suggest the other actions can be carried out by members of the network independently of the network. We should also respect the common space that we have together in this common mobilisation. Very much support direct actions and will be taking direct action themselves, but such actions need to have specific aims and targets.
 - Are very open to cooperating with the Klima Forum, maximising the space and opportunities that the forum will provide.
 - Mass global actions calling for the shut down of e.g. coal plants across the world are impossible for some countries as these are the only forms of income in many communities. This is an unrealistic action to ask of them. But are willing to take some form of local mass action, e.g. Land reclamation.

Some attempts over lunchtime to synthesise ideas for a mass action:

1. A coordinated action that attempts to open the COP for total representation by the people that want to be involved - right now it's an undemocratic body where they decide who can go in. Action would be to attempt to open it and make it a 'people's COP'. They will not allow that – so we use this to launch a spontaneous protest right there outside, to expose that the process is undemocratic, controlled and corporate-influenced. Use this protest to call for global action.
2. Outside the COP is a huge corporate trade fair, dominated by carbon trading. Shut this down.
3. Recognise that there's no consensus to shut the COP down, but want to keep this option on the table so that if we do decide that the process has failed us at the end of the summit then we can shut it down on the last day. Need a process to decide if our demands have been met and that the COP process is serving the people. So need a shopping list of demands, that need to be based on principles such as the survival principle, 350ppm etc. Create a People's proposal.
4. The biggest political aim should be the global south majority. There should be a good bloc on the 12th Dec demo, but also those kinds of broader actions that are in the interests of the global south should be included in what the network is doing, e.g. demonstrations at the deportation centre, shut down the traffic, etc.
 - Friendly amendment to first proposal: that we create a delegation of people to be accompanied by the rest of us to enter the forum with a climate justice agenda, having prior to the action networked with the delegations inside that might be sympathetic to us e.g. Bolivian delegation. We go in and at the same time have delegations from inside coming out to meet us, creating a new space on the border of the meeting where we meet.
 - Opinion: mass action needs a framework that resonates with thousands of people. Shutting them down alienates many. Shutting them in risks co-option. Meeting at the perimeter comes out as the logical option. Fourth is doing something not directly related to the COP.
 - Process point: we should discuss the pros and cons of two of the major forms of action – go in or shut down a big emitter. Not agreed – what happens to the other ones??

Discussion:

- we should both go into the summit and shut down big emitter
- like idea of creating new space
- like creating new space, but how exactly would we be sure the attention would be on this space?
- it is quite possible that there will be a red zone that won't allow us to get anywhere near the conference centre.
- what would creating space proposal mean on the ground? How would it look? Should have some mass civil disobedience
- have a problem with space proposal. We kind of agreed that this network wants to take away the trust in Kyoto. Addressing the summit again is still putting trust in the negotiations. We should avoid that, shift the focus away from that, do an action elsewhere, e.g. coal power plant. Media will be bored inside the conference centre, hitting a big emitter will get lots of attention
- space proposal is not about legitimising the meeting, it's about showing that it is illegitimate
- really don't like going for a power plant, because of police presence, we will not succeed. It's a good idea to have some kind of open demonstration with a level of conflict. Would be good for us as a network to come together and have a demo which is a bit more radical and more to the point that the demo on the 12th, would be good to have it at the start of the summit. It's too complex to say we're giving space for something to work and then deciding to intervene/shut it down. Keep it simple, have a confrontational demo.
- lets try to visualise space proposal. E.g. in Rostock people said we'd never be able to block the roads, but we did. Never say never. We need embedded journalists, need to make sure that we're reported on. People on the inside can't be stopped from coming out. We can meet a km away if need be. Chaos is a good thing. People can also shut down an emitter in solidarity with what we're doing at the summit.
- The best option in terms of getting a simple message out to the public is to stop those in the fossil fuel industries from getting into the summit. The message is clear.
- We can and should try to do both, but not on the same day. How we do it though is important. Eg what do we do when we come up against a block of police, how do we react, is important for our message. Those from the south need to know these things because they need to prepare their people for it, eg are they going to be deported as a consequence of the action? If yes then they need to be ready for it.
- How is it going to look?: there will be a big fence, surrounded by UN riot cops. The demand is 'open this up for democratisation'. They won't. Then it becomes a giant disobedience action.
- Keep in mind the timing: polluting delegates may all be staying in the Bella centre, not going in and out. On the second Wednesday the ministers will all arrive = great opportunity for us.
 - Counter point: Danish say delegates will not be staying in Bella Centre, will be in hotels.
- We're lacking choreography. There will be a giant media circus when COP15 comes to town. It would be nice if first thing that happens is an action just as it starts to disrupt the media circus. COP compared to G8 is relatively open. With space proposal we'll get accused of not using the democratic channels open to us. Going into summit on last day doesn't make sense if our 'real' aim is to be allowed to participate. We should do this at the start, then do something else at the end if they've not let us in. Big action at start, try to get in in middle, big disruption at end.
- Expectations about UN conferences: we will have many activists and allies accredited to go in. UN police aren't like riot police who just bash you. They are most educated police in the world (human rights etc). All we need to do against a line of them is...push. We need numbers for this.
 - Direct response: UN cops might be nice, but we won't reach them til we've fought our way through several thousand tear-gas wielding Danish riot cops.
- What do we want to do when we get in...sit in there with banners??
- When to do space action? Last two/three days, to make most of ministers and media presence

and people staying on after 12th demo. (missed a bit). It's not just about going in but also about creating a new space at the edge of the summit. We should come with a delegation accompanied by demonstrators. Interesting example of this from Cancun. Our activist allies on the inside can accompany the delegates out. Fences are a powerful symbol of oppression. Going beyond the fence has great symbolic value. What to do when we get there? Best case scenario = we get to go beyond the fence. We have a popular climate justice assembly!

- Centralised actions require so many people that the decentralised actions will need to happen a few days before/after.
- An alternative if we can't break that physical barrier: we have allies on the inside. Something like a cellphone and a megaphone – we just won't be right next to each other. There are still methods we can use to have that forum.
- Really don't believe we should have the main target as something like a power plant. People aren't coming to Copenhagen because Denmark is a big emitter, we're coming because of COP15....But targeting both power plants at the same time as getting into the Bella centre will mean much fewer police to deal with!
- There are riot police both sides of the fence. So why don't just a few of us go to the fence to meet the delegates and bring them out to our own forum somewhere else.
- People are coming to take on the COP because they think it's illegitimate or because they want to make demands. We've all got coal stations near where we are. While we should do actions on these things, the focus of the week should be on the Centre, and not just one action but lots.
- We should remember to be flexible. The political, policing terrain is unknown to us.
- We shouldn't be scared of the Danish police – we've won against them before! We've been on the streets of Copenhagen, Seattle, Genoa, Greece etc etc. Let's not be scared.
- Let's also make sure we do not take off the table the option to shut it down.
- Proposal from facilitators that we make a mass action working group to focus on finer points.
 - This group already exists – the action group! Ok, great.

Remits of working groups & points we need to discuss before breaking into working groups:

Remit for the media group:

- do we want a media group that does proactive media work to defend the network and get a message out to the public?

Points/concerns:

- people in the media group are not necessarily the ones that speak, but they organise people to speak on behalf of the group
- they should create the space for us to get our message out in both mainstream & independent media
- media group does not speak on behalf of the network but allows the network to speak
- work towards a space that we can use collectively to do media

Media group clarification: pro-actively creating spaces through active media work (organising press conferences, linking the media to the knowledge and stories we have in the network) and acting, not only reacting, to the media

CONSENSUS

- can the media group come up with a framework/suggestion for how to decide who can speak for the network and when?
- concern: do we want spokespeople at all?
- there is enough support for the media group to start working and they will take into consideration all of the points of concern as they move forward and into the next meetings

Action group:

- should the action focus be in the second week? Yes – **CONSENSUS**

Mediation group:

- logistics group said it might be good to have a mediation group to take care of conflicts arising
- no one here right now to say 'I'll do it' but great if people want to go away and form this group

Call to action:

- need a group to go away and tweak the call to action in light of the goals discussed this morning
- this group will update the existing call to action that was created at the September meeting
- group has been created

Drafting group for the goals:

- this group will join with the call to action group
- more people have offered to join that group

- also need to discuss how to sign up to the call to action

Visas/transport from abroad/invitations/funding:

- which group should do this?
- mobilisation group said they don't feel confident doing this
- perhaps the capacity could be in the solidarity group?
- mobilisation, solidarity and any other individuals who want to take part should meet at the beginning of working group time and sort this out
 - this is a political task about keeping the borders open, not just writing invitation letters
- we have enough people to start the group and the group will meet at the beginning of the working groups session

List of working groups:

- Media/messaging
- Copenhagen logistics
- Action/mass action
- Solidarity & visas/invitations/funding group
- Mobilisation
- Process
- Web
- Call to action/goals drafting group

Network principles for cooperation:

- we haven't agreed on these yet...let's try:
- proposal: To add to point 2 an additional point about respecting the common space. This means organising mass actions in a way that allows everyone to participate. When we're together in a mobilisation everyone should know what will happen and be ok with it. In the past some people have used mass mob space to do things that others didn't know about but which affected them.
 - This is already in the bit that says members of the network will not use actions of others in the network to further their own aims without previous agreement. So proposal discarded.
- **CONSENSUS on principles for cooperation**

BREAK

Final session to include:

- anything from working groups that needs consensus by the whole plenary
- date & location of next meeting
- communication processes for after this meeting
- name of the network
- announcements
- evaluation of this weekend

Working group feedback:

Action group :

- proposal for a mass action that could be organised by the whole network
- bear in mind that lots of details still need to be worked out
- agree to outline and then mandate action group to flesh out proposal and present at next meeting

'Creating new spaces' action proposal

- two elements:
- 3. climate justice delegation accompanied by our march go to the fence
- 4. meet at the fence our allies delegates and others from inside coming out
- at the fence we create entirely new space where we will hold people's climate justice assembly
- tactics at the fence: try to take our message as far as possible – moving to the police line and through it if we can
- dates: Wednesday 16th or Thursday 17th
- it was partially because of time constraints that other actions were not considered

Clarifying points:

- why did you only look at this proposal, and not the other diy proposal?
 - at some point we have to concentrate on one thing and the idea was that this was one thing that could be the basis for other things to latch onto
 - this was the one thing we could get a consensus about, not that other things can't happen
 - there are two sides to this: we don't want to legitimise but we also don't want to appear like we're calling for shutting it down
- are you proposing specific solutions – what would be the agenda of the assembly? -- have only agreed on climate justice so far and the goals we've agreed upon
- who do we consider our allies or counterparts on the inside? -- people from the network that will be accredited on the inside and potentially progressive government delegations (I.e.: Bolivia, island nations)

Major concerns:

- addressing the summit without opposing the summit is not something I would want to do - do not want to give legitimacy to the COP
 - the task we were assigned by the previous session was to bring a proposal we could build and agree on in the next months – doesn't mean that the other proposals can't be added later
 - this isn't about going in and taking part in the COP15, it's about breaking borders inside and outside and making our peoples protocol known
- police react in a different way here than what most of us are used to – can we really expect to accomplish our goal?

- there will be a group working on tactics and that will be developed in the coming months
- comment to address concerns: this is just one action that we do in the name of the network but we can still use the network to do other actions & we are not presenting demands to the COP
 - we talked about the very important need for clear messaging so it is not construed as legitimising the COP and it is very clear of our criticisms and critiques of the process
- how will this process go forward and be developed?
 - it will be developed by the mass action group

Testing for consensus:

- blocks: no
- stand asides: 6 people stand aside
 - space is given to people if they would like to explain their stand asides
 - one person reiterates that it is legitimising the process
- **CONSENSUS**

Call to Action drafting group:

Changes to the text:

- We must invest in community-controlled renewable energy and leave fossil fuels in the ground.
- **...local** sovereignty over energy, forests, land and water...
- ...Equity between all peoples in the North and South is essential as is a just transition to a low carbon future.
- Climate change is already impacting people, particularly women, indigenous and forest-dependent peoples, small farmers, workers, marginalised communities...
- **Update when we have a name. This call was taken up by activists and organisations from..... countries that came together in.....**
- whole of one paragraph needs to be updated: we weren't a formalised network and now we can recognise ourselves as that
- the mobilisation has begun
- take out the part about hope being a feeling...
- the action that has just been decided has to go in
- leave it up to groups in other places to decide whether 'politicians' can be added – depends on local context
 - disagree with allowing other groups to put in politicians – **CONSENSUS**
- should we be adding in concrete details about the action we just agreed on? need to think about the best way for announcing or not the strategy we just agreed
 - no one wants to put in the concrete details here and now
 - someone wants to add 'north, south, east and west'
 - facilitator cuts in and says that we can't talk about these small word changes
- ecological debt and reparations should be included specifically
- group discussed this last time but couldn't get around it because we don't want market solutions
 - the two groups with opposing ideas will meet afterwards to try and come to an agreement and if they do, it will be added
- **CONSENSUS**

Goals

- when we tried to rephrase the goals we wanted to boil it down to one or two sentences
- tried to make a logical progression in as few words as possible
- what we're against, what we're for and how we'll make what we want happen

- 1) all false and market based solutions that do not prevent catastrophic climate change must be stopped
 - 2) real and just solutions that promote the power of the most affected, including indigenous people, workers and other species, must be carried out.
- strong disagreement to other species being included here, but it should be added somewhere else
- 3) due to the extreme urgency of the climate crisis we will build a global movement that will take direct action to address the root causes of climate change.
- someone doesn't like the new ones and prefers the old ones and would like to see how others feel before we get into word changes

three alternatives:

1. this new proposal
 2. old ones roughly formulated
 3. we don't have agreement on either and leave it be
- don't have consensus on new version, didn't have consensus on old version
 - if we create a small group to work on it more, let's take care to use both versions
 - systemic change and reparations are not there and these specific words must be included
 - don't need a short version for media purposes – the media group can use the longer version to come up with key messages
 - of the original long version the concepts were agreed upon but the wording needs work
 - set up a small group to work on the wording, based on the first version, also using the second shorter version if they like
 - the original version needs to be written up into a full carefully worded version first before a shorter version can be produced, so that none of the content is lost in the process.
 - Proposal: A group will go away and write up the original version with all the contributions made the first time round, to produce a longer fuller version, then a shorter version for messaging can be produced from the long one – **CONSENSUS**

re. Goals/Call to action: Comment from groups from the global south:

The terms of north and south are about political economy, not about geography. There needs to be a recognition that the rich societies of the north were built at our expense, labour, resources. That has to be paid back. That needs to be recognised now.

- Issues with this – under some capitalist system of carbon trading etc. reparations would be expected. To say we need reparations can imply that we need market based mechanisms.
- Reparations is a very complex issue.
- There are some issues about the wording, and exactly how it's phrased.
- **CONSENSUS** to include something about reparations in the callout

Working group remit:

Mobilisation group:

- would like to start mobilisation as soon as possible:
 - need autonomy and trust from the network:
 - autonomy so can start now and don't have to wait until the next meeting to get poster ideas etc. approved by the whole group
 - trust to make good intelligent decisions, not to run own agenda but to best get the message of the network out to all of our groups
 - the working group are a mixed group of people.....just ask to see the sheet!

Comments:

- need a mechanism for feedback and to keep the process open so people can input ideas

- transparency aids trust and autonomy
- proposal – once a month group will send an update email to list

CONSENSUS

Solidarity group:

- need funds to help people from global south to come over:
- Proposal: that we employ someone to write funding applications: Euros 1,000 for ~1month

Questions/clarifications:

- is this a proven tactic that we can count on? historical precedent?
- are there foundations that will fund this work?
- the idea of solidarity is that you don't get paid to do something!
- there needs to be a process to feed back to the network about who is coming from where.
- there are companies and foundations who some people would not want to apply to for funds
- we obviously don't have the capacity right now to get funds to bring people over, as is evident from representation in this meeting

Three stand-asides - **CONSENSUS**

Media group:

- facilitate independent media
- facilitate groups within the network to do their own media
- need consensus:
 - to start a proactive media strategy tomorrow - **CONSENSUS**
 - to organise a pool of spokespersons to represent the network in the name of the network, so that we have people with the necessary competences ready for September and able to do media around the next gathering.
 - Two stand-asides – not comfortable with having spokespersons for the network
 - **CONSENSUS**
- comments: would be good if people who do media work for the network don't do media work for their own organisations

Date & venue of next meeting:

- 20-21st June, coincides with another meeting in Barcelona where many people from the global south will be participating so they can use one trip to participate in both
- will ask Hamburg or Amsterdam to host it. If neither can, Copenhagen will.
 - comments:
 - Please can we have Friday as well, time pressure have meant we have been unable to hear dissenting views in this meeting which has been frustrating - **CONSENSUS**
 - those in the south who will be attending need to see the terrain. Therefore would be best for them if the meeting was in Copenhagen.

Communication systems between now to next meeting:

- proposal: that all groups who haven't so far, put a description and contact email address on the wiki and report on their activities. Especially for those who've met strong concerns for solidarity e.g. mobilisation, solidarity, media etc. **CONSENSUS**
- comments:
 - The forum is being shut down as it wasn't being used. The list needs to be used more appropriately. It has been used for random announcements recently.
 - There needs to be meetings organised in the global south where two or three people who know what's going on can speak to large numbers of people to involve them more.

Name of the Network: 9 suggestions

- COP-Out
- Green International
- People's Climate Action
- Real People's Climate Action
- I don't want a name
- Don't Trust a COP Group
- The COPs
- Carbon War Neutral
- The Change of Politics Network

Process to eliminate all those that have dissent:

- eliminate all those with COP in it
- People's Climate Action Network is a Danish funding body
 - strong dissent to getting rid of this name
- can't use the name of Climate Justice Now
- get rid of carbon war neutral, climate justice league, change of politics, the green international

Only four left:

1. climate justice network
2. people's climate action – a lot of people think this would be a good idea
 - in Greece this type of name (people's...action) has a certain political reputation (refers to anarcho- but not other groups)
 - we have talked about the importance of climate justice not just climate action
 - this will create confusion; don't want to be associated with the other group in Denmark
3. people's climate justice network
 - amend to be people's climate justice
 - problem with translating this into German: 'people's' has big contextual problems
4. climate justice action network
 - don't like the word 'network'
 - 'climate justice action' proposed
 - proposal to change 'people' to 'global' so global climate justice
 - some agreement
 - new proposal: global action for climate justice
 - no last minute proposals to be included now
 - climate justice action: test for consensus...**CONSENSUS**
 - dissent to the process because we never asked for consensus or agreement on the name 'global action for climate justice'

Announcements

- we didn't finish the Nov. 30th discussion so someone will put it on the list to take it forward
- don't forget to add your organisation/group to the list of people in our network
- when talking about colonialism don't forget Greenland – this is a Danish colony! we haven't mentioned this in discussion of the global south and indigenous people, don't usually consider such things

Evaluation

- people should think about how they are getting here: lots of people from Europe have flown here and this is an environmental meeting
- need more time to talk issues out and learn from the different discussions
- in some sessions felt like the facilitators broke into what people were saying and this creates a power structure where facilitators can decide what is and is not important – need to stop this
- need more working group discussions and less plenaries so more people have a chance to discuss more things
- there were times where it would have been helpful to hear the dissent explained in more detail rather than rushing through
- it is hard to come from so far away only to have a two day meeting, especially with emissions and how tiring it makes things. Next time maybe it would be good to use the first day of the meeting to do a debate of context/conjuncture – because if we go on without everyone knowing what is happening then it takes extra time anyway
- thanks very much to the organisers
- people have been lousy at self-facilitation, both rambling and also laughing or clapping which is violent and oppresses certain points of view by popularising others
- facilitators have been sitting two rows into the circle and can't have a good view of the room, of the people behind them
- response to clapping point: in south clapping is a nice thing; we need to remember this works differently elsewhere
- facilitation will always be a bit wrong and hard to get it perfect but at some points facilitation was too weak, letting people dominate without waiting in the queue
- very hard to see things being written on sheets in the middle of the circle – need a white board somewhere visible to everyone
 - should have used the projector more often
- really liked Sunday, was indifferent about Saturday
- worry about eastern Europe – there is a big hole here
- facilitation has been criticised as too weak and too strong – need to think of how we as a group work towards making it possible for the facilitators to work in a productive way (obviously there is a problem if we have opposing complaints about the facilitation)
 - response that the complaints have been made at different times, about different facilitators
- it would be easier if before any decision we had a few seconds of quiet time to think – especially if English isn't a first language (quiet can be really constructive also)
- we should be better with vibe watchers and oppression watchers
- need to have more smaller rooms for working groups to move into
- we have been very bad at self facilitation (awkward when people laugh when someone is talking)
- can't just blame things on the facilitators – just as much everyone else's fault
- overall, this weekend has been really constructive and the best meeting yet – really happy
- reiterate that vibe watcher and time keeper are roles given to someone who is not the facilitator
- reiterate that facilitators damned if they do, damned if they don't
- Saturday wasted lots of time and if we had stopped and thought about it we would have realised other things would be rushed (ie: decision on name)
- facilitation and agenda setting are different – lots of frustration was about the agenda but this was taken out on facilitators
- global south people were not as central to things as we would have hoped – sad that they felt the need to have their own side meeting separately and it wasn't an integral part
- language is a problem, but not of this network only – maybe we can address this by having conference calls in other languages?

- very happy because after Poznan didn't think anything could come out of it (very messy) but now there is something concrete and we just need to work on the details and work in the spirit of solidarity and trust
- if we're talking about global things, we need more translation (not just from English, but into English)
 - if English is the only language used it's impossible to join
- although it was a really good meeting (I've been through much worse in terms of language) again, native speakers need to talk slowly, loudly, clearly
- had lots of sections that were over or under facilitated and we all did our best and the process was very open to join and not many did
- timekeeping was a problem and this needs to become everyone's issue, not just the facilitators
- the long discussions that took away a lot of time were very white male dominated
- a feeling of urgency about the climate change issue should bring us all together and leave behind a few of the things that are normally important in our network – a bit extra understanding and sharing
- people in Copenhagen tried really hard to organise translation and it's a pity it didn't work out
- people from Copenhagen happy to have learned from putting on this meeting and look forward to doing it again

Appendix 1: Mapping the Movement – a go-round of attendees

- Anne Peterman, Global Justice Eco Project, Global Forest Coalition, Mobilization for Climate Justice (US). MCJ has had meetings for Copenhagen on both coasts. Actions to be at the end of the COP as well, to put pressure on the US govt. UNFCCC the "WTO of Climate."
- Pete (Netherlands): Earth First. Organizing a climate camp 3-9th August with EF! Belgium Netherlands
- Jason: East Coast US/Europe infotour, Climate no Border email list, immigration issues/climate change
- Casper (DK): studying biotech in Aarhus, organizing a climate camp 29th May-1st June in W Denmark
- Tobiak: (FDE Sweden)
- Richard: Belgium EF!
- Reagen: Plane Stupid Scotland, hear to get some info for back home, w/ an aviation focus
- Neil (UK Camp for Climate Action): G-20 announced, 26th August-2nd September Climate Camp in London, anti-capitalist, anti-carbon trading focus for both. Infotour around summer festivals to mobilize for Copenhagen, target corporate lobbyists.
- Till (Hamburg, Atmospheric for disorder): mobilizing for Copenhagen
- Tenni (DK): Coordination network, Not Your Business on 24-26th May, Floating City, Climate camp, Climate Action Group, Climate Forum mentioned
- John Sinha (UK): Climate Camp, organizing conference against aviation expansion in Sienna
- Nicola (DK)
- Dennis (Scotland): networking, into direct action
- Lisa (Hamburg): Atmospheric Disorder
- Bjorn Soli (Hamburg): Organizing a bike tour from Hamburg to Copenhagen! Wants to talk about actions towards COP 15
- Bente (DK Friends of the Earth): ClimaForum (Clima Civil Society) -> open space during the COP 15.
- Stephano (Bologna): Wants to learn more about content and strategy against climate change
- Mooness (UK Climate Camp & Rising Tide. Now Dutch/Belgium Climate Camp)
- Nora (DK Coordination)
- Michael (N Ireland): Irish Climate camp, G-20 Meltdown involvement
- Lars: Climate Action, arranging climate parties (Sweden)
- Niklaus: same as Lars
- Martin (Hamburg): Atmospheric Disorder
- Phillip (Germany): Federal Coordination int. Congress for German movement, 21-24th May
- Kohlia: Book about Struggles about energy, land, labour. As well as conflicts in renewable energy sector. Will come out in October, Creative Commons licence, first in English, hopefully Spanish and other languages (shout out for translators). Announcement on struggle against petrol in Ecuador, recently shut down org
- Matthias (Berlin): German climate alliance, genstrom Gerlin
- Pablo Spain Ecologistas En Accion- and CJN
- Anna- AUST Global Climate Youth Network against Climate Group in Europe this year, inside and outside, planning presence at Bonn and the next one- Asian networks in Bangkok
- Joanna Carbon Trade watch organisation- booklet on COP European Union Tour- love to have contacts
- Kajsa Sweden- 23-25 July Mobilizing around meeting between energy ministers and environment
- Fergal Via Campesina Big focus on bringing people suffering effects of
- Bianka, Lina, Fegan, Aliaya Basil Sweden Klimax and Kliman Cun mobilizing around COP
- Muye Sweden-

- Norso
- Anna Coordination network
- Martina Germany
- Yuna Germany
- Gary Scotland - coal
- Shannon European Youth for Action trying to connect eastern and western Europe
- Mona Anjya Niel Berlin Germany Gegenstrom counter current feels for a leftist movement action day for mobility May 16th Info tours in Germany and mobilizing as many people as possible. Trying to get across what climate justice means and why we cant have growth
- Yana Berlin Germany- here by herself
- Justin Camp climate action uk
- Frida Works for Oxfam in the UK GCCA Global campaign for climate action, coordination that has Oxfam, Greenpeace, looking to really mobilize this year and stretch organisations as possible, both inside as outside Focus around June Bonn Meeting September UN General Assembly meeting and the COP
- Nada Sweden Malmo
- Saren Gustav Stockholm autonomous roots group newly formed network with clear anticapo approach to mobilization, wanting to network with people in
- Jeremy Osborn 350.org Global Project using the latest science to leverage 24th October Local events all over the world to pressure the process
- Gunta Spokesperson of Marxist-Leninist party in Germany involved in workers and trade union process to coordinate jobs and environment for COP process
- Yanis Greece Reps 3 groups Fight for alternative renewable method and autonomy works with Zapatistas, COP mtg trying to inform Greek political groups making small info tours, Cokino left group working on radical ecology Greek Eco Socialist network involved in COP
- Nick FOE UK Organising a creative action on 12 in morning Be here during the 2 weeks lots of action s throughout the day, picking on targets in UK and mobilizing members from the UK
- FOE Holland 12th December Action in holland? allied with ?
- Joseph FOE INTernational Based in London Made up of 77 Autonomous member groups that work on many different issues including climate and energy worldwide
- Maria Involved in Sweeden and UK trying to set up group to do different manefestations at Environment Mini
- Maureen FASE CJN REBRIP Part of process to prepare fro COP Tribunal Victims of Climate injustices Regional level Summit of the Americas Trinidad? Tobago
- Nicola Focus on the Global South Based in Bangkok Main area of Work Asia Also part of CJN Main interest see how we can link Asian based Economic justice campaigners and environmental justice campaigners 2 opport
- beginning May Asia Development Bank meeting in Indonesia UNFCCC meeting in Bangkok end of Sept in lead up to the COP- significant numbers of people there
- Kiel Jakobson- C UT Brazil main labour confederation of Brazil regarding Environment alissues sustainable development particularly since UN conference in Rio in 92 Believe in alliances beyond the borders of Labour organisations
- Maita Trade union from Argentina works in Brazil working on how work will be affected by climate crisis just transition already working with alliance of
- Christina David Olof Swedish network- info material raising awareness and action mobilizing autonomous groups working with social issues in Sweden
- George Sweden Berlin Green Youth Rep Global Young Greens COP is the next mobilisation try to link critical voices in structures with
- Nato summit show connection between climate and war mobilize lots of members to come here, do action during the Bonn

- Arild, spammin Europe with leaflets
- Seipi Laura, Finland Climate action group mobilizing people to come here also focus on direct action
- Senni, Nuclear Free Finland Anti-Nuke Climate camp Lapland Summer
- Leish Rising Tide North America and London 1st April Fossil Fuels Days
- Minna Finland Left youth of Finland COPIS- Nickname of Copenhagen aim to raise info tour in Finland, mobilize finnish people to come to Copenhagen, eager to find cooperation, Green peace activist Alternative deal to the one made in Copenhagen participation in Action
- Milo Freedom from Debt coalition Philippines impact of privatization of power and water-ecological debt, part of Jubilee South Asia Pacific Movement
- Phil Global Climate campaign- loose network for a global day of action for COP from 2005 - up to 70 countries December 12th Mid way through COP Involved in organizing the Big everyone gets together march on the 12th. UK campaign against climate change- organizing train from brussels and working with people in france, belgium and germany to bring people who wouldn't otherwise come to the cop
- Dale Netherlands Ebon Europe- freedom originally from philipines, workshop peoples protocol on climate change, brought forward peoples protocol in Poznan in December, March 23-24 Gathering in Bangkok regional seminars in UK in Belgium,
- Liddy Nepal, Jubilee south network 54 movements in south - call for support for action ecological, working internationally and in countries, key movements- debt tribunal 2010 challenging international financial institutions 8 mobilizations in front of us embassies to challenge their position in Copenhagen
- Anne Marie DK- active in palistinian problems
- Benjamin Climate Movement Aarhus 10 people going to island flooded if they dont do anything? Klima bevelenstol Climate march on beach of fenyo? Press action. Doing climate TV channel danish so if anyone is doing filming stuff then contact him- international channel, National scale civil society forum and global day of action
- Chris Zero Carbon Caravan Based in the UK. Zero Carbon Living modeling cycle through europe- like to organize a zero carbon world concert- people power not fossil fuel power- renewable electricity and internet radio- will organize workshop about it-
- Gert Copenhagen- member of MARxist leninist party APK Member of grass roots movement in Denmark- speciality to organise big events next event is peace climate and war festival 12th september-
- Stine- danish network doing mostly international stuff climate camp in July-
- Ask From floating city for copenhagen making sure climate struggle in copenhagen organised lots of big areas and working space and moneys- including positive action and building climate arks
- Jim England Anarchist Teapot mobile kitchen radical events and gatherings cooking- happy to help out with COP 15 Have a couple of questions up to 10,000 fundraising
- Korn odense denmark antifacist org denmark mobilizing around cop
- Oliver Suif social youth front- 1000 people all over denmark part of whole climate movement and mobilizing people for students and working movements, klima X focus on direct action part of the coordinating network
- India-Social forum 600 organizations all over India, resist globalization defending human rights disarmament and peace resisting mining and deforestation and flooding resisting bandwagon on climate change- resisting indian capitalist as well as
- Rual Free peasants of Denmark alternative agriculture in Denmark - show necessity to change agriculture to small scale and via campesina dn clima forum
- Sine floating city
- Gered Berlin Gegenstrom, German Action newtowkr on global agriculture- action 17th Ppril for

Via Capmesitna day of aciton

- KK climate camp- building floalting city and climate camp continue floating city 2010
- Nuete Ren? Civil society climate forum FOE - part of network in europe in NOAH
- Yugen German- connected to mobilization Asylum movements in Copenhagen- networking on climate justice
- Beldema Floating city
- Annette Sweden Fourth world- publish magazine on Indigenous Issues and European social forum Malmö
- Kent Local TV station offer the Station as a media hub as part of the mobilization- can broadcast live
- Josephine philipina living in denmark network of eden
- Simon Lewis- camp for climate action, climate change scientist- interested in linking scientists
- David ClimaX Copenhagen, mostly working on alternative climate forum working hard to
- Tody Andersan PArt of international permaculture network- food security carbon launched campaign for tree planting and reducing carbon footprint, engaged in civil society climate forum here in denmark organising huge area close to main station room for thousands of activists to come together and prepare for action think we should gather between 30-40000 people to
- Lina Noah
- Petere Noono klimax jutland
- Daniel Not your business- world business summit on climate change- slogan is the green is the color of money
- Victoria Our own radio station- growing food for the COP
- Graham martin Climate Camp UK christian direct action group- across europe to be part of blocking delegates from
- Tadzio- turbulence
- Ellie FOE Sweden
- Helle- NOAH \
- Sophie France Youth organization of ATTAC Global issues and global tactics other organizations making the train from Paris\\
- Carly earth first holland climate camp
- Maitet live in Europe Peoples protocol

Appendix 2: Process group go-round and minutes from Saturday working group time:

Process group: what people have been doing so far:

- Mona - proc&intl coord; active at first & Poznan meets but not much for this; active from now
 - Bian - no part of any group til now
 - Sjoerd – new
 - Evan - new; web designer
 - Erik - web stuff so far; mailing list admin, web content - wants to relieve some responsibilities
 - Arvil - info tour in spain, no other groups
 - Tash - intl coord network in sept. not involved in Poznan but in Belem, invitations to wider groups to participate, networking - wants to feedback on this; agenda for this meeting
 - Phil; intl group from last meeting
 - Lucas - this is first meeting
 - Fel, china, new to this meeting
 - Gunter - new, interested in intl coord
 - Maureen - in intl coord since September, was in Belem,
 - Chris - in Poznan, in process group very recently
 - Carly - no groups yet, interested in intl coord
 - Gunter, new,involved in cop6
 - Maitet - involved since Copenhagen meeting, in Poznan, involved in prep for this meeting, would like to clarify remit of this group
 - Michael, set up list for this group in Sept, answering emails from all different languages, admin for climate09 discussion list, then announcement list; wants to establish protocol for lists
 - Til - involved with process since last March, created first list, involved in agenda for this meet
 - Shannon - involved since Sept in agendas & facilitation, minute taking etc.
 - Stine - from Copenhagen network, involved since start
- Proposal: collapse intl coop/process/facilitation/intl coord groups into one; web group also here
- Need to decide remit of group:
- proposal to use the remit written in the handbook p.5 but take out two bits (see tash's agenda)
 - expanding the network isn't part of this group **AGREE**
 - mobilisation & how to involve people in the network are different things I.e. making sure everyone knows how to participate in process **AGREE**
 - email lists etc. are a European way of organising things; some groups need personal interaction
 - we've been outreaching so far, should keep doing it until we're sure another group is
 - need to think about inclusion of southern groups for whom attendance here is nearly impossible
 - proposal to speak to mobilisation group now to off-load outreach & inclusion, and accept all other points currently under our heading in the agenda (see tash's agenda)
 - really important for us to be following up on other working groups and make sure that stuff is getting done, but not to do those things ourselves **AGREE**
 - what about facilitation? we take on responsibility to organise facilitation **AGREE**
 - prepare the agenda
 - proposal to tighten remit more, e.g. detail what about each item we are responsible for doing (e.g. international meetings & facilitation, monthly newsletter etc.)
 - add: following through implementation of key decisions taken at international meetings
 - two possible roles for process group: overseeing that things get done or filling in the gaps
 - confusion over process vs. international coordination parts of this group...they should be one group: process group that includes international coordination as part of remit
 - feedback from downstairs: there's an action & mob group, and a solidarity/outreach group
 - provisional 'yes' to taking on these elements of old intl coord/process group remit