TSS

FEB 10-11-12

LONDON

TSS // LONDON

PROGRAMME

WELCOME

The **Transnational Social Strike Platform** (www.transnational-strike.info) will hold a weekend meeting in London from Friday February 11th until Sunday February 12th - hosted by **Plan C** (www.weareplanc.org).

The aim of the weekend is to support the mobilisations for the February 20th **"1 Day Without us"** national protest (www.1daywithoutus.org), organised as a response to the increasing stigmatisation of migrants in the UK and more recently, in response to the muslim ban ordered by President Trump.

Our aim is to bring dozens of organisations from across Europe and beyond to London to meet and discuss with UK grassroots unions and social and political collectives to share experiences in order to find common ideas and common strategies in counteracting the right-wing and populist currents reshaping our societies.

Following on from our first encounters in Poznan, Poland in 2015 and recently in Paris in 2016, the **TSS** has focussed on three main areas - logistics industries, care and social reproduction and migration and mobility. For this special gathering, we aim to continue and develop these discussions.

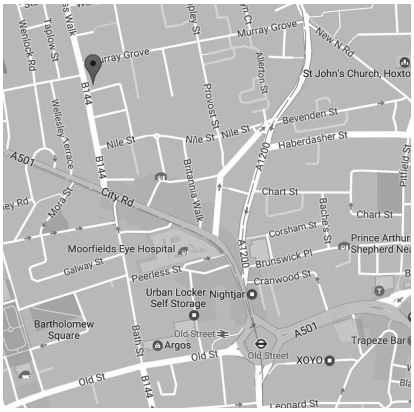
As TSS, the transnational dimension isn't something that only follows from local organising, it is imperative that it runs parallel, in finding through the diversity and complexity of the situations we face, new alliances and forms of organisation, new strategies and common goals that would break with the reactionary turn facing many regions of Europe. Fundamentally, our transnational platform acts as a political infrastructure, becoming a meeting point for movements and organisations to discuss and coordinate.

Friday February 10th

War on Want office*

44-48 Shepherdess Walk
London
N1 7JP

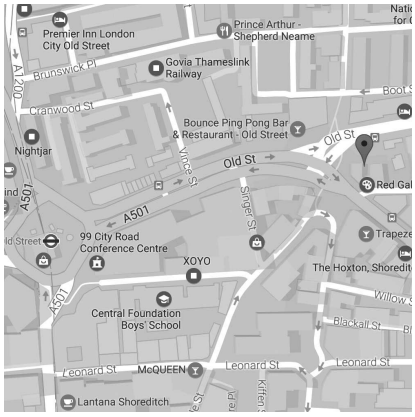
***PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS VENUE MAY CHANGE TO:**
Unite the Union Office
33 - 37 Moreland St
London
EC1V 8BB
Please check http://bit.ly/2lINb20 or Facebook Event for changes



Saturday February 11th

Red Gallery LDN

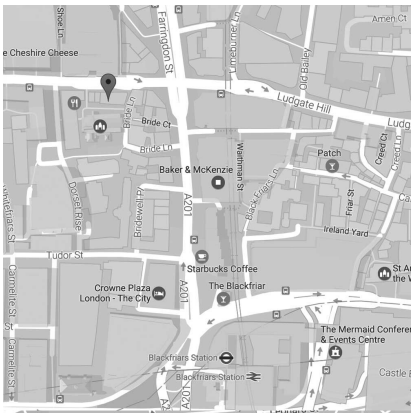
1-3 Rivington Street
London
EC2A 3DT



Sunday February 12th

Mayday Rooms

88 Fleet St
London
EC4Y 1DH



Participating organisations

UK

Plan C

Angry Workers of the World

One Day Without Us

Rent Strike Network

Feminist Fightback

IWGB Union

Radical Housing Network

IWW Union

Feminist Fightback

Precarious Workers Brigade

SWEDEN

Allt åt Alla

Avprivatisera Hagsätra

Brand Magazine

GERMANY

No one is illegal

TIE International

Workers' Center (Munich)

Ums Ganze!

Berlin Migrant Strikers

FRANCE

Sud Solidaires Union

Coordination des intermittents et précaires d'Ile-de-France

STOP PRECARITE

Union locale CGT La Courneuve

POLAND

Workers‘ Initiative Union

Black Protest/International Women's Strike

ITALY

Coordinamento Migranti

Connessioni Precarie

Camere del lavoro autonomo e precario

ESC Atelier

SI COBAS Union

BULGARIA

dВЕРСИЯ

Autonomous Workers Syndicate

SLOVENIA

Second Home / Social center Rog

Student organisation Iskra

IRELAND

Strike4Repeal

FEB 10-11-12 TSS // LONDON

SUMMARY AGENDA

FRIDAY FEB 10TH

War on Want office* 44-48 Shepherdess Walk London N1 7JP (*Due to high numbers this venue maybe changed - please check Facebook Event)

18:30 - 20:30	PUBLIC MEETING HOW DO WE STRIKE TODAY? **Building power from the margins** 1 Day Without Us, Unite Community, Migrant Coordination Bologna, Strike 4 Repeal, Black Protest/International Women's Strike

SATURDAY FEB 11TH

Red Gallery 1-3 Rivington Street London EC2A 3DT

10:00 - 11:00	MAIN WELCOME TO BREXIT EUROPE **The End of the Holding Pattern**	
11:00 - 13:00	WORKSHOP RIGHT POPULISM, LEFT NATIONALISM **Migrants, Wage disparities and institutional racism**	WORKSHOP SOCIAL STRIKE **Striking across the wage**
13:00 - 14:00	--- LUNCH BREAK ---	
14:00 - 16:00	WORKSHOP LOGISTICS STRIKE **How to Fight your Boss when Your Boss is a Machine, a software or a chain? Algorithmic Management, the 'Gig Economy' and Logistical strikes**	WORKSHOP MARCH 8TH **Towards the Global Women's Strike**
16:30 - 18:30	MAIN 1 DAY WITHOUT US **Experiences from US, Italy and UK**	

SUNDAY FEB 12TH

Mayday Rooms 88 Fleet St London EC4Y 1DH

10:15 - 11.15	**Reports of workshops from Saturday**	
11:15 - 11:30	**Presentation on the mobilisations towards G20 Hamburg**	
11:30 - 12:45	**The TSS Platform as a political infrastructure**	
12:15 - 13:00	**Internal communication & TSS project - Working Group**	**G20 Hamburg - Working Group**
13:00 - 14:00	**TSS Platform meeting in Slovenia**	

FEB 10 TSS // PUBLIC MEETING

War on Want office* 44-48 Shepherdess Walk London N1 7JP (*Due to high numbers this venue maybe changed - please check the **Facebook Event**)

18:30 - 20:30 How Do We Strike Today?
Building Power from the Margins

The rise of populist nationalism means politicians like Donald Trump and Theresa May claim a popular mandate for their anti-Muslim, misogynist, and anti-immigrant politics. They freely ignore mass demonstrations and fuel populism and polarisation through a corporate media.

Labour struggles have often formed the basis for resistance to attacks on the masses. Yet the rise of insecure work and attacks on trade union rights have made unions weaker. Workers on precarious contracts often face instant dismissal and move between jobs to escape exploitation making workplace resistance difficult. Both women and migrant workers have fought to be represented by groups that focus on workers.

Come hear from activists who are moving beyond symbolic protest, to actions that build power through striking beyond the workplace:

- How do we move beyond symbolic protest?
- How do we resist in ways that can claim back power for the marginalised: precarious workers, women, Muslims and migrants?
- How do we build capacity for joint action across society?
- How do we strike today?

Eleonora Cappuccilli is involved with **Migrant Coordination Bologna**, Italy. She was involved in the March 1st 2010 Migrant Strikes in Italy. She is also a member of the **Transnational Social Strike Platform**.

Marta Lempert is an organiser with the **Black Protest/International Women's Strike** in Poland who took to the streets against the new abortion laws in October 2016.

Inga Wójcik is an organiser of **Strike4Repeal** in Ireland. They are demanding the the Irish government call a referendum to repeal the 8th Amendment by the 8th of March. If not, they will strike. The eighth amendment criminalises women's access to abortion.

One Day Without Us – (speaker to be confirmed). **One Day Without Us** is a nationwide day of action in support and appreciation of migrants called for 20th February.

David Condliffe - Unite Community. Unite Community is **Unite the Union's** community membership scheme. It aims to bring together people from across society: welcoming those not in employment, into the union family. Unite says that in 21st century, too many people are being pushed to the margins of society. They deserve to be heard and the support to organise collectively.

Owen Espley, Senior Economic Justice Campaigner, War on Want. Owen lead's War on Want's **Stand With Migrant Workers**: End Precarious Contracts campaign [Chair]

FEB 11 TSS // WORKSHOPS

Red Gallery 1-3 Rivington Street London EC2A 3DT

10:00 - 11:00 MAIN WELCOME TO BREXIT EUROPE

The End of the Holding Pattern

Presentations by: **Keir Milburn (Plan C, UK) and more to be announced.**

The neoliberal economic settlement, which had been in place for thirty years, was broken by the financial crisis of 2008. The continuing inability of the global economy to get out of stagnation is testament to that. Yet for eight years little seemed to change politically. Politics seemed stuck in a holding pattern, unable to address the crisis yet also unable to renew itself. 2016 saw the end of that holding pattern. The extreme Center has collapsed but so far it has predominantly been replaced by the extreme Right. Brexit, Trump, Erdogan, Termer, Le Pen. Theirs is the dominant story of 2016. But there are other stories, sidelined for now, which might still be rescued by a future turn of events. The biggest ever workplace strike in India last September, with over 100 Million strikers, has been mirrored by an emerging trend towards 'political' or social strikes in the 'developed world'. Now, within the first week of Trump's presidency, an explosive social movement is emerging in the US with strong indications of its echo in the UK. We ask how Brexit, Trump, and the Far Right turn should affect our strategies. How can we fight the Right while retaining the ability to pick our own terrains of struggle? How can we strengthen the strikes movements to fight against both right and left neo-liberalism?

11:00 - 13:00 WORKSHOP SOCIAL STRIKE

Striking across the wage

Presentations by: **Vanessa Bilancetti (ESC- Rome), Julia Lindblom (Allt åt alla, Stockholm), Ben Beach (Rent Strike Network, UK) and Seth Wheeler (Plan C London)**

The 'social strike' can be understood as the adoption of tactics traditionally associated with labour disputes (the 'walk-out' and the 'withdrawal of labour') into the activity of political projects outside of the traditional workplace and its securities; as recently demonstrated by the call for 'everyone to stop work' (both in the workplace and in the home) during the mobilisation in defence of 'reproductive rights' in Poland and during the social strike in Italy of 2014, where a coalition of organisations struck in demand of wages, the right to remain and welfare.

In this way, a social strike could be argued to be an exercise by labour in constituting 'political' power in order to effect pressure on state legislature in much the same way as a workplace strike puts pressure on a boss or a rent strike puts pressure on a landlord.

The social strike is different to other forms of ‘mass protest’; primarily social strike is predicated on the recognition of the role of labour within the process of capitalist valorization (whether waged or unwaged) and seeks to exert leverage through its withdrawal. A social strike is effective when we converge as different workers, precarious, women, migrants to struggle together turning their difference into a source of power.

Within the schematics of traditional labour struggle, the success or failure of a strike is contingent on the ability of those within a dispute to build for mass participation and then ‘socially reproduce’ themselves over a protracted period. A strike will last as long as either a ‘work force can survive without wages’ or ‘management can survive without profits’. In this model a strike is understood to be a race, pivoting on the capacity of either party to ‘hold out’ over the necessary distance for victory. How then have social struggles external of either traditional sites of production or outside of official union structures constitute themselves in order to win?

11:00 - 13:00 WORKSHOP RIGHT POPULISM, LEFT NATIONALISM

Migrants, wage disparities and institutional racism

Presentations by: **Angry Workers of the World (UK), more to be announced.**

The Right is on the rise, the Liberal vision of multiculturalism is losing credibility and the Left in response is becoming vocally more left nationalist in its positions. The populism that is rising up in many different countries has somethings in common: racist, anti-immigrant, traditionalist and “anti-elite”, it is also an acceleration of the pre-existing institutional racism that liberal democracies utilise to reproduce divisions across society. When the Right talk about the working class it is to invoke only a particular part of the class that is homogenous, it obscures the class antagonisms within a nation that are common as a condition of being working class and denies migrants a place in the working class. It calls for walls to be built and damn the cost we’ll make the foreigners pay for it; it’ll kick out the international bureaucrats and be sovereign and great again; it’ll restore national pride and bring back jobs. More than anything else it takes problems and suffering born of the daily condition of capitalist society, and shifts the blame to “enemies” who are defined by them not being part of “our” nation, as if the nation was ever ours.

As this charade continues, capital moves across borders, exploiting the wage disparities between national economies, and enforcing a government of mobility to manage migration flows which shapes the labour market. This presence of workers as ‘migrant’, is the fundamental challenge we face in these days. While we should support 'migrants' in their struggle to live where they want, we have to make more of an effort to translate between new and local working class experience: “what are the local conditions; what has happened before you arrived; what were the recent defeats of the local class; this is how the state/bosses/'migrant community' bourgeoisie want to use you; these are the anti-migrant feelings of the local class; try to relate to these experiences"

How do we address those segments of the class who experience 'open borders' mainly as 'relocation' of their steel mills and call centres to low wage countries? or as the reason for increased wage pressure and competition from migrant workers on building sites, care jobs and logistics? How can the need for fighting on the bases of class against the concept of nation be developed? How can we fight not only within the borders of the nation we live in but across them transnationally? Focusing on institutional racism and how this is reproduced in different ways in the current scenario, including through wage disparities, allows us to recognise the political division we must break between migrants and non migrants and the need to organize across borders.

14:00 - 16:00 WORKSHOP LOGISTICS STRIKE

How to Fight your Boss when Your Boss is a Machine, a software or a chain? Algorithmic Management, the 'Gig Economy' and Logistical strikes

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Presentations and participation from: **Precarious (dis)Connections (Bologna, Italy), Plan C (UK), IWGB - Couriers Branch/Deliveroo Workers (Brighton, UK), IWW Union (Bristol, UK), SI COBAS Union (Italy)**

After the spontaneous struggles that exploded in Deliveroo and UberEats over the summer, lots of attention has been paid to conflict in the 'gig economy'.

The 'gig economy' in the UK is relatively small employing about 3% of the workforce, but it could potentially have importance beyond its size. Moreover, the 'gig economy' is becoming a site of tensions and struggles across borders. 'Algorithmic management', the use of big data to predict demand and allocate resources using automated systems and processes, reveals new forms of organisation of labour that manage exploitation and are likely to spread. Over the next few years it will increasingly reorganize the labor process that creates and imposes on to low wage, migrant and precarious sectors of the workforce.

As a result, there is a chance for lessons to be learnt in struggles against companies like Deliveroo, Foodora and Amazon that can be circulated on a transnational level.

One the one hand, if we continue to learn how to take 'unorganisable' working conditions and turn them into a source of power, we could generate the basis for much larger struggles. On the other hand, we need to increase our common understanding of the role that the 'gig economy' plays in the wider logistical reorganization of production. As TSS we recognise logistics as a critical site of struggle for a strike that wants to be social and transnational. We also recognised and discussed in previous meetings the diversity of conditions inside logistics.

During this workshop we want to continue and enlarge this discussion starting from few critical questions:

- What are the potential strengths created by a lack of formal employment and a constantly changing workforce?
- How do we link the struggles of precarious, low wage and migrant workers in production and circulation to the creation of common forms of organisation and social reproduction?
- How can the struggles of workers in the gig economy be linked to the work to others in the supply chain in order for a transnational social strike to be also 'logistical'? For example, workers in ports, distribution centers, warehouses, retail outlets, restaurants etc.

14:00 - 16:00 WORKSHOP MARCH 8TH

Towards the Global Women's Strike

Presentations by: Black Protest/International Women's Strike (Poland), Infosex- Esc Atelier (Rome, Italy), Strike4Repeal (Ireland), Precarious (dis)Connections (Bologna, Italy), Student organisation Iskra (Slovenia) & Allt åt alla (Sweden)

After the mobilization and women's strikes occurred last year, after the huge women's turnout during the inauguration day, in the US and beyond, in many countries all around the world public meetings and assemblies are taking place to turn the celebrations on the 8th March into a massive women's strike.

The women's strike is the confirmation that the strike can be brandished by millions of women as a feminist practice of insubordination, beyond the unions and its institutionalized form, and can be a truly transnational matter. Following the call of the Argentinian women to «organize ourselves» transnationally, the workshop intends first to discuss how to build stronger connections across the borders towards the 8th of March and beyond, by exchanging experiences of organization.

Second it is meant as an open discussion on the novelty and the stake of the women's movement: how do we see the link between the fight against oppression - male violence over women, discrimination, for the freedom of abortion - and that against precarity and exploitation in production and reproduction and the sexual division of labor acting on a transnational scale? How is it possible to act in order to make the strike able to hit production and reproduction, while showing women's unavailability to respond to the role neoliberal patriarchy assigns to them? How to address unions and social movements in order for them to line-up on the side of women?

16:30 - 18:30 PLENARY 1 DAY WITHOUT US

Experiences from US, Italy and UK

Presentations by: **Valery Alzaga (Justice for Janitors Organiser, US), Coordinamento Migranti (Bologna, Italy), No one is illegal (Germany)**

How can we combat the growing anti-migrant turn that has accelerated since the BREXIT vote? With the 'One day without us' day of action coming up on February 20th, a day that has taken inspiration from the same slogan which was raised on May 1st 2006 across the US, when many hundreds of thousands of migrants and supporters took to the streets, to demand their rights to remain. In 2010 the call for a migrant strike was made in France, and taken up by grassroots and self-organised migrant collectives across Italy on March 1st of that year. These experiences of 'migrant strikes' put the demands and desires of migrants at the forefront of struggles. When we talk of migration it is not only about the celebration of ethnic and cultural diversity, it is about how migrant labour is exploited, managed, supplied and controlled. How the border regime is not just places at the crossroads between countries but how borders and the management of privileges, the racialised hierarchies and wage disparities, access to welfare and healthcare - become the internal borders across society.

With the call of 1 Day Without Us, we highlight the dependency that economies have on migrant labour, the exploitation that conditions it and the alliance and social bonds that are formed in not only being migrant but becoming migrant, an increasingly expanding norm of precarious and zero contracts and high occupancy living, of becoming precarious. Recently, since President Trump's move to ban muslims from entering the US from seven muslim majority nations, a new movement is developing in reaction towards his decrees. Taxi drivers went on strike, migrant owned businesses closed down in protest, and here in the UK new alliances with 1 Day Without Us and the Stop Trump Coalition is calling on walkouts and mass demonstrations on February 20th - a day that coincides with the debates on parliament brought on by almost 2 million signatures asking for Trump's state visit to be cancelled.

In this final session we will hear from experiences of the migrant strike movements in the US, Italy, France and UK - and learn how these movements developed and the wider forms of social solidarity that brought migrants and non-migrants closer and the challenges they faced. We will also hear on plans for February 20th and any practical attempts to amplify the call for the day.

FEB 12 TSS // STRUCTURE & FUTURE

Mayday Rooms 88 Fleet St London EC4Y 1DH

10:15 - 11.15 Reports of workshops

The workshops coordinators are required to focus the reports on the relation between the specific topic of the ws and the general framework of the TSS. What are the challenges and the strategic points that each workshop poses to the TSS platform as a political infrastructure? What are the key points of the discussion that help developing the scope and strength of the TSS project?

11:15 - 11:30 Presentation on the mobilisations towards G20 Hamburg

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11:30 - 12.45 The TSS Platform as a political infrastructure

This slot of the coordination meeting will focus on the question: how to we develop the TSS Platform as a political infrastructure? The discussion will need to touch the related question: how to we further develop the centrality of the strike, in its social and transnational dimension? What is the role of the TSS Platform within existing struggles on a transnational level and how can it be also a place to elaborate proposals for further struggles? What does it take to deepen it as a space of organization and in its capacity to give strength and, at the same time, a strategic space orienting the actions of the groups that want to share it?

12:15 - 13:00 Internal communication and the TSS project - Working Group

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Political communication is a fundamental component of political organization. In order for the TSS Platform to develop as a site of political discussion and decision, we need also to strengthen the tools and practices of internal communication. This does not mean to embrace the idea that procedures can solve the political challenge of the TSS, but that this challenge can gain more vitality if we enhance the space for discussion and common decision beyond the physical meetings.

12:15 - 13:00 G20 Hamburg - Working Group

13:00 - 14:00 Meeting in Slovenia

After London, the next large meeting organized by the TSS Platform will be in Slovenia, as decided in Paris. The choice of Slovenia has different reasons: after the kick-off meeting in Poznan, we want to keep the process strongly rooted in Eastern Europe, enlarging the participation of groups and people from the East. Moreover, Slovenia is a window on the Balkans, a region that has proved to be crucial both for migrants' self-organization against the border regime and the developing government of mobility in Europe. These two dynamics clashed along the so called Balkan route. At the same time, the Balkans are a region crisscrossed by transnational chains of production and struggles against exploitation and neoliberal policies. In this brief section, we will start to plan the next steps for the organization of the TSS Meeting in Slovenia.