



For a
**CLIMATE
CLASS
CONFLICT**

Strike the Green Transition!

**TSS**
PLATFORM

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FOR A CLIMATE CLASS CONFLICT

STRIKE THE GREEN TRANSITION!



The green transition haunts our political initiatives. It forces us to engage with the systemic meaning of ecology and the manifold effects that changes on the relationship between production, reproduction, and the environment have on our lives. The green transition is a battlefield that reshapes boundaries and possibilities for social movements, unequivocally demanding to take a stance. It rearticulates production and social reproduction under the ideological banner of managing climate change, while it materially sets the environmental conditions for capital accumulation in times of intense crisis. As it regards capital accumulation, the green transition is about logistics, industrial production, and wage conditions, as well as regulation of migrants' movement and labour and women's reproductive work. Just pick your poison: you can find all societal hierarchies and processes we have always contested when you look at the way climate change is managed. For us, fighting for 'climate justice' means tackling the problem of how the climate crisis is exploited by governments and capital to reproduce inequalities and seal their legitimacy. It means to accumulate the power we need to bring about a truly radical transformation. This is not a task for climate 'specialists' only, nor for territorial struggles

disconnected from what happens elsewhere. This is the task for a transnational social movement fueled by a mutual understanding of both the most compelling political urgencies people face, and the way to connect them. This journal aims at opening a space for discussion on how a transnational climate class conflict shall look like.

A transnational climate class conflict is not something that we already have, it is what we need the most. This does not mean that we start from scratch. We are all part of climate movements or organisations which have their own international links, and which have made ecology a fundamental terrain of struggle in these past years. This has been made possible by the widespread claim for a future of social and climate justice against governments and capitalists trading it with comfortable profits here and now. This has been made possible by countering the narrative of a green transition that promises to deliver a NetZero future while it keeps subordinating and exploiting workers, women, and migrants and appropriating resources for the sake of profits alone. Many practices have been embraced by the climate movement, from blockades to climate camps and global strikes. At the same time, workers' strikes and protests in the transport, mining, fossil fuel and coal

sectors, against the worsening of working conditions legitimised under the banner of the green transition urge us to think how to stretch the limits of our initiatives. Workers striking in order not to lose their jobs are struggling against a system that pits their interests against the ecological needs of all through the imperative of the green transition. They face the same system that climate activists want to change, a system whose reproduction weighs on the free labour of women and on the wages of all workers. Here lies a potential connection that must be politically constructed and practised. Let us be clear on this: the task of climate activists is not that of 'teaching' others how to lead the struggle; rather, as German comrades from IL point out, they have to contribute in building «credible, actionable and concrete alternatives to the dominant narrative» that help overcoming differences. Our transnational climate and class initiative must come to terms with this, and build a power out of the political connection of those differences.

This is why we think that a refusal of climate-change policies must be part of a struggle against a war which is fought with actual weapons in Ukraine, and with economic and political weapons all over the world. Today, a struggle to change the climate of violence that the war is

legitimising is a struggle to build the conditions for a class conflict that is otherwise suffocated by national conflicts. Under the threat of energy ‘insecurity’, the pace and scope of the green transition planned by the EU and national governments has changed, aiming at subduing any practical contestation of its effects to the superior interest of building a stronger Europe within the war.

The strike is one of the political tools ecological movements have been embracing in these years to express their refusal against capital and States’ unwillingness to put ‘system change’ before ‘climate change’. While it is as clear as ever that no government will deliver a ‘just transition’ out of this society polluted by capitalist, sexist, and racist hierarchies, what we can expect from a climate strike is still a matter of discussion. The global movement of the feminist strike against patriarchal violence has deeply contributed to widening the meaning and scope of the strike as a social process that aims to hit the pillars of the violence that continually reproduces society. We think that in order to keep growing, the process of the climate strike must be able to grasp the lines of climate and class conflict that crisscross the transnational sphere, so as to strengthen the refusal to submit to the whole set of social conditions imposed by the green transition. It must have the ambition of connecting the struggles in workplaces—and there are many already happening within and against the energy and fossil sector, as the French case demonstrate—with those taking place in all terrains impacted by the green transition, and go beyond the limits of national or localised disputes.

As comrades from Bulgaria point out in their contribution, this was the case of the large

wind park investment project in Vetrino, sponsored by the Australian renewables developer CWP Global. This case shows the way in which renewable energy projects replicate practices of creating dependencies from the extractive industry, thus making green and energy neoliberal policies a way to reinforce existing hierarchies. Local communities are hit by these transnational movements of capital that now seek new opportunities for accumulation in the ‘green’ sector and are left unarmed and powerless in the face of a transition presented as necessary and unquestionable.



Swedish comrades from the organization Allt åt alla move from their own territory as well, by questioning the idea of what is commonly conceived as ‘the environment’ in order to stress the link between capital exploitation of nature and people. The governance of mobility within diverse spaces and environments reproduces social and territorial hierarchies. While consolidating capital’s domination over different conditions, this fragments our struggles. Our challenge is to articulate ecological, labour, and social struggles in a transnational initiative that reclaims our own environment, to be built on what

comrades from Germany call “common grounds”. So, their question can resonate in all of our reflections: “how can we advance an internationalism that derives its common denominator from our shared experience of separation?”

Certainly, the war is a radical experience of separation. Among the worldwide effects that Putin’s war in Ukraine is having, there is the multiplication of divisions among social movements. This makes our process of transnational organisation much more difficult and shows the importance of refusing the very

logic of war. At the same time, the war is practically changing the way the green transition is both legitimised and delivered. Even when it is not materially connected with a given national or local policy, the war affects our daily life since it is used to justify gas prices going sharply up or the economic support for fossil fuels extractions which will only work for oil companies and trash climate targets. As pointed out by the two interviews from Italy and the UK, the war introduced several discontinuities in European energy plans. Simone Ogno (ReCommon) suggests that the inability to tap into Russian gas led European governments to

move from Russian authoritarianism to similarly authoritarian suppliers like the United Arab Emirates; on the other hand, it justified the revival of fossil fuels. Referring to the situation in Germany, the interview highlights the connection between this return to fossil fuels and the worsening living, health, and working conditions of those employed in the mines and those living in the affected areas. At this stage the tension between the need to leverage the transition to become autonomous from Russian gas and the need to make use of immediately more efficient energy sources keeps the priority of accumulation intact. In this perspective, what Simon Pirani argues about the ongoing plans for Ukrainian post-war reconstruction is crucial. While Putin's war is hitting not only the State, but the whole Ukrainian population, the EU is starting to organise the neoliberal transformation of Ukraine's energy system, to make it apt for the single-market needs. This shows that the green transition is part and parcel of the climate of war that the EU and other states are fueling around the world, with growing militarism, violence and nationalism being the main targets that a [transnational politics of peace](#), for social and climate justice has to confront. Our climate and class effort should move toward making political and transnational connections explicit, so that we can cope with entangled conditions of subjugation and subvert them.

As comrades from Italy point out, “the war is imposing its own ecology,” which is also visible in the reaffirmation of the centrality of logistics for the accumulation of capital. This urges us to decentralise our gaze when we look at projects such as big highroads, wind parks, port expansions, tunnels, gasifiers etc. that directly affect the environment we live in. A climate strike that refuses such ‘green’ projects cannot avoid the task of unveiling the

conditions lying behind these supposedly ‘technical’ or ‘necessary’ decisions, highlighting what the green transition systematically hides. Protests silenced in the name of making an environment attractive for big corporate investments; workers blackmailed or directly fired to make space for a better-fitting workforce in a transformed production; phase-out processes for fossil fuel that mainly put a new-fashion green hue over old-fashioned financial and extractive profits; imposed cuts on energy consumption that will hit the most those who already bear the weight of social reproduction, namely women and migrants. We cannot successfully confront any of these obstacles to our political initiatives without facing the unavoidable challenge represented by the transnational dimension that produces them. We need to make our ecologism a way to transform this challenge into an opportunity.

With all these issues in mind we will organize in the framework of [the TSS Transnational Meeting in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, from February 10 to 12, 2023](#), workshops and discussions on our climate class conflicts to come and their constitutive relationships with other struggles in social reproduction and against the war. This Journal is thus an open tool that can trigger further moments of sharing experiences and perspectives towards the Frankfurt meeting. Anyone who feels like contributing to the Journal or wants to be part of this TSS initiative can reach us, as we are open for collectively writing more issues of the Journal with interviews, reports, articles, or any material that tells of ongoing climate and class conflicts and want to express their connection with other struggles. To strike the war, the climate crisis, and the green transition, we need a transnational climate class conflict!



MAKE CONNECTIONS EXPLICIT

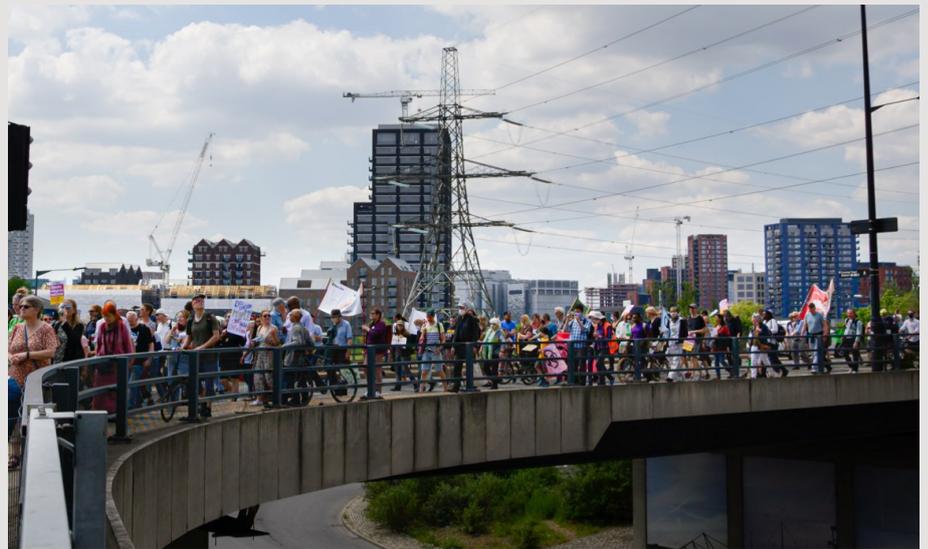
AN INTERVIEW WITH SIMON PIRANI ON WAR, CLIMATE, AND CLASS CONFLICT BY TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL STRIKE PLATFORM

The complete version of this article can be read on the [TSS Platform website](#)

TSS: In the last years, the climate movement used the strike as its main political tool. Which impact do you think this movement is having on social movements in general and which are the main challenges for the climate movement now?

Simon Pirani: For at least two centuries, “strike” meant the collective refusal to do paid work. But under the impact of feminist and other movements, “strike” has come to cover a wider range of actions, among which that of the school students’ “Fridays for Future” movement. I think there was a moment when these new movements seemed to have the potential to change social movements more broadly. Then came the pandemic and made organising more difficult. Recently, I have noticed two trends. The first is the growth of protests and climate movements in Africa – such as Don’t Gas Africa and Stop EACOP – that add to the decades of organising against oil companies in the Niger Delta. A second trend is a movement among scientists, engineers, and others who see speaking out about climate policy as their responsibility. For example, some scientists have recently called for civil disobedience in «Nature Climate Change», while organisations such as the Architects Climate Action Network speak with real authority about decarbonizing buildings.

A big challenge is to bring these movements together in a way



that effectively challenges the State and capital. Ever since 1992, an important function of climate talks has been to maintain a connection between state actions and civil society. That connection is breaking. More and more people understand that states are willfully conspiring with capital to drive the world to disaster. The challenge to us is to generalise and organise that movement to bring about social change, without which the juggernaut of global heating will keep accelerating.

The green transition impacts both production and social reproduction. These are thus terrains of struggle for climate movements. On which ground do you see this possible, considering the different conditions that women, workers, migrants, and lgbtq+ people face on a transnational level in terms of effects of both the climate crisis itself and of its neoliberal government?

The first, urgent task is to

deconstruct the words about “green transitions”. Many of these words are greenwash. Here in London, we have a Labour mayor who claims to be the world’s greenest, but who refuses to listen to our protests against the construction of the Silvertown Tunnel. The UK government talks about “green transition” while licensing new oil fields and planning road projects of its own. And then the European Union in July deemed gas and nuclear to be “green” fuels for investment purposes. In all these cases, the greenwash is combined with technofixes: electric vehicles, hydrogen, carbon capture and storage – all of dubious value in terms of decarbonization, but all easy routes to capital accumulation.

Social movements need to pay closer attention to the relationship between technologies and social change. In Europe, since the price of gas has gone through the roof, nothing could be more relevant than

insulating homes and fitting them with electric heat pumps. Claiming these technologies could bind together the climate issue with the growing movements in response to inflation and in defence of living standards. In transport, equally basic technologies should be claimed as ours: bike lanes, electric scooters, cheap or free public transport. Then we can open up the prospect of integrated urban energy systems, and seek ways to confront capital, and the State.

I think that this point applies to women, LGBTQ+ people and migrants as much as to other workers – to the extent that they already bear the burden of other inequalities, the cost-of-living crisis is hitting them hardest. Capitalist society is full of manifold injustices, and these are exacerbated by climate change in many ways. For example, in our campaign about the tunnel project in London, we have argued that the borough of Newham, into which the tunnel will empty traffic on the north side of the river Thames, has one of the worst air pollution problems in the UK – and one of the poorest, and the most ethnically diverse, populations. These infrastructure projects are piling misery on the most vulnerable people in society. The connections are real: we need always to make them explicit.

Putin’s invasion of Ukraine has had devastating effects first and foremost on Ukrainians and then also on the global political scenario. Which are the main effects the war had on green EU policies, and how do you think they affect climate movements’ possibilities to struggle against the green transition?

We should deconstruct the so-called “energy crisis”. Russian oil output has fallen due to western government sanctions; yet Russia’s revenues are much greater than last year because of the huge rise in oil prices. Moreover, from early last year,

the Kremlin decided to limit volumes of gas delivered to Europe to exert political pressure. Since the invasion of Ukraine in February, Gazprom has turned the taps down further. The Kremlin has smashed up its trading relationship with Europe for the sake of its imperialist military adventure in Ukraine. This is the first reason wholesale gas prices went up so sharply, the second reason being that the wholesale gas market has been liberalised. European politicians have used the “energy crisis” as an excuse to encourage massive new investments in oil and gas production, although it takes up to ten years to get supplies out of these new projects. So this has absolutely nothing to do with solving the problem of gas supply for this or next winter. It’s a way of smuggling a lifeline to oil companies, to allow them to trash climate targets.

How do you think climate and class politics can relate with each other in the war scenario we live in, so to overcome artificially fabricated divisions between climate activists’ and workers’ interests?

The outlines of the type of politics that could unite class and climate movements seem clear: a crash programme of home insulation and heat pumps; extend forms of State and social ownership over electricity networks; the burden of high gas prices must not be forced onto households; electricity and heat should be provided as a service; prioritize renewable electricity and integration of energy systems in the public interest; align the energy systems with measures to tackle global heating, for which the main way is to reduce fossil fuels. Many of the technologies needed to do this already exist; the obstructions arise from the way that States manage economies and societies in the interests of capital. The extreme right claims that households’ spiraling energy bills are a result of governments’ military

spending to aid Ukraine; they present this as a burden being put on working people’s shoulders, along with Ukrainian refugees. We are also witnessing the shameful sight of “leftists” in western Europe going along with this narrative. Unity of social struggles with climate struggles is also a means to push back and defeat the right’s influence.

While the war is still ongoing, the EU is starting to undertake plans for Ukrainian post-war reconstruction, which entail reforming its energy system to make it apt for European market standards. Which challenges does this pose to labour and social and climate movements?

It is too soon to say what the reconstruction of the Ukrainian energy system will involve. Despite the extremely difficult circumstances, Ukrainian socialists have [outlined](#) policies for post-war reconstruction based on public investment, defence of labour rights and cancellation of Ukraine’s foreign debt. These proposals stand in sharp contrast to the plans made by the European Commission and the Ukrainian government. Reconstruction of the energy system was discussed at a recent on-line event organised by Spilne, the Ukrainian socialist journal, where I suggested [some principles for post-war reconstruction](#). Something we should definitely oppose is the production of hydrogen from renewable electricity in Ukraine, for export to European countries. Also, although in the short term the Ukrainian electricity system will need nuclear power to work, socialists should avoid supporting this expensive, inevitably State- and military-connected, technology. Renewable electricity, and energy conservation measures, don’t solve everything overnight, but they should be our focus for combining the fight to halt global heating with our aims of social justice.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ENVIRONMENTS

BY ALLT ÅT ALLA

This is a text about the environment. But perhaps in a slightly different way. It's about the environments we live and work in. And how we create a political practice that can benefit from them or set them in motion. The points or conclusions of this text are not new. But they are written in a playful way and with the ambition to inspire.

encompass the workers' most basic safety needs. But in the 1960s and 70s, the concept of 'the working environment' was the nexus that could bring the labor movement together with the environmental movement. The central argument for this was that the same chemicals and toxins that harmed workers were then released to harm nature. As a miner said when interviewed by

reading of Michel Foucault, factories were spaces of enclosure where workers' labor-force had to achieve maximum efficiency within a closed system. This was the apogee of disciplinary societies, which were later followed by what Foucault and Deleuze called control societies. Here, the logic of containment was replaced by the division of different environments and the restriction of who can move where. Under controlled forms, the individual became a dividual – a worker-consumer – whose movement through the city was limited by access cards, social and digital codes, and access to capital through mortgages which allowed a form of financial control.

The purpose of this theoretical excursion is to better describe how people move in society and perhaps specifically in the contemporary urban environment. Through phenomena such as gification and flexibilization, the spatial divisions of both work and consumption have been thrown into turmoil. This has led to new forms of exploitation through the expansion of the sphere of work. Today, work takes place under diffuse forms of employment and even reproductive work has become wage labor – the home as a refuge has been reduced to another domain of production. But in all this, there is also room to think about resistance and class struggle in a new way.

In the city, the practices of the climate movement are mainly focused on various forms of



miljö [*miljö*] – environment
[in'vaiəɾənmənt] noun
- external conditions that affect all life; surroundings

'Environment' is a word with many different uses, which can be paired with other words to encapsulate specific conditions or settings. One such example is 'the working environment' – a term that has the potential to encompass more than meets the eye. Among other things, it can link the struggles in the workplace with life in the outside world. For this reason, for decades, employers have tried to limit its meaning to only

Sara Lidman for her 1968-book *Gruva* [Mine]: "Every time I see articles about the pollution of nature ... the silting up of waterways and so on, I think of the pollution of the workforce, how our minds are clogged with dust poison and noise."

One could say that this quote describes a bygone era of Swedish industrialism, when environmental toxins were not very strictly regulated and workers were more exposed; yet, this quote still speaks of the relationship between environment and work today. According to Gilles Deleuze's

demonstrations or blockades. The actions are often directed either against the various headquarters of fossil capital or against roads to prevent car traffic. Often, getting media attention for these types of actions becomes a goal in itself. These actions are clearly related to the climate and global warming struggle, as they blame the politicians and corporations responsible for global warming and demand that they take responsibility. But if you're specifically looking for a struggle for the environment, you need to look beyond the big city to find examples, like the forest rebellion or the resistance against mining up in Sápmi. Rather than debating which of these is the most effective struggle, we would point out that struggles in the urban environment require greater ambition than reducing car traffic and increasing public transport.

What needs to be done? Obviously, the flow of cars through the city needs to be stopped and replaced by other forms of movement. But it's not just about changing modes of transportation. We also need to think about the movement and circulation of the city as a whole. Today, the modern city is a long-term smoker with a resting pulse of 120 bpm. Slowing down the pace of the city becomes a crucial political objective where the climate struggle, the urban struggle, and the workers' struggle can meet (and perhaps most importantly: learn from each other). One way to approach this is by countering the commercialization and financialization that are cancerously spreading from the city center. We can also learn from our movement's history and look back at the Almstriden ("The Elm Conflict"). Fighting for more trees and green space inside the city would help create a calmer, cooler city instead of people having to rush across smoldering asphalt during summer heat

waves. But trees can also act as a roadblock to the expansion of capital. When the elms were left standing, it was also impossible to build the shopping center planned to replace them.

Nor is it possible to think about these issues solely in terms of the design of the city center. Stockholm is a city that, like many other large cities, is defined by the center, the periphery, and the segregation in between. The ever-increasing prices of public transport without any form of compensation for those workers in the suburbs who are most in need of the metro or commuter trains show this well. The control society restricts mobility in the city, widens class divisions, increases segregation, and builds walls. The suburban working class are restricted in their freedom of movement to the extent that the suburban centers, controlled by profit hungry entrepreneurs, become inescapable. Just recently another of our suburban town centers, which used to belong to the public sector, was sold off into private hands. A breakdown and reorganization of time and space are required to serve our political will. What is needed is an urban environment for interpersonal relations rather than financial transactions. A city for politics, culture, play, and love.

The transition from disciplinary societies to control societies was about a reorganization of how power functions under capitalism. These processes are long and sometimes difficult to see while they are ongoing. During a reorganization, old institutions are first dismantled before new ones can take their place. In this movement lies our space for action. Before the new power apparatus is built, we can seize the opportunity to create something of our own. This is what environmental struggle is for us. Environments are the local zones that overlap and allow movement within the class. By taking these under common control, we help to create the society we want while participating in a worldwide struggle for climate, freedom, and justice.



ENERGY TRANSITION AND THE WAR

INTERVIEW WITH SIMONE OGNO (RE-COMMON)
BY CLIMATE CLASS CONFLICT ITALY

CCC-IT: The outbreak of the war in Ukraine has had a major impact on the green transition. On the one hand it produced an apparent stalemate, with countries such as Germany and Italy questioning the gradual abandonment of fossil fuels in this crisis phase. On the other hand, the war was invoked by the European Union as a reason to accelerate the transition to renewables, so as to solve the problem of energy dependence on Russian gas. In your opinion, what kind of impact has the war and the subsequent crisis had on the European project of green transition and the energy policies of the EU and its states?

The invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation has impacted on what allows contemporary societies to function: energy production. As a cascade, this reverberated throughout the production chains. For these reasons, we could say that this war disrupted economic power relations as we knew them, something that not even the Covid-19 pandemic had managed to do. In order to break Europe's dependence on Russian hydrocarbons, especially gas, governments have done nothing more than fit into the well-trodden tracks of the energy multinationals, grafting new spirals of energy dependence on countries that are no less authoritarian than the Russian Federation or characterised by strong socio-political instability: Egypt, Algeria, the Republic of

Congo, Angola and Mozambique, to name but a few. In other cases, we are dealing with countries where violence takes on systemic connotations, especially at the economic and social level, with strong racialisation features: the United States and Australia are the most emblematic cases.

The acceleration of renewables should be welcomed. However, we should also ask ourselves questions: should the people who brought us to the brink of the climate crisis be the ones to pull the strings of a world without fossil fuels? And does all the energy we now produce really serve us? Who needs it? What are the impacts of renewables on a large scale? What protagonism of territories? In North Rhine-Westphalia, for instance, there are still industrial plans for coal mine expansion, which are resulting in the demolition of entire villages in the surrounding areas.

What are the material effects on the living and working conditions of the people living in the areas affected by these

mining projects? What is the composition of the ecological movement in Germany that you know, and what criticism has been made of the green transition?

If there is one image that represents Germany's new coal rush, it is surely the demolition of eight wind turbines to facilitate the expansion of the Garzweiler II open-cast mine in North Rhine-Westphalia. Here, the energy transition is manipulated at will by RWE, a wholly privately owned multi-service company that dictates the agenda to the local and federal government. Statistically, there are 2,000 deaths per year from coal-fired power plants in the region, not to mention the repercussions suffered by pregnant women, as pollutant particles reach the placenta. In the most impacted areas, babies weigh less and are more often born prematurely. Near Garzweiler II climate justice activists built a village of wooden huts, small tree houses and occupied some houses to save the village of Lützerath. The garrison, complete with a tent that also



serves as an information point, has been going on for two years. Last October, RWE and the local CDU-Green-led government made a terrifying agreement: of the six villages threatened with destruction by the mine expansion, only Lützerath would disappear, while the coal stop in the region would be brought forward from 2038 to 2030. However, the amount of coal to be burned in the neighbouring power stations, 290 million tonnes, will be higher than had been planned for 2038. To excavate the first half of the Garzweiler mine, eleven villages had already been wiped out and 30,000 people relocated.

Those resisting Lützerath come from different groups, a broad composition that bears some similarities to the No Tav movement in Italy: groups of Catholics, anarchists, Fridays for Future, Greens on a collision course with their own party and so on. One thing is clear: Lützerath represents much more than a village in North Rhine-Westphalia. If the coal industry can still make its voice heard in this 'phase-out' process, then the energy transition will never really happen.

Since the outbreak of the war in Ukraine, financial speculation on the price of raw materials has accelerated, with staggering increases in bills that pay the profits of energy companies and depend to a large extent on financial speculation on the instability of supplies. In Europe, finance has been a mainstay of climate governance for many years. What challenges does finance pose on a transnational level to an ecological movement that demands climate justice and thus also rejects speculation on the living and working conditions of all?

It is one of the most complex challenges, because it operates on a predominantly non-material

level. Of course, there are the financial institutions that support the fossil industry with loans and investments, but that is only one part. The mechanisms of financialisation involve a much wider range of actors, who can thus speculate undisturbed, as we have seen in the case of the Amsterdam gas market and as is beginning to happen in the US gas market 'Henry Hub'. It is important, whenever possible, for the transnational ecological movement to attack these actors and at the same time try to understand how to trigger processes of 'just financial transition', in a similar way to the experiments taking place in the area of energy production and consumption. The questions to be asked are very similar.

The UN COP27 on climate change has just been held in Egypt, where no one has raised any issues with the arrest of 118 environmental activists since the summit began. While the associations and activists were banned from participating and demonstrating, 25% of the fossil fuel lobby was present at the summit. What was the outcome of this COP27 and what effect will it have on policies to manage the energy crisis brought about by the war?

COP27 was one of the most unsuccessful editions since 2015. Acknowledging the importance of the principle of loss and damage was an important step, because it speaks to us of historical responsibility in the climate crisis - so those who destroy pay: it puts the issue back on a level of justice, including social justice. Actions can often be built around principles, but on this front they are currently a mirage. Once again, the fossil industry, protected by the authoritarian Al-Sisi regime and its strategic gas export interests, emerges victorious.

How do you think the ecological movement can connect its struggle with that of men and women who suffer the effects of both the ecological transition and industrialisation plans that remain anchored in fossil fuels? How do you think the artificial division between ecological activism and workers' interests can be overcome? In other words, what form should a transnational struggle for climate justice take for you today?

If we take the one closest to us as our point of observation, i.e. the European context, it is good that we continue to expose our privileges and try to deconstruct them. We must put ourselves in a position to listen especially to those who resist in the Global South, since the actors of extractivism historically come from our societies. And, consequently, attack these actors: in short, practice internationalism in a global context that has changed since the term was coined.

The fossil fuel industry is destined to disappear - as are related industries, and with it an unimaginable amount of jobs. Do we really want to allow the energy multinationals to operate the divide and conquer between environmental activism and the world of work for one or two more years of their survival, before they crash and burn, leaving behind social rubble as well as environmental and climatic rubble? Or do we want to try to overcome the fossil-centred extractivist model and build new societies?

We should point even more strongly to the actors responsible for the climate crisis, and at the same time seriously question the concepts of production and consumption, the mechanisms of wealth extraction from territories and how they reproduce themselves in a changing context. And we should do it together.

THE WAY OF THE GREEN TRANSITION WILL NOT BE QUESTIONED - THE CASE OF VETRINO

BY ELITSA KAPUSHEVA, MARTINA KARAGYOZA, STANISLAV DODOV

The complete version of this article can be read on the [TSS Platform website](#)

Europe's green transition project seems to be on an even more cumbersome path than it was two years ago when the European Green Deal was officially approved and the policies were set in motion. Back in 2020 the main challenges before EU representatives and high functionaries were to convince their national counterparts and the broader public in the impermeability of the initiative, and to make the abstract idea of the Union's full climate neutrality by 2050 more tangible. This attempt to re-establish the EU as a frontliner of green pioneership was supported by a political narrative balancing between boasting about the myriad entrepreneurial possibilities unlocked by the available funds for investment in green technologies, and ensuring that the green transition will also be a just one, with no one left behind. However, the ripple effect ensuing from the global and regional crises piling on top of each other lit up that the "leave no one behind" motto was not tailored to address the needs of people. With the ongoing energy crisis across Europe we see that the narrative of *energy transition quickly shifted to one emphasizing on the necessity of securing viable energy additions.*

It is in this context where the case with Vetrino municipality posing a first of a kind moratorium on wind turbines entered the spotlight of media attention. We took interest in this case as it can serve as a foundation for a broader discussion on where the overall public discourse about the green transition and its implementation fails to engage (with) affected communities.

The wind park project in question, Dobrotich Wind Park, is interested in developing a wind farm of 74 wind turbines on the territory of Vetrino Municipality and the neighbouring Valchi Dol Municipality. If built, the wind park will be among the largest such on the Balkans.



It should be noted that, despite the very high dependence of Bulgaria on coal, all public polling and research on public opinion in the past few years regarding the green transition in general, and renewables in particular, show a consistently significant majority in favour of the need to change the economy. Local advocates against the wind park are also making it clear that they are not against green energy as such. In other words some general disagreement with renewable energy and/or green policies is hardly a factor to be considered.

The case is narrated as a battle between two business visions that advocate for two different political and socially responsible goals – one, for tourism business and supposed preservation of history and culture, and the other, for energy business and development

of the region economically and sustainably. However, we do not learn whether these are really the only visions; even if the locals' position has some relevance, it is only a function of these two visions; their authentic voice is unnecessary and is completely absent from the media discourse –

we never learn about the local people's opinions and experiences first-hand. For example, even the regional governor, commenting on the municipality's moratorium on any wind turbine construction, says: "if the councillors at the municipality reconsider their position, they will give the 'green light' in the discussion to hear expert opinions from different fields." That is, it would be a good change not to hear the opinion of residents again.

Ultimately, it seems, the motivation behind any decision, apart from not going through or with the voice of the affected, is not about climate change as such or the locals' wellbeing, but about a battle of business interests. In this battle the media discourse endorses very clearly what we could call corporate gaslighting. Under corporate gaslighting we

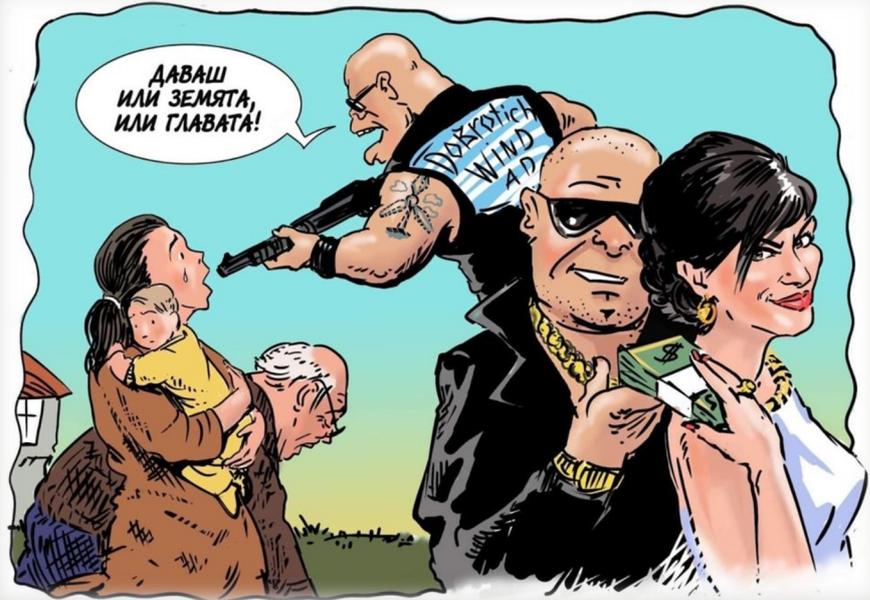
understand the act of undermining local's arguments and ecological, health, and economic concerns by dismissing them as unfounded, uneducated, or superstitious. Further, corporate gaslighting leaves the impression that local people are too naive to have their own legitimate reasons for doing or agreeing with something (or not). Hence, their position de facto is reduced to a blind following, being torn between listening only to the supposedly good new investor and the supposedly bad old investor.

All of these aspects of the discourse – the voicelessness, the gaslighting, the absence of holistic approach, and the exhaustion of democratic means combine to close the horizon of possibilities available to local development. This closing has two significant implications. First is that the conflict will persist unresolved indefinitely, perhaps just suppressed. Second, that the horizon may be predetermined well beyond the specific case.

One of the significant features of the new investor's last proposal to the municipality includes aid for households to cover part of their energy bills for the period of 35 years (mentioned in media coverage almost every time); educational and stipend programmes; a budget of 10 million BGN to be allocated according to the decisions of a special committee consisting of local authorities, civil organizations and the investor; and infrastructural improvements, among others. It certainly sounds tempting. "The sooner this happens, the better for the people", says the CEO of Dobrotich Wind.

Such an approach to wide scale investments for the sake of local authorities accepting an offer have been around since forever, but what's important is that renewable energy companies are transferring it directly as a good practice from extractive industries. This tells something important about the political economy of local and regional businesses succeeding in pushing their interests through.

This caricature started circulating in groups and pages of opponents of the wind park in mid-October uploaded by the CEO of Historical park. The gangster says "You either give your land or your head!"



Neofit Rilski, the village neighbouring Vetrino 12 km to the southeast and also a part of Vetrino municipality, is practically devoured by the so-called Historical park "10 000 years through the five epochs of human civilization" (as public announcements put it), along with various entertainments like medieval duels, authentic foods, practice of crafts, etc. Then the story goes as expected: the park is the biggest employer in the region, but it also literally owns all land in the village. This is where the "old" investor's threat of leaving and selling everything should the wind park gets built, becomes important: a land and its serfs cannot have two lords. In the end, perhaps, local people can only choose their lord, but nothing more. What's crucial is that this creates a context in which political horizons are closing.

The presented case study challenged us to rethink our assumption that ordinary people are systematically deprived of access to platforms and means to voice their positions. Inquiring further we found a more discouraging reality. Namely, that given certain conditions the system, i.e. the framework of green transition, is somewhat *welcoming towards political participation, but it is confined to having a performative capacity.*

The path to green transition, at least in the case of the European Green Deal, is envisioned through the process of greening of the economic growth, and never as forms of degrowth and by extension the suppression of extractivism. In this framework, green technologies and renewables infrastructure projects are narrated as a success of the new green business order where the affected are deprived of agency. Simultaneously, the neoliberal state fully forsakes the basic task of facilitating communication between the parties, and instead it becomes an enabler for the said systemic success. In this (Bulgarian) context the lack of recognized participation of the ordinary people only deepens the crisis of representation present nationally for the past at least two years. A key question derives from these observations – whether the overarching neoliberal framework had set in stone the scope and the direction of the green transition all over the map or if it is only the EU Green Deal so extremely inseparable from the neoliberal logic; it may well be that existing practices and regulations around the world provide better soil for an actually just transition.

WHAT DOES THE GREEN TRANSITION MEAN?

BY CLIMATE CLASS CONFLICT ITALY

What does 'green transition' mean today? We have no short-hand answer. Instead, it seems that the war in Ukraine with its worldwide effects has complicated any answer to this question, as well as the possibility of making the green transition into a battlefield that we practice in Italy, but which must be looked at from a transnational perspective. The green transition is in fact today at the center of a climate and class conflict between the ecological movements, which in recent years have strongly demanded a 'just transition' and systemic change, and the 'green' policies of governments committed to ensuring a future of profits and inequalities despite climate change. As recent mobilizations and policies of green accumulation made clear, no system that devastates the environment and preserves injustice and inequality can be overthrown without the strength of a transnational movement that aims to confront how the green transition is affecting industrial policies, workers' organisations, and the way millions of women and men are put to work everywhere in Europe.

In Italy for almost two years we had a minister for 'the green transition' who, through 'plans for a safe energy transition', appeals for a return to nuclear power, the unblocking of drilling and incentives to construction companies for energy efficiency, explained very well what 'transition' meant to him. That is, translating European regulations on the green and digital transition



to allow Italian production to adapt to the transformations of the global market and thus to preserve capital.

Today that ministry no longer exists, replaced by the ministry for 'environmental protection and energy security'. For the new conservative government, ecology is first and foremost an 'environmental' issue that must be 'protected' and 'conserved', while energy is only an issue insofar as it regards national 'security'. Beneath this ideological dimension, however, it is possible to trace several material continuities, consistent with the new phase of the conflict within the ecological transition marked by the war in Ukraine. In December 2021, the European commission led by von der Leyen launched its green taxonomy by including gas among the strategic energy sources for the transition to renewables. However, today the militarization of that resource has made supplies more insecure and the need to protect the European market from

speculation by finance and big business more urgent than ever. The politics of war has subordinated the long transition to renewable sources to the urgency of coming to terms with the current crisis of social reproduction. Nonetheless, in the name of war, those same policies are today further legitimised. In other words, war is imposing its own ecology, made up of unsustainable gun violence, wage-robbing inflation and high bills, militarism and nationalism that consolidate racist and sexual hierarchies. Part of this ecology depends upon the legitimization of investments that appear grey and black behind an increasingly eroded green patina that struggles to take root over drilling rigs, regasifiers, or enlargements of strategic logistical hubs. Already before the war, the green transition could not promise a future free of pollution or exploitation. But the war and the EU's wartime policies show every day more clearly on the one hand that no agreement between governments will give

us back the climate they altered. And, on the other, that the crisis produced by climate change does not impact homogenous environments.

'Security' is today the ideological and material hat of the governments' energy and green transition, and as such coincides with the attempt to align the interests of millions of men and women, migrants, and workers with those of the states. We need to avoid this trap at all costs. The nationalist rhetoric with which the Meloni government began the hunt for ecological 'fanatics' - guilty, according to the president, of suffering too much from the natural turmoil of their tender age - must therefore be read in continuity with the warning issued last summer by the then Prime Minister Mario Draghi, for whom energy saving at the same time pleaded the cause of climate and peace. Whereas to Draghi, and also to others in Europe, the energy transition within the war had to pass through investments in renewable energies and reduced consumption, now in the name of 'energy security' any source of supply will work. Such appeals fuel unsustainable alternatives: between peace and pollution reduction, between national security and the abandonment of fossil fuels, between 'western liberal democracy' and 'eastern authoritarianism', between fighting climate change and lowering the cost of energy bills.

War, in short, imposes its own ecology not only because it materially influences every field of our political initiative, but also because it is used as an opportunity to label as 'ecological' things that otherwise could hardly be such. In wartime, any kind of security is always subordinated to the security of

production. In times of war and energy 'insecurity', even an extra borehole - which, by the way, is not enough to guarantee a substantial fraction of Italy's energy needs - can be passed off under the banner of the green transition. Similarly, investments in large infrastructures - such as the widening of a highway in Bologna or the implementation of a gasifier in Ravenna - have long been defined as 'symbols' of the transition to new forms of land consumption under which lie old forms of labour exploitation and pollution. And yet, even the new logistical configuration of the European single market, involving major infrastructural works in Italy and elsewhere, is affected by the new political phase opened by the war. The centrality of logistics in the green transition show the need of a transnational organisation against it.

This is why we think it is essential to connect the different subjects fighting not to pay the price of the war, of large polluting investments, of drilling, as well as of the intensification of exploitation and the sexist and racist inequalities brought by them. In Piombino, Tuscany, there were mobilisations against the floating regasifier considered a crucial part of Italy's 'energy security' plan, and in Bologna on October 22nd thousands took to the streets to carry on a fight for climate justice linked to social struggles against patriarchy, racism and exploitation. We must learn from these experiences in order that the struggles to come do not limit themselves to 'defending' their own territory, but connect with the overall social conditions behind local infrastructures and projects, whose political character is determined at a transnational level.



ALLIED GROUNDS: INTERNATIONALISM, COMMONS, AND THE CHALLENGES OF ORGANIZATION

BY MAGDALENA TAUBE & KRYSZTYAN WOZNICKI

The complete version of this article can be read on the [Berliner Gazette website](#)

International cooperation is more needed than ever in a globalised world, where the challenges and problems always have a transnational dimension and can therefore only be addressed and tackled by way of cross-border collaboration. Grassroots movements, associations, solidarity communities, and citizens' initiatives find themselves weakened after two years of pandemic and rising inflation, thrown back to local struggles for survival. Meanwhile, the livelihoods of a growing number of the world's population are at stake as basic means of survival and the commons at large are being destroyed. As the logic of capitalism dominates the world, these struggles intensify, thereby exacerbating the economic-ecological crises and causing impoverishment and precarization to increase rapidly practically everywhere. What does it mean to practise transnational solidarity and to fight for universal commons under these conditions? What kind of organisations could enable international cooperation?

I. Who? An Internationalism of all

The livelihoods of a growing number of the world's population are at stake because more and more of us are losing the means necessary to make life worth living and to ensure survival. This is despite the fact that we are working every day. Of course, it is problematic to lump together

labour that is productive or reproductive, waged or unwaged, compulsive or free, precarious or cognitive, formal or informal, illegalized or invisibilized, machine-aided or semi-automated – and say that we are all in the same boat. However, ever more often we are being



deployed as labourers without giving our consent, without developing an awareness (as labouring subjects), and, in an increasing number of cases, without getting paid. Take for example ostensible non-labor, e.g., self-affirming activity (via posts on social networks) that generates information about us and our desires, or CAPTCHA routines that while are disguised as a mere security measure, silently force users to do jobs intelligent machines cannot yet do.

While in a previous historical moment it might have been possible to separate “work” and other “life-making activities,” we

cannot do this today. While capitalism adapts, diversifies, and expands its mechanisms of exploitation, the individual and collective consciousness of exploited workers is not keeping pace. Moreover, as it stands now, we do not emerge as a collective subject from being lumped

together in capitalism's machineries of exploitation.

Now, how can we advance an internationalism that derives its common denominator from our shared experience of separation? How can new class struggles derive their vitality from the multiplicity of laboring subjects – from gig jobbers in Bucharest, agricultural workers in the eastern region of Ghana, electronics manufacturers in Zhengzhou, coders in Mumbai, illegalized migrants in Berlin, Black and Latinx cleaners in Los Angeles, sex workers in Nairobi, and care workers in Barcelona? If new worker collectivities are challenged to emerge, then what

could our strategies be in the face of a globally interconnected adversary that challenges us to come up with new collective responses? How could struggles linked to the workplace go beyond a defence and consolidation of the condition of the working class, thus liberating ourselves from being nothing more than workers – that is, from being subjected to an ethics/ ideology that defines our entire existence according to our worth as labourers?

II. What? Universal Commons

Social environments that are increasingly devastated by capitalism are often experienced and studied as isolated panic sites. However, our task is to face seemingly unrelated sets of pressing questions in adjacent and interconnected fields. Pursuing a politics of the everyday, we need to practise solidarity and care with people with whom we do not share a common socialisation, race, gender, origin, and, ultimately, workplace. Confronting the emergencies of the day together, we can reboot our profoundly fragmented and desolidarized societies. This means getting back to tackling those co-existential problems that responses to the Covid-19 pandemic and Russia's invasion of Ukraine contributed to erasing from the agenda of governments and many civil society actors, most importantly the climate crisis and the ongoing enclosure (also read: privatisation and capitalization) of the commons.

Built around cheap nature and cheap labour, the logistical ecosystem of capitalism has turned the Global South into a permanent crisis zone, ever further burdening regions that are already among the most indebted and worst hit by extreme weather events, floods, and drought – and the least

prepared to deal with them. Furthermore, cheap nature and cheap labour are being “discovered” anew. No longer prioritising offshoring, EU investments are now being made in nearshoring (primarily in Eastern Europe) and US/Canada investments in onshoring. This enables making long-distance logistical supply chains shorter, making capitalist accumulation cycles faster as well as ostensibly safer: “Asia at the doorstep,” as EU players have come to construct countries like Ukraine, Romania or Serbia. In the course of this, privatisation, property speculation, and extractivism are being reinforced in regions already traumatised and devastated by either colonisation or post-1989 neoliberal shock therapies. Ultimately, this brings a new quality of crisis production “home,” of which war and extreme weather events are only the most scandalous and least understood expressions.

The bottom line is that the means of production (and circulation) have become the means of climate production. Hence, the question of what it means to reclaim the economy needs to be expanded to or focused on the following set of questions: What if we – the workers – seized the means of production (and circulation) as the means of climate production and put those means in the service of environmental needs and justice? What conditions would have to be created so that all of us not only benefited from but also contributed to enabling universal basic services (housing, education, health care, food, transportation, etc.) and a relational ecosystem based on mutual respect among all forms of life, all species of animals, and all varieties of matter?

III. How? (Re-)Organisation

The question of organisation resonates ever more urgently from the growing frictions in the world of work – frictions that have been echoed in various social movements in the beginning of the 21st century, including EuroMayDay and Clash City Workers. However, as important as social movements have been in assembling collective energies and counter-power at large, they cannot fully account for the problems in the world of work, since their conventional political forms – protesting on the streets, occupying squares, etc. – tend to channel the desire for civil liberties and privileges, rather than the struggle against exploitation of labour power and class structures at large.

Our challenge is to scrutinise anew how said friction can be turned into a political moment which existing political forms such as unions and social movements could account for. To do that, the BG project “Allied Grounds” suggests looking at conventional forms of political organisation in dialogue with informal and non- or post-institutional networks, including those in the realm of reproductive and illegalized labour, as well as anti-capitalist alliances. In this spirit, we should go back in history and reassemble the archive of political organisation in the field of work, revisiting, for instance, the workers of the Caucasian Railway at the end of the 19th century, the workers' councils emerging in 1905, the factory and workplace occupations beginning in 1920, the invisible organisation pioneered during the FIAT strikes in 1959, the general strike declared by the Situationist International in Paris and the workers during the Prague Spring in 1968, the independent unions emerging during the Arab Spring in Egypt or during the Covid-19 pandemic in Eastern Europe.

THE CHALLENGES OF A COMMON STRUGGLE

BY INTERVENTIONISTISCHE LINKE

Compared with other European countries, Germany is still highly industrialised. The production of these industries depends on cheap raw materials and cheap energy. The jobs in the factories are well paid, because many workers are still unionised. Since the mid-1970s in western Germany and since the 1990s - especially in eastern Germany - industrial plants have been dismantled and relocated. This has left behind isolated regions with high endemic unemployment and poverty.

Especially in the coal mining areas there is a strong conflict between the interests of the workers and the necessary actions against the climate crisis. Many workers fear what happened in the Ruhr area after the closing of the mine or the devastation of the Treuhand in East Germany. No structural change, no transformation, took place there and no new jobs replaced the old ones. That is why the Ruhr area and parts of East Germany belong to the poorest regions of Germany.

For the struggle against climate crises and the necessary actions against coal mining, there are therefore problems. There is the conflict to end coal mining vs. job preservation. The workers are understandably afraid for their future. Especially in the structurally weak regions, well-paid jobs are rare. If they lose their jobs, they have to choose between poverty and moving away.

But other industries also have to adjust to changes. The capital faction is trying to protect its profits and domination. The



alternative in the chemical, automotive and agricultural sectors is called „green transformation“. However, this is essentially to be a „carry on in green“. For the automobile industry, only the motor system has to be replaced - a traffic turnaround is not planned. Plastic is not to be saved, but replaced by renewable raw materials. And agribusiness continues to rely on industrialised agriculture with synthetic fertilisers, genetic engineering and soil concentration.

The fears of the workers are used by right-wing parties and Nazis. They present themselves as supposed advocates of the „ordinary people“. They deny the man-made climate crisis. Instead, they spread the lie that everything can stay the way it is. Right-wingers and Nazis portray climate justice as a conspiracy against „hard-working people.“ Together with attacks on a supposed elite and its globalized policies, they reach out to popular resentment and stoke anti-Semitic and racist prejudice.

Their goal is an updated fascism 2.0.

The mood-mongering has already led to the need for anti-fascist protection structures at actions of Ende Gelände in East Germany. Actions against road expansion were also under attack. In the West German lignite mining areas, there are also more attacks and actions by right-wingers. But also trade unions and their members have already demonstrated against places of climate justice and threatened activists.

In this mixed situation, it is difficult to answer the question of how we could bring workers and activists together to fight for a socially and ecologically just future. Nevertheless, it is important to reach out to those who have recognized the urgency of action. Even among the bullshit industry workforce, there are workers demanding climate justice. Even if that means an end to - or rather a radical transformation of - the work they have been doing. In the

REFINERY WORKERS' STRIKES FOR BETTER WAGES - A CHRONICLE FROM FRANCE

BY SYLVAIN ALIAS (UNION SYNDICALE SOLIDAIRES)

An inter-professional strike for the 29th of September was launched by an inter-union (CGT-FSU-Union syndicale Solidaires) as workers refused to pay for the current inflationary and energy crisis and demanded an increase in salaries, pensions, minimum social benefits, investments and hiring in the public sector such as education, health and transport.

In the meantime, workers in the refineries also launched a strike on September 20, and a company like TotalEnergies announced profits of 18 billion euros for the first six months of 2022, with an interim payment of 2.62 billion euros for exceptional dividends to shareholders, while refusing to respond to the demands for wage increases made by workers and unions. The same refusal was expressed by ExxonMobil.

Production stopped at the refineries at Gonfreville-L'Orcher (Seine-Maritime), the largest refinery in France, Feyzin (Rhône), Châteauneuf-les-Martigues (Bouches-du-Rhône), Donges (Loire-Atlantique), Fos-sur-Mer (Bouches-du-Rhône), Port-Jérôme-sur-Seine (Seine-Maritime), and in mid-October, gasoline shortages affected the service stations. An arm wrestling match with the employers and the government began. However, at the ExxonMobil sites in Fos-sur-Mer and Port-Jérôme-sur-Seine, workers suspended the strike on



the 13th and 14th of October, while at the Petroineos refinery in Lavera (Bouches-du-Rhône), there was no strike action, and employees obtained a minimum wage increase of €200 and a 20% increase in the transport bonus.

In the dynamics of the strike on the 29th of September and to support the strike movement in the refineries, a new day of interprofessional strike was launched on the 18th of October, especially in response to the government that had launched administrative measures of requisition of the strikers in order to weaken the movement. In its call for the strike of October 18, the Union syndicale Solidaires put forward the requisition of superprofits and dividends as well as claims to recover the sum of 100 billion euros of tax evasion, while pointing to the question of the central debate carried by the strikers of the place of fossil fuels in the

functioning of capitalism.

On the 18th of October, hundreds of thousands of strikers, men, women, young people, migrant workers, took to the streets. The day was a success, but the dynamic did not rebound afterwards. The strike movement in the refineries was exhausted, and at the end of October, work resumed. The elementary and legitimate demands for wage increase and the sharing of the wealth produced remain, while at the end of December 2022 unprecedented strike movements of workers are being organized in Great Britain in many sectors, calls for a cross-industry strike movement for mid-January are launched in response to the project of President Macron of a new "labor law" on pensions, with an objective to raise the retirement age to 65 years.

The struggles continue...

WE WANT MORE: STRIKE THE WAR AND THE CLIMATE CRISIS

OUTLINE OF THE TSS MEETING IN FRANKFURT, FEBRUARY 10-12, 2023

Venue: Student House of the Goethe University,
Mertonstrasse 26, 60325, Frankfurt am Main

- Read the call out [We Want More: Strike the War and the Climate Crisis](#) and complete the registration form
- We aim to bring together participants from a variety of different collectives, worker unions, climate movements and migrants.
- We want to develop our understanding of the present situation – in all its complexities and contradictions by providing a space for exchange and inquiry. On Saturday morning, centrality will be given to the climate issue and the theoretical and practical challenges we face.
- We come together to challenge our assumptions, reflect on the effectiveness of our struggles and form new alliances and insights to face up to the challenges.

Friday 10th

17:00 – 18:00: Welcome, presentation of the TSS Platform and structure of the meeting

18:00 – 20:00: PLENARY

Fighting the war politics, for a transnational politics of peace

Saturday 11th

10:00 – 12:00: INQUIRIES ON THE PRESENT I End of the month, end of the world: same struggle

As the climate crisis deepens, environmentalist movements demand a solution and a radical change in the structure and geography of the carbon economy. Attempts of alliances and coalitions with workers and trade unions have been made using the slogan “End of Month, End of World: Same Struggle”. We know that the problem we are confronted with is more complicated than that of coming together as workers and ecologists. We know also that the “end of the month” means different things in a reality of differentiated working conditions and wage levels, where precarity, informal labour and unemployment cut across different conditions, marked by sex,



gender, race, and migration status. In this section, we want to deal with these different dimensions of the climate class struggle to come in parallel moments of collective discussion. The participants are asked to contribute and collectively attempt to work through a central question/proposition.

- **Exchanges and experience of climate movement(s):** From lobbying to climate camps to blockades – what effect have climate movements had – what do they do well, and what do they do badly?
- **NetZero & The Green Transition – New cycles of capitalist accumulation:** How do we understand the move by states and capital in view of COP26/27, the declarations around NetZero by 2050, and the role of the European Green Transition?
- **Workers for and against Climate:** Analysis of the current tensions that manifest around points of production, fossil fuel industries, new right formations/authoritarianism, conspiracy and just transitions.

14:00 – 16:00: INQUIRIES ON THE PRESENT II
Striking Social Reproduction

17:00 – 19:00: PLENARY

Strike as a leverage: Building power in times of war and climate crisis

Sunday 12th

10:30 – 13:30: FINAL PLENARY

Prospects for new transnational movements

The logo for TSS Platform features a stylized white graphic of three overlapping triangles pointing downwards, followed by the letters 'TSS' in a bold, white, sans-serif font. Below this, the word 'PLATFORM' is written in a smaller, white, all-caps, sans-serif font.

TSS
PLATFORM

TSS is an infrastructure which sustains an expanding process of transnational political organization. This is why we are always looking for more comrades, groups and workers to join us!

To join the meetings and to contribute more actively to the platform's initiatives, please get in touch through facebook or email. To get updates and information on meetings, publications and ongoing struggles, you can subscribe to our mailing list.



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