

Working paper, last call for being complemented

# The history of the climate movement

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New Horizons 2019

The history of the climate movement is a rich history filled with drastic changes in both political content and forms of action. To many this might sound odd as the climate movement is presented as something very new and if it has older roots it is a history not about collective movement efforts but about individuals and their initiatives. The few attempts at writing a history also present a narrative of something small becoming bigger and bigger without changing the direction.

This attempt at writing a history of the climate movement is different. It uses a popular movement perspective seeing democratic collective efforts locally, nationally and internationally as the key for understanding social change so we can learn and move forward.

It is based on the oral Swedish definition of a popular movement as a collective effort over a longer period of time using different ways of working combining living as you preach and changing society at the same time. A combination often hard to achieve but can be seen as crucial during periods when a movement is growing. It is also based in an understanding of popular movements as linked to each other. Something we can talk about a "popular movement complex" in the way E.H. Thörnberg did the first half of the 20th century. An idea that may show us that the separation of movements at times are arbitrarily or a Western phenomena that looks very different if we look upon how a movement is organized in other parts of the world. It is also based on the study of the global history of popular movements by Jan Wiklund who today works in the same tradition as Thörnberg.

## **The history of the climate movement can be divided into six periods.**

1. The first is the start of the global environmental movement in the late 1950s. This period is defined by merging health and concerns regarding pollution into the new concept environment. It is also marked by growing understanding of that the environmental threat did not only have local origins but also global in terms of radiation from atomic bomb tests and dramatically in case of a nuclear war. This global awareness had a decisive influence on the emerging environmental movement during the protests at the first UN environmental conference in 1972. Peace activists as Ingrid Segerstedt Wiberg, chair of International Women's League for Peace and Freedom in Sweden and Barry Commoner together with Taghi Farvar, Jaime Hurtubia-Urbina and many other environmental activists from the South helped a growing understanding of the environmental issue as a global justice issue with opposition against nuclear power at the core. This antinuclear power movement in Sweden claimed already in 1973 that a solution to global threats as global warming due to carbon dioxide emissions and nuclear power could be solved by a just transition to a low energy society. Soon detailed studies of how such a shift could be realized were made by the movement in several

countries while the mass direct action against the construction of new nuclear power sites developed. This antinuclear power movement also started international organization of successful protests against sulphur dioxide acidification and dying of the forests as well as opposition to corporate social and environmental strategies. Simultaneously is the mass participation in the environmental movement more and more moving to the South due to such initiatives as the Chipko movement in India, Green Belt Movement in Kenya, indigenous and rubber tapper movements in the Amazon region and landless movement in Brazil expressing greater perseverance and understanding of social justice than movements in the North.

2. This early period paved the way for the sharp conflict in the period 1988-1994 between those seeing climate change as a civilizational and conflict issue and the officially endorsed sustainable development ideology. The civilizational criticism was based on global justice demands questioning the present development model. The Brundtland ideology claimed that the global social and environmental crisis could be solved by green growth and win-win solutions by cooperation between civil society, governments and corporations. The conflict oriented movement influenced by cooperation between Finland and India launched the first popular climate justice action. Opposing the Brundtland ideology this cooperation resulted in a 250 km long climate justice march 1990 and international climate action days in 70 countries during this period. Meanwhile a well funded climate NGO lobbyist network developed well integrated into the emerging global governance system and the win-win Brundtland strategy. With the Rio conference 1992 the earlier movement against environmental destruction in conflict with corporations, short term profit and state interests had to a large degree been changed into a movement for sustainable development.

3. The start of the Climate Summits with COP1 in Berlin 1995 strengthens this marginalization of system critical voices from the climate debate. Climate lobbyism working within the system and an eco-modernist and NGO management ideology became dominant. The radical currents of the movement organizes solidarity campaigns with activists in the South as Ken Saro-Wiwa and rubber tappers and indigenous people in the Amazon. The radical organizations becomes a part of an emerging antiglobalization movement that had as a crucial part the system-critical socio-ecological movement that had carried the first wave of climate protests.

4. The next period between 2002 and 2009 was a period marked by violent crack down on the antiglobalization movement also in core capitalist and imperialists countries. Convergence of system-critical movements cooperation was replaced with forms that rather fragmented the movement by often professionally organized single issues campaigns on climate and other issues and social forums that separated discussion from action. In reaction to this a growing criticism developed especially among mass movements in the South against the limitations of climate lobbyism within the business-friendly UN negotiations framework. Climate justice was more firmly put onto the table. System change not climate change became a common call in both direct actions, in much of the mass demonstration, mass meetings with Hugo Chavez and Evo Morales and the Klimaforum with 50000 participants at COP15 in Copenhagen. Main stream NGOs focused on a general message demanding more action from "world leaders" and large scale branding activities.

5. 2010-2018 was marked at the beginning by an opportunistic take over attempt by the left. This directly turned into a conflict between indigenous peoples' development critical perspective of the kind that started the first international climate action days in 1991 and a more state-centric left. A conflict that ahead of the COP16 in Mexico was turned into an attempt by the state centric Latin American left to marginalize the system-critical Mexican radical ecologists and degrowth part of

the movement. This ended in passivity while many others avoided challenging the global organization of the climate movement into the hands of climate lobbyists. Global campaigning was marked by refusal to stand up against neoliberal solutions to the environmental crisis and adherence to the Brundtland ideology. The climate justice movement in practice dissolved its global network presence at Climate Summit and became once more part of the climate NGO lobby network. Meanwhile climate justice direct action was growing steadily. Ecofeminism, degrowth, commune and buen vivir/mother earth ideologies have developed as alternative system-critical thinking to attempts by the left to monopolize social change theory of the movement. The environmental movements established better and better alliances with especially the peasant movement Via Campesina but also with trade unions, solidarity and peace movement to find constructive solutions to the socio-ecological global crisis in terms of a just transition. But the system-critical climate justice movement inability to take a global initiative while to some extent becoming more marginal at climate summits made main stream climate campaigning dominating the message with their resourceful activities.

6. By the end of 2018 this combination had become a pressure cooker. More and more main stream voices states that there is a serious crisis while at the same time no-one have a comprehensive solution to the problem. Thus we can see a new dynamic situation which gives us new possibilities. Looking at what have happened so far might be of help when looking forward.

The attempt at writing this history is hampered by the lack of literature especially from the South, any help in gathering more material is most welcome. The author has been a cofounder and coordinator of international climate action days in 1991, a climate campaigner in Friends of the Earth Sweden since then, active in protests at climate summits since COP1 in Berlin 1995, international coordinator of the declaration process at Klimaforum in Copenhagen 2009 with 50000 participants resulting in the System Change not Climate change statement signed by over 500 organizations and an environmental, solidarity, democracy and peace activists the last 50 years.

Especially useful has been German texts by Tadzio Müller and others with a critical mind and some times humorous. Patrick Bond, Cory Morningstar and many others have also been useful sources. Unfortunately there is a great lack of material from the South while sometimes less important fluctuations in middle class activism in the Western world is in detail described. This timeline also has such a bias.

## **Timeline for climate popular action and some pioneer scientific dates**

### **Background**

1824

- French scientist Joseph Fourier discover that given the distance from the sun the earth should be much cooler than it is and made the suggestion that something in the atmosphere must act as an insulating layer.

1856

- US scientist Eunice Foot discover that CO<sub>2</sub> is a key part of the layer that much of this gas would create global warming.

1896

- Swedish scientist Svante Arrhenius claims that the growing use of coal would eventually lead to more CO<sub>2</sub> enough to cause global warming.

1945

- The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists is established in the US by the scientists that invented the atomic bomb and now want to abolish the new weapon. They helped and the bulletin still help to create awareness of global threats against mankind.

1958

- The first Aldermaston March in the UK together with mass protests in Japan against atomic bombs inspires international mobilization and popular understanding of a global threat against humanity.

- The Baby Tooth Survey was initiated and coordinated by Louise Reiss together with Barry Commoner and others in the Greater St. Louis Citizens' Committee for Nuclear Information as a means of determining the effects of nuclear fallout in the human anatomy by examining the levels of radioactive material absorbed into the deciduous teeth of children. The findings helped convince US to sign the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with the UK and Soviet Union in 1993, which ended the above-ground testing of nuclear weapons that placed the greatest amounts of nuclear fallout into the atmosphere.

1962

- Rachel Carson's book Silent Spring published in the US merges the concern for public health and conservation into the new concept environment thus heralding a new popular movement.

- Quechua peasant uprising in the Cuzco region of Peru to recover the land for those who work it. The armed resistance led by Hugo Blanco started when the government violently attacked the movement. The Chaupimayo Community was established with its own government, public law,

popular justice, defense and education. Finally the government was forced to pass an agrarian reform law recognising that the land belongs to the campesinos.

1965

- A youth movement emerge doing direct action both against health risks as tobacco while also acting against throw away bottles and wasteful use of resources while providing free bicycles as an alternative. This movement included Provos in the Netherlands and soon similar movements in Denmark and Sweden.

1966

Young action-oriented young theosophists split from the Theosophical society at the world congress in Salzburg. On the way home Amsterdam is visited and back in Stockholm Provis is started together with Anarchist inspired by the Provos. Soon every tobacco out door advertising in Stockholm is smeared with messages as cancer and 10000 throw away bottles dumped at the entrance of the parliament as a protest against waste of resources. The young theosophist had already started mass solidarity actions at hundreds of schools in Sweden in support of humanitarian aid to the guerilla held territories in Algeria dive years earlier, at the same time started to discuss emissions before the word environment was used and protest against atomic bombs while building a wide international network on all continents to bring environmental, peace and solidarity issues, science and action together.

1968

- Club of Rome was founded supported by Rockefeller group as a still active elitist environmental organization. The aim was to plan for resource depletion and limits to growth. Among the members are Al Gore, Maurice Strong, The Dalai Lama, and Robert Muller. And dozens more including Henry Kissinger, Bill Gates, George Soros, Bill Clinton and Anders Wijkman.

- Paul Ehrlich publishes the book The Population bomb advocating forced sterilization in the third world as a solution to the global environmental crisis while Garret Hardin published his "The tragedy of the commons" also promoting similar eco-fascist ideas while claiming that when herders shared a common parcel of land, it would lead to overgrazing. Both became central to Anglo-American environmentalism.

1970

- Earth Day 22 of April launched by corporate leaders, environmental activists and governmental concern in the US, celebration of the international conservation year in May and international Traffic revolution in October in 12 countries with direct actions and protests against car traffic.

1971

- OI Committee started by environmental activists from the South as Taghi Farvar and Jaime Hurtubia-Urbina and the young theosophist Jan Fjellander from Sweden at the Youth preparatory meeting in Hamilton, Canada for the UN Conference on Human Environment confronting the Anglo-American agenda.

- Battle of the Elms takes place 200 meters from the Swedish parliament where Greta Thunberg started here solitary school strike 47 years later and the first UN Conference on environment (UNCHE) takes place one year later. With mass civil disobedience and some limited necessary violence to break through police lines trees are occupied to stop the cutting that had started. The felling was temporarily stopped, the politicians talked about how democracy was threatened by the parliament of the streets, 250,000 people celebrated the temporary victory in a continuous cultural festival and children at school after school pledged to occupy the trees all through summer. While the organizing up to a half of this protest had been carried out by young people under 20 years old the massive celebration under the trees was a coming out of the whole city. After a week the battle was one and the politicians gave up the decision taken at national governmental level.

- Green bans were conducted in Australia by the New South Wales Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) at the request of, and in support of, residents' groups. The first green ban was put in place to protect the last remaining undeveloped bushland in the Sydney suburb of Hunters Hill. The developer announced that they would use non-union labour as strikebreakers but withdrew from the project when BLF members on other construction projects with the same developer stopped work. The philosophy of the Green Bans was described by the trade unionists as such: "Yes, we want to build. However, we prefer to build urgently-required hospitals, schools, other public utilities, high-quality flats, units and houses, provided they are designed with adequate concern for the environment, than to build ugly unimaginative architecturally-bankrupt blocks of concrete and glass offices... Though we want all our members employed, we will not just become robots directed by developer-builders who value the dollar at the expense of the environment." The BLF was involved in many more green bans and also influenced the opinion of other unionized construction workers. But three years later the leader was ousted and the Green ban movement came to a halt.

- Friends of the Earth International was founded in Stockholm by national chapters from the US, UK, France and Sweden.

1972

- The first Summit protests is organized during UNCHE in Stockholm opposing the US ecocide in Vietnam by using Agent Orange when spraying the forests as tool of warfare causing severe damage on nature and human beings. A global environmental movement emerge out of the protest and several alternative conferences with strong participation from the South opposing dominant Anglo-American and corporate friendly environmentalism. Thus the market friendly Club of Rome and the notions as Tragedy of the Commons as well as eco-fascism promoted by Paul Ehrlich supporting forced sterilization in the Third World are marginalized from the global movement. Opposition against nuclear power emerge thanks to influence from the peace movement and is able to take central stage when conservationism is seen as lacking an answer to the growing environmental destruction in industrial societies.

- The environmental anti-globalization movement have one of its starting points the criticism of the EU (EEC) development model which was one of the factors behind the victory against membership in the referendum in September in Norway. The same year the first Nordic summer camp for the environmental movement started in strongly influenced by the successful Norwegian environmentalists shaping the core of the movement in Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland during ten years.

1973

- The Chipko movement starts in India by women hugging trees to protect the forest.
- Alternativ Stad, today Friends of the Earth Stockholm, issues the booklet Low energy society, but how? describing societal and global justice solutions to climate change and the nuclear power threat.
- The Center Party in Sweden becomes the first parliamentary party in the world to question nuclear power.

1974

- Farmers occupy and reoccupy the construction site of a planned nuclear power plant in Wyhl, Germany. This becomes the starting point for massive direct action movement in Germany still strong today and inspired an antinuclear power movement in Europe, North and Latin America and Asia.

1976

- The first antiglobalization mass protests against IMF austerity policies in Egypt and Peru followed in by successful indigenous armed resistance with arrow bows against a World Bank dam project the Philippines.
- Trade unionists at Lucas Aerospace Corporation, a part of the military industrial complex, published an Alternative Lucas Plan for the future of their company. Instead of being made redundant when the company announced that jobs were to be cut the workforce argued for their right to develop socially useful products as heat pumps, hybrid engines. The plan was met with considerable hostility from the Lucas Aerospace management and Mike Cooley, one of the initiators was sacked. Colley wrote in a book: "The alternatives are stark. Either we will have a future in which human beings are reduced to a sort of bee-like behaviour, reacting to the systems and equipment specified for them; or we will have a future in which masses of people, conscious of their skills and abilities in both a political and a technical sense, decide that they are going to be the architects of a new form of technological development which will enhance human creativity and mean more freedom of choice and expression rather than less." The Lucas plan has received renewed interest recently from Labour party. In Sweden Algots Nord, a textile company was occupied by the mainly female workers with similar aims, a kind of action for alternative more worker controlled production that also took place in other parts of Europe.
- Björn Eriksson publishes Miljövården och den revolutionära strategin Miljökris, kapitalismens kris. In Fjärde Internationalen 2/76. (Environmental protection and the revolutionary strategy - Environmental crisis, the crisis of capitalism. Fourth International 2/76 ) The text is one of the first in detail describing how revolution against capitalism is connected to the environmental crisis. It starts by saying: "Environmental groups, anti-nuclear power groups, committees against the building of hydro-electric dams, healthy food groups, etc. have been formed. More established nature and environmental organizations have increased their activity against environmental degradation. The revolutionary left has raised the issues and in several contexts began to participate actively in various environmental groups. But what place does environmental protection have in the revolutionary

strategy and what place should it have? What is the function of the environmental movement outside unions and parties? What "environmental requirements" must be incorporated into the revolutionary strategy?" He argues against both the socialist environmental network established at the time in Sweden and capitalist friendly conservation societies. He also point at the need the need for left revolutionary organizations to make environmental concern a fundamental part of their political strategy and not one more opportunistic way to say that capitalism is to blame and join our group. The text includes warning against emission of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. Björn Eriksson, was a researcher and environmental activist and chair of the Environmental Federation consisting of some hundred local groups.

1977

- The Green Belt Movement (GBM) was founded in Kenya by Wangari Maathai in 1977 under the auspices of the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK) to respond to the needs of rural Kenyan women who reported that their streams were drying up, their food supply was less secure, and they had to walk further and further to get firewood for fuel and fencing. GBM encouraged the women to work together to grow seedlings and plant trees to bind the soil, store rainwater, provide food and firewood, and receive a small monetary token for their work. Soon Kenya became the only country in Africa that stopped deforestation turning the country green again.

1978

- The antinuclear power movement in Denmark and Sweden makes detailed studies how their countries can change into low energy societies not in need of nuclear power. In Denmark the result is presented in a leaflet distributed by hand by the mass movement to every house hold in the country.

- The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists run a cover story on climate change.

1979

- Women for Peace is started in Sweden as an action group against nuclear power. It becomes part of the female peace movement addressing peace concerns in a wider perspective demanding that the money for the military should be used for better social purposes, a movement soon marching the whole way from Copenhagen to Paris, to Moscow, Washington and also marching for peace in Central America.

1980

- An encampment on land on three unproductive estates in Brazil's southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul was started. Soon over 6,000 landless families occupied the land including 600 households expropriated and dislocated in 1974 to make way for construction of a hydroelectric dam.

1981

- The Swedish anti nuclear movement starts both the international mobilization against acid rain by establishing the International Acid Rain Secretariat in Gothenburg, Sweden and international mobilization against The Roundtable of European Industrialists and their plans to build motorways and

promote austerity policies. At an Environmental Federation summer camp a peoples movement strategy is summarized as peace, bread and meaningful work questioning a single issue tactic focusing on nuclear weapons. The same year a Nordic Alternative campaign is started by some 30 solidarity, environmental and peace organizations

1982

Environmental Federation is promised substantial funding for a joint conference ten years after the first UN Conference on environment. The plan is to focus not only on environmental protection but also on how to change production and consumption by trade union and other popular movement initiatives for another society. The Swedish conservation society is able to use the money instead for greening development aid.

1983

- Third World Network is established in Kuala Lumpur by Friends of the Earth and Consumer Association in Malaysia heralding a shift in the global power balance in the global environmental movement from Western environmental NGOs to mass social movements in the South and their closely related organizations, a process that started with the OI Committee in 1971 but were delayed.

1984

- Coordinadora de las Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca Amazónica (COICA) is established in Lima, Peru with the purpose to "defend our ideals and hope to continue to be part of the world and nature. Founding organizations were AIDSESEP, Peru, CONFENIAE, Ecuador, CIDOB, Bolivia, ONIC, Colombia, and UNI, Brazil.

- The movement of the landless, Movimento Sem Terra (MST) is officially founded in Cascavel, Paraná, as Brazil's military dictatorship drew to a close. Its founding was strongly connected to Catholic-based organizations such as the Pastoral Land Commission, which provided support and infrastructure. Its aggressive tactics in striving for access to land gave a political legitimacy that soon outshone other movements which limited itself to trade-unionism in the strictest sense. In 1995, land occupations organized by MST included 20,500 out of the grand total of 31,400 families involved. MST becomes a major socio-ecological movement with some 2 million members working for land reform and agro-ecology.

1985

- The rubber tapper trade union Consejo Nacional dos Seringueiros (CNS) is established in Brazil with Chico Mendez from Xapuri, Acre, as a leader. CNS organizes "empates" hugging trees to stop them from be cut down and oppose land owners destroying the rain forest. They build an alliance with indigenous people in the Amazon opposing radical pejoratives and make a successful alliance with international NGOs against a World Bank road project causing one of the first defeats for the bank.

1986

- European Youth Forest Action (EYFA, today European Youth for Action) is initiated from Sweden to protect both old forests in Sweden and stop acid rain destroying the forest in many parts of Europe. In a first mobile action young activists travel from North of Sweden via London crossing the cold war border between west and east going to Maribor in Yugoslavia and ending in Budapest contributing to growing environmental concern in both eastern and western Europe. Out of the action a youth environmental movement emerge carrying out yearly youth camps called Ecotopia from 1989 and onwards and bike tours across Europe. EYFA's environmentalist perspective is characterized by a grassroots orientation and by its view that most environmental problems are also a question of social and economic injustice. EYFA works to challenge the mainstream economic system and promotes what it sees as socially and environmentally sound ways of living.

1987

- The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), with Gro Harlem Brundtland as chair person released *Our Common Future*, also known as the Brundtland Report. "The document popularized (and defined) the term "Sustainable Development"." (Wikipedia)

- UN Summit on disarmament and development becomes the first of several thematic UN conferences to replace conflictual perspective and co-opt mass movements into the idea of solving problems in the future by development from a Western perspective.

### **Anti-Brundtland 1988-1994**

1988

- The Narmada dam protests against the World Bank backed project becomes more radical by starting mass civil disobedience. Since then has the Narmada movement with Medha Patkar as one of the leaders been a main force in Indian and global development critical and anti-globalization movement.

- Finnish anti nuclear power and solidarity activist and philosopher Thomas Wallgren formulates his Anti Brundtland critique against the sustainable development definitions used by the Brundtland report and its embeddedness in the concept of sustainable growth. Soon Finland becomes the only country where environmental and solidarity movements takes a stand against Western sustainable development with its corporate cooperation ideology.

- Mass protests and alternatives conferences at the World Bank meeting in Berlin heralding a more unified global anti-globalization movement.

- Margaret Thatcher addressed climate issues at the UK's national academy of science as one of the first politicians.

- UN General Assembly passed Resolution 43/53 stating that climate change was a 'common concern of mankind'

- The first meeting of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was held. It grew out of joint efforts by the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). NGOs issued the statement "Escaping the heat trap: An NGO Statement of Policies to Prevent Climate Change" at the world conference.

- Rubber tapper leader Chico Mendez is killed by a ranch owner.

1989

- The seminar Third World Connection with 200 participants was held in 1989 where many critical thinkers from the South had come to interact with the solidarity movements of Finland, among them Gandhian socialists from India. This confirms the criticism of the sustainable development concept and to act on climate change from another global solidarity perspective.

- 30-40 people from European and gather at Loccum, a church retreat center in Germany to establish Climate Action Network (CAN) as a coordination of efforts by Climate Network Europe, CAN in the US and UK and soon also in Canada. Environmental Defence Fund, WWF and Greenpeace, backed the initiative. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund, which financed regional offshoots of CAN, would comment four years later that these "global preachers" "played a central role beginning in the early days of the climate change debate". Annie Roncerel from The Stockholm Environment Institute becomes the first international CAN coordinator. In its own booklet on the history of CAN Steve Sawyer is quoted for saying that "The whole history of the environmental movement had been a dress rehearsal for the climate issue" and that CAN's main role was to "function as a meritocracy".

- Bill McGibben's book The End of Nature becomes one of the first books on global warming for the general public.

- The petroleum and automotive industries and the National Association of Manufacturers in the US created the Global Climate Coalition (GCC) to oppose mandatory actions to address global warming. GCC is closed down in 2002 but have followed by numerous other initiatives from business interests working in different ways to influence the climate change debate and political decisions.

1990

- A 250 km long climate march inspired by Gandhian padyatra marches between Helsinki and Turku against the building of a motor way. This becomes the first public climate justice action with activists from India in the front of the march.

- Finnish, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish environmental and solidarity movements together with EYFA initiated a Solidarity, Environment, Equality and Development (SEED) Forum at the preparatory meeting for industrialized countries in Bergen, Norway, for the coming UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio with some 500 participants, one third from Central and Eastern Europe. Out of the SEED Forum grew the global A SEED, Action for Solidarity, Environment, Equality and Development youth network. Street actions surrounding the official conference accusing politicians for only talking and not acting hindered the participants from leaving the venue. Speakers from the protesters were then allowed to talk to the delegates, one of them was a representative of the victims of the Bhopal accident in India for which a US company was responsi-

ble. Conflicts between established international environmental NGOs and more action-oriented organizations in the official NGO meeting led to a majority decision to oust the established NGO leadership and create Alliance of Northern People's Network on Environment and Development (ANPED).

- Anil Agarwal and Surita Narain at the Centre for Science and Environment in India issues the book *Global warming in an unequal world: a case of environmental colonialism*. The authors accuse a study by the US World Resource Institute in collaboration with the UN for being less based on science and more on politically motivated and mathematical jugglery. "Its main intention seems to be to blame developing countries for global warming and perpetuate the current global inequality in the use of the earth's environment and its resources"

- Ken Saro-Wiwa and others establish Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), against environmental degradation of the land and waters of Ogoniland by the operations of the multinational petroleum industry, especially the Royal Dutch Shell company.

- Indigenous Environmental Network, (IEN) was formed by grassroots Indigenous peoples and individuals in the US to address environmental and economic justice issues. IEN's activities include building the capacity of Indigenous communities and tribal governments to develop mechanisms to protect our sacred sites, land, water, air, natural resources, health of both our people and all living things, and to build economically sustainable communities.

1991

- First International Climate Action Day is coordinated by Environmental Federation (today Friends of the Earth Sweden) and Finnish solidarity organizations with the support of ANPED, EYFA and A SEED. The action day states that it is victories in conflicts and constructive action that stops emissions of green house gases and deforestation that is the solution to global warming. Information is also given on how to influence the UN on climate. The printed campaign material is based on global climate justice made by Global Commons institute and Centre for Science and Environment run by South African and Indian activists. In the following years women plant trees in 32 towns in Uganda, Street action against car traffic takes place in Lithuania and 6 seminars are held in Moldavia. In total actions takes place on all continents in 70 countries at 500 places.

- Principles of Environmental Justice are formulated in the US to make issues of social justice and antiracism central in the environmental movement. Working-class communities of color from across the US started to come together for the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington, DC. Over 350 grassroots leaders from across the country attended.

1992

- UNCED in Rio becomes a disappointment for the active local environmental groups and also the radical environmental movement that had initiated climate action days. Some hundred of the local groups in the network APEDEMA-RJ opposed local big NGOs like IBASE and FASE that cooperated with corporations to organize alternative events during UNCED. When NGOs and social movements in Sao Paulo and internationally sided with the local environmental groups the big Rio NGOs switch sides. Soon they had marginalized the local environmental movement and excluded them from any leading role. The local environmentalists were equally disappointed about the thou-

sands of visitors to the alternative social movement and NGOs events. They felt there was no interest in exchanging experience between grass roots. The professionalization during the 1980s of the environmental movement had produced a culture where grass root experience no longer was of importance. Instead international alternative and official negotiations occupied peoples mind. In the treaty process organized by the International NGO and Social Movement Forum a conflict took place when a proposal was made to endorse the climate action days. A US climate NGO lobbyist got support for excluding any call for action and instead having only a technical argument on climate issues of the kind useful for lobbyists. Since UNCED decided to start processes to save the climate and biological diversity the situation has further deteriorated.

- The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change released its first assessment in 1992.
- CAN with the help of mainly US funding establish at last a regional network also in Latin America and thus having networks on all continents including many national nodes. The role of CAN was soon defined as: "to coordinate information exchange on international, regional and national climate policies" and "to formulate policy options and position papers on climate related issues and to undertake further collaborative action to promote effective non-governmental organization involvement in efforts to avert the threat of global warming." This established a well funded climate lobbyist policy network. A network separating a meritocratic sharing of information within a system of global governance far away from endorsing any climate action days built on local actions in conflict with the sustainable development win-win strategy.
- Milieudefensie (Friends of the Earth Netherlands) presents "Action Plan Sustainable Netherlands". A model for just transition of a country built on global justice distribution of the environmental space which later was defined by Friends of the Earth International as something that "implies equal rights to resource consumption for all peoples of the world within the carrying capacity of the planet"
- Indigenous peoples celebrates with long marches and other actions 500 years of resistance against occupation in South, Central and North America separating themselves from state centric and developmentalist leftwing celebrations.

1993

- Via Campesina is established as a mass organisation for small peasant and farmers all over the world. This organization soon becomes central in the protests against free trade and investments agreements and the global justice movement.
- MOSOP organised peaceful marches of around 300,000 Ogoni people – more than half of the Ogoni population – through four Ogoni urban centres, drawing international attention to their people's plight. The same year the Nigerian government occupied the region militarily.

1994

- Indigenous small peasants starts the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas in Mexico against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). By many this is seen as the birth of the anti-neoliberal and anti-globalization movement and crucial for inspiring the climate justice movement.

- In conjunction with the 50 year anniversary of Bretton Woods Institutions in Madrid the last coordination meeting of climate action days. It was the only international coordination meeting apart from meetings with the Nordic coordinators. No funding for the low cost international action days can be achieved in a time when lobbying and cooperation between NGOs, governments and companies is seen as the main road to solve the global social and environmental crisis. No international organization is willing to use the broad contact network that had been established. But the radical environmental movement with the Spanish Ecologista en Acción as a forerunner continues to be a central part in building the anti-globalization movement.

### **Eco-modernism or Antiglobalization 1995-2001**

1995

- First Climate Summit, COP1, in Berlin with protests and alternative conference. Since the first Climate Summit no reduction of green house gases has been achieved, on the contrary they have been increased. The internationally influential and once radical German environmental movement becomes more interested in working closer to main stream political parties and think tanks as the Wuppertal institute when climate becomes a key issue. The eco-modernist idea that sustainable growth is possible by dematerializing growth becomes central in deradicalising of the environmental movement. Technological change takes center stage in the environmental debate. Friends of the Earth Europe organize a broad campaign for just transition of every country to use only a fair share of environmental space, a concept first promoted by Friends of the Earth Netherlands. More and more national reports and campaigning gets in this period growing support also from Friends of the Earth International. But in many countries but not all it is framed by the eco-modernist technological efficiency change framework.

- Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists were executed by hanging on false charges. Direct action takes place against Shell petrol station during the protest against the trial against the Ogoni activists.

1996

- The Eldorado do Carajas massacre in Amazonas when 19 landless people are murdered 17th of April by the police creates a massive support for the land reform movement and reserves in the Amazon for local people to use in a sustainable way. The day of the massacre is chosen by Via Campesina as the annual day of peasant struggle as an equivalent to workers 1st of May. Two weeks afterwards Friends of the Earth Sweden organize a Euro Amazonian tour from Spain to Northern Europe with rubber tapper union Consejo Nacional de Seringeiros in solidarity with the popular movements struggling against destruction of the rain forest against the interests of rich land owners and corporations. In similar ways movements organize solidarity across borders to defend those attacked by the interests of corporations making profit out of deforestation and the use of fossil fuel.

- An international gathering against neoliberalism with 4000 participants takes place in the Lacandón Jungle in Mexico convened by the Zapatistas.

- The European Youth Forum, a platform of the national youth councils and international non-governmental youth organisations in Europe starts sending delegates to UN climate summits. This starts

a bureaucratization and deradicalization of the youth environmental activism that had acted more radical when EYFA and A SEED five years earlier co-organized international climate action days promoting local conflictual action rather than climate lobbying.

1997

- At COP3 in Kyoto CAN lobbies for 20 percent reduction of emissions until year 2005 and EU opt for 15 percent by 2010. The Kyoto protocol results in further negotiations.

- Greenpeace cited the world must not exceed a global temperature increase of 1°C only to demand a full 2°C in 2009.

- The European anti-globalization movement mobilize strongly at the EU Summit in Amsterdam with star marches against unemployment from all corners of Europe, a big demonstration and many counter conferences. Many arrests are made and people put into prison during the summit. Those arrested are afterwards are paid ca 1000 euro each as the mass arrests had been illegal. This becomes one of the last times A SEED is organizing youth action by being the most present organization doing meetings and actions during the alternative conference and street actions.

- Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO) is established by A SEED activists to carry out research and publishes reports on corporate lobbying activities at the EU level including on climate issues.

1998

- Peoples Global Action (PGA) is founded in Geneva by mass movements from the South, Via Campesina from everywhere and system-critical movements as Reclaim the streets from the North as well as Friends of the Earth Finland and Sweden represented by activists that started international climate action days seven years earlier. It is the result of the international anti-neoliberal meetings initiated by the Zapatistas. PGA is anti WTO, anti EU and anti NGO and calls for mass civil disobedience as the main tool to change society while not excluding organizations that may use other means. Global action days a carried out in many cities all over the world against financial capital. A general radicalization also of NGOs takes place. By the end of the year the Multilateral Investment Agreement (MAI) had been stopped.

- Growing concern in the environmental movement concerning corporate influence on main stream NGOs and in general UN and national governments made Friends of the Earth Sweden to publish the book Green Capitalists in Swedish and English. The book covers how foundations and NGOs controlled by capitalists from the beginning of global environmental negotiations have made attempts to direct the attention to moral individual and technological issues avoiding criticism of the political and economic system.

- American Petroleum Institute starts effort to organize climate change denial campaigning. This is followed by a growing a growing lobby industry formally and informally well connected. When companies like Exxon receives strong criticism for its funding of climate denialism and other attempts at relativizing the issue to make the argument than pone can delay any action into the future they withdraw from openly funding these initiatives. At the same time more funding for the large group of networks working to postpone action against climate change comes from anonymous sources. To a large degree already established conservative network for funding anti-abortion and

similar issues get a more central role than oil companies. In total funding for environmental initiatives and environmental organizations are much higher but most of that funding goes to practical projects while all the funding to postpone action goes to political campaigning.

- Tech entrepreneurs Joan Blades and Wes Boyd created an online petition set the the Clinton impeachment aside had hundreds of thousands of signatures influencing the national conversation. This became the starting point for MoveOn which pioneered the field of online organizing.

- The German third world solidarity organization Bundeskoordination Internationalismus (BUKO) criticize the sustainability concept and demanded that the Northern development model should be dismantled ten year after the Finnish solidarity movement started doing the same.

1999

- A large coalition against expanding WTO developed with some 500 organisations campaigning at national and international level. At the WTO meeting in Seattle it was possible to unite trade unions and environmentalists under the slogan Turtles and Teamsters unite! The protests were able to contribute to a break down of the negotiations and became important for the North American antiglobalization movement influencing also other countries.

- The first "Globaliseringskonferansen" takes place in Oslo, Norway today called Norwegian Social Forum (NSF) two years before the World Social Forum in Brazil. NSF is still held regularly.

- The Fossil of the Day award to the three countries blocking the climate negotiations more than other is used for the first time by NGOs at the climate Summit by the German NGO Forum, later by CAN. It becomes a useful tool for pressuring countries stopping the process from going further.

2000

- Coordinadora in Defense of Water and Life, a community coalition, organized protests against water privatization and drastically raised water rates in Cochabamba, Bolivia. This culminated in tens of thousands marching downtown and battling police. One civilian was killed. This caused the national government to reach an agreement with the Coordinadora to reverse the privatization.

- Victims of the climate crisis find each other at the UN Anti racist conference in Durban sharpening the need of domestic and global justice as a main demand in the environmental and climate movement.

- Friends of the Earth Netherlands invites to a mass action building a dike at the COP6 venue in the Hague to symbolize what will happen if the conference does not act. The result of the conference was a break down. In a press release CAN stated: "the rich countries have decided to build higher and broader dikes from which they can watch the rest of the world suffer and drown". In London a weekly picket is organized at the US embassy as the country had demonstrated itself to be the major barrier to any kind of progress. It was started by Phil Thornhill from the Hackney 'Friends of the Earth' local group who attempted to organise a demo at the US embassy, failed, and started a lone vigil there instead than followed by others until larger demonstrations were held here in 2001.

2001

- The violence against the anti globalization movement escalates. A protest and gathering at a EU Summit in Gothenburg was attacked by the police and the convergence center where some 700 people stayed is raided by police for the first time in Summit protest history. The gathering was initiated by Friends of the Earth Sweden supported by some 80 organizations from Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden demanding that nature and public sector should not be made a commodity, no to militarization, fortress Europe and the euro. The claim that weapons had been stored in the convergence center was proven wrong. The raid provoked confrontations with the police the following days. 50 people were put in prison in a total sum of 50 years. One person almost got killed by the police. The same methods was used some weeks later at the G8 summit protests in Genova where one of the demonstrators were killed by the police. The repression causes internal split and regression back to single issue politics.

- An international PGA meeting in Cochabamba is heavily repressed by the authorities.

- World Social Forum (WSF) takes place for the first time in Porto Alegre in Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil with 15000 participants. It is organized as an "open forum" explicitly not taking any decisions in common. It becomes a successful gathering of popular movements, NGOs and politicians soon gathering more than 100000 participants and having regional, thematic, national and local follow-up events. Confusion regarding the World Social Forum Charter of Principles caused continued problem. A first version from April 2001 was widely circulated and taken as the legitimate version while a revised official version from June 2001 was less used and often forgotten. As there were decisive difference between the two this caused severe problems especially in South Asia at the WSF in Mumbai 2004. One reason was that in the first version the purpose is stated as "building a planetary society centered on the human person". The revised official version states "building a planetary society directed towards a fruitful relationships among mankind and between it and the Earth". WSF was able to engage many popular movements focused on social issues but not in a substantial way the environmental movement. The revised official version also included the complicity of national governments in the destruction caused by economic globalization. It also stated that "neither party representation nor military organizations shall participate in the forum". This excluded in practice the Zapatistas who by many was seen as the main initiator of the antiglobalization movement while the parties were let in the backdoor by explicitly allowing politicians in their personal capacity to be present.

- Asian Peace Alliance established in Hongkong by social action groups and NGOs in immediate reaction to US war against Afghanistan and terrorism spreading quickly across Asia. In its founding document it stated "The dominant militarist, statist and masculinist theory and regime of 'national security' and 'international security', in short, must be replaced by one that is de-militarised, peace-loving, feminist, universal, and people-centred.

- The Campaign against Climate Change (CCC) organised the Kyoto Rally in London in protest at Bush's rejection of the Kyoto treaty. The rally gathered 700-800 people from Friends of the Earth, Socialist Worker's Party (SWP), Green Party, Greenpeace, Globalise, People and Planet, Save Our World and a Bangladeshi contingent. CCC writes about the following history: "After 9/11 climate change became a very difficult issue to instigate mobilisations around since the wars in Afghanistan and subsequently Iraq dominated in the world of political protest. The response of the CCC was to concentrate on a yearly 'Kyoto March' around the anniversary of Bush's dumping of Kyoto. This

involved a 20 mile march by a small 'hard-core' from ExxonMobil headquarters near Leatherhead to the US embassy. On the last few miles of this, from the Imperial War Museum park, the diehards were joined by the main demonstration party of several hundred or so.”

## **Climate policy lobbying or climate justice 2002-2009**

2002

- Radical South African popular movements, Via Campesina and others separate themselves from consensus with main stream NGOs Environmental justice at the UN World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg. A more clear environmental justice message is becoming more vocal including fights against water commercialisation, carbon trading and land commodification.
- Bangladesh becomes the first country to ban plastic bags
- The first European Social Forum (ESF) is held in Florence, Italy. Here a highly successful call for demonstrations against the Iraq war is made. In a Call of the European Social Movements issued at ESF opposition is called for against neoliberalism, war, racism, sexism and homophobia together with a general call "For rights and 'Another Europe'". The lack of interest for the environmental issues will continue to limit the strength of ESF.

2003

- Anti-iraq-war demonstrations all over the world with some 15 million demonstrators in total. Among the very many organizations opposing the war are also Birdlife International, Friends of the Earth International, Greenpeace International, WWF as well as environmental Justice organizations as Asian Pacific Environmental Network and the National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit warned against it. But no sustained joint campaigning against oil wars and the military industrial complex occurs. Cooperation between many movements for peace on earth and peace with earth is not taking place and opposition against wars gets less and less attention since then while also climate activism is hampered in a political climate of endless Western war against perceived enemies.
- At the WTO meeting in Cancun, Mexico, Via Campesina makes an alliance with the black block, tear down the fence around the venue and then they stop there. A South Korean farmer commits political suicide at the gates to stop WTO from including agriculture. Widening of WTO competence is once more stalled.

2004

- Durban Group for Climate Justice - a major network with an orientation to opposing 'false solutions' is established.
- Energy Action Coalition was founded at a meeting of representatives from almost 20 environmental groups in Washington, D.C. The founding of the organization was a result of the coordination of many local and national environmental networks in a day of action on April 1, 2004, called Fossil Fools Day which advocated for reducing dependence for energy on fossil fuels, with more than 125

registered actions around the US. The same year organisations, which would form the Australian Youth Climate Coalition two years later, began to come together in Australia.

- ESF in London is unable to bring together SWP and Labour antiwar and continental antineoliberal currents and is instead characterized by conflicts between what is labelled horizontal and vertical. Yet CCC used the occasion to network internationally for the coming into force of the Kyoto Treaty in February 2005.

2005

- A handful of small demonstrations around the world takes place when the Kyoto Treaty comes into force in London, Athens, Brussels and Kyoto in Japan laying the foundation for broader manifestation later in the year. Thus International Climate Action Days is restarted with the help of the UK organization CCC and much support from SWP on a deradicalized single issue lobby platform compared to the actions days 1991-94 without demands against neoliberal solutions or strong global justice demands in adherence to main stream NGOs and trade union interests. "Its main objective is to spearhead demands that elected representatives of their respective governments honor commitments set forth by the Kyoto Protocol, by conducting in unison peaceful demonstrations around the world." (Wikipedia). In total demonstrations took place in 32 countries. In London with around 10,000 participated while Tens of thousands demonstrated in Montreal itself. In Australia some thousands of demonstrators around Australia. Around 4,000 demonstrators, meanwhile, took to the streets in Turkey.

- Friends of the Earth in England starts a Big Ask campaign to pressure the government into passing a climate change bill. FoE called for 80 percent reduction including emissions for international aviation and shipping, along with annual targets that would make each elected government accountable for mitigation. This soon becomes a model for campaigning in several countries in Europe.

- COP 11 took place in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Here youth delegations from several member nations attended, to advocate on behalf of young people. As a result, the concept of the International Youth Climate Movement was first developed, though it was originally referred to as the International Youth Delegation, referring to the youth delegates at the international climate negotiations. The following year Canadian Youth Climate Coalition (CYCC) is established by 48 youth organizations including the Canadian Federation of Students, the Canadian Labour Congress and Sierra Youth Coalition. The demands are; justice across generations and peoples, youth participation in government decision making, just transition to a green economy and energy for today, tomorrow and the future. This was soon followed by the Australian Youth Climate Coalition in November, which itself was a coalition of 27 youth organisations from across Australia.[7]

- In 2008, the Indian Youth Climate Network joined the Global Youth Climate Movement and later the same year UK Youth Climate Coalition (UKYCC) soon followed by similar youth networks on all continents except Latin America.

- Carbon trading is started by the EU without the result in reducing emission as expected by those advocating system immanent solutions.

- Global Utmaning, (Global Challenge in English), was founded by economist Kristina Persson, Sweden's former Minister of Strategic Development and Nordic Cooperation. Persson was tasked

with building cooperation with Nordic countries in order to leverage strength within the international community. Her position involved the fostering of long-term development for “the green transition, jobs and distribution, and initiatives to influence the global agenda for sustainable development.”

- GetUp! was launched in August to encourage Internet activism in Australia regarded as a “left-wing political activist group”. It has increasingly engaged in offline community organising as well. It advocates for progressive public policy change in the areas of the environment, economy, human rights and democracy.

- The first gathering takes place to celebrate the Day of the Campesino seed on the invitation of the people of Monte Carmelo. These gatherings has received wider also international attention and the village has become a center of gravity in Venezuela for the politics and practice of a movement that calls itself eco-socialist, leading a return to the land and the transcendence of the oil economy.

2006

- The Alliance for Climate Protection was founded by Al Gore to encourage civic action against climate change. The organization was partially funded by proceeds donated from Gore's climate change documentary *An Inconvenient Truth*, as well as profits from the book of the same name who got a very wide spread international audience. The Alliance encouraged federal policies that limited greenhouse gas emissions and supported low-carbon power sources. This started a period of intense creation of new business friendly climate initiatives including more connected to Al Gore as Climate Reality Project.

- Bill Clinton starts a program to fight climate change, the Clinton Foundation's Climate Initiative (CCI) . The CCI directly runs various programs to prevent deforestation and to rehabilitate forests and other landscapes worldwide, develop clean energy, and help island nations threatened by rising ocean levels. The Foundation entered into a partnership with the Large Cities Climate Leadership Group, agreeing to provide resources to allow the participating cities to enter into an energy-saving product purchasing consortium and to provide technical and communications support.

- The Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change released for the Government of the United Kingdom made it clear for capital interest that climate protection not only cost money but there were also money to be made. Parts of the movement is concerned that green capitalism will use the climate issue to turn it into a profitmaking business in the interest of corporations.

- Camps for Climate Action starts in UK promoting a climate movement critical against capitalism.

- 2006 saw the formation of the Stop Climate Chaos (SCC) coalition of NGOs in the UK. They organized a large event in London at the time of the UN (Nairobi) Climate talks. The CCC joined with them in a common effort while also organising a rally at the US embassy followed by a march to join the SCC event in Trafalgar Square. The Global Day of Action, meanwhile had really taken off - including an amazing 100,000 or so in 'Walks against Warming' around Australia.

2007

- Nyeleni meeting in Mali organized by Via Campesina with participants from other movements becomes the starting point for international food sovereignty campaigning.
  
- The first national youth climate conference in the US, Power Shift '07 with between 5,000 and 6,000 students and young people in attendance. The aim of the conference was to urge elected officials to pass legislation which would include three planks taken from the platform of the climate advocacy coalition: The creation of a 5 million-strong Clean Energy Job Corps, The reduction of greenhouse gases to 80 percent below 1990 levels by 2050, which scientists say is the baseline for mitigating the worst effects of global warming, A moratorium on new coal plants and divestment from fossil fuel and highway subsidies.
  
- Movement Generation in the US starts meetings addressing peak oil, peak water, losses in biological and cultural diversity, climate change, environmental toxins, food security, sustainable agriculture and food systems, as well as new opportunities for the development of local, sustainable, socially-just economies and participatory democracy engaging over 150 organizations and thousands of community leaders, activists, and organizers.
  
- In May CCI announced its first project which will help some large cities cut greenhouse gas emissions by facilitating retrofitting of existing buildings. Five large banks committed \$1 billion each to help cities and building owners make energy-saving improvements aimed at lowering energy use and energy costs. At the 2007 Clinton Global Initiative, Bill Clinton also announced the 1Sky campaign to accelerate bold federal policy on global warming. The 1Sky campaign supported at least an 80% reduction in climate pollution levels by 2050.
  
- Avaaz was founded by Res Publica, described as a global civic advocacy group and "community of public sector professionals dedicated to promote good governance", and Moveon.org, "an online community that has pioneered internet advocacy in the United States." It becomes the fastest-growing online movement in history. The Service Employees International Union and GetUp.org.au among the founding partners of Avaaz. Suggestions for campaigns comes from members, supplemented by guidance from teams of experts. Selected campaigns are the tested on 10000 on the Avaaz mailing list and made into a campaign for all Avaaz if the response is strong enough. Mainly used campaigning methods are online public petitions and email your leader tools but suggestions are also made to organize sit ins, rallies, phone ins and "media friendly stunts". People are asked to start petitions on the Avaaz website and are then called member, today in total more than 50 million. But it is a membership without any democratic rights. According to the founder Ricken Patel "Avaaz has no ideology per se. Our mission is to close the gap between the world we have and the world most people everywhere want. Idealist of the world unite!" Some question whether Avaaz's focus on online petitions and email campaigns may encourage laziness, transforming potential activism into clicktivism.
  
- Environmentalists and scientists urged the government in to leave the fossil fuel resources in the Yasuni National Park untapped. Indigenous people and environmentalists called for a national referendum on the issue constituting 40 percent of Ecuador's oil reserve. In response, President Rafael Correa launched the Yasuní-ITT Initiative to protect the park's natural resources. The initiative promised to leave the park undisturbed in exchange for compensation from the international community. The government hoped to generate funds of at least 50 percent of the profits that it would

receive were it to utilize the oil reserves. At the time, the plan was hailed by environmentalists as a precedent setting decision that would reduce the burden of environmental preservation on the world's poorer countries. Six years later a commission to evaluate the Yasuni-ITT initiative's progress concluded that the economic results were not sufficient. On August 15, Correa scrapped the plan citing poor follow-through from the international community. "The world has failed us", he said, calling the world's richest countries hypocrites who emit most of the world's greenhouse gases while expecting nations like his to sacrifice economic progress for the environment.

- In October, 60 activists from thirteen countries met in Paris to discuss the future of eco-socialism. They founded the Eco-socialist International Network (EIN).

- A Global Day of Action event, entitled Kyoto Now!, was organized for the third time to coincide with the UNFCCC's conference, otherwise known as COP 13, convening in Bali, Indonesia. There were citizens in 84 countries - fifty more than the first year - participating in simultaneous rallies and marches around the world. Industrialized, G8 nations like Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, UK, and USA had multiple rallies - 36 in Canada alone - being planned in cities nationwide. In Athens, a Saturday demonstration featured music, juggling and stilt-walking acts, with traffic being interrupted around Syntagma Square by the 102 organizations taking part. In Bangalore, more than 1000 volunteers of Greenpeace descended on M. Chinnaswamy Stadium, dressed head to toe in yellow, holding up a large number of placards with climate messages, making human art formations and wearing fun masks. In Istanbul there was over 7000 participants rallying under a clear blue sky.

- Climate Justice Now! (CJN) Network was established during the protests at COP13 in Bali, Indonesia by mass movements in the South as Via Campesina and Jubilee South and Friends of the Earth International. This as a reaction to claimed lack of emphasis on equity issues in CAN. CJN becomes the major international effort to oppose turning nature into a commodity as a solution to climate change and other environmental problems. By putting climate justice at the center of an international discussion local activism is inspired in many countries.

- The split in the international civil society with the emergence of a climate justice current played a decisive role in Germany. Here the climate justice movement emerged from debates in the anti-globalization movement after the G8 summit in 2007 in Heiligendamm. The Antirassismusbüro Bremen (Anti-racist bureau) published the text «Warum Al Gore den Nobelpreis nicht verdient hat» (Why Al Gore did not deserve the Nobel Prize). This brings forward the analysis and criticism of the radical climate movement by saying: «The place of climate change is not the melting glacier, but capitalist commodity production.» The activists turns against the idea that the climate crisis can be solved if states, economies and society pull together and politics gives the market the right incentives to develop greener technologies, and if people individually dispense with their consumption demands. False solutions are criticized including carbon capture and storage (CCS) and geo-engineering, fracking and nuclear power, biofuels and large scale renewable power plants. The dominant strategy to establish a green capitalism by ecological modernization is seen as reproducing the social-ecological contradictions rooted in the capitalist mode of production and thus a dead end.

2008

- Rwanda banned non-biodegradable plastic while the capital Kigali has been named by the UN as Africa's cleanest city through collective efforts rather than punitive action.

- The SUV boom takes off at the start of the economic crisis. Between 2008 and 2015, the share of off-road vehicles in the German car fleet more than doubled. The SUV boom, took the automotive industry out of its deep economic crisis, because the SUV sale made disproportionate profits possible. This can be seen as a symbol for the simultaneity of crisis and persistence of a grotesque way of life.
  
- The Campaign against Climate Change Trade Union Conference in February, at the University of London Union, had more than 300 attending. Later CCC organised a demonstration on biofuels, co-organised a demonstration at Heathrow, held another Climate Conference (or "Forum") and organised a No New Coal March on the opening day of the Climate Camp. CC also organized a 8,000 strong National Climate March and a Global Day of Action on December 6th that spanned over 70 countries.
  
- A group of students and Bill McGibben starts 350.org to campaign for keeping the content of Carbon dioxide in the atmosphere below 350 parts per million. With their efforts to call for manifestations were people from the number 350 actions took place simultaneously at 5100 places in 181 countries. 350.org claims that "On the ground, we have found a huge if diffuse movement, made up mostly of indigenous and other frontline communities bearing the brunt of the fossil fuel industry." as if international climate action days did not exist continuously since 2005 organized in thousands of places. This organization also states: "we also quickly saw the need to move beyond education to confrontation—hence, in the US, the birth of the continent-wide Keystone pipeline fight. There was already a movement in place in the tar sands of Alberta and on the prairies of Nebraska through which the proposed pipeline would pass. But we nationalized the movement, with demonstrations in DC."
  
- Their first practical expression of the emerging climate justice movement in Germany was their participation in a climate and anti-racism camp in the summer of 2008 in Hamburg, which was directed primarily against the new hard coal power plant Moorburg. The debate focused upon whether the climate crisis should be taken up in the sense of ideological-critical discourse intervention or whether to intervene strategically in climate and energy policy. Those emphasizing system criticism cautioned against following the supposed time pressure of the official climate discourse, which speaks for a little emancipatory catastrophism. Others called for the realism and urgency of climate change to be taken seriously. It would be necessary to set up climate groups and develop strategic approaches capable of questioning the prevailing climate policy in practice and of implementing equitable alternatives in order to at least slow down global warming
  
- Friends of the Earth and Via Campesina Sweden together with their European partners and Latin American groups as well as Friends of the Earth and solidarity organisations in Finland that pioneered climate justice activism in 1990 joined hands to make European Social Forum in Malmö more action-oriented. Also the peace and refugee movement took the opportunity to make actions furing ESF so both petrol stations, asylum for refugees and a weapon factory was targeted as well as a steet occupied to protest against global warming. Attac and trade unions that controlled the organization opposed the low-budget proposals from the action-oriented movements and with the help of top down planning was responsible for turning the event into bankruptcy. But pacifists and anti-imperialists could unite and initiated Ship to Gaza while Friends of the Earth, Via Campesina and Latin American groups started a lasting cooperation on several issues.

- Alliance for Climate Protection bipartisan "We" campaign, was launched in the US. The campaign, included an advertisement called "We Can Solve It" featuring Democrat and Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi and Republican Newt Gingrich, former Speaker of the House jointly calling for a response to climate change. Gingrich later repented that he participated in this promotion of public action against climate change on a national and international level. The "We" campaign included partnerships with the Girl Scouts of the United States of America, the United Steelworkers of America and the National Audubon Society. The Alliance also launched the "Repower America" campaign to support Gore's directive to shift American homes to 100 percent clean energy within 10 years. This campaign supported climate change legislation in the United States. The Alliance also created the Reality Coalition in partnership with the National Wildlife Federation, the League of Conservation Voters, the Natural Resources Defense Council and the Sierra Club. The Reality Coalition used television, print and online advertisements as well as grassroots events to challenge the idea of coal pollution mitigation.

- 250 participates at the founding meeting of Klimataktion (Climate Action) in Stockholm. People from Klimataktion, red-green parties, IF Metal trade union and Greenpeace speaks. All called for a strong climate movement able to put pressure on politicians to stop invest in infra structure that needs further burning of fossil fuels.

- Global Climate Change Alliance (GCCA also referred to as TckTckTck) was founded by a small group of NGOs, including World Resources Institute (WRI), 350.org, Greenpeace, Avaaz and World Wildlife Fund. This becomes the most well funded campaign organization dominating mass media messaging before the COP 15 Climate Summit demanding a binding treaty.

2009

- Constance Okollet, a farmer from the Tororo district in eastern Uganda saw her farm washed away and became an climate activist. She mobilized local people to help rebuild, and then to plant trees and try to mitigate the effects locally. "Every Sunday, I travel to different parishes and speak after Mass" she says. "I stand up and tell the people that climate change has come to stay, but that we can overcome it by planting trees." "It was not until I went to a meeting about climate change that I heard it was not from God, but the rich people in the West who are doing this to us."

- Climate Justice Action (CJA) mobilizes anticapitalist activists together with mass movements as Via Campesina from the South campaigning for climate justice against green capitalism ahead of the COP15 in Copenhagen

- Attac, the network critical of globalization was involved in the development of the new climate campaigns. In Germany the nationwide working group "Energie.Klima.Umwelt" (EKU-AG), guarantees the connection of Attac to the movement. In addition, a number of local groups in the movement is active. The Attac network has a nationwide public appeal and forms a link with established environmental organizations of importance for the radical climate justice movement.

- In UK CCC held three demonstrations early in the year: a No Third Runway demo in January, a demo against unabated coal power stations in March, and a Climate Emergency iceberg demo outside the ExCeL Centre at the time of the G20 summit. Following that was a Climate Emergency Parliament event in mid-July. Then, the Vestas dispute and the fight for Green Jobs came to the

forefront of the campaign until the London Public Forum in the lead up to the Climate Emergency Rally in December.

- The Tckctck campaign was launched in June by Havas, one of the world's largest global advertising and communications firms, in conjunction with the United Nations (Kofi Annan) and Bob Geldof. The stated objective of this corporate-driven advertising campaign was "to make it become a movement that consumers, advertisers and the media would use and exploit." It is revealing that the "environmental organizations" listed as partners were, first and foremost, 350.org and Avaaz.org who partnered with corporations as EDF Nuclear, Lloyds Bank, MTV, and other multi-national corporations who can be seen as simultaneously destroying our shared environment. It was intermixed with GCCA NGO network.
- The One Million Climate Jobs campaign was set up in the UK by CCC trade unionists, and is supported by eight national unions. The One Million Climate Jobs report describes the work that needs to be done in the transition to a low carbon economy. It received inspiration from the struggle of workers at the Vestas wind turbine factory on the Isle of Wight, who occupied their factory when it was slated for closure in mid 2009.
- The Climate Project was an educational, worldwide organization started in 2006 that trained volunteers to give public talks, similar to Gore's climate presentation in the film *An Inconvenient Truth*. By 2009, the project had more than 3,000 volunteers worldwide. These volunteers, trained by Gore, delivered 70,000 presentations to 7.3 million people.
- The startup organization Purpose is established. It operates by developing new organisations in online "labs" and experimenting with models of issues-based campaigning. Its list of achievements includes playing various roles in the formation of All Out, now a 1.7-million member LGBT movement, the Women's Marches following Trump's inauguration in 2017, the NY Renews climate campaign that led to the passage of New York State's Climate and Community Protection Act, and climate campaigns in Brazil, India, Kenya and Australia as well as in the US and Europe. It also consults to existing organisations, including the American Civil Liberties Union, UNICEF and UNHCR, Google and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. Purpose embraces "pragmatic idealism" and doesn't adopt purist positions. "We like to say we can speak the language of an Occupy activist, a Facebook product manager and a UN technocrat." It also speaks the language of Unilever and Nike, two of its corporate partners, as well as that of #MeToo.
- Energy Action Coalition gathered 12,000 young people in Washington, D.C. for what it called the "largest citizen lobby day in history." The organization was mobilizing its youth base to pass a cap-and-trade bill through the House of Representatives. A commentator states: "In calling on legislators to pass a technocratic bit of market reform, the youth of the climate movement demonstrated an understanding of political power alien to their more institutional brethren. It was, unfortunately, far from enough to pass the bill. The D.C. environmental policy shops privileged backroom deals over popular mobilizations. Big Green groups like the Environmental Defense Fund and Natural Resources Defense Council, partnering with industry CEOs, chose expediency over strategy in their attempts to bring federal climate legislation to fruition. When corporate interests bailed on the alliance, the cap-and-trade bill, already riddled with exemptions, lacked a constituency to defend it. It foundered. By eschewing the public contest for power in politics in favor of the private transactions of business, the Big Greens left the Democratic Party to defending the validity of science for years."

- G20 gathering in London: The world's major economies come together to stem the global financial panic triggered by the collapse of the sub-prime mortgage market in the US (and subsequent unprecedented bailouts for corporations and banks). They assure society that they will establish a more stable growth path going forward.
- UN works on the prospect of a Global Green New Deal to reboot the global economic system. It simultaneously works on tools to assign monetary value to all nature, global in scale, with the goal of creating new markets (TEEB – later to be absorbed by the Natural Capital Coalition). In the years that followed the 2009 assurances to contain panic in markets and salvage a battered financial system, growth – crucial to keeping the capitalist economic system afloat – failed to find a firm footing.
- the International Day of Climate Action in 2009 is supported by 350.org, Greenpeace and other main stream organizations and is manifested at 6000 places globally demanding action and a binding treaty from the world leaders.
- System change not climate change became a common call in both direct actions, in much of the mass demonstration with 100,000 participants, mass meetings with Hugo Chavez and Evo Morales and the Klimaforum09 with 50,000 participants at COP15 in Copenhagen. Massive repression against the demonstration and the direct action was met with little solidarity. CJA soon dissolves. No binding treaty was made at the Summit and the main stream movement did not know what to do next. Inside the conference some spoke very critical words: “Many of you equally, and I will say this, and I would have never thought that one day I will accuse a civil society of such a thing. Dividing the G77, or helping divide the G77, is simply something that should be left to the CIAs, the KGBs and the rest [not the NGOs]. Lumumba Di-Aping, chief negotiator of the G77, December 11, 2009, COP15

## **Indigenous militance, left ideology contradictions and single issue campaigning 2010-2018**

2010

- 32,000 participants gathered in Cochabamba at International peoples' conference on climate change in Bolivia an international climate justice conference formulating the ambitious Cochabamba statement. At the same time more radical indigenous movement stepped out of the process and formulated their own Mesa 18 statement. This started a inner contradiction in this climate justice initiative. On the one hand anticapitalist organizations placed themselves in support of leftwing governments in Latin America. On the other hand indigenous movements protesting against the same governments when they continued and expanded extractive activities damaging nature and the livelihood of local inhabitants.
- The popular protests against COP16 Mexico became negatively effected by the contradiction in the Latin American and global climate justice movement resulting in fragmentation. Broader system critical approaches are replaced by several single issue campaigns. In many countries a main focus is directed at local level to support energy transition in the hands of local communities.

- After the overall disappointing summit protests, the German movement experienced a crisis and strategic reorientation. The action-oriented movement turned away from the campaign-shaped summit mobilizations and to local or regional struggles for climate justice. The concept of energy democracy acted as a new political landmark. In this phase, two wings of the movement were formed. The socio-ecological wing of movement focused on connecting the social and ecological issues in concrete struggles in the cities in order to develop hegemony-capable approaches to a radical social transformation. In several cities climate groups launched campaigns for a free public transport as well as referendums for the remunicipalisation and democratization of the energy supply. On the other hand, the global ecological movement wing aimed at attacking the key CO2 polluters, the carbon majors, from a global climate justice perspective in order to achieve a radical reduction of greenhouse gas emissions in the Federal Republic of Germany. The corresponding grassroots groups focused on the lignite industries in the Rhineland and Lusatia. Since 2010, they have regularly organized climate camps there, starting protests against open-cast mines and power plants.
  
- In Sweden Friends of the Earth six fold the number of participants at the summer camp from 20 to 120 while linking efforts with climate networks and building an alliance with Via Campesina, Latin American group and Klimataktion i and global justice campaign against false solutions as carbon trading and just transition. As Friends of the Earth had no illusions about the possibility of achieving a binding treaty in Copenhagen and all the time maintained local and national struggles against climate and environmentally damaging projects as building a costly motor way tunnel under a large lake west of Stockholm coming was not affected by a post-Copenhagen backlash.
  
- Prague Spring 2 network against right wing extremism and populism (PS2) is founded in April in Prague as a follow-up on the European Social Forum mainly for Central and Eastern European movements but also with members from the west. The first conference address the threat of right wing politics in a time of social and environmental crisis and the first action of the network is to mobilize a world-wide campaign protesting against the repression in Moscow of defenders of the Khimki forest under threat from a motorway project enabled by corruption. To strengthen social justice and cooperation with small farmers Friends of the Earth Sweden initiate conferences on agriculture and forestry in the periphery of the country to regain control of food and use of nature from corporate rule.
  
- Climate justice organisations as Indigenous Environmental network (IEN), EJCC, GAIA, Ruckus Society, Movement Generation, and Grassroots Global Justice Alliance (GGJ) also worked with the East Michigan Environmental Action Council, Rising Tide and the Zero Waste Detroit Coalition to initiate a 400-person Ecojustice People's Movement Assembly and the March for "Clean Air, Good Jobs & Justice for All" at the 2010 US Social Forum in Detroit.
  
- In 2010 Avaaz paid Ricken Patel \$183,264 as executive director, and paid Ben Wikler (Avaaz campaign director) \$111,384 plus \$921,592 in "campaigner fees and consulting" and \$182,196 in travel expenses. Cory Morningstar writes critically "Avaaz's integration into militarism can be seen in their continual polling that outlines, in essence, what citizens are responsive to, and what they are willing to tolerate. In the 13 January 2010 global Avaaz poll, participants were asked to rate 6 priorities in order of importance. The stated priorities from which one could choose included human rights, torture and genocide (#2), democracy movements and tyrannical regimes (#3) war, peace and security (#4) and corruption and abuse of power (#5). Incidentally number 1 was climate change, however after the failed Copenhagen climate talks, this issue was no longer considered a hot commodity for NGO branding purposes and thus the campaign on climate was, for the most part, aban-

done altogether. All other proposed “choices” are key elements/issues associated with militarism.” John Hilary challenged Avaaz in a Guardian article titled “Internet activists should be careful what they wish for in Libya. Calls for a no-fly zone over Libya ignore the perils of intervention. Long-term solutions aren’t as simple as the click of a mouse.”

- The UNEP, European Commission and branches of various governments (German, Norwegian, Swedish, Japanese) have supported a major international initiative to establish a dominant monetary value discourse under the title of The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity (TEEB), with the central aim of “mainstreaming the economics of Nature”.

2011

- The Durban UNFCCC COP17 had lots of revealing aspects.

- Klaus Schwab, founder and executive chairman of the World Economic Forum, starts Global Shapers training young people under the age of 30 to become “change-makers”. With more than 7,000 members, the Global Shapers community spans 369 city-based hubs in 171 countries.

- Avaaz, Amnesty and other similar organization starts campaigns to support bombing of Libya. John Hilary challenged Avaaz in a Guardian article titled “Internet activists should be careful what they wish for in Libya. Calls for a no-fly zone over Libya ignore the perils of intervention. Long-term solutions aren’t as simple as the click of a mouse.” Online organizations seen as left wing or liberal and campaigning against war now started to become strong advocates for military interventions on what they called humanitarian grounds which could include fake accusations that afterwards could be proven as wrong.

2012

- <http://ecosocialisthorizons.com/durban/>

- Protesters began tree sitting in the path of the Keystone pipeline near Winnsboro, Texas. Eight people stood on tree platforms just ahead of where crews were cutting down trees to make way for the pipeline. This grew into a mass civil disobedience against the pipe line with indigenous people on the frontline.

- The divestment movement is launched by 350.org and others with the goal of reducing the financing for and social acceptance of the extraction of fossil fuels. It soon became one of the largest campaigns in history questioning corporations.

- Before Superstorm Sandy hit New York City and New Jersey networks of organizers and community members were mobilizing to lead recovery efforts on their terms. Occupy Sandy was “a grassroots disaster relief network that emerged to provide mutual aid to communities affected by Superstorm Sandy”.

- LAUtonomia: Radical eco-anarchists occupy the Hambacher forest which is every year decimated by the expansion of an open pit brown coal mine. The loose cooperation by individual anarchists occupy trees threatened by the expansion. And reoccupy them after they are brutally evicted by police and security personnel from the extractive company RWE.

- 100 young people walked 328km over 15 days from Port Augusta to Adelaide pushing for investment in Australia's first concentrated solar thermal plant in Port Augusta.
- Rio +20.
  
- After the financially successful TckTckTck campaign to influence the COP15, Havas (a global advertising firm) create their own NGO named One Young World. On the TakingItGlobal website, under the headline How to Mobilize Youth Globally to Support the Goals of the Rio 2012 Summit, a IYY HLM (International Youth Year High Level Meeting) event is organized: “The vast networks represented by Avaaz, Taking IT Global, Peace Child and One Young World represent an excellent way of building on the momentum of the IYY to promote the Rio+20 goals through online media, advertising and PR – and good, old-fashioned campaigning.... The Rio+20 Summit is as good a moment as any to mark that watershed moment: young people – through their schools, their community groups and their online network are well-placed to support the UN and its member states to explain that transition and embed it in the hearts and minds of the general public.” Partnership was established quickly with Association Internationale des Étudiants en Sciences Économiques et Commerciales (AIESEC); present in over 110 countries and territories and with over 82,000 members, AIESEC is the world’s largest student-run organization.
  
- Global Poverty Project (GPP) launched the annual Global Citizen Festival, a free ticketed music event in New York City that coincides with the UN General Assembly meeting in September held every year since coinciding with UN or G20 meetings.
  
- The Ecosystem Service Valuation Toolkit (EVT) portal was launched at Rio +20 in June 2012. This is the largest, spatially explicit, web-based repository of published and unpublished economic values for ecosystem services maintained by Earth Economics. The technical information gathering for commodifying nature by establishing a global ecosystem service trade has taken a step forward.
  
- Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED) was formed in response to the pro-market ‘Green Economy’ agenda emerging around the Rio+20 Conference in 2012. Unions in Rio decided they needed to push a different vision based “Energy is a big issue for workers because it’s an essential input for production. Energy also shapes the lives of ordinary people in a big way. Without energy, there can be no production, and without energy people can’t live dignified and meaningful lives. So, energy is a key input in shaping what people can do and how they live, and the lack of energy is a form of inequality and the absence of democracy.” Dinga Sikwebu (NUMSA/United Front) TUED brings together major unions from around the globe, advocating a vision of “Resist, Reclaim, Restructure”: resist the fossil fuel agenda of TNCs, reclaim energy to the public sphere, and restructure the sector to make way for democratically controlled and affordable renewable energy.
  
- The São Paulo meeting for left wing parties in Latin America acknowledge a more important role to popular movements. Guest at the meeting from African popular movements gets inspired by the already existing network of popular movements from all Latin American countries. This network is coordinated from a secretariat and have also a school for educating movement activists. The Africans have rebuilt the socialist Pan-African movement that existed in the 1960. Also other regions followed.
  
- The First International Congress of the Guardians of Seeds, takes place in the village Monte Carmelo, Sanare, Lara, Venezuela. More than 300 people, belonging to 100 organizations, from Ar-

gentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela, gathered to strengthen international cooperation at the seventh celebration of the National Day of Farmers' Seeds regularly taking place in Monte Carmelo. The participants declared:

"We understand that the common seeds of farmers and indigenous peoples carry thousands of years of knowledge, identity and culture, and can form the basis for a politics and economics of true independence."

2013

- A Climate Space takes place WSF in Tunis. It is hard to find a common strategy. For US activists like Bill McKibben a visible enemy must be targeted – in fact the oil companies – which would make it possible to concretise the climate question for public opinion, which is normally too abstract to engage most people. Some activists from countries of the South, such as Pablo Solón from Bolivia, feel that the agricultural and food-supply question should be emphasized by showing that climate change is threatening the safety of food supply. Nnimmo Bassey, the Nigerian president of the International Federation of Friends of the Earth, prioritizes the struggle against extractivism. Others privilege the critique of the financialisation of nature. No overall strategy has been established. Moreover, Maxime Combes asks: 'Should we launch a worldwide campaign specifically on the climate or see to it that all social campaigns include the climate issue?'

For lack of an international strategy capable of mobilising people, a pragmatic idea seems to be emerging: the necessity of focusing on ecological transition rooted in local regions.

- The Climate Justice Alliance (CJA) formed in 2013 in the US by uniting frontline communities, organizations, and networks. The goal is to build a Just Transition, away from extractive systems of production, consumption and political oppression, and towards resilient, regenerative and equitable economies. A transition that "must place race, gender, class and processes for decolonization and systems change at the center of the solutions equation in order to make it a truly Just Transition."

- The Majuro declaration is adopted in Majuro, the Republic of the Marshall Islands. "We, the Leaders of the Pacific Islands Forum", will act "at all levels to reduce and to respond urgently and climate change to ensure the survival and viability of all Pacific small island developing States, in particular low-lying atoll worldwide."

2014

- NATO head Anders Fogh Rasmussen claims that anti-fracking resistance in Europe is influenced by Russia according to security information he has received. Friends of the Earth dismiss the charges and Greenpeace responds by asking what are they smoking in the NATO headquarter in Brussels.

- 350 people were in attendance, and 1,000 people watched online, as the alliance for climate jobs came together for the first time at 'Bridge to the future' 2014. The organisations behind 'Bridge to the future' are: the Norwegian Union of Municipal and General Employees (Fagforbundet), the Norwegian Civil Service Union (NTL), the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions in Oslo (LO i Oslo), Friends of the Earth Norway (Naturvernforbundet), Future in our hands (Framtiden i våre hender), Greenpeace Norway, the Christian Network for Environment and Justice (Skaperverk og bærekraft), Concerned Scientists Norway, Parat, Young Friends of the Earth Norway/Nature and

Youth (Natur og Ungdom), the Grandparents' Climate Campaign (Besteforeldrenes klimaaksjon), and the Campaign for the Welfare State (For Velferdsstaten). - We cannot wait for the market to solve the climate crisis – the longer we wait, the harder the transition to a low-carbon world becomes. At the same time, individual lifestyle changes alone are not enough: we must build a sustainable society together. Norwegian trade unions and environmental organisations, the state church, and researchers have come together behind one specific aim: a democratic, planned, just transition that creates 100,000 climate jobs, and allows for slowing down the country's rapacious oil and gas extraction.

- "Pacific Warriors" with the official name 350 Pacific is established as a youth led grassroots network working with communities across 15 Pacific Islands to fight climate change.

- Global economy continues to spiral downward. "Capitalism is in danger of falling apart", Al Gore, Generation Investment, The Climate Reality Project.

- We Mean Business is launched. Created with the assistance of then UNFCCC executive secretary Christina Figueres, Purpose (PR arm of Avaaz), and Greenpeace and others.

- People's Climate March. The march was organized by GCCA/TckTckTck (co-founded by 20 NGOs including 350.org, Avaaz, Greenpeace), the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Climate Nexus (a sponsored project of Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors), 350.org, the Rasmussen Foundation and USCAN. It is described as a success: "the power of the networked approach was evidenced in one of the largest gatherings of the climate action movement where 350.org and a number of other organisations coordinated the so-called People's Climate March. The Guardian reported that the campaign involved an estimated 570,000 people taking part in 2,700 simultaneous events in 161 countries. In its culminating activity in the streets of New York, an estimated 400,000 people, and 1,573 groups participated, according to the organisers." CJA (US organization Climate Justice Alliance) "mobilized our members and grassroots allies across the U.S. to lead the frontlines of the 400,000-strong Peoples' Climate March in New York City. This historic event was originally proposed by CJA members to coincide with the UN Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples and the Ban Ki Moon International Climate Summit, and was co-organized with UPROSE, NYC EJ Alliance, Ironbound Community Corporation, IEN, GAIA and GGJ as well as a number of allied national green groups and labor unions. The PCM marked a shift in the national U.S. climate movement, in centering the leadership of Indigenous communities, communities of color, and working-class white communities who are both at the "Frontlines of the Crises and the Forefront of Change".

- The Climate Mobilization (TCM) is launched at the People's Climate March in New York City. The mission is to initiate a World War II-scale mobilization to reach net zero greenhouse gas emissions nationally in ten years or less and globally by 2030, and drawing down the excess carbon in the atmosphere to restore a safe climate for humanity.

2015

- The German climate Justice movement starts to concentrate on a the "global-ecological" campaign "Ende Gelände". The goal is to achieve immediate end to coal extraction by using a participatory organizing structure to coordinate thousands of people to enter and shut down open-cast coal mines. Their scalable structures have allowed thousands of newcomers to direct action to create safe spaces for participants to engage in actions within their comfort zones. This has only been possible by al-

lowing groups the autonomy to make their own decisions and fostering a culture of co-creation through a participatory organizing process. Taking this politics even further, the Queer Feminist finger has for the last two years been enacting an eco-feminist politics of care by further collectivizing organizing and decision-making processes. Their radical inclusiveness is dependent upon opening participation to decision making, and has been growing exponentially. Ende Gelände actions becomes the central motor in the European climate Justice movement. Due to the experience of the Copenhagen climate summit in 2009 is the German movement to a very little degree mobilizing for the Climate summit.

- In Costa Rica, renewables occupy 79 per cent of the energy mix and 99 per cent of the electricity mix, with almost universal energy access. Here, 85 per cent of energy generation is owned or produced by public institutions, while cooperatives and municipal companies are also active in both generation and distribution.

- Campaigning starts in Portugal with support from trade unions, NGOs, environmental and religious organization for climate transition creating 100000 jobs with the goal to reduce green house gas emissions 60-70% in 15 years. At the global level 150 million jobs is estimated by trade unions need in a just transition.

- The Leap Manifesto - a political manifesto is issued by a broad coalition of Canadian authors, artists, national leaders and activists in September 2015, during the Canadian federal election campaign. Initial signatories to the Manifesto include celebrities as Leonard Cohen, and Naomi Klein along with environmental groups and labour union members including former Canadian Union of Public Employees president Paul Moist. The document calls for a restructuring of the Canadian economy and an end to the use of fossil fuels.

- Climate Space at WSF in Tunis comes to no unifying international climate justice initiative.

- Several business friendly initiatives starts as Mission Innovation (Breakthrough Energy, Bill Gates, Richard Branson et al.) partners with 23 states and the EU. Similar coalitions and partnerships follow (Under 2C, The Climate Group, etc.).

- BRICS agri-corporations lobbied to end food sovereignty joining the US and Europe at the WTO Nairobi summit.

2015: The Climate Justice movement implodes at the Paris Climate Summit

- The Paris Agreement largely attributed to Christina Figueres comes into fruition adopted by the UN Conference nations. The Paris Agreement set out an ambition to limit global temperature rise to below 1.5C without binding commitments.

- Global Youth Summit takes place with keynotes by UN Figueres, Kumi Naidoo Greenpeace, 350.org McKibben. Climate strikes were organized in adjunction to the COP21 in Paris in 100 places. There is no anti-neoliberal climate justice perspective in this action with organizations in cooperation with business interests.

- «United we win, divided we lose » becomes the motto that step by step was accepted by all in the broad Coalition to influence the summit from big trade unions to disobedient left radicals even after the tense situation in Paris after a terror attack. The spokesperson for the Coalition, Nicolas

Haeringer, pointed at soon coming "Deadlines" in climate politics and tipping points that can accelerate global warming brought about an intensive wish cooperate. Many actions were hampered by restrictions after the terror attack.

- Under the Motto "Beyond Paris" a gathering took place far from the conference venue discussing how the climate justice movement could address social conflicts relevant to climate change at local, regional, national, continental and global level without coming to a unifying proposal for the climate justice movement.

- Behind the scenes donors cooperating in alliances worked to direct huge amounts of money with the purpose to get all climate actors behind a common supposedly neutral solution to the climate crisis presented as International Policies and Politics Initiative (IPPI), a business approach to solve the climate crisis launched by UNPCC. Efforts were also made to marginalize any diverging voices or organize a mass media climate were such voices had no resources or space to make themselves heard.

- This was an easy task. Climate Justice Now (CJN) started in 2007 had a strong unifying influence at the Copenhagen COP15 summit making no to carbon trading and system change not climate change a common strategy supported by 50,000 participants at the Klimaforum under the control of radical ecological and solidarity groups who successfully refused to give up their independent project to the big NGOs. But CJN gave up and integrated to a large degree itself into Climate Action Network (CAN) in the process during the Paris Summit. CAN that since it beginning had worked closely to UN and business interest. CJN had been weakened by competing Latin American and West European initiatives to turn the climate Justice movement into a movement committed to anticapitalist ideology and not a movement for specific demands as saying no to turning nature into a commodity. The West European anticapitalist Climate Justice Action dissolved itself after COP15 and the strong arms of this movement as the German turned away from global campaigning and focused on direct local struggles instead. The big international Cochabamba climate gathering in 2010 issued general statements against capitalism hiding the great conflict between state centric left supporting at any cost the leftist governments and their extractive development strategy in conflict with the interest of indigenous people and local populations. Some indigenous groups issued a competing Cochabamba statement opposing the official version.

At the ambitious Peoples Summit during the UN Conference on environment in Rio 2012 1000 seminars and workshops were arranged and assemblies. Here again the Latin American movements put their own interest in having general anticapitalist ideology as a platform for further global movement cooperation at the center. This proved to be as unsuccessful as the two competing Cochabamba declarations, the official state centric as well as the indigenous. The two different attempts at international coordination of the climate justice movement emerging in 2013 with climate space organized at WSF gatherings and a campaign with lobby demands proved also to lack globally unifying strength. Climate Space could not come to any common strategy other than support local struggles and the lobby campaign did organize local mobilization for climate justice demands. When business interests together with 350.org found a way to cooperate in a coalitions perceived as a win-win solution for all with the Peoples march in New York and ore than 2000 simultaneous actions around the world without demands against making nature a commodity or other anti-neoliberal climate justice demands as central this was legitimized by Environmental Indigenous Network and many other radical organizations as they could make their voice heard among many others. Thus the climate justice movement imploded as a force at global level and was integrated into initiatives under the hegemony of business and win-win sustainable development ideology.

What remained was the role of a radical alibi in these campaign whole the local resistance became the remaining place for climate justice struggle. Thus ahead of the Paris summit most international movements gave up efforts of collectively challenge the lack of anti neoliberal messages from the dominant climate organization as 350.org and Greenpeace. In Friends of the Earth the argument was that Avaaz had received such huge amount of money for media messaging from the climate movement in Paris so there was no chance of collectively instead put forward a competing anti-neoliberal message.

- In the book *The Price of Climate Action-Philanthropic Foundations in the International Climate Debate*, 2016, Edouard Morena describes in detail how anti-neoliberal voices was squeezed outside to the margins. “The role of Avaaz is particularly revealing in this respect. In other words, it was not a case of promoting one approach among many but of making sure that the IPPI approach was the only approach while maintaining a false sense of pluralism both inside and on the margins of the climate negotiations. Core contributors to the IPPI strategy went to extraordinary lengths to prevent fellow non-state actors from “getting in the way” of a positive diplomatic outcome in Paris.”

- The result of this intervention by well organized donors and their allies in NGOs as 350.org and Greenpeace to create a false consensus avoiding anti-neoliberal demands became a strong support of the weak or useless Paris agreement, an agreement still pushed forward by most climate movements as the most important tool to stop global warming. The climate justice movement has still not been able to challenge this in practice pro-neoliberal hegemony in global climate campaigning.

- Clive L. Spash, WU Vienna University of Economics and Business, Vienna, Austria, writes: “The Paris Agreement signifies commitment to sustained industrial growth, risk management over disaster prevention, and future inventions and technology as saviour. The primary commitment of the international community is to maintain the current social and economic system. The result is denial that tackling GHG emissions is incompatible with sustained economic growth. The reality is that Nation States and international corporations are engaged in an unremitting and ongoing expansion of fossil fuel energy exploration, extraction and combustion, and the construction of related infrastructure for production and consumption. The targets and promises of the Paris Agreement bear no relationship to biophysical or social and economic reality.” [This Changes Nothing: The Paris Agreement to Ignore Reality, *Globalizations*, 2016 Vol. 13, No. 6, 928–933]

- An article in *The New Yorker* comes to the conclusion: “the trend is remarkable: in the three years since the signing of the Paris climate accord, which was designed to help the world shift away from fossil fuels, the banks’ lending to the industry has increased every year, and much of the money goes toward the most extreme forms of energy development.”

- “In terms of relevance to the indigenous nations often referred to as the Fourth World, the rollouts from the COP21 gathering of UN member states, Wall Street-funded NGOs, and the global financial elite resemble colonial initiatives undertaken as a result of similar 19th Century gatherings to carve up the world for capitalism. Then, as now, indigenous territories and resources were targeted for expropriation through coercion, with Africa being a prime target.”— Jay Taber, *Heart of Darkness*, SI2, 2017

2016

- The German climate justice movement intensifies their global-ecological campaign by an action with 4000 participants for several days at Lausitz. It becomes more and more evident that the Ger-

man movement is the foremost driving force in the European climate movement. This is also due to a capacity to focus upon local conflict issues which comes in a dynamic relationship to the Ende Gelände Brennpunkt mass civil disobedience actions. Typical is that the movement not only address technical issues as energy transition away from coal and nuclear power but also the need to have the energy transition under democratic control. Top down energy transition as the government is pushing for is counteracted by demands for municipal investments in solar and wind power. Free public transport and larger initiatives for bike transport systems are other conflict issues together with common protests against building of new roads and air field strips. The actions also included constructive programs as urban gardening and food sovereignty as well as solidarity economy and other ways to connect to like minded movements working for the right to the city and transition towns to be able to build a lasting climate justice movement.

- The Global Alliance of Territorial Communities is established as an informal coalition of indigenous and community organizations from Asia, Africa and Latin America that advocates for the respect of their rights and the inclusion of forest peoples in global negotiations on forests and climate change. The Alliance is composed of organizations at the regional level with territorial representation and, as a whole, protects an estimated 400 million hectares in 16 countries around the world. Mesoamerican Alliance of Peoples and Forests (AMPB), Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (APIB), Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago, Indonesia (AMAN), Coordinator of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin (COICA) Artemisa Xakriabás a 19-year-old indigenous activist from Brazil. represented more than 25 million indigenous people and traditional communities from the Global Alliance of Territorial Communities at the Global Climate Strike in New York 2019 "The Amazon is on fire. The Amazon agonises year after year for the responsibility of the government and its destructive policies that intensify deforestation and drought, not only in the Amazon, but in the other five Brazilian biomes. Climate change is a result of this, and it also helps to make the fires stronger." .. "And beyond the Amazon, there are the forests of Indonesia, Africa, North America, whose suffering has such an impact in my life and in your life." .. "We, the indigenous peoples, are the children of nature, so we fight for our Mother Earth, because the fight for Mother Earth is the mother of all other fights." "We are fighting for your lives. We are fighting for our lives. We are fighting for our sacred territory. But we are being persecuted, threatened, murdered, only for protecting our own territories. We cannot accept one more drop of indigenous blood spilled.

- The report Climate Change and Labour: Impacts of Heat in the Workplace is published by Climate Vulnerable Forum UNDP. According to the report emerging economies face as much as 10 per cent losses in working hours because of deteriorating thermal conditions in the workplace due to climate change, according to a new report released today. Countries like India, Indonesia and Nigeria, face big problems. The report called excessive workplace heat a well-known occupational health and productivity danger behind growing risks of heat exhaustion, heat stroke and, "in extreme cases", death. More than one billion employees and their employers and communities in vulnerable countries already grapple with such severe heat in the workplace.

- International Peace Bureau (IPB) made Climate transition a main them at its 125 year anniversary in Berlin inviting the chair of International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) and Friends of the Earth International (FOEI) to discuss such a transition.

2017

- “Climate change represents such an extraordinary threat, it’s imperative we compress the dynamics of innovation and scale through new approaches.” says Planet Heritage Foundation, a global investment advisory firm that works with institutional investors to channel capital into “climate infrastructure” sectors such as clean energy, water, and waste-to-value. These investors — sovereign funds, pensions, endowments, insurance companies, family offices, and foundations — represent more than \$80 trillion in assets and are the only stakeholders other than governments with the capacity to invest at a scale.

- Ingemar Rentzhog founder of Laika (a Swedish communications consultancy firm providing services to the financial industry) establish the startup company We Don’t Have Time to address climate issues. “Our goal is to become among the biggest players on the internet.” says Rentzhog, in Nordic Business Insider. He was appointed as chair of the think tank Global Utmaning (Global Challenge in English) on May 24, 2018, and serves on the board of FundedByMe. Rentzhog is a member of Al Gore’s Climate Reality Organization Leaders, where he is part of the European Climate Policy Task Force. He received his training by former US Vice President Al Gore. We Don’t Have Time is mainly active in three markets: social media, digital advertising and carbon offsets. Estimated market for carbon offsetting amount to over 82 billion USD in the US alone of which voluntary carbon offset represents 191 million USD

- The Norwegian environmental NGO Bellona organize a seminar on Nordic CCS cooperation. The meeting wants politicians to go ahead “so that we can build full-scale CO2 capture facilities as quickly as possible ... Three full-scale facilities in Norway are planned, but not yet granted, with a preliminary price tag of NOK 12.6 billion (EUR 1.28 billion)”

- 25,000 participants turn up at the demonstration in Bonn during COP23 and 4,500 participants at the Ende Gelände action. A report from Rosa Luxemburg stiftung states describes summits such as the People's Climate Summit taking place parallel to COP conferences as important. “The atmosphere that emerges is intense and empowering.” But many actors in the climate justice movement are sceptical the report says. “They come from a political tradition that - unlike the high-profile NGOs - is defined in opposition to those global governance institutions that emerged during the heyday of neoliberalism. In their eyes, these institutions are not combating climate change - at best - effectively. In the worst case, green capitalist solutions aggravate climate change and other environmental and social problems - manifested in the slogan "Never trust a COP". From this perspective, the climate is negotiated in the coalfields and other places of fossil-capitalist commodity production. The summit is more likely to be 'side show', for example, for the participants of the Break Free from Fossil Fuels campaign and Ende Gelände.” Other voices the same year:

- Patrick Bond from South Africa gets the question How do you feel about the short-term future of the Climate Justice movement against a green capitalist takeover? We lost ground from the more hopeful 2007-2009 peak period. Diverging and atomistic tendencies in our movements are partly to blame. I think that too much emphasis on localism with autonomist politics is the general dilemma of the left critique of neoliberalism, as witnessed in the Occupy movement’s limitations. I hope we have learned from the reluctance to adopt more democratic yet centralized politics. It seems to me that the ultimate challenge will be whether climate justice activists will link across scales, establishing more effective national and international networks and avoiding the tendency in which climate justice is used merely as a buzzword. The major dilemma here is co-optation of a radical vision. For

example, Trump's withdrawal from Paris Agreement means that the call for a popular sanctions campaign against the US by allies like Naomi Klein and Joseph Stiglitz in North America require more international solidarity. And yet tellingly, the main statements from the Climate Justice movement organisations – ranging from indigenous rights to the larger environmental NGOs – merely condemned Trump without any strategic way forward. The US sabotaged climate politics by first weakening the Kyoto Protocol with carbon trading at the outset in 1997, then by not ratifying Kyoto, and ultimately in 2009 by setting up this alternative strategy with BRICS in Copenhagen. So the US achieved some clear objectives already, and therefore when Trump pulled out of the Paris Agreement even corporations like Exxon Mobil were not in favor. After all, the Paris Agreement has no accountability mechanism, re-opens the door for carbon trading and prohibits liability lawsuits for loss and damage due to climate change, also known as climate debt. In contrast, a much stronger climate justice sentiment can be found in the solidarity movement with native American activists fighting the Dakota Access Pipeline, and similar struggles over land and water. But what kinds of strategies link up the dots of resistance? Naomi Klein made a call for people's sanctions against the US and Nobel economics prize winner Joseph Stiglitz agrees that it makes sense to have a carbon tax against US products, for example.

- Eco-socialist Daniel Truro states: “ the majority of the left was content with a pure propagandist approach, telling the people that no ecological alternative is possible within the framework of capitalism, which is true but doesn't mean we do not need concrete ecological demands and reforms, articulated with social demands in a transitional programme.”

- David Sauvage, CARES, Mauritius "Demilitarization is an absolutely necessary step to tackle the ecological crisis, because wars are a major source of greenhouse gas emissions, and if the money now put into the war industry flows into renewables, we could significantly reduce climate change. In the Indian Ocean, our people have been driven out of their islands by militarization, with nations losing their sovereignty here, as elsewhere in the world, exploiting their natural resources such as fish, oil, natural gas, precious metals, and the lobbies behind them support social injustice and reduce our ability to stop the ecological crisis."

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2018

- August: On September 8, hundreds of thousands of people worldwide displayed the growing strength and diversity of the climate movement. Together they showed the world what real climate leadership looks like. People everywhere are turning away from the age of fossil fuels and it's time for politicians to follow. There's no time to lose.

- In 2018 the world experienced unprecedented climate impacts. From catastrophic heatwaves and devastating droughts to deadly wildfires and extreme storms — the world saw the first glimpses of what the future could be without urgent action to solve the climate crisis.

With Rise For Climate we showed that we will not just wait for governments to act. We are going to lead by example and demand that all of our institutions and governments do the same.

The test for real climate leadership is simple: leave fossil fuels in the ground and commit to 100% renewable energy. With hundreds of creative actions on September 8, the climate movement showed the world that we will not accept anything less.

- Greta Thunberg starts her solitary school strike at the door steps of the Swedish parliament.

- Leah Namugerwa turned 15 celebrated her birth day by planting 200 trees – highlighting the environmental damage in her country. Her call to action came from her increasing awareness of the widespread hunger in northern Uganda. Prolonged droughts have made the problem worse, as well as deadly landslides in eastern parts of the country. “There are many environmental issues happening in my country, but I barely see them in media or reported by anyone,” “Media is ever reporting politics and celebrity gossip. The silence on environmental injustice seems to be intentional. Most people do not care what they do to the environment. I noticed adults were not willing to offer leadership and I chose to volunteer myself. Environmental injustice is injustice to me.”

- At the International Degrowth conference in Malmö a debate on how to solve the climate crisis takes place. The magazine *Ordfront* describes how the many seminars at conference describing the severe situation created as special mood: “Audience Demands Solutions and Action!”. Andreas Malm, a marxist writing extensively about climate and capitalism states “- Academics must get out of their bubble and become activists!” followed by big cheers. “Malm tells how, in the mid-1990s, he protested against the various crises and political oppressions capitalist growth mania caused. But, he continues: - I am increasingly becoming a one-question activist!

The crucial crisis of our time, Malm says, is the emission of greenhouse gases. All political struggle must be devoted to this single issue for the next few decades. This change requires an increase in resource use, not a nerve growth, he explains, and a tremor goes through the audience. What? Before everything is overdue, the fossil-industrial complex must be crushed and replaced with a brand new, renewable industrial complex, Malm says, and agitates:

- We must resort to radical resistance actions, now! Join me next week for Groningen! There, with civil resistance, we will prevent the construction of new fossil gas plants!

So great is the degrowth participants' longing for Answer, Solution and Action that a majority of the mass, despite Malm's degrowth-hostile talking points, applauds when he sits down again. He smiles.

Then the anarchist Ruth Kinna comes to speak. Well-formulated, she describes the symbiosis between state and capital. The monopoly of violence guarantees private ownership, which in turn finances the violence. The functional parts constitute an inseparable entity whose modus operandi is eternal growth and a hierarchical system of power:

"As much as capitalism cannot continue to grow without state violence, we cannot defeat capitalist growth by taking power in the industrial state," she says. The only true solution to all the crises of growth is a radical degrowth carried out in direct actions without regard to neither property nor legal order.

Insurgent applause, wild cries. Catharsis! The political impetus has woken up and suddenly wants to measure its strength. The collective's longing for a blast is reminiscent of a crucial moment in the past. Andreas Malm seems to know which. He grabs the microphone and makes a statement:

- The state is here. We need the State. Unless we control the state, the enemy will! Look at Egypt, look at the United States!

Malm makes a short break before his crescendo. The howl of the anarchists thickens in the moisture-dripping air. A hallucination: the scene in front of me appears as a black-and-white archive photo from 1918. Now as then: A civilizational crisis; a time without a way back and a political movement without time to take the safe path to the future.

"That's why I don't just want to swear to eco-socialism here," Andreas Malm shouts. I want to swear to EKO-Leninism!

Full revolt in the room. Protests are heard, of autocratic left-wing regimes in South America, heavy moans are also heard, someone starts laughing.

- We must introduce a war economy for the transition, Malm continues. We need a disciplined movement as a leader. We must prepare to take power by force!

With Andreas Malm's last words, the hallucination of a collective force is thinning away. I sit there while hundreds of upset conference attendees storm out of the meeting room”

- September 1 2018: Only 12 days after her first day sitting on a sidewalk, Greta is featured in The Guardian.

- September: Rise Against Climate Capitalism is organized in The Bay Area when Californian Governor Brown is convening the Global Climate Action Summit (GCAS) in San Francisco to promote “real climate leadership” on a global stage. Rise Against Climate Capitalism states that Brown’s promotion of continued fossil fuel production, carbon trading markets and other incentives to oil, gas and other polluting corporations, perpetuates climate change and decimates Indigenous communities.

- One Planet Summit in NY on September 26, 2018, the Climate Finance Partnership, coordinated by the Task Force on Philanthropic Innovation and Aligned Intermediary, announced the new instruments for unlocking capital at scale:

“Efforts to blend capital in order to engage and mobilize large-scale institutional capital toward climate solutions took a notable step forward on September 26 at the One Planet Summit in New York, when French President Emmanuel Macron and BlackRock’s Larry Fink announced the Climate Finance Partnership (CFP). The CFP consists of a unique combination of philanthropies, governments, institutional investors, and a leading global asset manager. The parties, including BlackRock, the Governments of France and Germany, and the Hewlett, Grantham, and IKEA foundations, have committed to work together to finalize the design and structure of what we anticipate will be a flagship blended capital investment vehicle by the end of the first quarter, 2019.

The partnership, coordinated by the Task Force on Philanthropic Innovation and the Aligned Intermediary, an investment advisory group, was designed and structured specifically to use a layer of government and philanthropic capital to maximize private capital mobilization toward climate-related sectors in emerging markets.”

- October: a report by the WWF found that many species’ populations have declined on average by 60 percent between 1970 and 2014 largely due to human activity. The report said: ‘Decision makers at every level need to make the right political, financial and consumer choices to achieve the vision that humanity and nature thrive in harmony on our only planet.’ The WWF called for ‘a new global deal for nature and people’ to halt wildlife decline, tackle deforestation, climate change and plastic pollution and is backed by ‘concrete commitments from global leaders and businesses.’”

- “Our goal is to become at least 100 million users. It is an eighth of all who have climbed on social media. Only last month we managed to reach 18 million social media accounts according to a media survey that Meltwater news made for us. At Facebook, we are currently seven times the number of followers among the world’s all climate organizations. We are growing with 10,000 new global followers per day on Facebook.” — Ingmar Rentzhog interview with Miljö & Utveckling  
October 31 2018: Launch of XR global expansion is highlighted by The Guardian and endorsed by an array of liberal celebrity signatories.

- November: the occupation of Nancy Pelosi’s office staged by members of the youth-led Sunrise Movement and joined by then-representative-elect Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, marked a politicized strategy of the climate movement in the US.

To be complemented

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