

TRANSNATIONAL MEETING

10-12. FEBRUARY
2023

FRANKFURT
GERMANY

We Want More:
Strike the War and
the Climate Crisis!



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CALL OUT

We Want More: Strike the War and the Climate Crisis! TSS Meeting in Frankfurt 10-12/02/2023

The war in Ukraine has opened a new situation globally, a long-lasting phase where power relations among states and within society are violently reshuffled. War, militarization and nationalism are set to be the norm, while economic competition and profit-led politics continue to fuel further tensions and a general crisis in social reproduction.

Workers, men and women, lgbtqi+ people, migrants, activists for climate justice, trade unionists and students need to join forces to face this grim reality and oppose its consequences: it's up to us to determine a different future. We need to fight against any further military escalation, any expansion of the war and the normalization of the present system of exploitation, environmental degradation and patriarchal violence. We refuse to be pawns in a war that is having effects in the whole world under the nuclear threat. We want more than a prospect of war and climate catastrophe. We want more than being enrolled by states or employers for the sake of the nation, 'European values' or GDP. We want more than work and earn the bare minimum to survive. We want more than racist hatred and institutional discrimination. We want more than patriarchal rule and violence. We want more than struggling to reproduce ourselves. We want more than localized and small victories.

We don't want to fuel useless debates on what's more relevant between the war and the pre-existing crises concerning climate, the pandemic or costs of living. It is enough to observe that the war in Ukraine is impacting on all these terrains and changing the possibilities of our struggles. The war intervenes in the so-called "cost-of-living crisis", which in turn is related to the "energy crises" and climate struggles in the context of a "green transition" that has been massively impacted by the economic militarisation and nationalist concerns that all the States and the European Union are aligning into. We learned from the feminist struggles to look at this complexity of conditions from the angle of social reproduction. The crisis in social reproduction, which women themselves contributed to spark with their refusal of patriarchal violence, hit with different paces and intensities, but its effects impact us all.

We thus equally don't want to fuel a debate on what's more relevant between the local, the national or the transnational dimension of struggles, between territories and internationalism. It is enough to observe how thinking the different levels apart de facto limits our capacity to win. The society we live in is marked in every point by transnational dynamics that shape the possibilities, while global processes find different conditions in every place. We can't overlook the fact that millions of people move across the globe to seek a better life and to refuse a destiny imposed upon them by the state, by the employers, by the family. Even if we don't move, the transnational reality impacts on where we are. What we need is to refuse reactionary and nationalist imaginaries and connect across differences into a common empowering perspective to gain a different future.

After several transnational gatherings (Poznan, Paris, Berlin, Ljubljana, Stockholm, London, Tbilisi) – we met in Sofia, Bulgaria, last September. We recognize that Central and Eastern Europe is not only a reservoir of cheap productive and reproductive labour, a site of experimentation of authoritarian and patriarchal policies and industrial restructuring, but also the core of the decade-long crisis of social reproduction. From Eastern Europe we can see the transformation of the EU and its transnational dimension become clearer. In the meeting in Frankfurt we aim at connecting this experience with the struggles in the so-called financial center of the EU and we want to develop the capacity for struggles against nationalist, racist, wage and sexist divisions that connect what happens within Europe with the transnational dimension. Many struggles are ongoing. To name just a few: the Permanent Assembly Against the War and the mobilizations to 'strike the war' launched on May 1st for a transnational politics of peace; the Don't Pay campaign in the UK which has also spread in other countries, the widespread emergence of grassroots initiatives organizing against the rising living costs, strikes in Amazon for higher wages, strikes in transport and energy sector in France, convergences of struggles in Italy, demonstrations for peace and climate justice, feminist revolts in Russia and strikes against male violence, large movements of people, including refugees, mainly women, from Ukraine, people in Russia abandoning Putin's regime to flee partial mobilization, and the ongoing migrants' movements towards and across EU borders, the revolt in Iran in the name of women's freedom. We want to connect these different forms of strikes and refusal in a movement for a different future. We need to learn to strike together. We want to fight for a peace that is not a simple return to a normality made of exploitation, racism and patriarchy.

Nothing is easy, but we know we are not alone. Supported by the Interventionist Left, we invite whoever wants more to join us in Frankfurt, from 10 to 12th February, in a transnational meeting against the war, for a time of struggles.

PROGRAM

WHEN?	WHAT?	WHERE?
16:00	STUDENTS, STRUGGLES, SELF-GOVERNMENT. CITY WALK AT THE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS BOCKENHEIM	Studierendenhaus
17:00 – 18:00	WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION	Festsaal
18:00 – 20:00	PERMANENT ASSEMBLY AGAINST THE WAR	Festsaal
20:00	DINNER AND WELCOME DRINKS	Festsaal
SATURDAY		
8:30 - 9:45	BREAKFAST	Café Koz
10:00 – 12:00	WORKSHOP 1 Exchanges and experience of climate movement(s)	Festsaal
10:00 – 12:00	WORKSHOP 2 NetZero & The Green Transition – New cycles of capitalist accumulation	K1
10:00 – 12:00	WORKSHOP 3 Workers for and against Climate	K4
12:00 – 14:00	LUNCH BREAK	Café Koz
14:00 – 16:00	WORKSHOP 4 Raising the tide: connecting feminist and essential struggles	Festsaal
14:00 – 16:00	WORKSHOP 5 Migration as a social movement	K4
16:00 – 17:00	COFFEE BREAK	Café Koz
17:00 – 19:00	PLENARY: STRIKE AS A LEVERAGE	Festsaal
19:30	DINNER	Café Koz
21:00	BAR EVENING	Café Koz
SUNDAY		
9:00 - 10:15	BREAKFAST	Café Koz
10:30 – 13:30	FINAL PLENARY	Festsaal

EVENTS' DESCRIPTIONS

FRIDAY
17:00 – 18:00

WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

Together with the local supporters from the Interventionist Left, we will introduce the meeting, the structure, the goals and the stakes of these three days. But we will also explain how we did get there and why we decided to call this meeting.

FRIDAY
18:00 – 20:00

PERMANENT ASSEMBLY AGAINST THE WAR

Fighting the war politics, for a transnational politics of peaceOn Putin's aggression on Ukraine, TSS launched the Permanent Assembly Against the War to take a transnational stance against the war. It identified in the war not only deaths and destruction in Ukraine but an ongoing global realignment including open threats of nuclear escalation that undermines our collective future. In these difficult times, marked by tensions, anxieties and fractures. The PAAW has provided a crucial space for coming together and not turning away from this reality of the war and its effects. It has been a space where to reimagine what it takes today to build an anti-war initiative. In this assembly, we want to discuss how what we define as an ongoing third-world war is affecting our living and working conditions and requiring us to rethink the way in which we struggle. While the war seems to become a new normality, it is spreading well beyond the Ukrainian borders with its material effects – the most visible being mass movements, inflation, and food and energy prices.

In the shadow of this war, rearmament is rampant everywhere and military aggressions and armed tensions increase, fueling war in other areas, such as in Kurdistan. A wider militarization of economic policies and labour laws, the exacerbation of patriarchal violence, the legitimization of institutional racism and the worsening of the climate crisis are among the effects of the war. We will discuss how to cope with the difficulties of building an anti-war movement

transnationally. A movement that goes beyond the simple positioning around the aggression in Ukraine and beyond the geopolitical fronts. We want to build a different political path towards a transnational politics of peace.

Together with the subjects hit by the war and its material effects, against nationalisms and state politics, a transnational politics of peace is what sets the bases for present and future struggles. The Manifesto for a Transnational Politics of Peace, released by the PAAW after months of meetings and discussions, will serve as a guide in this discussion and will help us to look beyond the present condition.

SATURDAY
10:00 – 12:00

INQUIRIES ON THE PRESENT PART I - WORKSHOPS 1-3

WS 1: Exchanges and experience of climate movement(s):

While capital has long been operating across every national border, we have created a few common struggles and places. Our actions and tactics are adapted to the local conditions. Therefore, we want to share our view how actions - for example by Ende Gelände or in Lützerath - motivate and inspire other activists across national borders. We would like to learn which strategies and tactics were used to achieve success. Both material success and the shift in discourse should be taken into account. We are curious to learn how actions of transnational groups - for example FFF or XR - are discussed from a left, anti-capitalist perspective in our countries. This should help us to consider which strategies enable us to become active against the climate crisis and capitalism across national borders – e.g. with days of action at major international events or actions along supply or production chains.

WS 2: NetZero & The Green Transition – New cycles of capitalist accumulation

Governments, multinational corporations, and big finance keep discussing, meeting, and bargaining in order to save capital accumulation from climate change. The COP27 in Egypt was a big failure in addressing the climate crisis issue and the next round of the UN forum, held in the Arab Emirates, starts under the worst auspices, as petrol companies' interests will probably lead the game. The EU's commitment to the Net-Zero policy by 2050, apart from

being still far from reality, is part of a new industrial policy that tries to govern the global disorder accelerated first by the COVID pandemic and then by the war. Under the EU Green Deal, investments in infrastructures and power plants respond more to logistic, industrial, and financial imperatives rather than to our demands for a just transition. The war in Ukraine is shaking the world order and reshaping the global supply chains, while production and social reproduction are under unprecedented stress. As nationalistic propaganda proliferates and legitimizes more use of fossil fuels and more labor exploitation, we need to ask ourselves: which common discourses and practices can we build in opposition to capital's and governments' „Green transition“? How do their policies affect the material conditions of workers, women, migrants, and marginalized groups in our different local contexts? How do we consolidate a transnational climate justice movement, which can demand a radical transformation of society?

WS 3: Workers for and against Climate:

One of the main axes along which TSS has formed its interest in the climate crisis, and on which it has built the CCC group, is that of the dynamics between working classes and climate change, and most often between workers and measures to address climate change.

New and growing tensions are emerging between labour and capital along the entire chain of extraction, production, distribution and consumption - tensions conditioned by the inherently unfairly distributed burden of the green transition and capital's desire to keep it ever so unfair. The Yellow Vests in France have been one of the most striking examples in recent years, demonstrating how climate justice left in the hands of capital conflicts with the social and socio-economic security of workers. The closure of coal plants as part of the Green Pact across Europe is causing legitimate discontent among trade unions, and Brussels hopes the so-called „Just Transition Mechanism“ will extinguish dissent – so far unsuccessfully. Germany is a particularly interesting example of a country where there is both a strong trade union movement and strong green policies, as well as significant coal production – think of Lützerath for instance. On the other hand, there are also inspiring examples of action where workers are proactively advocating for both better working conditions and more adequate climate action – say, the workers at Amazon three years ago.

In this workshop, we invite you to explore together, through our own experience and knowledge, this complex dynamic underlying so-called climate-class conflict. What are the different responses of different workers groups and movements to different climate measures, and what can we learn from them? What examples do we know of ‚reconciliation‘ or rather effective complementarity between class and climate struggles? What concrete steps can we take to promote more and more bridging between these struggles?

INQUIRIES ON THE PRESENT PART II

- WORKSHOPS 4+5

WS 4: Raising the tide: connecting feminist and essential struggles

In this workshop we want to focus on struggles in social reproduction as part of a broader process of building a transnational feminist strike movement in the context of the Russian invasion in Ukraine and related processes of increasing militarization, violent economic policy, strengthening institutional racism and border control as well as a reinforcement of patriarchal violence, gender roles and repression of LGBTQI+ people. We will work on the question of how to connect moments of insubordination which seem separate and disperse into a common struggle to subvert the patriarchal, racist and exploitative conditions of social reproduction. Our discussion will be based on current struggles led by women, migrants, LBGTQI+ people, and workers pointing to the social strike. In the last year we have seen a general strike triggered by women's anti-patriarchal revolt in Iran, echoed by Afghan women who have been protesting against their exclusion from educational institutions and employment. We have seen women in Ukraine fighting to survive and moving across the borders to escape the violence of war and seek a better and autonomous life. We have seen the mothers' protest in Russia against the aggression on Ukraine, partial mobilization and the increase in violence against women and their reproductive labor. Together with similar strikes in Belgium, Bulgaria and Germany we have seen the strikes of the nurses in the UK for wage increase in the face of disastrous inflation rates produced by the war and intensifying workloads. We have seen women in Turkey inaugurating 2023 as a year of women's struggle against war, male and state violence and exploitation, and Kurdish people massively taking to the streets after the attacks against them, carried on in silent complicity of all world powers. We have seen a general strike in France against the pension reform. Forming connections between these experiences of a social strike is urgent in the current divisive context: the pandemic and, especially, the Russian invasion of Ukraine have compressed the space for political initiatives. By exacerbating violence against women, increasing reproductive workload and coercion to work, precarity, racism and restrictive border politics, they have made a global rejection of patriarchal violence, racism and disruption of production and social reproduction more difficult. Despite these challenges, strikes are happening. What lessons can we take from these struggles to build and strengthen the transnational feminist movement, to revive the spirit of the

feminist strike?

During the workshop we will begin our collective reflection with interventions from activists involved with the Iranian protests and Kurdish women's movement, the Russian Feminist antiwar resistance, the hospital worker's strike in Germany and further participants. We ask them and all the participants to contribute to and collectively work on these questions:

- Building power and organizing as 'essential workers' in times of war: Essential workers, mostly women and migrants, are striking against exploitation and for better wages, in a context in which the war, through inflation, rising energy and food costs, coercion to work, is worsening the general working and living conditions. How can we foster the connections between essential workers' strike and a transnational movement for peace that fights against the effects of the war?
- Elaborating old and new strategies for the feminist strike as social strike: What different tools emerged in the various contexts of our struggles out of the basic idea of the feminist strike, which aimed at disrupting production and social reproduction, by connecting struggles in the workplace with the social and political conditions of exploitation and oppression? How can we connect our tools and local struggles to develop new strategies and a powerful mobilization on March 8th?
- Overcoming divisions and fragmentation: How can we work on fault lines that are emerging from the row of current crises, especially the war? How can we engage with and support different local feminist struggles as part of the wider upcoming transnational mobilization towards the 8th of March?

WS 5: Migration as a social movement:

Today, migrants' struggles against everyday institutional racism, patriarchal violence, and capitalist exploitation have also to face the dire consequences of the war in Ukraine. While borders' control and police violence are intensifying, migrants are finding new strategies and creating new infrastructures in order to get their freedom. New networks of solidarity are created along the Balkan route, which in turn is getting more and more militarized, as the EU plans to expand the control of its borders Eastward and Southward. In general, the war has become an excuse for the European governments to tighten their migration policies, for example by making new agreements with brutally authoritarian regimes like Libya, in order to have gas supply and, at the same time, to intensify efforts to prevent Mediterranean crossings. Especially migrant women are paying the cost of the crisis, as they're employed in the most precarious and badly paid sectors. Also because of that, many Ukrainian refugees (mostly women) are increasingly trying to return to their country, as the initial "solidarity" of the

EU government has faded away. Meanwhile, the nationalistic propaganda, fueled both by 'liberal' and 'illiberal' governments, is increasing the racist hatred against migrants, even against those Russian migrants who are refusing conscription and fleeing from their country's politics. Nonetheless, migrants keep on organizing and fighting against all of that, along the borders as much as in the workplaces, inside the reception centers as much as in the streets. Many anti-racist collectives are building infrastructures that help and support migrants' freedom of movement in safety, many others are fighting for better conditions in reception centers. Others fight for the regularization of migrants and the obtaining of residence permits that free them from the blackmail of exploitation. How can we connect these struggles and find common claims? What strategies of struggle can we adopt?

How do we facilitate the communication on a transnational level in order to build a collective force? How has the war changed the framework of our struggles, and how can our anti-racist fight intersect the struggle against the war?

SATURDAY

17:00 – 19:00

PLENARY STRIKE AS A LEVERAGE: Building power in times of war and climate crisis

Within the impending climate crisis and after three years of the pandemic, the war in Ukraine has radically changed the conditions where we live, work and struggle, making clear that a local plan of the initiative is insufficient. In this plenary event, we want to discuss the force and limits of the ongoing struggles, and pose the question: how can we build power in times of war and climate crisis?

We will discuss the different experiences of strikes that are marking these ages, reflecting and elaborating on their strengths and weaknesses. Labour strikes called by trade unions are happening in different places. But while they build leverage for the involved workers, we often see very poor or no communication among different categories and conditions. Meanwhile, the use of the word strike has expanded, as proved by the experiences of migrant strikes, the transnational circulation of the feminist and climate strikes and, more recently, the bill strike against rising costs of living.

The strike has affirmed itself as the most powerful and evocative form

of struggle: from the idea of the strike as a single tactic used by specific organisations, the strike has become a tool to mobilise and organise within the struggle. From a conception of one-dimensional struggle within working places, the focus on social reproduction has extended the reach of what strike can mean today. This plenary will bring together the day's discussions and attempt to point towards the possibility of the transnational social strike as a process to build power in times of war and climate crisis. Because we want more.

SUNDAY
10:30 – 13:30

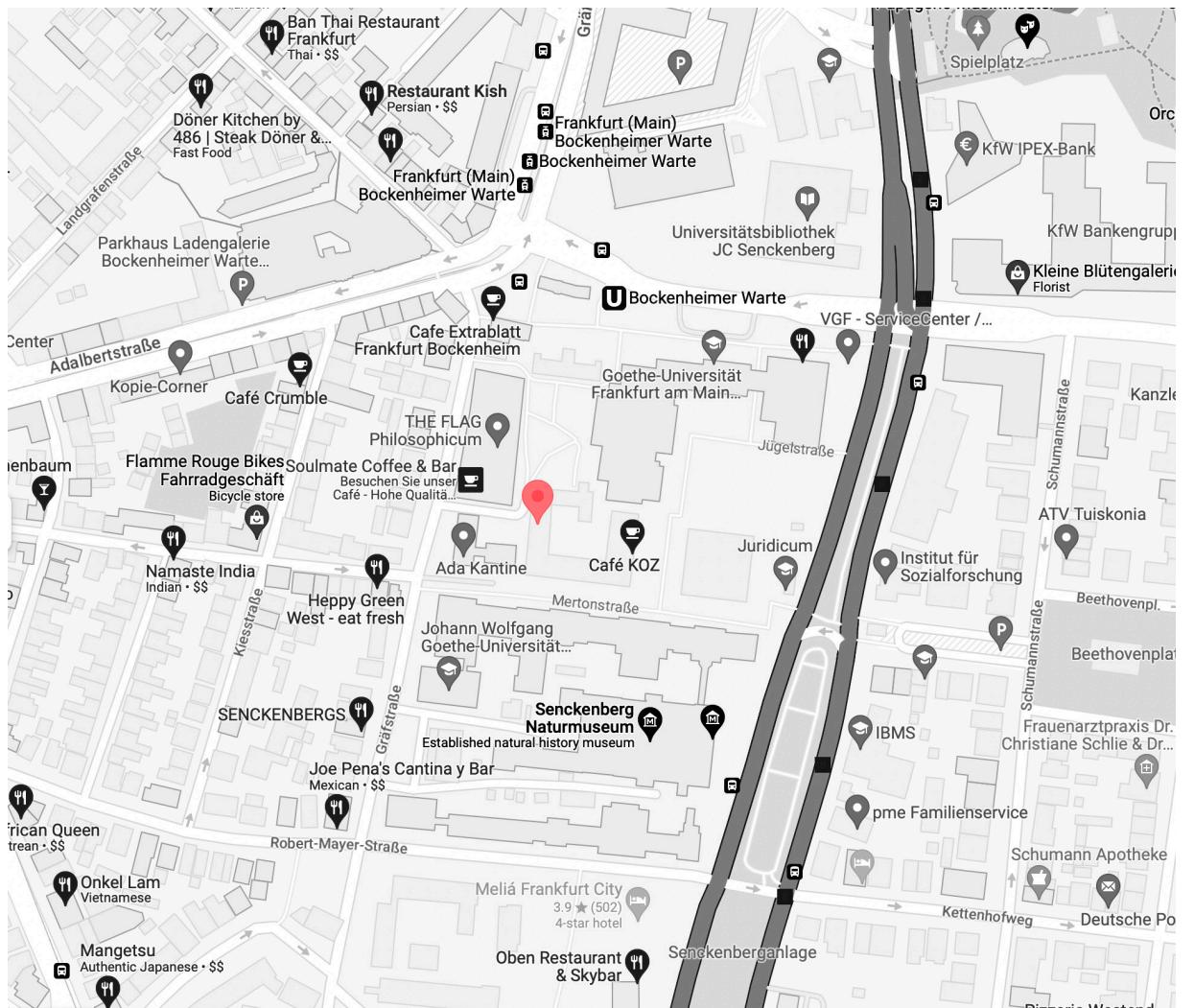
FINAL PLENARY: Prospects for new transnational movements

In this final plenary we will report and wrap up the discussions held the days before and develop the next steps following three main axes:

- Strike the war and climate crisis, building a transnational politics of peace: strategies and common goals for a better future
- From the local to the transnational and back: shared words, common tools
- Strengthening the political infrastructure: how to join the TSS Platform?

LOCATIONS

**Venue: Studierendenhaus an der Goethe-Universität
Frankfurt am Main
Mertonstraße 26, 60325 Frankfurt am Main
(Station Bockenheimer Warte, metro line U4, U7, tram
16, bus M32, M36)**



LOGISTICS

Info point:

There will be an information point where the sleeping places will be distributed. If you have applied for a travel reimbursement, you will also get your money back here during the lunch breaks. We need an invoice, receipt and if applicable boarding pass to refund your ticket! If you have a digital ticket, we will also need a digital version. In this case, please send your ticket to: **gathering@transnational-strike.info**

Food:

Food will be served on Friday evening at the Festsaal, on Saturday and Sunday at the "Café Koz", the room on the ground floor. The food will be vegan, for information on ingredients because of food intolerances, please talk to the kitchen crew.

Public transportation:

Unfortunately, it is quite expensive to travel by public transportation in Frankfurt. There is a possibility to buy a day ticket for up to 5 people, which costs 12,60€. Day tickets for one person cost 6.65€ and are cheaper than two single trips.

You can also rent bikes, for example from CallABike. You have to download an app and it costs 1€ for 15 minutes. Another bike sharing is NextBike, it works similarly and costs the same.

Child care:

Location: KITA im Studihaus der Goethe-Universität, Mertonstraße 26, 60325, Frankfurt am Main

Schedule:

Friday 16:30 - 20:00 Saturday 9:30 - 20:00 Sunday 10:00 - 13:30

We will try to offer child care during the whole event - please check for the current status at the info point.

Information phone:

You can contact us via +49 157 333 12 770 if you have any questions or a problem.

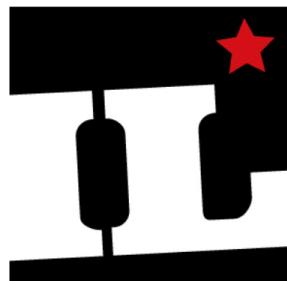
Please join the telegram channel to get updates during the meeting.



Covid:

Masks are mandatory in the entrance area of the building, especially in the area in front of the doorman. In our event spaces, we are free to decide whether we want to wear a mask or not. We ask that you bring enough tests for you to test yourself each day. We will have a limited amount of tests available at the info point.

ORGANISING GROUPS



Transnational social strike platform (TSS): We experience every day that things in the workplaces and in society have changed. Organization of labour struggles is weakened by the divisions between those who work in the same hub, factory, school, call center etc. Solidarity is challenged by the differences of nationality, contracts, time of employment, political conditions such as residence permits for migrants or patriarchal violence against women. The TSS Platform was born out of the realization that there is no local way out to this situation: only a political movement that builds connections across borders can overturn this state of affairs and accumulate a common strength. The strike is for us the name of a power that aims at damaging the pillars on which this unequal and unjust society is grounded. Building the conditions to exercise this power is what we need in order to overthrow the current state of subordination to employers and politicians. The TSS Platform is a political infrastructure to confront these challenges and push forward the movement of strike on a transnational scale. It is a space of organization, communication and encounter where different figures of labour can think together about how to develop a common vision, how to support common claims capable of being instruments of emancipation and how to build the conditions of possibility of the transnational social strike.

Contact: info@transnational-strike.info
Website: www.transnational-strike.info

Transnational Migrants Coordination (TMC): The Transnational Migrants Coordination was born out of migrants' struggles against institutional racism carried on in France and Italy during the spring of 2020. Migrants and collectives involved in TMC soon recognized the importance to coordinate themselves on a transnational scale in order to effectively challenge the racist and violent border regime and immigration policies in Europe and beyond. The TMC now involves migrants and collectives from many countries (Italy, France, Spain, Germany, Belgium, Turkey, Morocco, Greece...) united by the claim of a European Unconditioned and Unlimited Residence Permit.

Contact: transmigrcoordination@gmail.com

Essential Autonomous Struggles Transnational (E.A.S.T.): E.A.S.T. is a network composed mostly of women, LGBTQIA+ people, migrants, workers and activists born out of the struggles on social reproduction triggered by the pandemic crisis of Covid-19. E.A.S.T., as the acronym suggests, has Eastern and Central Europe as its main focus but looks at this specific space as a part of a transnational field of struggle. During the pandemic we have launched the essential strike on March 8th to contest that nurses, cleaners, teachers, grocery store workers, logistic and seasonal workers, paid and unpaid domestic workers and caregivers, mostly women and migrants, keep society afloat but their work is devalued and underpaid. We also mobilized against Turkey's withdrawal from the Istanbul convention and against the war in Ukraine. The network wants to ignite new struggles and strikes against exploitation, male violence and institutional racism by connecting existing struggles and building a common space of organization which overcomes the local and national isolation and fragmentation of single social and labour initiatives.

Contact: essentialstruggles@gmail.com

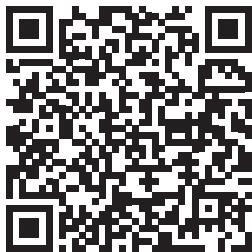
Permanent Assembly Against the War (PAAW): PAAW is a political infrastructure composed of activists and workers that aim to grow a collective discussion in the direction of a transnational politics of peace and coordinated initiatives. After Putin's invasion of Ukraine, we started gathering monthly to confront the war by taking side with people trying to survive in Ukraine and Russia; with people suffering the effects of the war far beyond the affected regions; with people bearing the weight of economic sanctions; with refugees who are escaping from this or any other war seeking for a better life; with workers fighting against exploitation and against the attempt to use this war to implement harsher working conditions; with women and LGBTQ+ people claiming freedom against patriarchal attacks. We made last 1st of May a day of strike against the war, and for a transnational politics of peace. We also published a political Manifesto against the war as we think it brutally reminds us the urgency to practice a transnational politics for a better life against today's society that reproduces violence, exploitation, and environmental degradation.

Contact: tss-no-war-list-subscribe@lists.riseup.net



QR link to the manifesto "No to War. For a Transnational Politics of Peace"

Climate Class Conflict (CCC) is a TSS' initiative to bring together workers, unionists, and climate activists who aim to discuss how to confront the manifold effects of the green and energy transition. We believe that only a transnational climate and class movement can transform climate policies in a field of struggle against green capital accumulation, for social justice.



QR link to the journal "For a Climate Class Conflict. Strike the Green Transition! Issue 1"

The Interventionist Left is an association of radical left groups and individuals from the undogmatic and emancipatory left in the German-speaking region. Among other things, we are active in social, anti-racist, feminist and climate struggles and are engaged in the areas of anti-fascism and anti-war politics. We want to be a left that gets involved. That's why we try to communicate our positions in all these disputes through open and broad alliance politics and to let them become practical. We want a radical left that actively fights not only against the impositions and cruelties, but against capitalism as a whole, that constantly seeks new alliances, that deepens fractures and seizes opportunities, that prefers to make mistakes and learn from them instead of losing itself in the cynicism of pure criticism. We want a radical left oriented toward a revolutionary break with national and global capitalism, with the power of the bourgeois state and all forms of oppression, disenfranchisement and discrimination. In short, we want a new, social radical left that struggles for political hegemony and organizes counter-power.

Contact: kontakt@interventionistische-linke.de

