

Final Report

5th International Ecosocialist Encounters



21-23 January 2022

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Towards the Encounters

The 5th International Ecosocialist Encounters took place in Lisbon, from the 21st to the 23rd of January 2022.

More than 200 people participated in the Encounters, in an exciting and participatory environment over a weekend that felt like a whole month and a blink of an eye at the same time. In this final report, we will share what was the whole process of building these Encounters like, what happened over that January weekend, and the Encounters outcomes.



Hearing and feeling the need for a **strong international coordination** to build a people's alternative to capitalism and for **in-person meetings** to

build trust among the various groups, in August of 2022 we started the organization of the Ecosocialist Encounters.

Not only were the Ecosocialist Encounters going to take place 5 months from there, but during the same January week we would also have two other international conferences in Lisbon: the [Glasgow Agreement](#) **global conference**, and the **training and conference of** [Global Climate Jobs](#). The three events, that happened from the 14th to the 23rd of January, were design to feed each other, to allow for longer periods of real-life collaboration and to reduce logistical burden.

The 5th International Ecosocialist Encounters, in particular, were intended to answer to the growing necessity to **seriously talk about ecosocialism**, strengthen the ecosocialist movement, and finding the tools and strategies to achieve ecosocialism.

The take off

Starting the preparation of the Encounters, we knew that a lot had already been said about both capitalism and ecosocialism. We had the ambition to give continuity to that previous work, filling some blind spots, and finding new ways of inspiring people to mobilize for the necessary action to achieve ecosocialism. Having that in mind, **the content of the event was based on answering to three main questions**, written on the [call out](#) for the Encounters: **How will we? Who will? Where to?**

The call out was launched in mid-October, with over 100 initial individual signatories, and more than 40 organizations, from all over the world.

What made them different?

In order to ensure a continuity of movement learning, we thought about how could these Encounters be different from other international anticapitalist events, as well as the [previous editions](#) of the Ecosocialist Encounters. We already had the three main questions that would help us to move from presenting ecosocialism as “a good idea” to a “good and urgent task”. The rest of our analysis of how to learn from past experiences resulted in other three major decisions that shaped the entire event and its preparation.

The first was that we would truly answer to these questions together, through an **interactive and participatory format**. We decided to only have interactive workshops, where everyone was actively engaged in the discussion, rather than panels. This was a challenge for both session facilitators and participants, but it was crucial to **collective learning**, rather than presenting ready-made answers. We still had some [special guests](#) that shared valuable knowledge throughout the discussions.

The second, was that we needed to ensure a **continuity throughout the Encounters**. For that, we would alternate between sessions and plenaries. The **plenaries** were moments for us to hear from the sessions, find the connections, integrate them into the larger conversation, and feed into the next sessions. They were crucial for us to reach **collective conclusions**.

Lastly, we should focus on the **real-life networking experience**, by creating free time that allowed us to **build trust** among each other. This resulted in having long breaks between the sessions in order for us to encounter each other and create connections. We also had an **open slot**, for topics that weren't included on the program.

Bumps in the road

One month before the Encounters, the European Union imposed harsh **border restrictions** towards the majority of Global South countries. This reinforced the need to organize towards ecosocialism to achieve enough power to counter these imperialistic and colonial decisions, but it also seriously **limited the participation from the Global South** in the Encounters. After a long process of consultation and consensus decision-making, we agreed to have **one time-slot entirely online**, with sessions led by activists from the Global South.

To increase the inclusion of the event, we also decided to give financial support to groups from the Global South involved in the preparations to **improve the internet connection capacity**.

We also decided to have [webinars](#) on the run up to the Encounters in order to receive input from a global perspective. Two of those webinars – [Climate crisis vs. Capitalism](#); and **Ecosocialism 101** - further contributed to build a common ground of knowledge that helped on the participation of the interactive sessions of the Encounters. The other two – [Youth Movement: Radical and ecosocialist](#); and [Ecofeminism as Working Class Politics](#) – were directly linked to the sessions under the same title during the Encounters.

For those who could cross the borders, we supported the flights of the dozens of activists from the Global South that came to Lisbon for the Encounters.

The **host organization** in Portugal intended initially was also hard to achieve due to the worsening of the pandemic and anticipated legislative elections in Portugal. Nevertheless, it was due to that grassroots organization of the entire event that we were able to ensure **comrade accommodation** for all the special guests coming to Lisbon; **interpretation** to reduce our inclusion challenges; **tech support** to ensure the online-offline interaction; an **awareness team** to make sure of

everyone's well-being throughout the Encounters; the **maintenance of the space**; **amazing vegan food** throughout the event; the **coverage of all our expenses**¹ through generous donations of participants and valuable theoretical resources from organizations; and many other fundamental tasks that made these Encounters possible!

Adding to the bumps on the road, a few days before the Encounters it seemed we would lose the venue of the Encounters – **Liceu Camões** – to the anticipated legislative elections. Nevertheless, thanks to the relentless work and solidarity of the school board and staff, this did not happen and we were able to once more have the Ecosocialist Encounters on that amazing public high school.

Looking for answers

As previously mentioned, throughout the Encounters we hoped to achieve the answer to our three main questions.

Regarding the **“How?”**, we wanted to understand where does the power lie today and how can it be dismantled, how can we create disruption, and what opportunities can we seize.

On the **“Who?”**, we aimed at answers about who are the revolutionary subjects of ecosocialism, who is already mobilizing, who is ready to be mobilized, and who isn't but should be.

Finally, through the **“Where to?”** question, we wanted to figure out what core values guide the new society we envision, and what social and economic organization does it have.

1 <https://www.alterecosoc.org/final-budget-of-the-5th-encounters/>

The Encounters




Every session on the program of the Encounters was designed to answer to at least one of these questions. On the following pages we will talk about what happened on each of our 9 sessions and about the answers they gave us. There are missing answers, some of them more obvious than others, since in 2 hour sessions we couldn't say everything that could be said about every topic addressed on the Encounters, and since the notes we took on the flipcharts also don't contain everything said in every moment. On the following pages there is an overall picture of the interactive discussions that happened during the Encounters.

5th International Ecosocialist Encounters

Jan 21st (Friday)

18h00 – 20h00	Opening session
20h00 – 22h00	Dinner

Jan 22nd (Saturday)

10h00 – 12h00	Finding our way through a sea of tactics	In the middle of the ecosocial storm, unions' role towards ecosocialism	Youth movement: radical and ecosocialist
12h00 – 14h00	Lunch		
14h00 – 15h30	Plenary		
16h00 – 18h00	Ecosocialists in actual struggles 	We are the majority building an intersectional global movement 	Ecological endurance upon human adventure 
18h30 – 20h00	Plenary		
20h00 – 22h00	Dinner		

Jan 23rd (Sunday)

10h00 – 12h00	Ecofeminism as working class politics	Fighting back with public control	System change – How do we get there?
12h00 – 14h00	Lunch		
14h00 – 16h00	Open Slot		
16h30 – 18h00	Plenary		
18h30 – 20h00	Closing session		
20h00 – 22h00	Dinner		

Finding our way through a sea of tactics

Organized by: Climáximo and MOCICC Peru

Special guests: António Zambrano, Mariana Rodrigues

Answering: How?



“System change, not climate change” is not a request we make to the current institutions. It is our responsibility to make it happen. To achieve this requires that we be **coordinated globally and regionally**, that we define strategies and act together, and create spaces where we can build peoples’ power and grow the movement. The Glasgow Agreement, a space for strategy and coordination for the climate justice movement, is currently experimenting with different tactics on how we can change the system.

In this session we explored **different tactics of global actions** used around the world – from caravans to global civil disobedience action weeks.

After a brief introduction, we divided into **small groups in a world café format, based on eight tactics**: (1) Caravans; (2) Decentralized actions focused on one company; (3) Week of actions with a common narrative/brand in several places; (4) Occupations; (5) Global marches; (6) Rapid responses; (7) General strikes; (8) Infrastructure disruption.

Small groups analyzed what **impact** each tactic can achieve in society and inside the movement, at local level and global level, and what can be the **right and wrong context to use each**.

Here are the notes from the discussions.

(1) Caravans / Treks

These are large-scale and long marches that aim at making visible the invisible and giving voice to the people while at the same time serving as popular political education. Historical examples include the Salt March and the Burmese Students' Long March.

In order to be successful, they should:

- identify specific **local concerns**;
- get **popular and grassroots organizations** involved in the process;
- overcome **logistical difficulties**;
- **guarantee public visibility** throughout the action;
- be prepared to repression.

In terms of action impacts:

- it's unclear if they work better for local or global coordination;

- they can **widen the base of the movement**; and
- they can have a **balanced impact on the local communities and in the global public opinion**.

Connecting the specific issues in a larger framework, they can empower local communities and foster global coordination.

(2) Decentralized global actions focused on one company

These are actions that target one specific company with several actions around the world. Current examples include Shell Must Fall and Collapse Total.

In order to be successful, they should:

- address and **engage the workers** of the company;
- use the **global identity of the company** to connect struggles under specific contexts; and
- overcome **resource constraints** to prepare actions in many places.

In terms of action impacts, they can:

- **connect local coordination with global coordination**;
- **enlarge the movement base** while creating space for radicalization;
- **empower the struggles of local communities** under a global discourse.

(3) Week of actions with a common narrative in several places

These are action weeks that can combine small actions and large protests under a common narrative. Current examples include Shale Must Fall and the Coastal Rebellion.

In order to be successful, they should:

- create **autonomy** for groups to organize their own actions;
- **address different aspects** of the narrative to allow for larger participation;
- use a common language that shows **global unity**;
- tap into existing public awareness;
- **empower small groups** by framing their actions under the bigger week; and
- overcome the **difficulty of setting a single global date**.

In terms of action impacts, they can:

- create opportunities for **local coordination**;
- have different effects on widening the base of the movement and radicalization depending on the context; and
- **empower local communities**.

(4) Occupations

These involve physical occupying spaces to create community and disrupt the business-as-usual. Examples include the Occupy movement, ZADs, factory and school occupations.

In order to be successful, they should:

- build strong **commitment and organization**;
- build a clear **narrative that can engage the general public**;
- create space for people to join in solidarity;
- avoid **burnout and fatigue**; and
- be prepared for **possible public anger** and/or **police violence** and/or **negative media coverage**.

In terms of action impacts, they can:

- strengthen more **local coordination** than global coordination;
- use and increase the **disruptive capability** of the movement; and
- have more impact on the local communities than the larger vision.

(5) Global marches

These mass demonstrations pressure governments and decision makers for climate action.

In order to be successful, they should:

- seize the **opportunities when a major issue is at the center** of global public debate;
- foster **global solidarity** between groups; and
- avoid being **isolated from frontline struggles**.

(6) Rapid responses

These are solidarity actions against a real and immediate threat.

In order to be successful, they should:

- use and strengthen **international networks**;
- build a sense of global community; and
- have a strong **media strategy**.

In terms of action impacts, they can:

- create **global coordination**;
- have mixed impact on widening the movement base or radicalization; and
- **influence the global public opinion**.

(7) General strikes

These can be on a single day, prolonged, or recurring. Besides strikes called by trade unions, current examples include the Climate Strikes and the Global Women's Strikes.

In order to be successful, they should:

- have a **clear communication** of the cause;
- build **alliances**; and
- address **lack of financial and human resources** to maintain them.

In terms of action impacts, they:

- are balanced in terms of local and global coordination potential;
- serve to **widen the movement base**; and

- have a **strong impact on the global public opinion.**

(8) Infrastructure disruption

These are actions that stop a major infrastructure from working. They can focus on a single place, such as the Standing Rock camp or Ende Gelände. They can also occur in several places, as in the anti-nuclear movement in the past or the recent airport actions in 2021.

In terms of action impacts, they:

- are increase local coordination;
- serve to **radicalize the movement** by focusing on disruption; and
- are more prone to impact local communities rather than the global public opinion.

In the middle of the ecosocial storm, unions' role towards ecosocialism!

Organized by: Global Climate Jobs, LAB Sindikatua, ESK Sindikatua and STEILAS

Special guests: Iñigo Antepara, Endika Pérez, Iratxe Delgado, Jonathan Neale, Leonor Canadas

Answering: Who?



The unions work hand by hand with many working people, in concrete day-to-day struggles. These struggles, besides changing the working and living conditions of the working class, also change the working people

ourselves ideologically and in terms of self-consciousness and empowerment.

Unions (especially in the Global North) have historically linked our struggles to demands of employment linked to a welfare system associated with the hegemonic productive and reproductive system of capitalism. A system that is ecologically unsustainable, and that is based on the exploitation and colonial plunder of bodies and territories crossed by different types of violence. A system we want to change. This will lead to the destruction of thousands of jobs (paradoxically, especially in unionized sectors), so we will have to face the contradiction between **defending the working class interests and material living condition** (immediate interests) and **promoting the ecologically necessary transformation by creating disaffection to the current system** (strategical interests). The energy transition, the transport transition, soil, agriculture, forestry, construction, all will require the creation of an enormous amount of jobs and public investment, which need to be planned as a social and political plan by and for the working class. Probably we need to rethink our historical claims. How can we face this contradiction? **How do we face this challenge?**

Furthermore, speaking of transforming the productive and reproductive matrix, should we think about articulating struggles beyond the sphere of employment? **How to give value to works, activities and jobs that are essential for the maintenance of life and that are now undervalued?**

With these questions in mind, we split into **four groups based on various existing proposals**: (1) Climate jobs; (2) Green New Deal; (3) Degrowth; (4) Rethinking our demands: working time, care work and distribution of wealth.

In small groups we analyzed the advantages and disadvantages of each proposal, and discussed how to enhance the advantages and how to mitigate the downsides.

Here are the notes from the small group discussions.

(1) Climate jobs

Advantages and strengths:

- brings the **just transition** discussion directly to the **workers affected by the ecosocial transformation**;
- originated from trade unions and is now framed in a larger climate justice context;
- has the potential to mobilize workers in the fossil fuel industry;
- **ignores growth or profit motives** and **rejects market solutions**, and hence compatible with a larger ecosocial transformation;
- promotes **economic planning**, making the transition and climate action into something **concrete and communicable** while also translating it into national **political demands** that can mobilize the entire society; and
- provides an **alternative to ecofascist tendencies** and avoids discourses focused solely on job protection.

Disadvantages and weaknesses:

- **focuses the proposal into carbon intensive sectors** while our solution will have to be transversal;
- requires a leap of faith in the workers in affected sectors;

- being focused in the trade union movement, **ignores non-unionized workers**;
- **puts jobs and wage labor in the center of the solutions debate**, instead of life and care work; and
- just transition being co-opted to channel public funds for shutting down infrastructure, puts off the workers.

To mobilize these strengths and overcome the weaknesses,

- **professional training, job guarantee and job priority** to affected workers must be at the center of our demands;
- we should present **climate jobs as a people’s plan for a social transformation**, beyond an immediate, workplace-based struggle; and
- we should emphasize climate jobs as **a concrete road map to stop catastrophic climate change**.

(2) Green New Deal

Advantages and strengths:

- proposes a **large-scale ecosocial transformation**;
- is not sector-specific, therefore capable of **creating alliances**; and
- rejects market mechanisms.

Disadvantages and weaknesses:

- uses the co-opted word “green” which blurs the meaning;
- is **perceived as a top-down government program**, eroding trust;

- makes it easy to **lose sight of climate emergency** within the broader discussion; and
- it's harder to organize workers in decentralized economies and energy systems for a nation-wide proposal.

To mobilize these strengths and overcome the weaknesses,

- our demands must be **related to particular needs of the population**, for instance public healthcare in the US, expansion of care sectors and climate jobs in the UK, and public housing in South Africa.

(3) Degrowth

Advantages and strengths:

- being not sector-specific, **unites different struggles for life**;
- **challenges capitalist productivity criteria** and promotes an anti-capitalist **cultural change**; and
- values care work and restorative jobs.

Disadvantages and weaknesses:

- the historical examples of economic degrowth being accompanied by crises, austerity and job losses, **pushes off people when perceived within the system**;
- **lacks a political program**;

To mobilize these strengths and overcome the weaknesses,

- we need **concrete demands that can mobilize the working class**, such as reduction of advertising or universal basic income; and

- we should **promote the idea of achieving basic human needs outside of the market.**

(4) Rethinking our demands: working time, care work and distribution of wealth

Advantages and strengths:

- questions the equivalence between less wage-labor and less work, **centering care work** in public debate as well as social policy;
- fosters big anti-systemic cultural change by rethinking labor;
- is more inclusive as it **improves living conditions outside of the workplace.**

Disadvantages and weaknesses:

- can be co-opted if demanded in an isolated way; and
- can put off people embedded in the high productivity culture.

To mobilize these strengths and overcome the weaknesses,

- we should **connect such demands with other struggles** and within a broader analysis; and
- we should **address minimum wage and reduced working time simultaneously.**

At the end of session the small groups shared their notes with the plenary and explored possible connections between the proposals.

Ecofeminism as working class politics

Organized by: Anticapitalistas, Climáximo, ODG, Ecologistas en Acción

Speakers of the webinar: Júlia Martí, Nina López, Sarah Calloway, Selma James, and Stefania Barca; Selma James.

Special guests on the session: Alice Gato, Inês Teles, Joana Bregolat, and Sara Bourehiyi

Answering: Who? How?



It's easy to understand that **ecosocialism needs to be feminist**. It's not so easy to understand what does this perspective bring to the question on **who will be the agents of the ecosocialist revolution**, and what are the

implications of this to the question on **how can this revolutionary subjects organize themselves.**

To seek answers on the “who?” and “how” question of these encounters through an ecofeminist lens, we had a **webinar** on the 17th of January, and an **offline session** during the Encounters. Although these two moments were separated in time and had the special participation of different ecofeminists, we see them as an **integrated discussion** about what does it mean to adopt an **ecofeminist as working class politics.**

[\[link to the webinar\]](#)

In both of these moments we discussed the need of revolutionizing our understanding of work, based on the acknowledgment that there is a huge sector in our society – mainly led by women, and specially women from the Global South – doing work that is required to fulfil our needs related to subsistence and care.

Departing from that, we talked about **how this reproductive class relates to the more traditional sense of working class**, how does this changes our conceptions on **who is the revolutionary subject of ecosocialism**, and how can **the broader ecofeminist working class organize** towards the ecosocialist revolution.

Why to talk about an ecofeminist working class?

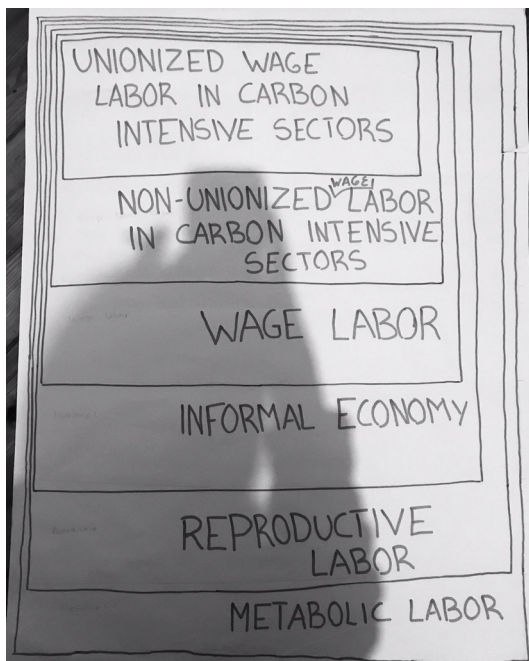
Ecofeminism comes from the feminist movement and from the realization that capitalism not only explores nature and humans, but also the invisible work that some people – mainly women – do that guarantee the reproduction of the human race and that make the conditions for production possible. This is what we call the reproductive labor.

When we adopt an ecofeminist perspective, the **interdependence between humans, human labor and the environment** becomes clear, as it also

becomes clear that there are **“invisible” forces of reproduction** sustaining the whole functioning of society.

Ecofeminism as working class politics comes from the recognition that **the labor of reproducing and caring for life is part of the working class**, which is not only composed by people who work on the production of commodities, but also by everyone who works to produce life and care for life.

Society is complex. People can do both productive and reproductive labor at the same time, and the working class is not only composed by a specific sector of people that solely do wage labor in carbon intensive sectors. To further explain this, in our session we presented the image on the right with the different kinds of work happening in our societies.



In the **“unionized wage labor in carbon intensive sectors”** category we can find people that work in sectors that directly increase emissions (e.g. working on a refinery), and that are unionizable (have a fix job and can belong to a union in order to organize themselves to fight for their labor rights).

A broader category is **“non-unionizable wage labor in carbon intensive sectors”**. Here we can find people that work in sectors that directly increase emissions, but are not unionizable, because they are precarious workers (e.g. working on green card, sub-contracting regime).

Then we have the even broader category of “**wage labor**”. If we remove the last two categories from this mental exercise, here are the rest of the “formal workers” that work in sectors that aren’t carbon intensive. This can be any other sector, including reproductive labor. It can be on food sectors, sales, and so on, but it can also be reproductive labor that has a salary – e.g. education sector, cleaning through a company, etc.

Until here we can say all these workers are part of the conception of the “traditional working class”, although there are some categories that fit better into the stereotype of this conception than others.

Then we have the “**informal economy**”. In this category we find kinds of work that aren’t registered for social security, taxes and so on, and therefore don’t provide labor protections. In this category we can find as an example an immigrant without all the legal documentation that works for Uber.

Finally, we get to the “**reproductive labor**” (also known as “care work”) which we already mentioned at the beginning.

Thinking in even broader terms, this reproductive labor is also included in the category of “**metabolic labor**”. This is also reproductive work, but we added this category to highlight that this kind of care work is a work that protects nature too. It relates to the interdependence of humans and the environment, caring for both human and non-human life. It repairs the metabolic rift, opposing the extractivist force of capitalism. Some examples are the struggles of farm workers or indigenous people for the land, or fights against pollution, pipelines or other increasing emission projects to secure the people’s and nature wellbeing.

On the session during the Encounters, after presenting this scheme, we did a short exercise in small groups where people thought about the work that themselves and other people they knew do, and tried to fit it into these

categories. After this small exercise, there was a fishbowl where we got together to discuss what were the conclusions people reached during the exercise.

One of the main conclusions around the work categories on this scheme, was that **usually one worker doesn't fit into solely one category, we pass through different kinds of work during our life, and we can even do more than one of this kinds of work at the same time.** Actually, most of women, especially women from the Global South, do “invisible” reproductive labor at the same time they do some kind of wage labor (reproductive or productive).

Other topics of the discussion also coincided with the previous webinar we had.

Ecofeminism as working class politics shows us that the climate struggle is a class struggle in a profound and new feminist way in which reproducers also need to be seen as workers. Reproducers are a revolutionary subject of ecosocialism. For the climate crisis to end, we don't only need to oppose capital, but also do that by being aware that the forces that can oppose capital are much larger than we used to think. What capital does is to divide the general working class, and one way of doing it is to tell some workers that they are the producers, to others they are the reproducers, and that reproductive is not work, it's something natural. Through the sexual division of labor, the first group are usually men, and the second women. There are other divisions, such as racial, and they are all intersected. We want to forge a new class consciousness: a new narrative that sees that there is a work of producing and reproducing life that is essential (the pandemic and several examples of farmers strikes shows us this), and this is part of what it means to be working class. This is a new class politics that also recognizes the climate crisis.

The ecofeminist working class is a concept that can truly encompass the marginalized majority of labor on earth, and which gives priority to the kind of work needed to resist and survive in a burning world and to build a different society centered on life and care. We are adding a new chapter on the history of the labor movement. It is a chapter of both hope and struggle.

How can the ecofeminists organize towards the ecosocialist revolution?

There are a lot of **examples of ecofeminist struggles and demands** around the world.

On the webinar, a lot of examples were mentioned, such as the struggle for redoing the soil and natural farming in Andra Pradesh (in India), or the farmers strike also in India.

A lot of initiatives endorsed by the [Global Women Strike](#) were also shared by Selma, Nina, Sarah and Stefania, such as the struggle against mining in Thailand, led by the Thai Women Human Rights Defenders Collective; the Trade Union of Domestic Workers in Peru; demands for reparations by the Women of Color in the Global Women Strike; or the Wages for Housework movement.

Still on the webinar, Julia brought us other perspectives of ecofeminist strategies and struggles, being one of the main examples the victory of the feminist strikes on the last 8th of Marches in going beyond the productive and reproductive divide. For Julia there is more than one way to break with the international sexual division of labor: there are unions strategies that break borders (one example of this is the campaign “make amazon pay”); there are the struggles for legal and labor rights for migrants and refugees (such as in the agricultural industry); and there are also other strategies for defending the territory and fighting for food sovereignty, by internationally protecting the human rights and territories that are being threatened under

capitalism. All of these strategies should lead to a few key elements when thinking about the ecofeminist horizon: deprivatization and demercantilization through the expansion of public services and collective and public management of the common goods.

Although there are a lot of exciting **ecofeminist initiatives, struggles, and strategies here we only explored four**: on the webinar, we mainly talked about the care income campaign. On the session during the encounters, the participants were split into 3 different groups to look at the upsides and downsides of the care strike tactic, the ecofeminist unionism way of organizing, and the care national system.

(1) Care income campaign

The format of the webinar was really different from the session, but nevertheless, through the interventions of the speakers and questions made, it's still possible to identify some of the advantages of this initiative, and somethings to be considered.

Advantages:

- It **gives visibility** to care work. One phrase useful to explain the campaign is “you don’t know we are working because we don’t have wages”. When you organize around a wage struggle, you visibilize your work and create spaces for organization with others you didn’t know before to demand more.
- There are a lot of ways to be remunerated for care work, and if you also work outside home, you can also fight for a wage for the care work you do outside of it. For instance, a union in Germany

shortened the labor week (to four days) for people to have time to take care of others.

- It's **not only for women**, but for all the carers, and it **can be used to get enough money to quit doing harmful or polluting jobs**.
- It can be a fundamental part of **historical reparations**, starting with the women who work harder (women carers in the Global South).
- In order to get to change the dynamic of society, you need the power now. Carers need the power now, and part of that **power can come from an income** for some people.

Things to consider:

- How does the care income campaign **not only recognize care work, but also redistributes** who is doing the care work?
- How is it helpful to a long term vision that is about **decommodification and collectivization of the care work**? Maybe it can be a good first step to solve immediate problems, but doesn't that lead to care work being done inside the family and not through a public and communitarian way? (although this way also has some disadvantages).
- Different views don't need to be in contradiction with one another. There are different ways and struggles, and perhaps each one of them speaks particularly to some particular social sector, it does not mean we should have one universal model for everyone. The care income is something that responds to a demand from certain sectors of society, not everybody's needs.

(2) Care strike

This tactic, as well as the following ones, were analyzed during the session on the encounters, in different working groups.

Advantages:

- **Gives visibility** to care work;
- Good tactic to make demands;
- **Creates disruption**: “if women stop, the world stops”;
- Good way for **creating alliances** (with carbon intensive sectors, students, environmentalists, etc.);
- Radicalize and **bring people together**;
- It’s new.

Disadvantages:

- It’s new;
- **Some people can’t** strike (also due to care work);
- **Primary impact** of the strike is on those who need care;
- You need to think about what happens next;
- Exclusionary (although this happens in every strike);
- **Lack of organization** (in the contexts people knew);
- Currently is only once a year (8th of March);
- Lack of people/outreach to the people who are most affected.

Other remarks:

- Should it focus only on **non-paid care work**, or also on **waged care work**?
- COVID-19 gave visibility to the importance of care work, but it didn't change the situation;
- "Value" care work doesn't guarantee labor rights;
- How would it work without the 8th of March context?

How to improve advantages and mitigate disadvantages?

- Also **include waged care work**;
- Have a **system of people doing care work who usually don't do it**, allowing who does it to strike;
- Use tactic for different purposes (e.g. demanding national care system);
- Care civil disobedience (complete chaos);
- Make **demands that progressively allow people to come** to the next strikes;
- Think more about **how to link it other kinds of metabolic labor** (e.g. farmer strike).
- Role of men and unions to help organize ecofeminist strike?;
- Have parallel things that allow more participation;
- Weekly/cycling strikes;
- Solidarity strike for people who can't join?;
- Strike where problem is (periphery, work places, etc.);
- Target power centers?

(3) Ecofeminist unionism

Advantages

- Questions the capitalist notion of productive labor;
- Open space to bring together **ecologist and feminist values to converge**;
- To focus on feminism as a core issue compared to classic unions;
- Can have a sphere of **mutual aid** (to empower core/metabolic workers, and organize in times of crisis);
- Potential to create spaces of struggle that **form bridges between reproductive/metabolic workers and workers in carbon intensive sectors**;
- Gives **agency to women and marginalized people**;
- Based on the leadership of those who are already doing the kind of labor needed to defend and restore our communities and planet, and to live a good life.

Disadvantages

- **Unions are** very intellectual and **time-consuming** (so ecofeminist union should tackle the question of time and be more focused on action);
- We're still very far from having a social consensus about the importance of care work and ecofeminist conceptions of labor;
- Unions usually focus too much on the human (and not nature), and on urban contexts;
- **Lack of massive and strong organizational structure** behind traditional trade unions.

What we need to think about?

- Displace the center from the urban (think about rural areas),
- **Tactical alternatives** in case of future pandemics:
 - food redistribution in informal organizations;
 - redistribution of wealth (resistance box);
- How are we going to deal with **increased temperatures**?
- Don't forget the **rest of the ecosystem** (animals and nature);
- Put the **care at the center**:
 - spaces for sharing experiences or just to listen;
 - collective space for a cultural shift in labor;
- What should ecofeminist unionism **organize around**?
 - Care income;
 - Basic income;
 - Reduce working hours;
 - Cooperative childcare/elderly care;
 - Zero emissions work?;
- Should ecofeminist unions form **inside traditional union or outside**?

(4) National Care System as a tactic:

How can it be useful?

- Recognize right to care as a **collective right and work** (stop doing it a private/family matter);
- Care as a broad meaning (including health, food, community, ...);
- Recognize care as labor with **social metabolic value** (it's work, it has value);
- Can **allow regularization** (therefore conquer rights, be formal).

Which resistance could we find?

- First we need to do it as a practice to develop the system **bottom-up** (therefore, normalize care systems in our space and communities);
- Will it be just a women labor system? It needs to address sexual division of labor, how? Ideas: Mandatory care service? Redistribute?
- Will it address our **relationship to land**?

Is it an ecofeminist demand?

- In different contexts, there are different types of care systems;
- It's a **transitory demand**, not the end point:
 - To be seen; to be able to live; to have better work conditions care is an intersectional issue!
 - Care is the base to build the working class: Expands the knowledge of what is working class and... it opens new places and ways of organize ourselves (Examples: MST – autonomy and food sovereignty; Black panthers – breakfast for all).

Wrap up

At the end of session, the small groups shared their notes with the plenary and explored possible connections between the proposals.

On one of the breaks during the Encounters, people from Verso and Rosa Luxemburg Foundation gathered with the session organizers to record a **podcast** for Verso called “[What is ecofeminism, and why is it necessary in the fight for climate justice?](#)”.

Ecosocialists in Actual Struggles

Special guests: Farah Baba, Dany Marie, Jonathan Neale, Josua Mata, Nancy Lindisfarne, Tabitha Spence.

Answering: How?

Too often, people think ecosocialism is about commenting on capitalism or about showing the relevance of marxist ideas to ecological questions. In this session, we wanted to make the point for people attending the meeting that the ecosocialist project includes those things, but it is primarily about activism in the world.

We also wanted to make the point that the word ecosocialism has two parts, so it is about both ecological action and about socialist, trade union and feminist action. So what we did in this session was showing to the participants exciting speakers from different countries who are active in different kinds of struggles.

Farah Baba, a feminist activist from Beirut, started by explaining the uprising in October 2019 triggered by the economic policies and the role of the feminist movement in it. **At the intersection of the social crisis, economic policies hit hardly the migrant women as they are securing the care work that is highly a privatized sector in Lebanon, and they live in the polluted outskirts of Lebanon.** In this context, Farah underlined that the ecosocialist demands are very real and not at all abstract, which is what the feminist movement aimed during the uprising.

Dany Marie is an trade union activist and member of the ecosocialist party Resistance and Alternatives, in Mauritius. Dany shared the trade union organization under confinement conditions and the **mobilizations against layoffs, which fed and was fed by the mass protests against the oil spill along the southeastern coast of Maurities.**

Tabitha Spence is part of the Haqooq-e-Khalq movement in Pakistan. Tabitha shared the stories of the environmental justice struggles in Lahore and Balochistan, all examples of **ecosocialist struggles even though the activists may frame their own struggles in other terms like justice, defending life and defending livelihoods.**

Inspired by these examples, the participants then divided into small groups to share their own stories of ecosocialist struggles that they participated in and then to talk about struggles that they think that are missing in their contexts.

[\[link to the video of the session\]](#)

We are the majority building an intersectional global movement

Organized by: Bloco de Esquerda, XR Gambia and XR Uganda

Special guests: Alhassan Sasey, Andreia Galvão, Ayisha Siddiq, Josh, Marcelo Rocha, Mduduzi Shabalala, Pascal Mirundi, Samuel Odhiambo, Stephanie Toledo

Answering: Who? How?

To build the biggest social movement in contemporary history we need everyone. The aim of this session was to come to some conclusions about why inclusivity of different communities such as communities from the Global South, BIPOC, ... is not only important, but crucial to a real ecosocialist climate struggle. The goal of this session was to **listen to concrete activist experiences and to answer the question of how we can create bridges that outlive the capitalist system.**

On the first part of this session, that was streamed to the venue in Lisbon, we listened to the interventions of our special guests about their own experiences of the climate crisis and insides on the importance of having a truly intersectional movement.

[\[link to the video of the session\]](#)

Special guests' interventions

Marcelo Rocha (AYIKA Institute, Greenpeace Brazil, Fridays For Future Brasil)

For Marcelo, who was closely linked throughout his life with the “favelas” in Brazil, although everyone can and will probably feel the climate crisis, there are areas and people who are much more affected. Despite of this, and although there are powerful struggles happening on the most affected areas of marginalized people, these voices from the global south are constantly not heard, and the climate struggle is perceived as “white people talking with politicians”.

This is why intersectionality is not only important, but essential for climate action and building our movement and organizations in different contexts. The ecosocialist struggle is not about the planet without the people, it's about the people in their territories. **Intersectionality is about all the exploration – of people, women, earth and territories – and a tool to change the movement in order fight against colonialism.**

In order for us to think about transformation and climate action, we need to **dismantle climate racism**, include all people from the global south, and include several dimensions of **social justice**, including racial, gender and territorial.

Ayisha Siddiqi (Polluters Out and Fossil Free University)

Ayisha was born in Pakistan. In Pakistan there is, simultaneously, in one part of the country a glacial melting at an unprecedented pace, and in the other part of the country records of the hottest city on the earth. There are floods in the crops and hunger in the communities. Pakistan is one of the country's most vulnerable to the climate crisis, and one of the least responsible for it. If nothing is done, there will be the burden of hunger, homelessness and death.

The climate crisis is about mass bloodshed and the loss of millions of lives of global south people. Despite this climate and food injustice and resource segregation that affects disproportionately black and indigenous people, the climate fight is resulting in white faces and voices. For Ayisha, the movement shouldn't try to be diverse, it should be led by BIPOC people.

We need intersectionality to focus on class, gender, ethnicity and race. The reason we have the target of 1,5°C warming, and the reason we talk about colonialism now, is because of intersectionality and it's due to the voices of black young people. Stories from the most affected people are about protecting everyone. Intersectionality has to be the force of this movement.

Samuel Odhiambo (Mukuro Peace Clubs. Nairobi, Kenya)

In Kenya there is a river where Samuel and his friends used to go as children, never realizing the danger they were putting themselves into. This river had been a dump for industrial waste.

Now, although he is living in a village where the environment conditions are better, on the week of the encounters they had three days of massive rain and the area was flooded, along with the food that people were depending on to survive.

Samuel is a member of Extinction Rebellion global support. One of the most important things for him while going on global conferences about the climate crisis, is to take everything he learns back to his communities, in order to **build the movement from the grassroot level.**

Alhassan Sesay (The Sierra Leone School Green Club)

Alhassan considers that the reason they face the issues they do today in Sierra Leone, is because they weren't taught enough about the environment. That is why Alhassan and the Extinction Rebellion group he is part of are pressuring politicians to take action to protect the environment at the same time they are trying to **build school curriculum on environmental education, campaigning to make it national school curriculum.**

Alhassan's drive to change the world can be found in the questions he posed to all of us: **If not now, when? If not we, who?**

Group discussion

After hearing our special guests initial interventions, participants online, as well as participants in Lisbon, were split into three groups to answer to the questions of **1) How can we create networks that outlive the capitalist system? 2) How to decolonize the system? 3) How to create tools for international trust building?**

Below are the main ideas written in both the flipcharts for the offline participants and online documents for online participants for each topic.

(1) How can we create networks that outlive the capitalist system?

What is the role of networking in the climate and ecosocialist struggle? What are the practical ways you have experienced that would support intersectionality moving forwards? Is there a political and active connection of the most affected people? If not, how can one be organized?

- FFF has provided international networks;

- We need support to redefine new networks and to foster relationships between each other (e.g.: care work);
- Women do a lot of support work within movements;
- We need to resist to global corporations that are polluting in areas separate to their headquarters;
- We were raised in patriarchal and racist systems that support the capitalist system, so we also need to do a deconstruction of ourselves. The question and challenging of internal issues has been leading to changes in activists;
- The role of the climate justice movement is to leave no one behind, so we must concentrate on being anti-racist and standing up for gender equality, not focusing solely on emissions;
- Intersectionality implies working on shared struggles, and similar fights intersect, so we need to initiate dialogue with other groups/struggles.

(2) Decolonizing the system

How is the climate crisis a result of imperialism today?

Imperialism is currently affecting the climate movement because colonialism never ended, it just took on a different face through capitalist structures. United States doesn't have colonies anymore, but other countries are dependent as they have debts. When countries can't pay debt, the inequalities just increase. USA are the biggest consumers and steal from the world.

How do the intersections of war, political upheaval and climate disasters all interconnect?

In the Middle East, the current violence is as a result of greed for oil and other natural resources. This has resulted in wars which create millions of refugees. People are being violently slaughtered by the West due to this greed.

In Nigeria farmers and herders have been violently crushing each other and the desert approaching the north of the country is pushing cattle herders to move from one place to another which is causing problems between farmers and herders.

How peace and liberation are not the same?

Right now we are peaceful, but we are not liberating people. In the Global North, being a climate activist is rewarded. In global south, it can be life-threatening. In the countries where the climate kids are famous, the government doesn't shut them down. But this is not liberation - liberation is beyond strikes.

What does decolonization mean to you and what are the things within your community that require decolonizing? How do we decolonize the climate movement and our daily lives?

- We need to decolonize our educational system, which is full of white leaders.
- Global North needs to support global South;
- Break the power relationships;
- Pay attention to what defines the agenda:
 - based on historical framework (need to acknowledge history, related to class and power);

- o need for language/conceptual/intellectual decolonizing;
 - o race
- Recognition of ethnic minorities.

(3) How to create tools for international trust building?

- White middle class finds it easier to speak in meetings and public events, and it's easier for their voices to be heard. → building genuine interest and active listening of the voices that usually aren't heard is crucial to build trust;
- Language problem. Most of the people from the Global South don't speak English. Sometimes we can remove our privilege through switching languages. Our movement is often not representative:
 - o We need to have more people from the Global South to have an international inclusive platform;
 - o We need to decolonize the language. Interpretation and translations are essential for events and social media.

What are the current tools for international trust building?

- Meetings;
- International organization and social movements;
- Shared information experience and knowledge.

Is there any tool serving us or do we need new ones?

- Tools need to be made appropriate to local communities;
- From short term to long term solutions (education).

What is the role of violence and non-violence in international solidarity?

- “Violence” is perceived differently in different contexts;
- Direct action of personal sacrifice can be “violent” and/or bring solidarity.

How to build political allegiance?

Shared situations + common problems + commons agendas. Understanding of equality. Autonomy for each movement. Class consciousness.

- Do actions / campaigns together;
- Share power and give control to others;
- Understand the cultural clashes and differences finding the needs and common ground define ways to work that are mixed;
- Understand definitions be clear about what it mean but not imposing that definition as the right one ;
- Different contexts have different needs to escalate and we use more “violent” approaches & we can’t trust in each other if we judge;
- Being vulnerable and honest: create spaces that allow that;
- Being able to forgive
- Accountability & be open for critic & ask for it;
- Clear expectations;
- Adapt to different organizational cultures.

The ecological endurance upon human adventure

Organized by: PATAV and XR Great Lakes Region

Special guests: Constança Carvalho, Elijah Dero, Precious Kalombwana, Shamim Wasii Nyanda

Answering: Where to? Who?

This session aimed to challenge us to rethink the relation we have with non-human nature, among which non-human animals, and discover what we need to change in our strategies and thought patterns to **achieve an ecosocialist relationship with non-human nature**.

Each participants started by writing up their action priorities. Then we explored how one priority is linked to the others, creating an intertwined network of issues.

The session then focused on **three large themes**: animals, forests and mining.

Divided into small groups, we then asked ourselves four questions: How is human behavior putting this ecosystem in danger? What is related to this topic that I never thought about before? What can I do differently now that I/my organization know new relationships to this topic? How to engage people into being part of the solution for this topic?

The notes of the small group discussions are below, and can also be found in the session video.

[\[link to the session's recording\]](#)

(1) Animals

Current human behaviour is putting this ecosystem in danger by:

- 1 focusing merely on short-term impacts,
- 2 **anthropocentrism**,
- 3 the **capitalist mode of production** and popularizing the **commodification of animals**,
- 4 the **nature/society separation**, and
- 5 causing direct harm in specific ways like trophy hunting, poaching, animal agriculture and the fetishization of domestic wild animals

Some new aspects we discovered are:

- the concept of **regenerative economy**,
- the sexual politics of meat, and
- the **connection between the exploitation of the oppressed / marginalized people and the corporate animal agriculture**.

To create a new relationship to the topic we can:

- learn how regenerative economy can help prevent animal exploitation,
- defend a **transition to a plant-based diet** / reduce animal product consumption, and
- challenge the assumptions around gender and animal exploitation.

To engage people into being part of the solution, we can:

- empower people by explaining that what we do makes a difference
- engage and interact with animals, as well as **educate ourselves on the reality of factory farming**, and
- promote access to vegan food.

(2) Forest

Current human behaviour is putting this ecosystem in danger by:

- **monocultures**,
- exploitation, and
- **species extinction.**

Some new aspects we discovered are:

- connection to indigenous communities,
- impacts like droughts, and
- the **intrinsic value of nature** (rights of nature connected to human rights) and how forests are viewed as economic potential.

To create a new relationship to the topic we can:

- encourage organizations and institutions to make **sustainable investments** in regard to forest coverage,
- promote collective solutions, and

- **plant trees and ensure they grow to maturity.**

To engage people into being part of the solution, we can:

- promote education on climate change and resilience,
- **protect the endangered species through indigenous communities,** and
- **showcase forests affected by human activity** (for instance, by organizing a Climate Caravan).

(3) Mining

Current human behaviour is putting ecosystems in danger by:

- **geopolitical tensions and capitalist extraction** putting pressure on mineral resources,
- the "digital and green transition" opening new capital expansion frontiers and legitimizing **new forms of extractivism,**
- treating them as marketable and exploitable resources,
- continuous burning of fossils fuels, and
- **modification of our territories** to sustain a consumerist way of life

Some new aspects we discovered are:

- glaciers restoration and conservation, forest restoration and preservation,

- the **North-South difference on focusing on recycling and degrowth**, and
- **recognizing the limits**.

To create a new relationship to the topic we can

- create a **regenerative economy**,
- **challenge the green policies linked to a super-extractivist logic** and rethink our transitions,
- **imagine post-extractivist futures** with intersectional approaches, and
- invest in open source knowledge.

To engage people into being part of the solution, we can:

- teach and share knowledge about mineral extraction and its impacts on local communities/the environment,
- **build resilience** by finding ways to rely less on minerals,
- **popularize and make desirable the acceptance of limits** and the idea of reconfiguring societies within these limits, and
- **take collective action** to stop mining and go beyond techno-optimism.

Youth movement: radical and ecosocialist

Organized by: Bloco de Esquerda, Greve Climática Estudantil and Kibengo Youth Care Activists

Speakers in the webinar: Alice Gato, Disha Ravi, Mitzi Tan, Patience Nabukalu

Moderators of the webinar: Rita Silva, Robert Mwesigye.

Special guests in the session: Andreia Galvão, Ayisha Siddiq, Bianca Castro, Dana, Gil Janer, Mourana Monteiro, Laura Muñoz

Answering: Who?

The youth has taken a fundamental part in a lot of social justice struggles all over the world. With the Fridays for Future movement and its huge climate demonstrations in 2019, the climate justice movement significantly increased its strength and achieved important victories all over the world. Nevertheless, in 2020 the numbers started to decrease dramatically until now.

On this webinar and session of the Ecosocialist Encounters, we intended to talk about the youth movement and the political scenario after these climate mobilizations, but also about the outrageous insignificant institutional response that they received. Based on this, we aimed at understanding how to overcome the political frustrations in order to create ecosocialist demands, talking about possible **tools to make ecosocialist demands the framework of the youth of the climate justice movement.**

The webinar

On the 11th of January, we had a webinar to initiate the discussion that would go on during the Encounters.

[\[Link to the webinar\]](#)

The importance of having the youth movement in the Ecosocialist Encounters

The first intervention was intended to be made by Maria Reyes, from FFF Mexico, but unfortunately, due to a climate catastrophe, she couldn't be present, so it was made by Alice Gato from FFF Portugal.

For Alice, if in the beginning the FFF strategy was crystal clear and was making some advances, since 2020 a lot of FFF activists feel like they are going around in circles, unable to create a new momentum, and unable to push towards emission cuts and climate justice. After the failure of COP26, herself and a lot of other FFF activists started wondering if FFF's institutionally-focused message and demands are one of the main aspects holding us back from building a truly effective, massive and dynamic international movement, believing **the movement should focus on the empowering idea that it has the power to cut emissions and achieve climate justice with its own hands**, and that the youth movement has to embrace that responsibility in the climate justice movement.

Two weeks before the Encounters, the hopes were that they could help the youth movement to answer the important questions of “how?” –discussing **what political demands and tactics can and should we use to move forward** – and “who?” – recognizing that the **youth movement historically has had a revolutionary part** in a lot of social struggles, and **it also has one in the ecosocialist struggle**.

The frustrations of the youth of the climate justice movement

For Patience, from FFF Uganda, one of the external reasons there has been a fall on the momentum that the youth movement achieved in 2019, is that the youth activists that joined the movement and protests feel unheard due to the lack of political response from leaders.

There are also internal reasons for frustration and demobilization inside the movement. For Patience, who has been in the frontline of the climate crisis and lives every day in a state of climate anxiety, the **lack of solidarity and the existing discrimination** among FFF activists and groups stops the movement to achieve structural victories, and demotivates activists from the Most Affected People and Areas (MAPA).

In order to make ourselves heard globally and to achieve a deep change in society, we need to seriously change this.

The importance of nonviolent communication of climate activists

Disha, from FFF India, considers nonviolent communication crucial to listen the cues from fellow comrades and to learn how to cure the needs of ourselves and others, helping us discovering the depth of our own **compassion**.

Nonviolent communication is based on the historical concept of nonviolence, and comes from a **transformative justice** point of view, that believes that in better communities and societies, everyone has bigger chances of being better and create more meaningful change. It can be seen as a special practice to build and preserve communities that serve each other, and as a transformative tool.

For Disha, this “tool” is particularly important because as climate justice activists, and as young people, we are constantly overwhelmed by the knowledge that the world is ending. When we are doing a work that demands so much from us, we need to **find new ways to support each other in the long run, avoiding burnout and the fall of groups and the movement.** This form of communication can help us to deal with ours and other people emotions, shifting from the language of blame or guilt, to that of healing, transformation and compassion.

How can the ecosocialist encounters help the youth movement achieving climate justice

For Mitzi, from Youth Advocates for Climate Action Philippines (YACAP), these Encounters are important because it’s **how the youth movement can ground itself in the climate justice struggle,** because while part of the climate justice movement is becoming more focused on social justice, there is still a lot of work to be done.

She believes that one important part missing from the youth movement that can help to push the climate justice movement into a social justice movement is to leave our niches and go to frontline communities who are practicing socialist values without even realizing it sometimes.

Mitzi noticed that although more people from the youth movement are talking about different forms of discrimination, **class keeps being out of the question, because it is threatening to the system, and that’s exactly why it needs to be talked about.** Spaces like the Ecosocialist Encounters allow us to explore with one another what is the effective way for us to communicate our goals and get people on our side. They allow us to create bridges with one another in order for us to keep learning from each other and working together to move forwards outside of them to achieve actual change.

Challenges and experiences of different groups in demanding climate justice

After the interventions, we had some space to process and collectively share our different experiences and perspectives. Some of the challenges (internal and external) and experiences mentioned were:

- The “climate justice” concept not being known by the people;
- Lack of urgency in the countries that don’t feel that impacted by the climate crisis yet, although they will be (e.g. Portugal), and lack of global solidarity;
- Normalization of the tactic of climate strikes, and decreasing participation;
- Not knowing how to pass a sense of urgency without scaring people too much, making them feel impotent;
- Split of the climate justice movement (radical actions vs. institutional), not working together;
- Greenwashing by governments and neoliberal policies;
- Resistance by a big sector of the movement to following more radical tactics that other social movements used to achieve change;
- Localized struggles (fighting for climate justice in small communities, but lack of articulation. e.g. Uganda);
- Big variety of languages in some countries and regions that limit coordination (e.g. Africa).

How can ecosocialism (and these Encounters) help youth groups in demanding climate justice?

Following the same model of participation, some of the main conclusions around this topic were:

- It will help us to create the internationally and inter-movements solidarity we need, since we are more willing to organize with people we know;
- It gives visibility to the fact that there is a big part of the movement thinking about ecosocialism and how to achieve it;
- Exchange on insides about tactics and strategies;
- Focus on the task “to do”;
- Deepen our sense on the need to care for ourselves, movements and societies;
- Stronger coordination (while trying to mitigate some barriers to coordination, such as different languages) in order to align our goals and targets.

Session

On the session in Lisbon we gave continuity to what was discussed on the webinar, on how to radicalize the youth movement. We had the opportunity to share insights of different youth groups from different countries, such as FFF USA, FFF Pakistan, FFF Portugal, Jóvenes por el Clima Argentina, FFF Barcelona and FFF Colombia.

The session started with an exercise to help us to dive on **how the people in the room feel about the youth movement and its political response**. Every time someone agreed with something that was asked by the

facilitator, they had to stand up and move. In general, the people in the room: felt at some point they had to avoid talking about anticapitalism in their groups; had a hard time talking about class; had difficulties in connecting and creating solidarity between climate justice groups and movements; felt discriminated at some point inside the movement due to gender, race and/or sexual identity; thought that FFFs shouldn't be the only "famous" youth groups in the climate justice movement; felt that there is a lack of direction due to a lack of coordination; felt frustrated due to the postponement, repetition and/or de-escalation of tactics; felt frustrated on a big part of the movement seeing change happening only in the institutional realm. This exercise was followed by a fishbowl on what is being done in the different groups present in the room to mitigate the challenges faced.

Afterwards, we had **three small groups**, one about intersectionality; another about ideas of what can be the youth movement demands to move forwards and what can be ways to radicalize; and a final one about the role of violence in the movement.

Below is a summary of the notes of each group.

(1) Intersectionality

Definition: it takes race, age, class, gender, ethnicity into account for theories of change and recognizes that these are all inter-connected

Identified problems:

- Climate and some other social movements aren't intersectional;
- There is not enough reflection on the different discriminations;
- This is leaving people behind who could be fighting.

Some solutions:

- Taking context of oppression into account;

- Recognizing that struggles around housing, food, energy, poverty, are all part of the climate movement struggle;
- Talk about the present, not just the future. And don't solely talk, act.

(2) Youth movement demands and ways to radicalize

- There are demands we need to make for ourselves (inside the movement), and demands the movement does to society;
- Be more radical. Step away from the “childish, cute” image;
- Changing the name [Fridays for *Future*] to make the urgency obvious, and stepping away from a privilege point of view;
- Use media influence to achieve change and gain people's majority;
- Participation of youth within governments/parliament;
- Have as a demand “abolish fossil fuels”;
- Have as a demand “debt cancellation” (reparations);
- Bigger knowledge sharing;
- Creating pre-figurative communities in activism;
- Have a network/coalition for ecosocialism (institutionalization).

(3) The Role of Violence

It was recognized that when we talk about violence, there are different dimensions to it. It can mean to talk about **tactical violence** (e.g.: property violence) or strategical violence. But we can also talk about **received violence** (e.g. racial and gender discrimination), being it physical or

psychological: in this case it was mentioned that there is internal violence in the movement (in particularly FFF), and that there is a lack of consciousness about it, so it should be talked about.

Tactical / strategical violence of the movement:

- It can be useful if people feel ownership of the fight, but otherwise it can also trigger the downfall of a movement (scaring away the society);
- There was a divergence about if we should use violence/violent resistance (it has been an historical tool for the survival of movements and society, after all) or not (it “allows” the other side to use violence as well, especially in repressive countries);
- We can have diversity of tactics – violent and nonviolent;
- Violence against property can be a useful tool that supports a bigger social response.

At the end of the session, people got back together to share the different groups conclusions and debates.

Fighting back with Public Control

Organized by: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung

Special guests: Daniel Chavez, Katie Swan, Nessim Achouche, Sam Mason

Answering: How?



The neoliberal era has failed to prevent and solve the multiple crisis we have been facing. The pandemic revealed the dismantling of the healthcare system and other crucial public services resulting in a devastating health and economic crisis. We are currently witnessing at the global level the continuation and increase in marketization and financializing of many key sectors.

The energy sector is a good example of this failure. The recent energy crisis and the hikes in gas and electricity prices in Europe is an acute symptom of this, putting the majority of the burden over the shoulder of the working class and the most vulnerable of our societies. The COP26 was also a striking example that **the push for market solution is a definitive recipe for failure in emissions reduction and development of renewable energy, as well as in executing in kind of real just and fair transition.**

It is in this context of urgency and need of providing concrete and fact based solutions that we need to fight back with public control. **On the first part of this session, the program “[Trade Union For a Public, Low-Carbon Energy Future](#)” was presented, through interventions by our special guests.** Sam Mason focused on presenting the program and its main exes. Daniel Chavez focused on the current proposal on public energy and resources in Latin America. Finally, Katie Swan talked about what are the possibility in the global governance framework to push for a public energy program.

The “Trade Union for a Public, Low-Carbon Energy Future” Program

The Program, launched in November of 2021, is the result of a year of work by the **Trade Union Task Force for a Public Energy Future** consisting of more than 30 unions from nearly 20 countries around the world.

Anchoring the program is a major report that explains the failure of private markets to deliver on climate targets. The report details how major companies in the power sector — reclaimed to public ownership, governed democratically, and operating under a new “pro-public” mandate — can advance energy conservation and efficiency, and work in partnership with other public entities at national and global levels to carry

out the energy transition we need while meeting the needs of users, workers and communities.

On this program, the signatories recognize the need to: 1) fulfil the people's right to energy; 2) reverse neoliberal laws and directives affecting the power sector; 3) enforce a new pro-public mandate; 4) establish a public, planned approach to energy transition; 5) introduce democratic governance and control; 6) provide a high level of collective guarantees for employees; 7) publicly fund the energy transition; and 8) establish a global public goods framework for multilateral cooperation.

On the second part of the “Fighting Back with Public Control” session, there was a **discussion in small groups** about: 1) how do we see the possibility for the fight for public energy and public goods to be carried on in your local context? 2) Which key actors should we mobilize/reach out to? 3) How do we make the connection with the climate movement and the general public?

Fight for public energy and public goods in the local contexts

It was mentioned that energy is recognized as a public good in the Chilean constitution, but that since the cities are generally large, there is little discussion on energy democracy.

As for energy communities, it was stated the need of cooperatives, noncommercial values, and social demands that seek to develop alternatives.

It was also discussed that the fight for public energy, and the fight against extractivism is the same. On this topic it was highlighted the need to also fight against renewable private projects (e.g. lithium mines in the north of Portugal and solar “farms” in the south).

The need to keep the global context in mind while fighting locally was also stressed.

Key actors to reach out to / mobilize

Workers:

- Workers of energy (intensive) sectors:
 - Take control inside companies;
 - Reduce working hours;
- Address the part of the working class that would benefit for the creation of new qualified jobs in the transition (e.g. unemployed).

Local communities:

- Agriculture sectors (pay attention to how do we consume energy in agriculture);
- Indigenous people and local communities;
- Local communities affected by new renewable energy power plants.

Institutional:

- Electoral base;
- Political organizations in the institutions;
- Local governments;

Demands to companies:

- Information and involvement of all users in order to mobilize;
- Making energy companies more transparent;

Others:

- Youth movement;
- Science, research, knowledge production.

How to connect demands with climate movement and general public?

- Cross-pollination to amplify membership, ideas, organizing + intersectionality to amplify membership, analysis, focus;
- More inviting and collaborative approach to get more joint thinking, working and campaigning;
- Offering proactive vision... less “stop” and more “let’s build”:
 - Connecting local sovereignty of alternatives/solutions (reminding to be humble while doing it);
 - But we do need to stop stuff and find better ways of communicating about it;
- To strengthen global south and global north joint fight, we need to better relate energy, extractivism and consumption;
- To think about successful ways of communication, we need to think about how to build a credible message, based on a) who needs to connect? b) what’s the best method? and c) who should carry the message?
- There is a possible linkage with de-growth demands, since we need to decrease consumption, and energy democracy can enable this;
- We need to get to schools and education, with the youth of the climate movement;

- We need more structure in how our climate movement can set priorities to strategize towards energy democracy, keeping in mind: a) how to maintain a fluid and organic narrative; b) how to manage conflicting priorities (which involves understanding how to build trust and collective demands); c) have the clear message that we can't decarbonize without public control.

System change: How do we get there?

Organized by: Climáximo and Ulex Project

Special guests: Alexandre Castro, G, João Camargo, Sara Conchita

Answering: How?



In building ecosocialism. some of us **use the tools of the system**, like courts, elections and other tools to put pressure on decision-making structures. Some of us **ignore the system and build alternatives outside** or at the margins of it, with experiments on self-management, intentional communities and alternative ways of producing. Some of us are directly **confronting the system** as a whole, aiming at a ruptural path.

This interactive session aimed at recognizing how strategies other than ours can be valuable and complementary to our strategy while still acknowledging their dangers and failings.

We started by identifying how close (and how far) we feel ourselves to each of the transformative strategies, and then split into small groups based on our affinity.

Here are the notes from the activity.

(1) Inside the system

Dangers and failings:

- It takes **too long** to achieve its objectives.
- It may focus too much in small victories and **lose sight of the big anti-systemic ambition**. This is also connected to the necessity of making **concessions** along the way.
- As it interacts with the existing power relations, it runs **the risk of being manipulated, co-opted, corrupted or assimilated**. One example of assimilation is the reproduction of the hierarchical organizing.
- It may be caught up in the institutional dynamic which might result in **burocratization**. This is connected to the fact that the institutional structure set up for this strategy would also fall apart by the destruction of the system itself, creating some degree of **complacency**.
- It may **legitimize the current system** in two ways: through small victories creating a sense of system's adaptability, and also with its presence in the institutions in a tokenistic form.

- Some organizations with this strategy may lack a community element and instead focus on individualistic or professionalized approaches.

Useful, valuable, complementary:

- It has **access to valuable inside information** on where the cracks of the system are and what the ruling class thinks about the movement.
- It **consolidates the victories** of the entire movement.
- Its structures create resilience for the movement. It can **protect and defend the activists**, legally, financially, logistically as well as politically.
- It legitimizes and **popularizes the movement's demands**.

(2) Outside the system

Dangers and failings:

- Its **small-scale approach** may constrain the growth of the movement (giving up on changing the system) and may also reproduce power dynamics inherited from the system. As the system remains intact, this strategy may hold a defensive stance.
- It may create an **exclusive, self-isolated or elitist dynamic**. This may feed into disorganization. Furthermore, by **creating a bubble** within the system, it may be co-opted by it.
- Its alternatives may not be scaled to the problems we are facing.

Useful, valuable, complementary:

- It **experiments alternatives** (social, technological, political, economic) and provides a living proof for them. Its pre-figurative

approach allows for **rhetorical incorporation** in all strategies, which allows for inspiration in the general public.

- The **structures** built through this strategy **increase resilience for the entire movement**. Some examples are that these structures can serve for training, resting, practical skills, safety and hiding.
- It can illustrate a diversity of alternative paths.

(3) Rupture

Dangers and failings:

- It can be **marginalized** (not accessible to everybody) or **repressed**.
- It can lead to **polarization** in the society.
- If it's not clear on the alternative to build afterwards, it risks **reproducing unfair power relations**. This is further connected to the discussion of the ends justifying the means.
- The strategy itself is **destructive** in nature, which may lead to generalized violence, civil war or loss of civilizational values.

Useful, valuable, complementary:

- It creates **public attention** that cannot be ignored, which can mobilize more people.
- It anchors the movement **at deeper, radical, systemic change**.
- It can **serve as the radical flank**, facilitating the work of other strategies and scaring the rulers.
- Its **speed** is itself valuable in times of crises.
- It can **break the hegemonic culture of submission** and open space for creativity, inspiration and hope.

Open Space sessions

One afternoon slot of the Encounters was left intentionally free for spontaneous proposals from the participants. We had around ten self-organized sessions, such as alternative media, extractivist projects in Portugal, and international ecosocialist strategy building. We recovered the notes of only one these sessions.



Green New Deals, Debt and Global Justice

By transition, some people mean an insurrectionary process while others mean a gradual transformation, to go from one point to another. In this session, we explored what kind of transitions are proposed by whom, what

their limits are. The participants identified and discussed four such propositions. (1) Green nationalism and fossil racism, (2) Green liberalism, (3) Green welfare state, and (4) Ecosocialism and a global just transition.

In this sense, we debated the importance of reparations to break the historical oppression, pay the ecological debt (North to South) and cancel illegitimate financial debt (South to North).

Conclusions and Outcomes

Plenaries

The number of parallel sessions were intentionally kept small in the Encounters. Instead, we alternated between parallel sessions and plenaries. The participants thus had the opportunity to hear what happened in other sessions and share what happened in their session. This way, we aimed at giving continuity to the discussions throughout the Encounters, allowing us to reach collective conclusions.



Conclusions

The plenaries also served us to anchor ourselves at the three core questions (Where to? Who? How?) and reflect on them after each session. In the final plenary, we gathered all our answers.

Here are some of them – in no specific order – that were presented during the sessions, discussed during the plenaries or came up during the informal conversations in the breaks.

Where to:

- An **anticapitalist, anti-extractivist, anti-productivist** society,
- with **collective care** at the center, and where the concept of labor is redefined by an **ecofeminist** perspective,
- based on solidarity and cooperation,
- directed towards **degrowth** and a new definition of a “good life”,
- with **publicly managed energy**,
- where **nature, people and life are at the center of the economy**,
- with stronger relocalized economies.

Who:

- people who commit to the core values of ecosocialism getting things started by taking the initial responsibility to mobilize and organize,

- a **broad movement** joining feminist, anti-racist, labor, climate justice, indigenous and youth movements,
- a **powerfully organized** civil society,
- through a **global** network,
- **under the leadership of the most affected.**



How:

- with an **ecology of movements** and interacting strategies,
- by building a **revolutionary theory**,
- through **solidarity and cooperation**,
- with **democratic and community planning**,
- through an **intersectional** approach,

- using a **plurality of tactics** that complement each other,
- by “**failing forwards**”,
- by working **internationally**,
- by causing **disruption** to the business-as-usual of the fossil economy,
- by building **alternatives** and also alternative **narratives**.

Outcomes

At the closing session, several initiatives that were developed during the Encounters were announced. They are:

- [The Great Climate Justice Caravan](#), organized by the Glasgow Agreement,
- [2022 Lisbon Declaration on Climate Jobs and Just Transition](#), by the Global Climate Jobs Campaign,
- The launch of a new international magazine *Fight the Fire - The Ecosocialist Magazine*, and
- “[We, now.](#)”, an international commitment signed by a small group of people in an open slot discussion.

The summary of the Encounters, more photos, and the full texts of the outcomes can be found [here](#).

The organizers have the ambition to produce an evaluation document with all the lessons learned and all the choices made, to help others who organize international conferences in the future and don't know where to start. We will share it on the website.

Special Thanks

Thank you to everyone who made the 5th International Ecosocialist Encounters possible.

Thank you to all the **participants** on the Encounters, to the ones that came all the way to Lisbon, and to the ones that unfortunately couldn't travel but nevertheless came online.

Thank you to all the [organizations that endorsed these Encounters](#).

Thank you to all the **team coordinators and voluntaries** that worked relentlessly, before and during the Encounters, despite all the bumps in the road.

Thank you to every **person and organization that organized [sessions](#) and [previous webinars](#)** for the Encounters. Thank you for the time and energy dedicated preparing the content of the sessions in a truly interactive format. For the ones who organized online sessions, thank you for accepting this challenge and for making these Encounters more inclusive and relevant.

Thank you to all the amazing organizations that brought so many amazing **books, reports** and other wonderful resources. This allowed people that were on the Encounters to keep learning more about ecosocialism outside the Encounters.

Thank you to all the amazing people and organizations that so generously **donated** for the Encounters.

Both the material and donations allowed us to mitigate the budget deficit we had before the Encounters.

Thanks to **Rosa Luxemburg Foundation** for all the tremendous help to make the Encounters happen, the amazing **financial support** that allowed us to have so many activists from all over the world, and for the huge work and bureaucracy setting up the **travels**.

Thanks to **ATAEC** for bringing **art** to the Encounters, and for all the amazing **artists** that were part of the projections.

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Last but not least, thank you so much to **Liceu Camões**, to the **board** and to the **staff** for all the support that allowed these Encounters to happen. Thank you so much for letting us do the Encounters there, specially due to all the circumstances and all the effort.

These Encounters would have not happened without all of the above.
Thank you!

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Lisbon

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