Building Solidarity and Growing a Movement:
The Story Behind the People's Climate March

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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at the

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Abstract

On September 21, 2014, 400,000 people converged on the streets of Manhattan for the People's Climate March (PCM), making it the largest climate change demonstration in U.S. history. Under a banner that read "Frontlines of Crisis, Forefront of Change," the march was led by low-income people of color and indigenous peoples—those most affected by the health, environmental, and economic impacts of climate change and the broader fossil fuel industry. Never before had the social justice implications of climate change been given such prominence at a major U.S. climate protest, where environmental policy themes often dominate. This thesis tells the story of how these unique features of the PCM came to pass, as uncovered through literature research and interviews with core PCM organizers. By first tracing the history of the "climate movement" since the early 1990s, this research exposes a deep division between two streams of the movement—the mainstream Climate Action (CA) camp, led by privileged white environmentalists, and the more radical Climate Justice (CJ) camp, led by frontline communities of color—and reveals how the PCM arose from a timely and intentional planning partnership between the two. By directly addressing historically recurrent issues around trust, leadership, funding, framing, and strategy, the PCM planning team developed a collaborative framework that produced more equitable processes, sustained relationships, and just outcomes. As both arms of the climate movement acknowledge the simultaneous necessity and immense challenge of achieving deeper solidarity, the story of the PCM partnership shows that by engaging in shared work, CA and CJ groups may begin to dismantle the barriers that exist between them, grow the size and diversity of the climate movement, and rightfully lift up the voices of those that have long articulated bold calls for change from the frontlines of the climate crisis.

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Introduction

Climate change: A reason to rise up

Climate change isn't unfamiliar to the 21st century American. From bizarre weather patterns to contentious debates in the media to local and international proclamations, climate change has permeated modern politics, professions, and personal experiences. Most of us know about the heat waves, the droughts, the floods, the rising sea levels, and the devastating coastal storms that have been magnified by climate change. Most of us know the story about the polar bears facing extinction due to the melting of the Arctic, and about the Pacific Islanders facing destitution due to the submergence of the land they call home. And most of us agree that fossil fuel emissions, discharged from the tailpipes and smokestacks of the industrial world, are to blame.

Advocating for the swift eradication of fossil fuel use in the face of an urgent planetary crisis, a growing wave of "climate activists" has tirelessly pushed for economic policies, industry regulations, lifestyle changes, and infrastructural investments that reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, using various movement-building tactics to raise the level of public dialogue and put pressure on politicians and industries to make changes. Yet, as public awareness grows, policies are enacted, and clean energy alternatives emerge to replace traditional fossil fuel technologies, atmospheric GHG concentrations continue to rise and the problems associated with climate change continue to worsen.

This gives people all over the world a reason to rise up. And they're not hesitating. In the past couple of decades, climate activists and a range of concerned constituencies have staged protests in every corner of the globe, building a people-powered "climate movement" to demonstrate the significance of the crisis and the need for meaningful, urgent action to curtail GHG emissions and prevent further suffering. On September 21, 2014, this movement converged in NYC to show its strength like never before. This thesis will tell the story of that historic event.

People's Climate March: An historic event

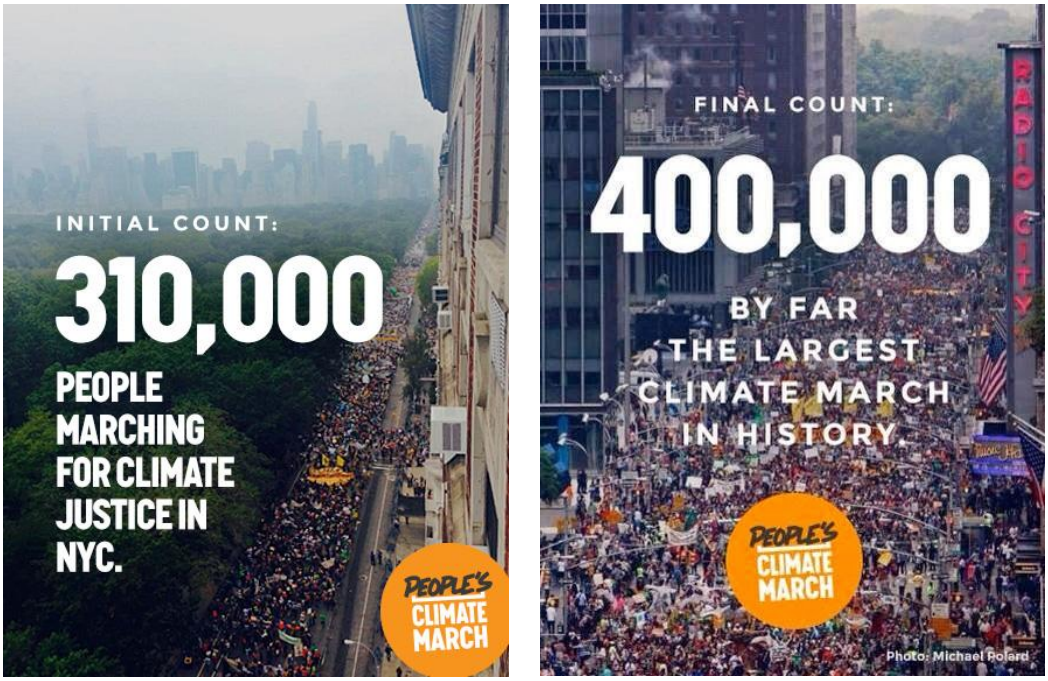

Figure 1. Images from the People's Climate March social media accounts showing turnout rates (350.org 2014)

The People's Climate March was special. Never before in American history had this many people come together to protest inaction on climate change. The 400,000 people that showed up to march on that cloudy Sunday morning in New York City blew the expected count of 100,000 out of the water. But with its intentionally inclusive organizing strategy, perhaps this isn't such a surprise. Not just for environmentalists or international policy wonks, this march was marketed as an event by and for *The People*. With the slogan "To Change Everything, We Need Everyone," the march expressly invited all people of all interests and concerns to add their voice to the collective People's cry for change (People's Climate Tour 2014). And in response, leaders from over 1,500 environmental, labor, faith, human rights, environmental justice, youth groups and beyond stepped up to the plate. When all was said and done, 550 buses from nearly all 50 states joined the climate pilgrimage to NYC. As march organizer Eddie Bautista stated after the march, "We said it would take everyone to change everything—and everyone showed up" ("Press Releases" 2014).

Figure 2. The front of the march was led by young people of color, one of the most vulnerable populations in the face of climate change (Negin 2014)

The size and diversity of the People's Climate March (PCM) was unprecedented for a U.S. climate change mobilization. But the march was special in another way, as well. People of color, low-income people, and indigenous peoples—those historically isolated from the mainstream climate movement—literally *led* the march. Under a banner that read "Frontlines of Crisis, Forefront of Change" their powerful presence at the front of the march spotlighted the struggle of those who are "hit first and worst" by the climate change machine[1] and who are leading the charge on uprooting the causes of the crisis (Podesta and Smith 2014). Never before had the social justice implications of climate change been given such prominence at a major climate protest in the U.S.

Climate Justice: Signs of a shifting climate movement

Spotlighting these social justice themes in the march was truly revolutionary for the climate movement, which has traditionally focused on policy and technology solutions for GHG reductions and whose primary constituency has been white, middle-class environmentalists. The leading

[1] I use the phrase "climate change machine" to refer to the full cycle of impacts from the fossil fuel industry, including the adverse environmental, economic, political, and public health impacts of mining, refining, transporting, combusting, disposing, and altering the atmospheric composition of greenhouse gases, the latter of which leads to a host of climate change impacts on weather patterns, ecosystem health, disease transmission, fresh water availability, sea levels, and crop yields, which in turn leads to further environmental, economic, political, social, and public health turmoil.

presence of people of color in the march and the emphasis on their unique struggle in the face of climate change is indicative of what has been described as a "new center of gravity" within the climate movement around the social justice implications of the climate crisis (Flanders 2014). No longer just about "climate action" (CA) strategies to curtail GHG emissions, the climate movement's narrative is now being infused with calls for "Climate Justice" (CJ), placing marginalized populations front-and-center in the CA debate. As march organizer and environmental justice leader Ananda Lee Tan noted, "We're seeing a shift in the movement. This march really marks a flipping of the script" (Podesta and Smith 2014). The PCM made it a point to highlight this momentous shift by plainly stating on the website, "Today's climate movement is different from the one of decades past, and we want to make sure the People's Climate March tells the story of today's climate movement" ("The Lineup and Narrative for the People's Climate March" 2014). Again and again we find evidence of a popular reframing taking place around the climate problem (Della Porta and Parks 2014)—away from CA and toward CJ—and the messaging and staging for the PCM appeared to fully embrace and embody that new frame.

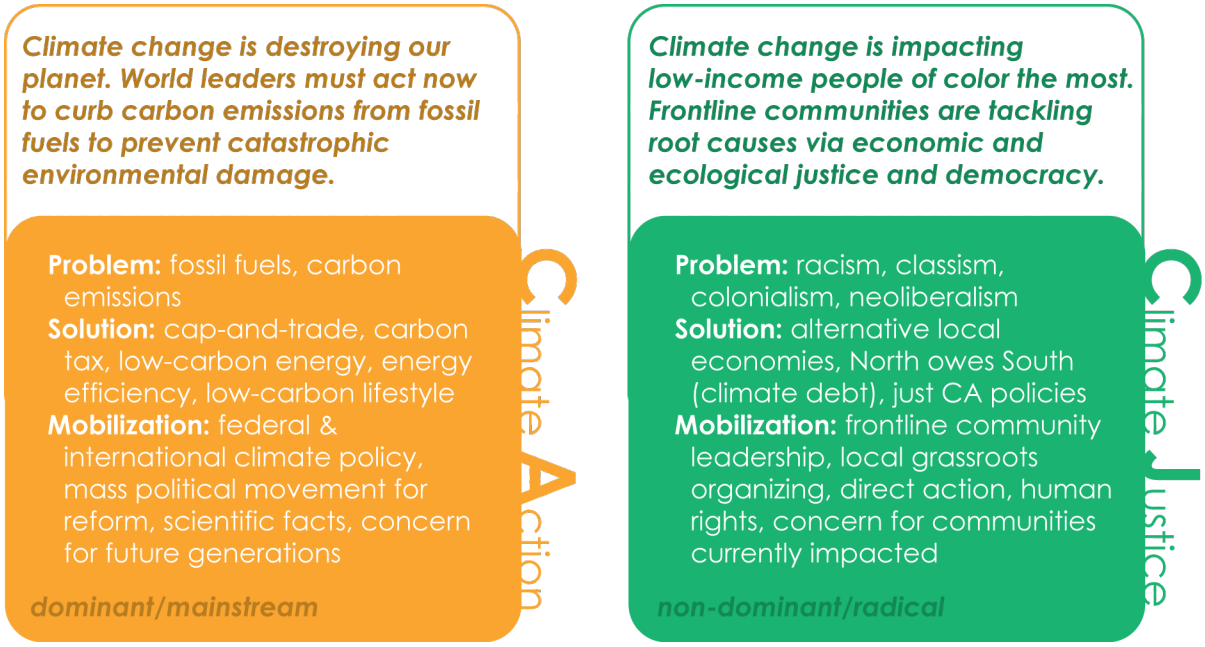

Figure 3. Two collective action frames within the climate movement (devised and designed by the author)

Yet, these CJ messages are by no means new, and the CJ activists at the march were by no means amateur. Frontline communities have, not surprisingly, been organizing around these issues for decades, and have established and expressed a well-articulated CJ analysis since the late 1990s. So why, then, in 2014 are we suddenly seeing this "shift in the movement" toward incorporating and

uplifting these people and their analysis, which the PCM so vividly illustrated? And why didn't it happen sooner?

Research questions, methods, and limitations

Fascinated and excited by 1) the unusual characteristics of this climate change demonstration and 2) the reported climate movement "shifts" surrounding it, I wanted to investigate **how these two phenomena came to be and why they're emerging at this particular time.**

I began my research by reviewing the literature on the history of the CJ movement, to understand its origins, identify the key historical moments that have shaped its narrative, and probe into why it appears to be making its way into mainstream prominence in recent years. Original pamphlets and declarations from international CJ summits and other materials from social movement organizations helped me understand the movement's core principles, messages, tactics, and constituencies (Bruno, Karliner, and Brotsky 1999; Rising Tide 2000; "Cochabamba Peoples Agreement" 2010). This also helped illuminate its relationship to other social movements and their vying for attention and power. Academic books and articles on the CJ movement were also helpful, though they were limited and often focused on the international context (Dorsey 2007; Agyeman, Bulkeley, and Nochur 2007; Bond and Dorsey 2010; Cox 2013; Tokar 2014b). Additionally, interviews with movement leaders about the history and evolution of the movement through modern day were very insightful.

My research then proceeded through a series of interviews with people who were either involved in the organizing of the march or are regularly involved in CJ/climate movement work, in general. Initial interviewees were identified through my knowledge of climate/EJ organizations in the Boston area and in national networks, aided by professional contacts through members of my thesis committee. Additional contacts were then collected through the snowball sampling method. Ultimately, 15 people were interviewed: seven PCM organizers (four of which were on the march's Mobilization Support Team, discussed in Chapter 3), six other movement actors in leadership positions at both local and national EJ/CJ/climate organizations, along with two academics that study EJ/CJ movements. These interviews were conducted between December 2014 and March 2015, some via Skype, some by phone, and some in-person, each lasting about one hour. Each interview covered most, but not all, of the questions listed in the respective protocol in the Appendix, gathering perspectives on the PCM and on the evolution of the CJ frame/movement.

A number of limitations exist with the research that I'm drawing from in this thesis. The 15 people that I spoke to represent a range of ages, ethnicities, leadership positions, and organizational

allegiances; however, they clearly do not represent the entire spectrum of voices within the movement. There are a number of other people that I would like to have spoken to if I had additional time. For example, it would have been interesting to hear about CJ and the PCM from the perspectives of labor unions or faith groups, to learn about what their role has been throughout the history of the CJ movement and why they got engaged in the PCM mobilization. Additionally, with more interviewees I could have performed a more analytical study of different perspectives amongst, say, leaders of local versus national organizations, leaders of EJ versus environmental organizations, leaders of color versus white leaders, or leaders versus members. Finally, characterizing and re-constructing the history of social movements can make them appear unified, homogenous, and linear in their course, when, in reality, social movements are extremely complex, diverse, and circuitous.

What I will present in this document are the results of a five-month qualitative research study that aims to tell **a story that has yet to be told in full, illuminating a recent momentous event and how it came to be, through the eyes of a small group of active and involved leaders.** Most of the details of what unfolded are still unknown to me. However, by carefully piecing together historical documents, modern websites, relevant press coverage, and the reflections of individuals that do this work day-in and day-out, I feel confident that this story will provide a helpful narrative for understanding the dynamics at play in climate movement circles and the shifts, as evidenced by the PCM, that are beginning to surface.

Thesis themes and roadmap

In searching for why/how the PCM came about in the unique way that it did and why/how similar shifts are being observed in the mainstream climate movement, I uncovered a compelling story about an emerging cross-movement collaborative spirit that has made waves on both of these fronts. While the march event itself is touted as "historic," my research revealed that an achievement of equally historic significance took place in the months leading up to the march: a working partnership between mainstream climate leaders and CJ leaders. Historically, these two factions of the climate movement have rarely engaged in meaningful shared work. Yet, by confronting differences and overcoming barriers within a long history of division, the PCM partnership built the relationships and collaborative agreements that enabled the historic spectacle that we saw at the PCM and inspired some of the ripple effects that we're seeing in the movement as a whole.

This is the story that needs to be told—a story that unveils the mighty force of inclusive collaboration behind the PCM and truly characterizes the "turn" taking place in the climate movement. Therefore, **this thesis will focus on the history and collaborative planning**

process that *lead up to* the march, as well as some of the collaborative efforts that has been sustained *since* the march.

I will start by telling the story of the CJ movement's history. Here, I will point to the barriers that have prevented collaboration and solidarity organizing between different factions of the climate movement throughout its history—barriers that, in fact, reflect those found within social movements of the past whose ideas and models continue to influence movements today.

I will then draw upon interview data to tell the story of how the march provided an opportunity for mainstream and CJ groups to actively tackle those barriers. In co-planning the march, these groups built and tested a new collaborative framework that made it possible for them to fully engage with each other and accomplish their intended goals for the event: lifting up traditionally marginalized CJ voices and building a bigger and more inclusive climate movement.

Finally, I will offer recommendations for how the lessons learned from this collaboration can be carried forward, to continue the work of growing the climate movement, disseminating the CJ analysis, empowering CJ communities, and engaging in genuine solidarity work that yields mutual benefits.

1. History of the Climate Movement

Introduction: A movement divided

Figure 4. Representation of the divide between Climate Action and Climate Justice in the climate movement (designed by the author)

The history of the U.S. climate movement is not dissimilar to those of other social movements—one of internal conflict over ideas, tactics, funding, and leadership, and one rife with mistrust, particularly along racial lines (Della Porta and Parks 2014). As described earlier, these internal disagreements led to "a climate movement divided" between those advocating for climate action (CA) in the mainstream and those advocating for Climate Justice (CJ) on the frontlines (Dietz 2014). This chapter takes a journey through the early history of the climate movement, focusing first on the historical roots of the CJ wing and its role in international and U.S. climate policy discussions in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The chapter then describes the emergence of the modern mainstream CA movement around 2007 and the clashes between movement groups that ensued in the immediate years that followed. The evolution of the movement post-2010 and leading up to the People's Climate March is detailed in Chapter 2.

This chapter and the next are integral for understanding the major themes and messages of this thesis. In order to fully appreciate the historic nature of CJ's prominence at the PCM and the CA-CJ collaboration behind it, the histories of both threads of the climate movement and how they've

typically interacted must be understood. While most climate activists know the mainstream CA narrative, the major CA organizations, the prominent CA leaders, and much of the CA history, many lack this same knowledge when it comes to the CJ wing. This is even true of several activists that I interviewed who claim to work in the CJ space. The history of Climate Justice says a lot about the underlying values and objectives of CJ activism, and its hazy articulation by modern movement actors points to how those narratives have been stifled by the mainstream over time. This history, with its own inherent value, should not be forgotten, and its role in analyzing the evolving nature of the climate movement today is vital. Thus, this chapter provides a robust account of the origins of the radical CJ wing of the movement, along with its critical response to later movement-building efforts of mainstream CA groups, providing a backdrop for the unique collaborative initiatives that led to PCM.

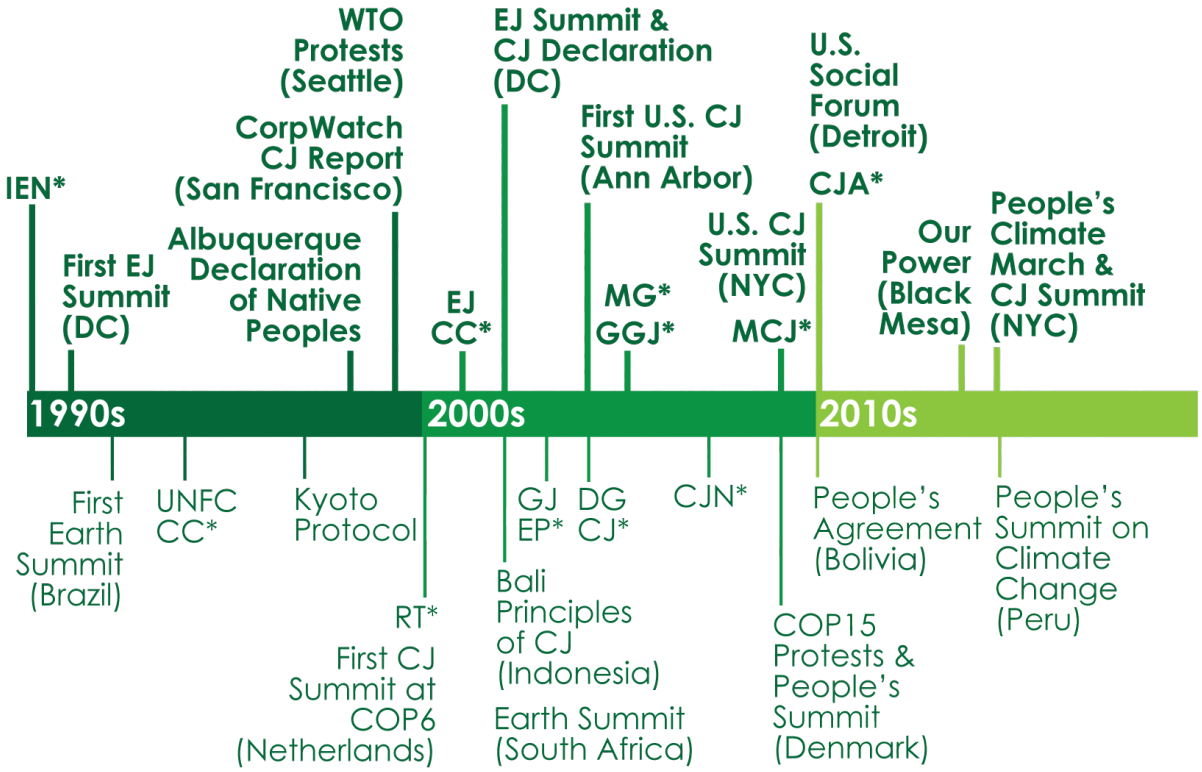

Figure 5. Timeline of select important events and the formation of key organizations (marked with an asterisk)[2] in CJ history; U.S. events and organizations are listed on top of each timeline and international events and organizations are listed on the bottom (compiled and designed by the author)

[2] Indigenous Environmental Network (IEN), United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), Rising Tide (RT), Environmental Justice and Climate Change Initiative (EJCC), Global Justice Ecology Project (GJEP), Durban Group on Climate Justice (DGCJ), Movement Generation Justice and Ecology Project (MG), Grassroots Global Justice Alliance (GGJ), Climate Justice Now! Network (CJN), Mobilization for Climate Justice (MCJ), Climate Justice Alliance (CJA)

1990s | Climate Justice foundations

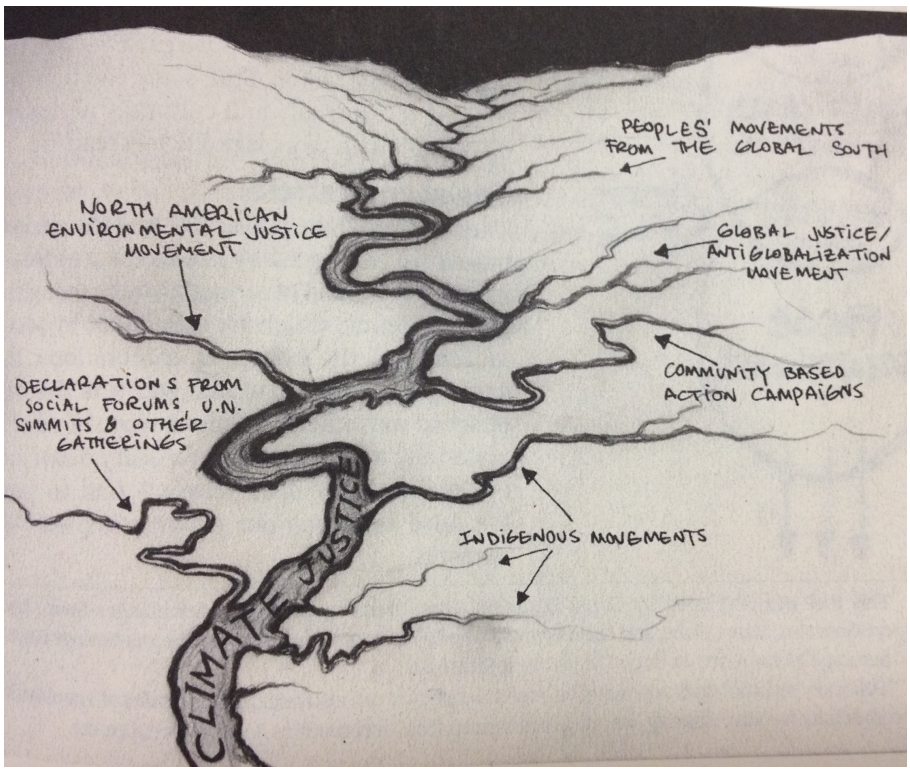

Figure 6. Representation of the contribution of other social movements to the modern Climate Justice thread of the climate movement (H. Moore and Russell 2011)

Every social movement is built on the shoulders of movements, ideas, and efforts passed. Visible, public evidence of a social movement usually emerges after years, decades, or centuries of grievance and active struggle (Cole and Foster 2001). The birth of "Climate Justice" shares the same story. It arose in response to the current events of the day, but also out of the energy, organizing, and consciousness raised by other movements that were building power at the same time. Literature points to several important social movement "streams" that fed into (and continue to intersect with) CJ mobilization efforts, namely Environmental Justice and Global Justice/Anti-Globalization Movements (see the illustration above) (H. Moore and Russell 2011).

Environmental Justice Movement

The Environmental Justice (EJ) movement, itself stemming from the civil rights and anti-toxics movements, is rooted in an analysis of "environmental racism," the statistically verifiable notion that communities of color bear the greatest environmental health burden from polluting sources,

including toxic waste dumps, energy and chemical facilities, extractive industry sites, and the like (Bullard 2000).

The EJ story, such as the following narrative, is all too familiar to communities of color in the U.S.: Companies choose to locate their facilities in existing minority communities due, in part, to an assumed lack of political power by the community to organize and resist (as compared to a well-resourced, well-connected, affluent, white neighborhood). And when the facilities are placed in these communities, property values plummet and the economically disadvantaged residents of color (disadvantaged due to historical, structural racism) only find themselves deeper in the financial hole that society taunts them to try and climb out of. As cancer rates climb for local workers and residents, and as asthma chokes the children in the city, government and corporate officials point to all the jobs supported by the facilities and how they serve as an economic engine for the region (Cole and Foster 2001). This is one of many narratives of environmental racism and environmental injustice—a narrative lived out by low-income communities of color around the U.S. and one not readily acknowledged or understood by white communities, particularly those that are middle- or high-income and don't face these same burdens where they live (Agyeman 2005).

In the 1980s the movement against environmental racism took off, which then transformed into a movement *for* "Environmental Justice" (Benford 2005). Like the environmental movement, the movement's primary targets were polluters and environmental permitting agencies, but very unlike the environmental movement, it was led by people of color in affected communities and appealed to civil rights principles in its political and legal battles. In many ways, the EJ movement defined itself by explicitly contrasting its ideas and actions from those of the mainstream environmental movement, and many of its central critiques of the status quo were aimed at environmental conservation organizations, known as "green groups." The EJ movement's two primary slogans illustrate this point. "We speak for ourselves" is distinguished from what EJ actors saw as the elitist and professional role of environmentalists to advocate on behalf of affected regions they're unaffiliated with, and "The environment is where we live, work, and play" is distinguished from environmentalist notions of the environment as the wild, natural world beyond the city limits (Sandler and Pezzullo 2007). EJ advocates criticized green groups for ignoring the plight and voices of the people surrounding polluting facilities, and for disregarding the cultural and economic importance of areas being targeted for conservation projects. They also criticized green groups for not having many, if any, people of color in leadership or membership, and for tokenizing relationships with communities of color when it served their objectives.

These critiques were amplified when, in 1990, 100 community leaders of color signed on to an open letter to the largest "Group of Ten" green groups[3] that clearly articulated the nature of these "racist and exclusionary practices" (R. Moore 1990). While some of those green groups used this as an impetus to diversify their staff and develop equitable and inclusive EJ programs—most notably the Sierra Club (Durlin 2010; Sierra Club EJ Program Site Selection Committee 1999)—many remain essentially unchanged. Because of this, and because of the long history of distrust and disagreement, most EJ groups have retained their critical sentiments of green groups to this day (Sandler and Pezzullo 2007).

Building on the momentum and power of the letter's unified front, EJ movement leaders from across the U.S. converged in Washington D.C. in 1991 for the first National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit. It was here that the 17 Principles of Environmental Justice were composed (see full text in Appendix B). The principles included affirming "the sacredness of Mother Earth," "universal protection from nuclear testing," "the right to participate as equal partners in every level of decision-making," "the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment," along with opposition to "the destructive operations of multi-national corporations" and to "military operation, repression and exploitation of lands, peoples and cultures, and other life forms" (EJ Summit 1991). The EJ movement had big aspirations, a holistic analysis, and an inclusive base of people of color and indigenous peoples united by their suffering from the environmental degradation inherent in the modern political-economic system.

The next national meeting wouldn't take place until 2002. In the interim, the EJ network in the U.S. continued to grow as example after example of local resistance to polluting facilities in communities of color rose to the fore. Additionally, the movement had many high-profile victories, such as the creation of an Office of Environmental Equity (later changed to Office of Environmental *Justice*) within the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency in 1992 and President Clinton's Executive Order on EJ in 1994. Academic circles emerged to study and document the EJ phenomenon, legal experts assisted with the proliferation of EJ lawsuits, and many faith groups remained firm allies (Cole and Foster 2001). On the other hand, most environmental organizations drew an uncompromising line between environmental conservation issues and racial justice issues, and insisted on staying on "their side" (Agyeman 2005).

The EJ movement in the U.S. was the first to explicitly call out the racial and economic disparities related to environmental pollution and made the fight against polluting industries more

[3] Sierra Club, Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, National Audubon Society, National Wildlife Federation, Environmental Defense Fund, Friends of the Earth, Izaak Walton League, The Wilderness Society, National Parks and Conservation Association, Natural Resources Defense Council

than just a fight to protect plants, animals, and ecosystems, but a fight for social justice, native sovereignty, true democracy, and human rights. These themes are audibly echoed in Climate Justice discourse, as well.

Global Justice Movement

While the EJ movement was gaining ground in the U.S., other social movements were brewing all over the world. The 1990s marked the beginning of an era of institutionalized neoliberal globalization, and an era of increasing grassroots resistance to that status quo. Multi-national corporations and global finance banks peddled their businesses and services around the globe, picking off "developing" nations as sites for their factories or as candidates for their loans. But these business relationships didn't come without strings attached—in fact, they came with heavy chains. The factories were more often than not "sweatshops," employing people, sometimes children, for incredibly low wages under inhumane working conditions, while polluting the surrounding environment and poisoning the community. And the loans were awarded to countries in desperate financial straits, under conditions that they use the money for environmentally and culturally destructive "development" projects and adopt neoliberal policies that serve to deregulate markets and make it easier for corporations to carry out more of the atrocious activities just described. The "invisible hand" of capitalism uprooted the precious resources of the Global South and brought the wealth back home to the Global North (Dawson 2010).

Of course, this colonialist model was nothing new, and it continues to dominate world relations to this day. However, the 1990s saw the surge in neoliberal policies, that had grown popular during the 1980s Reagan era, come to fruition with full force, and private multi-national corporations gained an immense amount of economic and political power. Also, with the Information Age emerging, the world was becoming more "connected" than it ever had been before. Out of this, people revolted. Indigenous communities, whose land was being stolen and ravaged by corporations and corrupt governments in the chokehold of Western-backed neoliberalism and military occupation, rose up. Poor people, whose bodies, abilities, and communities were being exploited for economic gain by those same corporations and governments, rose up. And anti-capitalists, environmentalists, peace activists, and working class communities in Western nations like the U.S. *also* rose up, in solidarity with these resistance movements from around the world under a united call for "Global Justice" (GJ) (Della Porta 2007).

For the domestic arm of this global movement, things came to a head at the now famous World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in Seattle in 1999, where over 40,000 protestors took to the streets and attempted to shut down the meeting using a range of direct action tactics through autonomous affinity group structures. For activists in the U.S., there were plenty of reasons to

protest. U.S. jobs were disappearing, entire cultures and ecosystems were being destroyed around the world, "market-fundamentalist" corporations were growing "too big to fail," systems of democratic accountability were being quashed, and the poor were getting poorer while the rich were getting richer. This was an analysis that people across the globe could attest to, and one that they could, and did, collectively mobilize around (Engler 2007).

Figure 7. Protestors clash with police at the famous "Battle of Seattle" anti-globalization protest in 1999 (Brown 2014)

Several organizations and international networks were born out of this work, many of which have since connected their struggles to the ever-expanding global climate crisis and helped establish and advance the growing movement for Climate Justice.

1990s | Climate change: New crisis, old roots

While EJ groups were fighting off local fossil fuel plants and indigenous groups were fighting off oil explorers and tensions were rising around transnational corporate domination, the issue of climate change was also rising to national and international attention. When it was confirmed in the late 1980s that greenhouse gas (GHG) concentrations in the atmosphere were increasing at an unprecedented rate to unprecedented levels due to fossil fuel combustion (Houghton, Jenkins, and Ephraums 1990), world leaders began, albeit slowly and conservatively, to take up the issue. Out of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development ("Earth Summit") in Rio de Janeiro, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was conceived

and held its first annual global Conference of Parties (COP) on climate change in 1995 ("United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change" 2014).

In 1997, the UNFCCC crafted the landmark Kyoto Protocol, which set emissions targets for participating countries and formulated market-based mechanisms for "carbon trading" and "clean development." Environmental Justice and Global Justice advocates, with their intimate experience with polluting corporations and reticent regulators, immediately saw through this scheme, setting off a wave of activism around "false solutions" to climate change. As they saw it, energy companies would simply continue with business as usual and use the Kyoto programs as tidy distractions from their dirty enterprises, planting a tree here, building a dam there, trading a carbon permit there, and acting as if these efforts will actually counter the devastation wrought by global warming and extractive practices. Movement actors had heard this neoliberal rhetoric before, seen it play out in their communities, and knew just what to expect from these blind efforts: money diverted from truly sustainable clean energy solutions for projects that bolster the profits of the very corporations that fuel climate change (Dawson 2010).

Adding insult to injury, it was immediately clear that the world's most vulnerable populations would be left out of these UNFCCC international discussions. Leading up to COP4 in 1998, indigenous groups in the U.S. formulated the Albuquerque Declaration, in which one of the central demands was a seat at the UNFCCC table. The declaration further articulated the unique and undue impacts that climate change and fossil fuel industry practices have on indigenous communities, and pointed to the unsustainable (and even genocidal) nature of market-driven economies. Below are select excerpts from this historic document:

> There is a direct relationship between the denial of Indigenous Peoples land and water rights, along with the appropriation without consent of Indigenous Peoples' natural resources, and the causes of global climate change today. Examples include deforestation, contamination of land and water by pesticides and industrial waste, toxic and radioactive poisoning, and military and mining impacts.
>
> Cultural impacts, forced removal, land appropriation, destruction of sacred and historical significant areas, breakdown of Indigenous social systems, and violence against women and children are too often the outcomes of fossil fuel development on Indigenous Peoples. Fossil fuel extraction areas are home to some of Mother Earth's last and most vulnerable Indigenous Populations, resulting in accelerated losses of biodiversity, traditional knowledge, and ultimately in ethnocide and genocide.
>
> For the future of all the children, for the future of Mother Earth and Father Sky, we call upon the leaders of the world, at all levels of governments, to accept responsibility for the welfare of future generations. Their decisions must reflect their consciousness of this responsibility and they must act on it. We demand a place at the table in discussions that involve and affect our future and the natural order and natural laws that govern us. (Maynard 1998)

The Albuquerque Declaration was presented at COP4 in Buenos Aries that fall, and ushered in a host of other indigenous peoples climate change declarations from around the world in the years that followed.

For historically exploited populations around the world, this new planetary crisis— the climate crisis—was only promising more environmental and economic turmoil and more devious behavior from multi-national corporations. As global discussions around climate change continued without proper representation from these communities and more false solutions were formulated, it was clear that a justice-oriented lens was direly needed. Existing justice movement organizations stepped up to the plate, and it was from this platform that the call for Climate Justice was launched.

Corporate Watch (CorpWatch), an organization based in San Francisco with explicit ties to both the EJ and GJ movements, was the first to use the phrase "Climate Justice" in a written publication (Tokar 2014a). In 1999 the group launched its "Climate Justice Initiative" and published the report *Greenhouse Gangsters vs. Climate Justice,* which appropriately pointed to both EJ and GJ principles as central to addressing the climate crisis (Bruno, Karliner, and Brotsky 1999). The following emergent CJ tenets were articulated in the report:

- Addressing the root causes of global warming and holding corporations accountable;
- Opposing the destructive impacts of oil development, and supporting impacted communities, including those most affected by the increasing incidence of weather-related disasters;
- Looking to environmental justice communities and organized labor for strategies to support a just transition away from fossil fuels;
- Challenging corporate-led globalization and the disproportionate influence of international financial institutions such as the World Bank and World Trade Organization (Tokar 2014a)

As noted on the CorpWatch website, this report "redefined climate change as an environmental justice and human rights issue, and helped mobilize communities already adversely impacted by the fossil fuel industry" ("About CorpWatch" 2014). Held up at local fights against oil refineries and at international climate conferences, alike, this document helped EJ, GJ, and other peoples' movements sharpen their critique of climate change and fossil fuel corporations and unite around a burgeoning framework for Climate Justice (Tokar 2014a).

2000 | Climate Justice emergence at global climate negotiations

With a new millennium came this new social movement around Climate Justice. And CJ movement actors didn't waste any time getting started. At the very next UNFCCC COP in 2000 (COP6),

located in The Hague, Netherlands, the nascent CJ movement made its grand entrance. Groups from various movements across the globe, including CorpWatch, came together to hold the first "Climate Justice Summit" as a counter-conference to the COP6 that world leaders attended (Cox 2013). And, in the same style as the Seattle WTO protests and others, autonomous affinity groups organized themselves to conduct direct action maneuvers that sought to disrupt official COP6 activities. Banner drops, marches, conference interruptions, and other forms of creative action sent the message to the UNFCCC that the voices of the people left out of the official climate talks would not be easily silenced. The nondescript group called Carbon Wars issued the following call to action prior to the COP:

> Two weeks of COP6, two weeks of anti-carbon guerrilla actions. Among the delegates within the climate conference there will be several thousand lobbyists representing many of the world's most noxious corporations. Their goal has always been plain and simple: to prevent real action on climate change to be taken. Now they have a second goal, to make money out of climate change related 'solutions'. They do this by lobbying intensely other delegates, pushing their own destructive agenda without anyone standing in their way. The time to physically confront them has come. Whether it is Shell, Siemens or Monsanto, their representatives will be present, being paid to ensure that the climate treaty works for their business bottom line regardless of the global consequences. For direct action to be effective their power needs to be redressed. They need to be prevented from doing their job. (Rising Tide 2000)

The Rising Tide (RT) network was born out of this mobilizing effort, and continues to this day to use grassroots organizing and nonviolent direct action to "confront the root causes of climate change" with chapters all over the world ("Our Story" 2014). RT helped document the organized resistance around COP6 in their publication *Dissenting Voices* (Rising Tide 2000). This 56-page pamphlet includes the group's Political Statement of the time, which defined their principles of Equity, Diversity, and Effectiveness, and articulated what the group was advocating for and fighting against. Reminiscent of GJ critiques, the statement decried the over-representation of corporate interests at the climate talks, the policies promoted by the World Bank and WTO, cultures of over-consumption, nuclear energy, carbon trading, fossil fuel exploration, and the insufficient GHG reduction targets outlined in the Kyoto Protocol. And reminiscent of EJ principles, the statement called for the involvement of all marginalized populations, participatory democracy, anti-sexism and anti-racism, support for climate refugees, deeper emissions cuts, and a shift toward clean energy sources.

The Climate Justice Summit, itself, included panels with the following titles, which hosted speakers from literally every corner of the planet: *Human Face of Climate Change; Movements against Fossil Fuel Industry and False Promises; Globalisation, Equity, and False Promises; Beyond Fossil Fuels, Toward Climate Justice* (Rising Tide 2000).

The Climate Justice movement had made its inaugural mark on the international stage. The energy and principled intention that developed around CJ during the COP6 Climate Justice Summit was carried through to subsequent global climate talks in the following years, but it was also carried back home to spark domestic CJ movements in individual countries around the world.

2002 | Climate Justice platform in U.S. and abroad

In the U.S., it was the EJ community that collectively took the climate bull by the horns and reframed climate change as a social justice issue unfairly affecting America's minority populations. After COP6, the Environmental Justice and Climate Change Initiative (EJCC) was formed to serve as a hub for Climate Justice organizing in the U.S. EJCC aimed to mobilize EJ groups and others in the U.S. to build on previous analyses and develop a shared Climate Justice agenda, while standing in solidarity with communities facing the worst impacts of climate change abroad. Additionally, U.S. groups continued to participate in international networks, connecting local struggles to international climate debates and building power via relationships with international allies (Agyeman, Bulkeley, and Nochur 2007).

Working at both the domestic and international scale, EJCC developed a U.S. CJ platform that was presented at the UN-sponsored World Sustainability Summit (the second "Earth Summit") in Johannesburg, South Africa during the summer of 2002. The final document, titled "10 Principles for Just Climate Change Policies in the U.S.," begins by stating:

> The Environmental Justice movement has demonstrated that pollution's effects often fall disproportionately on the health of people of color, Indigenous Peoples, and low-income communities. The effects of global climate change, which is caused in large part by fossil fuel emissions, are no exception. […] Climate policy must protect our most vulnerable communities. (EJ Summit 2002a)

The statement goes on to outline the following ten principles that were singled out as critical elements of a justice-oriented approach to climate policy:

1. Stop Cooking the Planet
2. Protect and Empower Vulnerable Individuals and Communities
3. Ensure Just Transition for Workers and Communities
4. Require Community Participation
5. Global Problems Need Global Solutions
6. The U.S. Must Lead
7. Stop Exploration for Fossil Fuels
8. Monitor Domestic and International Carbon Markets
9. Caution in the Face of Uncertainty
10. Protect Future Generations

At the second national People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit later that year, EJCC's "10 Principles" were taken up by participants and expanded into a formal "Climate Justice Declaration" by the U.S. EJ movement (see Appendix B for full text), attaching the following four tenets to the original ten:

11. Ecological Debt Must Be Repaid
12. Hold Financial Institutions and Corporations Accountable
13. Create Culturally Appropriate Climate Education
14. Foster Individual and Community Responsibility to Mother Earth ("The Climate Justice Declaration" 2004)

That same year at a conference in Bali, Indonesia, another set of CJ principles were drafted by justice organizations, including U.S. groups such as CorpWatch and the Indigenous Environmental Network (see Appendix B for full text). In contrast to the 10 Principles for Just Climate Change Policies in the U.S., these 27 statements were more conceptual and broadly encompassing and were modeled directly after the 17 Environmental Justice Principles written at the first U.S. EJ Summit in 1991 (detailed earlier in this paper). Known as the "Bali Principles of Climate Justice," the declaration essentially adapted the original EJ principles to focus on climate-specific and fossil fuel-related issues, echoing calls for full participation, workers' rights, local leadership, sustainable alternatives, and honoring Mother Earth, while condemning destructive forms of energy generation, unjust market-based policies, and exploitative military activities. This pronouncement, and that from EJCC, was influential at both the Johannesburg Earth Summit and the alternative CJ Summit at COP8 in New Delhi that year ("Bali Principles of Climate Justice" 2002).

In writing and disseminating these concrete lists of conceptual principles and policy guidelines, the movement, with a growing U.S. contingent, finally had a clearly articulated CJ analysis that outlined the problems, the solutions, and the need to take action. In other words, by the definition of social movement scholars Robert Benford and David Snow (Snow and Benford 1988), a Climate Justice *frame* was emerging, and it served as a foundation for strategic CJ demands in both U.S. and international contexts moving forward (Cox 2013).

Pre-2007 | U.S. Climate Action groups and views on Climate Justice

While EJ and GJ groups remained heavily involved in CJ movement-building throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, mainstream environmental groups, such as most within the Group of Ten, stuck to their agendas of modest policy reform and what many viewed as corporate cooperation. When the

market-based approach to climate regulation was introduced in the Kyoto Protocol, groups like EDF, NRDC, and WWF worked to improve the market mechanisms rather than dismantle them altogether, as CJ groups, particularly those from the earlier days, were advocating for. The US Climate Action Network (USCAN) was formed in 1989 to "coordinate the NGO response to climate change," uniting these environmental groups under one umbrella for sharing information and taking positions on climate policy. As the name implies, the mindset of the organization and its members groups was CA (not CJ)—stopping climate change as quickly as possible, thus, focusing on limiting GHG emissions through policies that are amenable to the economic and political status quo.

Beyond traditional environmental organizations and networks, new organizations focused on climate change mitigation arose, as well. Groups such as Local Governments for Sustainability (ICLEI) USA, founded in 1995, focused on tracking GHG emissions for localities and devising government policies to reduce a city's "carbon footprint." Typical programs included expanding alternative transportation modes, switching to renewable energy sources, reducing building energy use through energy efficiency measures, and preventing urban sprawl. While many of these programs had benefits beyond climate change mitigation (often under the framework of the "three pillars" of sustainable development: environment, economy, and society), the primary focus was on counting and curbing carbon emissions, not addressing the many social injustices that underlie and surface from climate change—what CJ activists often call "carbon fundamentalism." This pattern of focusing on local carbon reductions continued, and in 2005, the year that the Kyoto Protocol went into effect for the countries that ratified it, the U.S Conference of Mayor's launched the Mayor's Climate Protection Agreement. Supported by Sierra Club's "Cool Cities" campaign, this garnered carbon reduction commitments from hundreds of cities across the country, along with their commitment to lobby state and federal government for strong climate policy, including a national market-based emissions trading program (USCOM 2008).

That same year, a similar campaign was launched to secure carbon reduction commitments from college campuses called the Campus Climate Challenge. But, unlike the Mayor's Climate Protection Agreement, this campaign was squarely focused on getting campuses off of fossil fuel energy sources and made an intentional effort to engage young college students and partner with the EJ community, working with EJCC and others to build momentum at Historically Black Colleges and raise awareness about the impacts of dirty energy industries on marginalized communities (EJCC 2015). The organization behind this effort was the newly-formed Energy Action Coalition (EAC), a youth-led alliance of mainstream environmental groups, CA groups, EJ groups, and youth empowerment groups. With the express intention to "build a powerful youth movement focused on solving the climate crisis and addressing environmental justice," the EAC set off a wave of student

activism around climate change and clean energy that continues to be a strong sector of the climate movement to this day (EAC 2015a). An EJ analysis was integrated from the start, leading early on to calls for "Climate Justice" (EAC 2015b). However, privileged white activists have primarily led the charge and the more radical anti-capitalist critique from the GJ frame has not been part of their messaging, leading some to question their commitment to what many see as the true and full meaning of CJ.

Similar concerns about how "Climate Justice" was being interpreted and used surfaced during the first U.S. conference focused solely on a CJ theme, which took place in 2002 at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor and was funded by the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). Titled "Just Climate? Pursuing Environmental Justice in the Face of Global Climate Change," it attempted to bring climate change and Environmental Justice into the same conversation, as EJCC had done and EAC would later do. The aim of the conference was to "further the dialogue among activists, policy-makers, and academics from diverse communities about how global climate change will affect disadvantaged areas and peoples around the world." The conference included participation from high-level scientists and public health experts, and although its goal was to create an interdisciplinary and cross-sectorial dialogue, it was criticized as falling short of breaching the traditional divides between recognized "experts" and grassroots groups (Dorsey 2007).

These early efforts to bring attention to the disproportionate impact of climate change on poor and minority communities were laudable. Yet it remained an open question as to what kinds of processes and outcomes could be defined as "just." To radical CJ activists, with roots in EJ and GJ traditions, this comes from frontline community leadership and systems change. To mainstream CA activists, on the other hand, it might come from socially-conscious lobbying groups and pro-establishment emissions regulations that emphasize equity and minimize impacts on low-income populations. Though different groups sought to realize CJ through different means, it was clear that the idea of CJ appealed to various groups that wanted to bring human faces and human lives into a conversation that was primarily dominated by environmental conservation groups. In fact, even environmental organizations saw CJ as a way to frame their work around the inter-species injustice of climate change in accelerating mass-extinction and destabilizing the planetary ecosystem. But for radical CJ activists, CJ was more than just a handy slogan for the humanitarian efforts of entrenched institutions or the "earth first" mentality of green groups—it embodied a history of direct resistance against globalization, colonialism, militarism, corporatism, racism, and economic models of extraction and exploitation. This deeper analysis of CJ remained absent from the narrative of mainstream CA groups, and even those that, to their credit, integrated EJ into their work.

2007 | Rise of the mainstream climate movement

Before 2007, a coherent mainstream social movement around the issue of climate change hadn't yet reached the national stage. Left to professional NGOs, small community campaigns, and discussions amongst scientists and policymakers, the climate problem was distant and abstract for most Americans, with few opportunities to publically mobilize and take a stand for climate solutions. EAC's organizing work with youth on college campuses that began in 2005 planted a seed for nationwide grassroots movement-building around climate change, but even that was limited primarily to youth activists, which themselves had yet to converge on a national scale in a visible and unified way.

In 2007, what we now recognize as the mainstream U.S. "climate movement" took off. This was the year after former Vice President Al Gore's famous documentary "An Inconvenient Truth" was released to raise public awareness around the scale and urgency of climate change, which provided a springboard for climate-concerned citizens that wanted to "take action" to begin mobilizing on a broad nationwide scale (SIU 2007). In January 2007, a small group of young Climate Action (CA) activists, along with author and environmentalist Bill McKibben, took advantage of this moment and put out an open call online for a National Day of Climate Action to pressure Congress to reduce carbon emissions by 80% by 2050. On April 14, under the banner of "Step It Up," over 1,400 CA rallies were held in all fifty states, many of which were coordinated by people that had never done grassroots organizing before (SIU 2007). Empowered by the relatively accessible "open source, web-based" model of organizing and inspired by the sense of solidarity from the group photos that were posted from around the country, U.S. climate activists felt more connected than ever before. With a now vast network of grassroots and grasstops advocates, a visible and unified online presence, and a clear national policy platform, a social movement under the CA frame had undoubtedly emerged.

To carry the momentum and political demands of the Step It Up campaign forward, the organizing team wrote a handbook titled *Fight Global Warming Now* (McKibben 2007a), and also founded 1Sky, a CA non-profit focused on uniting allied groups to build grassroots support for federal climate legislation (1Sky 2007). As McKibben noted in a Washington Post op-ed that year,

> "Physics and chemistry demand swift and deep cuts in carbon emissions….The only real hope is for decisive legislation from Congress….It will take a movement to force that kind of change." (McKibben 2007b)

Citizen's Climate Lobby was also formed that year to coordinate political activism around federal climate legislation in the form of handwritten letters, opinion pieces, and meetings with congressional representatives (CCL 2015).

A second nationwide Step It Up event was organized for November 3 called "Who's a Leader?", calling on members of Congress and presidential candidates to attend Step It Up rallies around the country and support 1Sky's policy demands. That same weekend, the Energy Action Coalition hosted the first national college student climate conference in D.C. called "Power Shift." The event turned out 6,000 young people from all fifty states for a weekend of workshops and rallies on clean energy and environmental justice. The gathering had an explicit focus on the "green economy" and "green jobs," which pointed to the opportunity for creating employment for marginalized populations and strengthening the economy through new environmental initiatives—part of an economic argument to persuade policymakers to enact climate and clean energy legislation. Van Jones, future Green Jobs Advisor to President Obama, spoke to the crowd of students about the goal of his new organization, Green For All, to build "an inclusive green economy strong enough to lift people out of poverty" (Power Shift 2007).

Figure 8. Power Shift 2007 in Washington D.C.; activists wore green hard hats to symbolize their advocacy for "Green Jobs" (Oakes 2007)

2009 | Milestones: Obama, Waxman-Markey, and Copenhagen

Throughout 2008, the mainstream climate movement kept its targets on Washington, continuing to push Congress for a federal climate bill and canvassing for the presidential election, in hopes of a new climate-friendly Administration. EAC organized their student base around a "Power Vote" campaign, raising the profile of climate and clean energy policy issues while encouraging young people to vote.

After all of this dedicated work, the movement could celebrate two major victories in 2009. The first was the outcome of the 2008 presidential election: Democratic candidate Barak Obama was now U.S. President—the nation's *first* Black president—and promised to be more progressive on climate issues than his predecessor George Bush, speaking about the need for urgent action on climate change in a speech soon after the election. For CA activists, Obama's election opened a window of opportunity for making progress on federal climate policy—a window that might have remained closed if Republican candidate John McCain and his "drill [oil] baby drill" running-mate Sarah Palin had been elected.

Two key climate movement gatherings were held in January 2009 that were able to celebrate the new Administration and begin to lobby for strong action on climate change and even Climate Justice. EAC's Power Shift 2009, which had nearly doubled in size since the 2007 event, was once again held in D.C. and maintained a strong focus on environmental justice as a core component of its clean energy narrative. Lisa Jackson, a Black woman and EJ advocate who at the time had just taken office as the EPA Administrator of the newly elected Administration, was one of the featured speakers. The event offered young people opportunities for rallies, workshops, traditional congressional lobbying, and more radical civil disobedience as part of a direct action in front of the Capitol's very own coal plant. The other important event in January was the first U.S. Climate Justice-focused conference planned by EJ groups, titled "Advancing Climate Justice: Transforming the Economy, Public Health, and our Environment" hosted in NYC by local EJ organization West Harlem Environmental Action (WE ACT). With aims to bring together a diverse and cross-disciplinary group of CJ advocates, the conference hosted forums on a range of topics, including the following: public health, youth organizing, emergency preparedness, food justice, gender justice, transit, clean energy, sustainable development, effective advocacy, politics, economics, and climate policies. Panelists represented mainstream environmental groups, inner city and rural EJ organizations, indigenous groups, universities, and even labor and reproductive rights groups. This summit also proudly featured a keynote speech by the new EPA Administrator Lisa Jackson (WE ACT 2009).

The second milestone for the climate movement in 2009 was what CA groups had been demanding for years: the passage of federal climate legislation. In June, the American Clean Energy and Security Act, known as the "Waxman-Markey Bill," was approved in the U.S. House of Representatives by a narrow vote of 219-212. This legislation, once approved by the Senate, would set emissions reductions targets and implement a cap-and-trade system to regulate U.S. carbon emissions. It was the first and only climate bill to ever pass either body of Congress.

Figure 9. Capitol Climate Action: direct action to shut down the U.S. Capitol building's coal plant during Power Shift 2009 (IMI 2009)

While the election of President Obama and the passage of the Waxman-Markey Bill in the House were truly historic, movement actors recognized that neither was flawless nor the end of the fight. The climate bill, in particular, was extremely controversial, even within the environmental community that helped lobby for it. For some CA advocates, the bill was too weak and made too many compromises. For others, it was better than nothing and the compromises were necessary to get it passed in the House and to have any hope that it might be passed in the Senate. As one environmental NGO representative stated, "This is probably the single best shot we'll ever get at putting a cap on global warming pollution, and we need to take it" (Yale 2009).

But passing this bill was about more than just securing a U.S. commitment to reduce domestic GHG emissions. It was also about setting the stage for garnering serious commitments from other countries at the global UNFCCC COP15 meeting later that year: the now infamous Copenhagen climate summit of 2009. As one environmental advocate put it, "we have to pass something to give the Obama Administration the necessary credibility to create global momentum before Copenhagen" (Yale 2009). The focus of the climate movement was now turned toward this critical global summit, which would take place in December. According to agreements made at the Bali summit in 2007, the COP15 negotiations were supposed to result in a binding international

agreement on emissions reductions and other measures. Everyone concerned about the myriad impacts of the climate crisis was crossing their fingers for a strong and steadfast agreement.

Well, not everyone was just crossing their fingers. The climate movement was mobilizing to send a message to political leaders that "the time to act is now." 1Sky was once again supporting a coordinated Day of Climate Action, but this time it would take place in communities around the globe under the name of a new international NGO founded by 1Sky organizer Bill McKibben: 350.org. The name spotlights the significance of 350ppm, the atmospheric carbon dioxide (CO_2) concentration that famed NASA scientist James Hansen determined was the safe upper limit for a stable climate—a limit that had already been surpassed. The goal of the organization was to communicate the need to bring CO_2 levels back down to 350ppm and to build a global climate movement to create the political will to do so. The 350.org International Day of Climate Action on October 24 resulted in 4,300 demonstrations in countries around the world, raising the profile of the number 350 through signs and creative actions displayed in powerful photo collages online.

Figure 10. Images from 350.org campaigns, from left to right: Leh, Ladakh in the Himalayas (2008); Girifushi, Maldives (2009); and Puerto Nare, Colombia (2009) (350.org 2009)

While many radical CJ groups participated in the 350.org International Day of Climate Action, they also wanted to take their own slightly different approach to preparing for Copenhagen, and used this as an opportunity to continue to build their own movement base and strengthen their own narrative. Critical of the mainstream movement's fixation on Washington, carbon targets, staged photos, and "green capitalism," CJ activists wanted to turn up the volume on the dialogue around systems-critique and coordinate actions that directly targeted energy companies and banks as the guilty "corporate climate criminals" ("Reportbacks: Nov. 30th Day of Action" 2009). Under the name Mobilization for Climate Justice (MCJ), CJ groups converged "to build a North American Climate Justice movement that emphasizes non-violent direct action and public education to mobilize for effective and just solutions to the climate crisis" ("About the MCJ" 2014).

Figure 11. Mobilization for Climate Justice West march against the Chevron refinery in Richmond, CA (MCJW 2009b)

They then sent out a call across the continent for November 30, 2009 (N30) to be a day of mass action on Climate Justice (MCJW 2009a). November 30 was both the ten-year anniversary of the WTO protests in Seattle *and* the week before the now infamous climate protests at COP15 in Copenhagen, intentionally drawing connections to the principles and direct action tactics of the early GJ movement and building solidarity between local and international CJ movement circles. The N30 day of action resulted in marches, creative direct actions, and nonviolent acts of civil disobedience in every major city in the U.S.:

> Earth First! and Rising Tide blocked the shipment of the generator destined for the Cliffside Coal plant in NC. The Mobilization for Climate Jus- tice shut down the San Francisco headquarters of Bank of America, while Seattle activists locked down inside Chase and Bank of America branches for their funding of fossil fuels. Activists in Chicago locked down in front of the Chicago Climate Exchange, the largest carbon trading institution in North America, shutting down part of the city's financial district. Protestors in Washington, DC took over K Street to confront corporate lobbyists. In New York City activists occupied the lobby of Natural Resource Defense Council to protest their cozy relationship with major polluters. (Rising Tide 2010)

Mobilization for Climate Justice *West* (WCJW), the Bay Area arm of the MCJ coalition, hosted a West Coast Climate Justice Convergence in September in the lead up to N30, bringing together groups like Rising Tide and Movement Generation Justice and Ecology Project (MG), which emerged in 2005 through work with Bay Area EJ groups and "inspires and engages in transformative action towards the liberation and restoration of land, labor, and culture" ("Mission and History" 2014). The CJ Convergence culminated in an afternoon of direct action in San Francisco. Protestors began with a banner drop outside of Senator Barbara Boxer's office, also delivering a letter decrying what they saw as a corporate-sanctioned, market-friendly Waxman-Markey Bill. They then shut down an intersection outside of Chevron Oil's office with a giant

parachute labeled "Climate Chaos or Climate Justice?", condemning the company for its role in perpetuating climate change and poisoning the low-income communities of color that live near the Chevron refinery in Richmond, CA (MCJW 2009c).

Figure 12. Mobilization for Climate Justice West shutting down an intersection outside of Chevron's office in San Francisco (MCJW 2009c)

CJ groups had now greased their wheels, sharpened their skills, and galvanized their base, and were rearing and ready to take the fight for CJ to Copenhagen. All of the messaging, organizing, and demonstrating around CJ up to that point, including the principles developed earlier in the decade, laid the groundwork for the wave of actions that would unfold at COP15 in 2009. Beyond the efforts of budding U.S.-based groups like MCJW, new international networks had also been mobilizing, including the Global Justice and Ecology Project (GJEP), the Durban Group on Climate Justice (DGCJ), and Climate Justice NOW! (CJN)—a group that broke away from the Climate Action Network (CAN), illustrating the often explicit clash between groups using CJ and CA frames. These international coalitions grew out of various global climate conference sessions, and helped groups around the world stay connected, share resources, articulate their values and demands, and co-strategize when it came to COPs and other political opportunities (Tokar 2014a).

In December 2009, this now massive, astute, and energized global movement for Climate Justice descended on Copenhagen, Denmark during the UNFCCC's fifteenth meeting. Sick of seeing COP after COP fail to produce any global agreements that might lead to swift and effective action on climate change, and sick of seeing COP after COP ignore the pleas and the very lives of disadvantaged communities around the world already bearing the lethal brunt of the climate crisis,

people rose up. Over 100,000 people from around the world took to the streets of Copenhagen, marching, unfurling banners, interrupting the talks, and using other forms of creative and disruptive protest (Cox 2013). Many were calling for "System Change, Not Climate Change," revealing people's complete lack of faith in what appeared to be government charades in advocating for market-based solutions to fix an inherently market-based problem (Tokar 2014a).

Figure 13. Protestors calling for system change at the COP15 in Copenhagen (Passant 2014)

On the day before the COP ended, protesters marched toward Bella Centre behind a banner that read "Reclaim Power, Fight the System!" with the intention of claiming the space for a "people's assembly." A group called Climate Justice Action, backed by GJEP, organized the action as a complement to the weeks-long Peoples' Climate Summit (Klimaforum) that they also helped organize, but violent clashes with the militant police force prevented the group from carrying out their plan. When all was said and done, 230 people were arrested and many had been beaten or agitated by teargas and pepper spray, a protest story consistent with many others over the course of the COP ("In Pictures: Reclaim Power Climate Protest March in Copenhagen" 2009).

Within the walls of the Klimaforum, a People's Declaration on Climate Change was formulated with four primary demands:

1. A complete abandoning of fossil fuels within the next 30 years
2. Recognition, repayment, and compensation of climate debt
3. Rejection of purely market-oriented and technology-centered false and dangerous solutions
4. Real solutions to the climate crisis

The declaration calls for a "just and sustainable transition" that includes food sovereignty and ecological agriculture; democratic ownership and control of economy; energy sovereignty; ecological planning of urban and rural zones; re-oriented education, science, and cultural institutions; and an end to militarism and war (Klimaforum09 2009).

Suffice to say, these principles were not incorporated into the COP's final binding agreement. In fact, in the end, the COP *had* no binding agreement. The summit, as has been described extensively elsewhere, was an utter disaster. It was clear, as it had been from day one of the movement, that the formulation and implementation of climate solutions was going to be led by the People, not the Politicians or the Profiteers. And so, as frustrating as it was to witness chronic inaction by those in positions of power on one of the greatest threats to humankind, it was also, perhaps, no surprise. CJ movement actors continued to take matters into their own hands by educating, organizing, and empowering local communities to realize a new economic paradigm and a more sustainable, equitable, democratic way of life (Cox 2013; H. Moore and Russell 2011). CA movement actors, similarly devastated by the outcome of the COP—particularly after the executive and legislative wins they enjoyed earlier that year and the groundwork they had laid for a decisive international treaty—were poised for rethinking the direction of their work.

2010 | Mainstream movement failures and criticisms

If 2009 was a year of hope, momentum, and success for the movement, then 2010 was a year of skepticism, fragmentation, and failure. After Copenhagen, aspirations for a cooperative global treaty to swiftly and fairly tackle this global problem were lost and many became jaded with the political process, as a whole. As if to reinforce this cynicism, the Waxman-Markey Bill that, though imperfect, served a chance at keeping climate change on the federal agenda, was pronounced dead in the Senate in July. And, on top of all this, high expectations for President Obama were met with disappointment, as the movement waited for him to live up to his bold promises to address climate change (McKibben 2009). The policy goals that the mainstream movement had worked toward for years were collapsing right before their eyes.

In an effort to understand where the movement went wrong and where it could go next, 1Sky released an open letter on its website pointing to new strategies that it felt were necessary for making real progress on CA, such as a greater focus on grassroots organizing instead of D.C. beltway lobbying (Caldwell 2010). CJ groups, which had been promoting and practicing these strategies for years, wrote back with an open letter of their own titled "Letter from the Grassroots to 1Sky."

Critical of the amount of money, time, and effort spent by CA groups on trying to convince Congress to adopt a climate bill, and highly critical of the contents of that bill (a market-based cap-and-trade system that CJ groups had always identified as a "false solution"), CJ groups agreed that a shift in the climate movement was needed away from D.C. and toward the grassroots. However, they claimed, that organizing work should be led by those communities on the frontlines of the crisis that suffer the burdens of the current system everyday, and that have, for decades, successfully taken on corporate polluters directly, shut down power plants, and achieved emissions reductions with very little resources and without having to compromise their values. This is how the letter ends:

> As communities fighting climate pollution in our own backyards, we link our struggles with social movements worldwide to stand against offsets and other false solutions and to build real solutions based in our communities. We call on you to stand with us. If there is anything you can take away from this letter, we reiterate: The equation of power in our movement, just as in our country, must be inverted.
>
> The leadership is not going to come from beltway strategists navigating federal policy, with a grass-tops cultivated to support it. The leadership is coming from the grassroots everyday.
>
> We will win Climate Justice by supporting the hundreds of communities around the country who are targeting the climate polluters in their communities, whether that is an energy source, a toxic industry, a dirty port, a big box chain, a freeway or a developer driving gentrification. Resources should be deployed to win those fights in those communities – for their own sake. (MG 2010)

The deep divide between CA and CJ groups—both trying to build grassroots momentum to change the laws and structures that perpetuate the climate crisis, but coming at that work from different angles, life experiences, and theories of change—was never more plainly exhibited than in that pair of letters.

Perhaps the title of a Rising Tide pamphlet released after Copenhagen, however, put it even more bluntly: "The Climate Movement is Dead, Long Live the Climate Movement." In the document, RT activists decried the politician-focused and often corporate-friendly efforts of mainstream environmental organizations like NRDC, EDF, WWF, and Sierra Club, on the far end of the CA spectrum. They even questioned the Power Vote and Power Shift efforts of the more CJ-oriented movement-building group EAC, which gave power, legitimacy, and air-time to political elites and was sponsored by Wal-Mart. They also sharply criticized carbon markets, "green capitalism," and the tendency for mainstream groups to demand a "clean energy future" without asking *for whom* or *by whom* that future would be constructed. As they declared the death of what they saw as a failed mainstream climate movement, they put forth a call for the rise of a mass movement around CJ:

> The climate movement needs to shift gears from what has been a largely symbolic movement to one that is directly disrupting destructive industries….To achieve this, we need a global

> movement of movements based around core principles of Climate Justice, building power from below, direct action and solidarity. (Rising Tide 2010)

The mainstream CA wing was under heavy criticism from commentators outside the movement, as well. In an Environmental Support Center report that was released in December 2009 titled "Everybody's Movement: Environmental Justice and Climate Change," author Angela Park offered a sobering analysis of the mainstream climate movement: "Currently, climate change is not everybody's movement in the United States" (Park 2009). She goes on to describe to the disconnect between the mainstream movement's focus on esoteric atmospheric measurements (i.e. 350ppm) and people's daily lives, as well as the lack of race, class, and gender diversity within the movement, as is commonly the case with environmental conservation groups. "Even in 2009," she states, "climate briefings held across the country consistently feature mostly male and all-white casts" (Park 2009). In a call for more inclusive organizing and collaboration between EJ and CA groups, Park makes the case that the climate movement should shift its priorities to reflect the full range of individuals working on these issues, and, ultimately, to "win."

After a long history of radical action and analysis by the CJ thread and a surge of popular activity and dialogue from the CA thread over just the past few years, the climate movement as a whole, and mainstream groups in particular, were truly at a critical moment of reflection and reassessment. While there were certainly moments of solidarity and instances of collaboration between them, the movement was still characterized by a great deal of internal friction and debate. Organizations and coalitions were now established, and the base of concerned citizens and activists was growing, but it remained to be seen what these groups, alone or together, would do next.

2. Coming Together: Clashes and Common Ground

Introduction: Making progress toward collaboration

After much reflection and dialogue in 2010, the CA wing of the climate movement took a new and intentioned turn, and in some ways began to embrace more radical CJ principles. A limited number of new CA-CJ movement-building partnerships emerged, but, for the most part, the two camps continued along their separate paths. The division between them remained as they sought to achieve their own definition of "Climate Justice" through different means and with different constituencies. This chapter will chronicle the most recent years of the climate movement and the ebbs and flows that have led to both coming together and moving apart between CA and CJ groups. The barriers that have long persisted between these groups are then outlined, recognizing their roots in past social movements. Finally, efforts to overcome those barriers—that set the stage for the historic People's Climate March collaboration—are introduced toward the end.

2011 | Mainstream movement revised and radicalized

Since the first International Day of Climate Action in October 2009, 350.org (350) had essentially become the face of the mainstream climate movement worldwide. In October 2010 it organized another widespread day of action under the same open-source, web-based, photo-collection model called "Global Work Party," in which communities hosted work parties to demonstrate local climate solutions (such as bike rides, installing solar panels, and planting trees) and urged political leaders from around the world to "get to work" doing the same. Over the next two years, 350 would continue this trend, organizing "Moving Planet" in September 2011 and "Climate Impacts Day" in May 2012.

But 350 began to take on other projects, as well. In fact, it appeared to pick up on the cues from critics in 2010 that the original CA organizing model simply didn't work, and sought out new and arguably more radical means to achieve results. The first sign of this shift was in April 2011, when D.C.-focused CA group 1Sky announced that it would join forces with 350 to work on grassroots movement-building in the U.S. and abroad. The organizations originated from the same circle of activists and had coordinated campaigns in the past, so, after the failure of the federal climate bill and COP15 and a growing sense of the need to turn the movement up a notch, it made sense that they should merge and push forward on one united front. In the blog post announcing their merger, they stated,

> We haven't been winning enough…To get [strong climate policy], we'll need to do much, much more to loosen the stranglehold that corporations have over Congress. We'll need to be

> as strong as possible to take on the fossil fuel companies—and we can be stronger together. (Boeve et al. 2011)

While Congress and climate policy were still a central part of the narrative, the primary target had shifted toward fossil fuel companies themselves, which movement leaders acknowledged were the main roadblocks to federal (and international) action on climate. This focus on political corruption and directly confronting corporate polluters reflected a more CJ-like analysis and approach to climate organizing.

Similar strategic shifts could be interpreted at the 2011 Power Shift event in D.C. that same month, as well. Though still focused primarily on building a "clean energy economy," Power Shift youth activists "flashmobbed" a BP gas station to call on Washington to make BP pay for its devastating oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico the previous year (Jones 2011). Although technically not a corporate-focused direct action (since the message was still directed at politicians and regulators), it was a newly sanctioned Power Shift effort to point a collective finger at a particular fossil fuel company and take their protest directly to one of its facilities.

To begin tackling the broader issue of money and corporate interests in an ostensibly "democratic" political system, the new 350 soon launched a campaign against the U.S. Chamber of Commerce called "the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Doesn't Speak for Me" (350.org 2013). As another sign of 350 inching toward a CJ frame, one of its newest board members after the merger was Naomi Klein, famed author of the anti-globalization and anti-capitalist manifestos *No Logo* and *Shock Doctrine* (and now author of *This Changes Everything*, which draws out the inextricable link between capitalism and climate change). Speaking about the new 350 Chamber of Commerce campaign, Naomi stated,

> I see this campaign as a breakthrough moment in the history of the climate movement, recognition that the struggles for economic justice, real democracy and a livable climate are all profoundly interconnected….As we recognize these (and many other) connections among our various "issues," I am convinced that a new kind of climate movement will emerge, one that is larger, deeper and more powerful than anything we have seen yet. (Klein 2011)

Messages of being "stronger together" and building a "new kind of climate movement" that made "connections" with other social movements really resonated, echoing many of the calls for change in the movement that had been issued the previous year. But mainstream partnerships with and leadership from frontline communities, core to the CJ model, were still lacking. It was around this time that the indigenous First Nations fight against the tar sands extraction project in Alberta, Canada began gaining popular awareness. In May, NASA scientist James Hansen (responsible for the now famed number "350") captured the attention of U.S. climate activists when he wrote a paper describing the proposed Keystone XL (KXL) pipeline that would carry tar sands oil from Alberta to

Texas (for refining and export). In his words, if constructed the pipeline would be "game over for the climate" and would be "a fuse to the largest carbon bomb on the planet" (Hansen 2012; McGowan 2011a). Because of its trans-boundary route, it required a presidential permit. Thus, what would become a years-long, signature campaign of 350.org was born to put political pressure on President Obama to deny the permit and stop the pipeline—and it was carried out in coordination with renowned EJ, GJ, and CJ organization Indigenous Environmental Network (IEN), led by Tom Goldtooth (whom one interview respondent claimed was the first person to coin the phrase "Climate Justice" in the 1990s).

While 350 and its leader Bill McKibben often took the spotlight in the campaign, and most organizing still appeared to be done by privileged, white environmentalists in the U.S., and slogans such as Hansen's placed more emphasis on carbon and the climate than the exploitation of indigenous peoples, the 350-IEN campaign still marked an attempt by the mainstream movement to bridge the CA-CJ divide. And the campaign's tactics, which kicked off with the arrest of 1,253 people over the course of a two-week sit-in in front of the White House (McKibben 2011), marked a change toward CJ tradition from the community bike rides and photo collages that had characterized 350's other signature campaigns.

Figure 14. Part of a two week-long "Tar Sands Action" sit-in in front of the White House urging President Obama to reject the Keystone XL pipeline, which would carry tar sands oil from Alberta Canada to Texas (McGowan 2011b)

Regardless of these shifts toward a more CJ-like approach, the "No KXL" "Tar Sands Action" campaign remained distinctly mainstream. It was, after all, still focused on Washington, and it was

supported by the most CA of CA groups. During the White House civil disobedience action, organizers proudly presented a letter that had been signed by the heads of the nation's largest environmental conservation organizations in support of the cause, including NRDC, EDF, Sierra Club, National Wildlife Federation, and others (those openly criticized by Rising Tide as being corporate- and capitalist-friendly and part of the "Group of Ten" that were criticized by EJ groups as being racist and exclusionary those 20-some years ago). The letter spoke of the environmental damage from pipeline leaks and spills, the scientifically-backed implications for climate change, and the potential for slowing progress on "the transition to job-creating clean fuels"—with no mention of environmental injustice, corporate greed, or any of the other key CJ talking points (TSA 2011). Of course, nonprofits like these have little latitude to speak beyond what their mission statements dictate, but, for many CJ activists, it supported their skepticism of what they saw as just another primarily symbolic CA-centered mainstream campaign. No one could deny that the White House action was well-organized, historic in magnitude, and highly impactful as a method for raising awareness and issuing a rallying call for action to stop the pipeline. But radical CJ activists remained concerned about its focus on Washington and its support by entrenched environmental groups.

Since President Obama had the authority to approve or deny the project without the need to consult Congress (who would likely approve the project, if they could), the No KXL campaign kept its targets squarely focused on him. Protestors returned to D.C. a number of times for other sit-ins and rallies to urge the President to reject the pipeline, including an event that November that involved 15,000 people encircling the White House and the campaign's cornerstone "Forward on Climate Rally" of 40,000 people in early 2013 after the president's re-election (350, n.d.). As various political cycles passed, along with multiple iterations of the project's environmental review, it seemed as though President Obama was waiting for the right political moment and the right documentation to take decisive action against the pipeline. But each opportunity that arose, he only delayed the decision further. For members of the mainstream climate movement, it was hard to know whether to celebrate the fact that he hadn't *approved* the pipeline or decry the fact that he hadn't simply *denied* it yet.

Sick of repeating the same calls for action in what seemed like a never-ending campaign, 350 launched another campaign in fall 2012 that, in the spirit of CJ, aimed to demonize fossil fuel companies directly. Announcing the new campaign on a "Do the Math Tour," 350's Bill McKibben again turned to the latest scientific figures that plainly showed the fossil fuel industry's plans to extract and burn more fossil fuels than the planet can possibly handle without utter environmental and human devastation. The campaign, titled "Fossil Free," urged students to organize around

pressuring university endowments (and later those of cities, churches, and private accounts) to disinvest from fossil fuel company stock. The strategy—"divestment"—had been used by activists during South African Apartheid as a way to "politically bankrupt" the companies that were doing business with the South African government. It was a powerful tool for mobilizing students and clever tactic for bypassing elected officials and putting fossil fuel companies directly in the hot seat. And, unlike other CA campaigns, the student movement for divestment used primarily *moral* arguments to justify action, framing fossil fueled-climate change as an issue of injustice, broadly defined (FF 2015). As one of the campaign slogans states "If it's wrong to wreck the planet, then it's wrong to profit from that wreckage" (McKibben and Naidoo 2013). Calls for "Climate Justice," and even local divestment campaigns with CJ in their name, became commonplace in this latest wave of the climate movement.

Figure 15. March for fossil fuel divestment at Tufts University (Tufts 2013)

The mainstream climate movement, from 2011 forward, had undoubtedly moved beyond its original demands for federal emissions targets and clean energy investments, and had escalated its tactics beyond congressional lobbying and once-a-year days of action. And while the individuals turning out to rallies and even arrest-able actions were mostly white, environmentally-minded activist folk, it was clear that a deeper, more systemic CJ analysis was slowly but surely being folded into their work and the potential for working directly with frontline CJ groups was closer in reach than ever before. As self-described CJ activist Tim DeChristopher stated in 2013, after being released from nearly two years in prison for disrupting an auction for oil and gas extraction on public lands in Utah, "You know, the climate movement, I think, has made a lot of progress in the past four

years….I think we have a serious movement that's not impeded nearly as much by the big green groups that are in the Washington bubble, which was our problem in 2009" (Goodman 2013). When asking interview respondents about why they think this shift has taken place, many said that they believe that people are beginning to recognize the compounding and inter-connected crises that our current system is perpetuating. In particular, many pointed to the financial crash of 2008 and then the Occupy movement of 2011-2012 that put the issues of economic inequality, corporate greed, and political corruption front-and-center. Importantly, the Occupy movement was a source of radicalization for many young climate activists, who were exposed to discussions and activities that emphasized anti-oppression, collective liberation, horizontal leadership, and direct action. The post-Occupy wave of climate activism reflects a heightened awareness and appreciation for these principles, bringing a sharper focus to root-cause analysis and inclusive organizing (Loeppky 2014). While changes like these don't seem to have yet percolated up into the boards and senior management of mainstream environmental NGOs or even the less-entrenched movement-building organizations, many interviewees attested to the attitudes of primarily young climate activists that are yearning for more out of the movement than just a reduction in carbon emissions. The CA move toward a CJ narrative, strategy, and true solidarity was on the horizon.

2012 | Persistent division between Climate Action and Climate Justice

The progressive CA campaigns that emerged in 2011 and 2012 still stood in stark contrast to the CJ campaigns being waged on similar fronts. "Tar Sands Blockade," for example, took a very different approach to confronting the KXL pipeline issue than the 350 Tar Sands Action campaign. For starters, activists were on-the-ground along the proposed pipeline route, rather than in Washington. Next, they were focusing on stopping the southern leg of the route, which President Obama had approved in early 2012, but that mainstream movement groups appeared to ignore in an effort to keep mobilizing and building pressure for the president to deny the permit for the northern segment. They were also putting their bodies on the line by locking themselves to heavy equipment and constructing tree-sits in the pipeline's path as high-risk acts of non-violent civil disobedience that acted to actually halt and disrupt construction activity, rather than putting faith in politicians to stop the project with the stroke of a pen. Finally, they were working with affected communities along the southern segment, lifting up the voices of the low-income people of color that had long lived in disproportionately polluted neighborhoods around the Texas oil industry, such as Houston's toxic East End, rather than organizing in more privileged communities around distant issues of climate change and its effects on poor people in nations far away.

Figure 16. Banner and series of tree-sits blocking the construction path of the southern leg of the Keystone XL Pipeline in Texas, crafted by the Tar Sands Blockade action group (TSB 2012)

These were just a few of the distinctions that CJ activists on the frontlines, many from the Rising Tide network, wanted to make between their work on KXL and that of groups like 350. And they didn't hold back telling the mainstream movement how they felt about its fight against KXL:

> The Keystone XL project has become a flagship issue for the U.S. climate movement and has spurred dozens of acts of civil disobedience and the largest climate rally in U.S. history [Forward on Climate]. But while 45,000 marched on the White House President Obama was golfing with oil executives and the southern segment of KXL in Texas and Oklahoma was still being built. It's becoming increasingly clear that we cannot rely on corporation-funded politicians to oppose corporate excess; we must engage this destructive industry directly. (TSB 2013)

For these individuals, 350's work bringing land-owners, ranchers, and even indigenous peoples along the proposed northern route to actions in D.C. meant very little if it ignored the plight of poor people of color at the end of the southern leg that were being stuck with a new pipeline that would promise more toxic sludge and emissions in their already overburdened community. To them, that was just as deserving of an urgent mass movement response as the threat of the northern leg of the pipeline—and that mass movement response should be focused on *direct action* with *affected communities* to stop the pipeline, not holding rallies to ask a politician to "do the right thing." As CJ activists stated in an "Open Letter to the No KXL Movement":

> Rather than appointing ourselves representatives of frontline communities, let's start listening to the people most affected and supporting their struggles–not just by paying lip service and not just by offering a few minutes of stage time at Powershift. Other communities have much more at stake here than we do and if we're going to say that we're standing in solidarity then we need to start acting like it. If you have the privilege to travel across the country to get arrested, use it to take some pressure off people of color fighting for their lives instead of helping some big non-governmental organization put out another press release. (Hayden 2014)

Tar Sands Blockaders also supported direct action resistance along the northern route, as well, where EJ and indigenous communities were preparing to confront pipeline construction in the event that President Obama approved the northern KXL segment. Strategy gatherings and direct action trainings, such as "Moccasins on the Ground" and others by the Great Plains Tar Sands Resistance coalition and Canada's indigenous movement Idle No More, demonstrated the collective power of communities to rise up along the entire KXL route (GPTSR 2015). These tactics were reflective of those of "Mountain Justice" groups that had been organizing direct action camps in Appalachia since 2005 to confront the practice of mountain-top-removal coal mining and its effects on local working class communities, and come from a long tradition of Earth First!-type approaches to halting ecologically destructive development projects (MJ 2015).

Figure 17.Poster for the Stop Tar Sands Profiteers Week of Action (TSB 2013)

In 2013, the Tar Sands Blockade called for a national day of direct action targeting fossil fuel companies and the banks that fund their projects, much like the MCJ N30 day of action in 2009. The event was called "Stop Tar Sands Profiteers Week of Action" and featured 55 actions across the

country that stormed the offices of KXL developer TransCanada and funder TD Bank, and even blockaded a Chevron refinery in Utah, a place where tar sands oil is also being extracted (TSB 2013).

For Tar Sands Blockaders, actively working to stop the KXL pipeline was important, but so was stopping every other fossil fuel infrastructure project and attacking every other fossil fuel company and corporation that supported that industry. Later that year, Rising Tide activists wrote an online article that expressed their frustration with what they called the mainstream movement's "pipeline preoccupation" with the KXL project:

> Much of the United States climate movement right now is structured like an archway, with all of its blocks resting on a keystone—President Obama's decision on the Keystone XL pipeline….we all must recognize the dangers of having an archway approach to movement building. It is the danger of relying on political power-holders, cutting too narrow campaigns, excluding a systemic analysis of root causes, and, ultimately, failing to create a broad-based movement.
>
> …we need a movement of communities all across the continent and the world taking direct action to stop the extraction industry, finding community-based solutions, and addressing the root causes of the climate crisis. (Klagsbrun et al. 2013)

The Climate Justice Alliance (CJA) was, perhaps, the direct answer to that call. Formed in 2010, it lifted up the work of communities of color across the U.S. that had been fighting the fossil fuel industry in their backyards for decades. Bringing U.S. CJ groups under one umbrella of support and solidarity, CJA united EJ, GJ, and CJ groups (including Rising Tide) around their shared conception of frontline-led, transformative Climate Justice. Emerging from the motivating sense of anger and distrust of both political leaders and mainstream movement actors in the aftermath of the failed COP15 negotiations, CJA first helped send activists to the World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth in Cochabamba, Bolivia in April 2010, and then organized the well-attended Ecojustice People's Movement Assembly at the US Social Forum in Detroit the following month (CJA 2015b). It was members of this coalition that spearheaded the grassroots response to the 1Sky letter, detailed at the end of the previous chapter. Nurtured by Movement Generation Justice and Ecology Project (MG) and Grassroots Global Justice Alliance (GGJ), CJA developed into what is now a "collaborative of over 35 community-based and movement support organizations uniting frontline communities to forge a scalable, and socio-economically just transition away from unsustainable energy towards local living economies to address the root causes of climate change" (CJA 2015b).

In 2012, CJA launched the "Our Power Campaign" to carry out this mission by hosting a conference and public demonstration in a different EJ community around the U.S. each year, which has so far engaged Black Mesa, AZ; Detroit, MI; and Richmond, CA. In each community, the gathering highlights local struggles and success stories around climate change and related industries,

and develops a framework and narrative for a "just transition" from the dirty, dangerous, and disempowering status quo to a new and improved local economy. The overarching principles of the Our Power Campaign are rooted in the Climate Justice frame and are described as follows on the CJA website:

> The world is confronting two fundamentally interrelated crises today: economic and ecological. In the U.S. alone, over 17 million people are officially unemployed, and despite a recent measure of stability in the financial markets, economists across the political spectrum recognize that global capitalism is in a deep crisis. Meanwhile the most destructive impacts of climate change–such as extreme storms and the disappearance of water sources–are threatening communities world-wide (particularly Indigenous Peoples) who have the least responsibility for climate change and the least resources to adapt to and survive it.
>
> We believe that we can address the root causes of the climate crisis while creating meaningful work and livelihoods for a majority of the 17 million unemployed people in the US. This will require a radical transformation of the economy. AND communities are already beginning to implement real solutions to climate change that chart a path towards a more democratic, ecologically rooted economies. The Our Power Campaign will harness and amplify these community-led solutions while continuing to push for national leadership, especially in regions where "extreme energy" interests have disproportionately impacted communities as the crisis has continued to deepen.
>
> We see our work as part of a global struggle for Climate Justice. (CJA 2015a)

Figure 18. Rally during the CJA Our Power Campaign convening in Black Mesa, AZ (Black Mesa 2013)

As outlined throughout its materials, the CJA makes a particularly explicit effort to articulate what it is *for*, not just what it is *against*. The first convergence in Black Mesa in 2013 called for local, renewable energy generation owned and controlled by native peoples:

> Leading with a vision of Just Transition out of coal and into community-based solutions, the gathering will highlight and support the work of Black Mesa Water Coalition and the Navajo and Hopi people who seek to protect their sacred waters; transition away from the Navajo Generating Station (coal power plant) and towards renewable energy; and, re-build their local economy based on a combination of community solutions, from strengthening the traditional wool economy to community controlled solar projects. ("Black Mesa Convening" 2013)

Communicating solutions has always been a part of campaigns around CJ, EJ, and GJ, but in the case of the Our Power Campaign, it appears that the frame is squarely focused on the shift toward more sustainable, equitable, and democratic alternatives, and the community's own people power to make that shift happen. In this line of work, groups often find themselves on the defensive, reacting to adverse policies, proposals, or facilities that are already being constructed or in place (such as the KXL pipeline). CJA's solutions-oriented projects symbolize the growing power of the CJ movement to turn local EJ and GJ fights into proactive opportunities for demonstrating their vision and the true meaning of Climate Justice.

Five key barriers to collaboration

In 2013, the U.S. climate movement could be recognized as big, bold, and increasingly diverse, but also undeniably divided. The history of this social movement is filled with disagreement and disdain, with the more radical wing often defining its priorities in direct contrast to those of the more popular mainstream movement. This is evidenced by the famous "false solutions" narrative that CJ activists employed early on to combat the corporate-favored climate strategies that many mainstream groups agreed to support. Debates exist even within the separate movement wings, themselves, where CJ groups like Tar Sands Blockade and Climate Justice Alliance and CA groups like 350.org and Energy Action Coalition pursue distinct, but connected, paths. These historical trends of conflict and difference, such as those exposed in the 1990 EJ letter to the Group of Ten and those detailed in the 2010 grassroots CJ letter to 1Sky, expose the deeply rooted divide between various anti-pollution organizations that approach these issues from different angles and focus on different priorities. By examining these and other examples of explicit disagreement between intra-movement groups[4] and speaking with movement leaders about this divide, I noticed a clear pattern emerging. Through this research, I've identified five key historical barriers that have hindered collaboration between CA and CJ groups, which I've diagramed in the figure below: 1) discomfort and distrust, 2) rival leadership, 3) disproportionate funding, 4) divergent frames, and 5) differing strategies.

[4] Similar examples exist in other social movement contexts, as well, including the division between African American activists in the anti-nuclear peace movement, as documented by historian Vincent Intondi's latest book titled *African Americans Against the Bomb* (Intondi 2015). Intondi describes criticisms from Black activists pointed at the primarily white mainstream movement around narrow and shallow framing, disproportionate funding, connections to politicians, etc., which came to a head in organizing the famous 1982 nuclear freeze march of 1 million people in New York's Central Park.

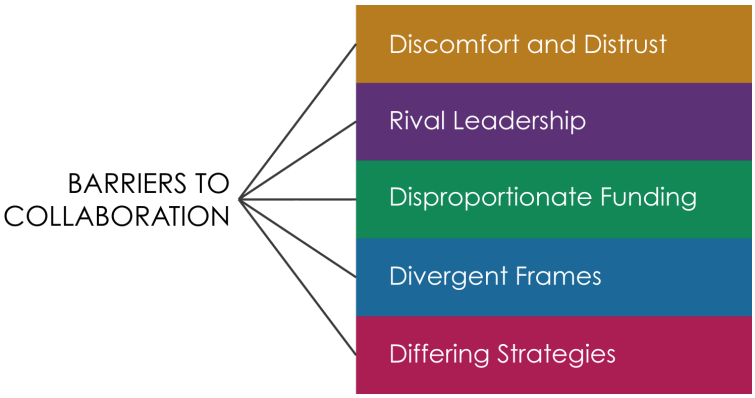

Figure 19. Historical barriers to collaboration between CA and CJ groups (devised and designed by the author)

While these barriers have certainly been discussed and addressed in past efforts, resulting in documents and agreements that outline certain best practices for working across the divide (see Appendix C), their persistent resurgence in the movement suggests that, even to this day, these barriers remain a major challenge for meaningful cross-group collaboration. It is from this divide, and the five barriers described above, specifically, that this thesis will frame the significance of the People's Climate March planning process.

2013 | Recent efforts to build movement cohesion

Rather than continue to struggle for change along their separate paths, leaders within these groups began to recognize the benefits that a more collaborative approach might bring. For the CA mainstream, collaboration with CJ could build political power by growing the size and diversity of the climate movement's base. For the CJ faction, collaboration with CA could build political power by amplifying their voices within the mainstream narrative and thwarting false climate solutions. Ultimately, advocates on both sides openly admitted that they "need each other to win" (as cited directly by many respondents). CA needed the people, energy, skills, and insights of frontline CJ groups. CJ needed the funding, resources, and reach/exposure of privileged CA groups. United, they served a chance to achieve their separate goals and truly build a movement of movements to tackle these interrelated issues all at once.

But collaboration is easier said than done, particularly between groups that have spent most of their existence in antagonistic opposition. The barriers to collaboration highlighted in the previous section represent an immense challenge to dismantle and overcome, deeply rooted in structural discrimination and rival ideology. Nevertheless, both CJ and CA groups recognized the strategic

benefits of doing so. As Angela Parks wrote in her 2009 piece about the importance of working with EJ communities to make the climate movement "Everybody's Movement,"

> If we fail to take risks, to overcome fears of engaging across difference, to acknowledge the history and address the barriers that have stood in the way of more effective collaboration across movements, history will hold us accountable for the legacy we leave behind in the climate our children and future generations will inherit. (Park 2009)

In 2013, they began engaging in a series of intentional discussions around just that task, asking each other, *What would it look like for us to work together? What structures and agreements would we need to do this in the least painful and most fruitful way? How can we acknowledge and respect our differences while working collaboratively toward common goals?*

The Building Equity and Alignment (BEA) Initiative, launched in 2013, was cited by several interview respondents as a highly valued effort to address funding discrepancies between mainstream and frontline groups, and thereby enable more fruitful collaborations between them. Additionally, the Extreme Energy Extraction Collaborative began hosting regular convergences in 2013 to bring a range of CA and CJ actors together to address the need for collective action and shared messaging around issues of natural gas fracking and mountaintop removal coal mining. The Catskill Mountain Keeper also began hosting a series of Common Ground meetings in 2013 as spaces for deep conversations and genuine relationship-building amongst the small group of movement leaders that attended. Finally, the 2013 Power Shift event, which had always been a space for CA and CJ to cross-pollinate within the youth climate movement, was held for the first time outside of D.C. in Pittsburg, PA, with an ever-clearer emphasis on frontline community leadership and intersectional movement-building.

These initiatives attacked the collaboration barriers at their source, getting movement groups together to confront their differences and collectively envision solutions around trust, leadership, funding, framing, and tactics. Yet, beyond these constructive conversations, groups needed concrete opportunities to put those ideas into practice and see how they worked in real-time under real pressures with real rewards. As if in direct response, the UNFCCC suddenly made an announcement in late 2013 about a rare international climate summit that would take place in NYC in fall 2014. Hence, planning a response to that summit (ultimately, the People's Climate March) became the "pilot project" for new movement collaboration.

People's Climate March: A chance to do things differently

When the NYC UNFCCC climate summit was announced, the stage was set for a "different kind of march" to take shape—one that wasn't dominated by mainstream actors and ideals, one that was inclusive of and led by frontline communities, and one that cultivated a genuine partnership between

these historically divided threads of the climate movement. The aforementioned bridge-building initiatives created an informal accountability system that ensured that the well-resourced groups couldn't "get away with" organizing an exclusive march. After all those intentional conversations on this very topic, such a move would not only breed more distrust amongst the groups and jeopardize what progress had been made, but it would also result in bad publicity that would undoubtedly hamper the mobilization response.

Consequently, it wasn't soon after the mainstream, well-resourced groups 350.org and Avaaz began conceptualizing the march that they reached out to local NYC EJ groups to collaborate. EJ groups hesitated and turned to their national partner network CJA for advice and potential support. CJA had also been thinking about a movement-scale response to the newly announced UNFCCC summit, and, after significant internal debate, agreed to join the 350-Avaaz partnership in a support role for its NYC member groups.

Not imagining the march to be the size and scope that it ultimately was, CJA and its local groups saw this merely as a chance to ensure that their narrative didn't get completely left out, and that, as local CJ organizers in a post-Hurricane Sandy NYC, they had a seat at the planning table to represent the interests of frontline communities in the city. But even when their aspirations for the march were small, it was clear that all of these groups truly needed one another to take full advantage of this political opportunity and have a meaningful impact by drawing from a wider base of resources, ideas, and members. And so it was that the initial PCM planning partnership was formed. Little did they know what historic journey lie ahead.

3. Planning the March: Forging a Framework for Collaboration

Introduction: Overcoming barriers

The countdown to the march had begun. The groups in partnership had less than nine months to plan and execute a people-powered response to the international UNFCCC gathering in NYC. And since these groups hadn't worked together in the past, this wasn't just a matter of working out the details. This required building a new collaborative framework that addressed the historical barriers that historically discouraged collaboration between these groups and was tailored to the needs of this particular context. Though wary and uncertain, they collectively took up the task. They faced the disagreements and disadvantages between them, put some of the collaboration strategies they had been discussing to the test, and achieved something that history could not have predicted: a climate march of historic proportions planned collaboratively by CJ and CA groups that lifted up the voices of frontline communities like never before.

No one thought it would be easy—and it wasn't. It was a constant struggle. Personal and organizational differences and tensions had to be tended to on a regular basis, and CJ groups, in particular, had to be persistent in advocating for their interests. But both sides were willing to engage in constructive struggle and stick it through, using this as an opportunity to whittle away at the barriers that had always stood between them and eventually enjoy the joint benefits of collaborative work.

This chapter is dedicated to explaining how each historical barrier was addressed during the march planning process. As shown in the diagram below, I've paired each barrier, introduced in 18 in Chapter 2, with a strategy that PCM organizers used to diminish that barrier, as I gathered from the results of my interviews. Collectively, these strategies makeup what I'm calling the "framework for collaboration" that helped undergird the march planning process.

This process is explored from the perspective of top-level organizers, most of whom are directors or lead organizers at their individual NGOs. Many, many more people had a hand in making this march possible, mobilizing for months on end in every corner of the country. However, this chapter, and this thesis overall, is focused on what happened within the core steering committee that was responsible for guiding the process and calling the final shots on planning decisions. In the final chapter of this thesis I will discuss how I think the experiences of members within this group can and should be relayed to those of other movement organizations that weren't involved at that level.

Figure 20. Framework for overcoming historical barriers to collaboration between CA and CJ groups, utilized by the People's Climate March Mobilization Support Team (devised and designed by the author)

Shared principles: Addressing discomfort and distrust

From the outset of planning the march, tensions were high. Well-resourced national groups with a tradition of building mass movements to lobby Washington, led primarily by white organizers, were attempting to collaborate with poorly-resourced local groups fighting for environmental justice in their communities, led primarily by organizers of color. The atmosphere was rife with discomfort and distrust. Following a history of marginalization within the mainstream climate movement and, for some EJ activists, memories of outright betrayal by mainstream environmental groups, CJ groups representing frontline communities of color were quick to lay out the conditions under which they would agree to co-organize the demonstration. They demanded non-token leadership roles, a more equitable distribution of funds, and a front-and-center Climate Justice analysis of climate change—in other words, a reversal of the trends of the past.

To set the stage for these conditions to be met, a local EJ leader proposed a set of ground rules very early on that would establish a democratic process with shared accountability for all groups involved. These ground rules are called *The Jemez Principles for Democratic Organizing*, formulated in 1996 by a diverse group of anti-globalization activists in Jemez, New Mexico. This one-page document assists groups in finding "common understandings between participants from different cultures, politics, and organizations" based their mutual commitment to the following set of principles:

1) *Be Inclusive*
2) *Emphasis on Bottom-Up Organizing*

3) *Let People Speak for Themselves*
4) *Work Together in Solidarity and Mutuality*
5) *Build Just Relationships Among Ourselves*
6) *Commitment to Self-Transformation* (SNEEJ 1996)

Everyone agreed to adhere to the *Jemez Principles* for the remainder of the planning process, which many respondents remarked was a critical asset that helped foster a successful collaboration between the various groups involved. Adopting the *Jemez Principles* provided a simple set of written statements that folks could point to, to remind themselves of the shared spirit of their partnership, and to hold each other accountable to the agreement they all made to stand by these ideals. While it certainly didn't erase all discomfort and divisive relations that existed between individuals and organizations, it did help build trust and understanding, and provided a certain level of protection and assurance for CJ groups that were worried about historical patterns being repeated. More broadly, it also served as a symbol of the growing power and leadership of CJ groups, as well as a growing collective awareness of the importance of frontline leadership and inclusive solidarity work within the climate movement.

Joint leadership: Addressing rival leadership

From the very earliest conversations, it was clear that CJ groups were not interested in the march unless they could play a meaningful role in making decisions to shape it. All too often in the past, the larger mainstream groups would set the agenda and then invite ally groups to sign on and attend. But CJ groups wanted to amplify a different kind of message, use a different set of organizing tactics, and mobilize a different constituency, so being in leadership from the beginning was imperative. Also, leadership from frontline community members is a central tenet of the CJ frame, something that CJ advocates believe is inherently important with any action within the movement.

In this case, planning the march got off to a good start by bringing CJ groups into the leadership circle before almost any decisions had been made (as described at the end of the last chapter). Yet it wasn't clear from the outset how final planning decisions would be made amongst those in leadership and who could be a part of that leadership team. As open meetings amongst various activists groups took off in NYC around the concept of a march and the number of interested groups continued to grow and get involved, it was decided that a Mobilization Support Team (MST) was needed as a representative steering committee to help manage what was becoming a massive and somewhat fragmented mobilization project. The MST would collectively contemplate political strategy and make top-level decisions that would inform the growing number of on-the-ground organizers in NYC and across the country.

This is another moment where mainstream groups could have taken the reins and relegated CJ groups to another role. However, honoring the *Jemez Principle* of inclusion and recognizing the need for the wisdom and organizing skills of the many threads of the movement, the MST was created as a representative body of lead organizers from both mainstream and CJ groups. The MST started with just the core group of organizations that were there from the start: 350.org, Avaaz, and CJA.

As time went on, and the march continued to gain steam and attention, more support was needed and more representatives were recruited to the MST. As it was described to me, "Big Green groups kept adding more representatives, so then we [CJ groups] continued adding more representatives," to maintain a relative balance of power and a prominent CJ voice within the decision-making body. What pleasantly surprised folks on both sides was the eventual recruitment of an organized labor representative: the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). Getting labor representatives on the leadership team was acknowledged as "key" by many respondents. Some other labor unions, like AFL-CIO, wouldn't join the march unless there was absolutely no mention of natural gas fracking or the Keystone XL tar sands pipeline, which are sources of jobs for their members. This promise was not only impossible given the interests of many climate activists that would be attending, but also against the moral convictions of lead organizers who saw these as important issues in the climate debate. On the other hand, SEIU workers in NYC felt the physical and financial strains of Super Storm Sandy and recognized that, as working class people and workers of color, they are on the frontlines of the climate crisis.

The final MST had representatives from 350.org, Avaaz, Sierra Club, CJA, UPROSE, New York Environmental Justice Alliance, Ironbound Community Corporation, SEIU local 32BJ, Oil Change International, ALIGN, the Blue/Green Alliance, and Green Faith, representing CA, CJ, labor/economic justice, interfaith, and online organizing. This became the intimate group of people that engaged in much of the struggle together around major decisions about the march. This is where strategies were hashed out and messaging was debated. This is where personal and organizational relationships were built. And this joint leadership team is what continued to really build the collaborative structure that will serve as a model for future collaborative efforts within the movement.

Figure 21. Service Employees International Union (SEIU) local 32BJ contingent at the People's Climate March (SEIU 2014)

Equitable funding: Addressing disproportionate funding

As per the norm, most of the money flowing into the march organizing process was directed toward the organizations that already had the greatest funding, staff capacity, and resources in general. This was not only an offensive continuation of inequitable foundation funding patterns, but it also defied the spirit of joint leadership and true collaboration that the group was intent on preserving. Additional funding meant additional staff, additional materials, additional time for directors and organizers to do quality work, and additional capacity to pursue even more funding. How were team members supposed to contribute equally, or even feel like equals around the planning table, when their funding was so out of balance? If they were all working toward the same goal on the same project together, then why wasn't funding being shared? As initiatives like BEA had demonstrated, it was time to tip the scales in the other direction. And the MST put this to the test.

CJ groups raised their concerns that funding for their *joint* planning effort was going to *individual* organizations, and that there needed to be a) more transparency around funding opportunities and b) a more equitable distribution of resources. The MST agreed that every representative be included on all funding-related emails and phone calls, to ensure that everyone was aware and everyone had a voice. Furthermore, resources were consciously shared amongst groups where needs arose. For example, mainstream groups helped pay for buses for EJ groups around the country that couldn't do so themselves. Additionally, there are some funders, like the

Chorus Foundation, that specifically encourage collaborative work around Climate Justice, which provided a number of grants to aid the collective march planning effort.

While these efforts by no means equalized the budgets of the organizations involved, they put a spotlight on the issue of disproportionate funding and provided an intentional step in the right direction.

Inclusive framing: Addressing divergent frames

As march planning proceeded, and as more groups became interested and involved in mobilizing their constituencies, the debate over framing became ever more pertinent. What was the theme of this march? What was the message that needed to be conveyed to world leaders at the UNFCCC meeting and to the public at-large? What were the causes of and solutions to climate change that should be lifted up by the march? As you might expect, the organizations involved couldn't agree on the answer to any one of these questions. As groups continued to prioritize their interests, experiences, and frames over others, it was clear that a single message or a single demand wouldn't be possible for the march and, arguably, wouldn't be desirable, either.

MST leadership struggled with this, with some people pushing for a single, clear, powerful demand that everyone at the march could stand behind, while others advocated a more open approach that emphasized the myriad demands of the hundreds of groups involved. They considered various statements, but each one inevitably alienated one group or another. "100% Clean Energy Now!" Well, what do you consider as "clean energy"? Nuclear power? Waste incinerators? Fracked natural gas? "World Leaders: Take Action on Climate!" Do you really trust world leaders to come up with the just solutions that we need? What about REDD? What about cap-and-trade? Since one goal of the march was massive turnout, and another was the inclusion of traditionally underrepresented voices, it was ultimately important to keep the doors open to any and all groups of people that want to participate.

So it was decided, after much debate, to stick with broad framing—the "big tent" approach—and the messaging and staging of the march followed this principle. The name itself, while intentionally reflective of Climate Justice protests led by poor and indigenous peoples movements at other international UNFCCC meetings in the past, said it all: "*People's* Climate March." The main slogan really captured this, as well: "To Change Everything, We Need *Everyone*." This left it open for literally *everyone* to feel welcome and invited. And, just to be sure that everyone knew they had a

place in the event, spaces were designated in the march to give people of different interests and identities a physical place to go (see lineup graphic below).

Figure 22. Pre-arranged lineup for the People's Climate March with sections for different climate ally groups, designed to "[tell] the story of the today's climate movement" ("The Lineup and Narrative for the People's Climate March" 2014)

This was more than just a clever mobilization tool for turning out as many bodies as possible (though it was certainly useful in that respect). By making explicit the fact that indigenous peoples, working people, students, environmentalists, anti-capitalists, peace activists, clergy, and scientists were marching in the same march, and by narrating their separate but integral roles in the climate movement, the lineup emphasized and established solidarity as a *principle* for the movement. As noted on the PCM website, many respondents remarked that the lineup "told the story of the climate movement," of the many autonomous but networked actors that are pushing it forward from different angles using different skills, raising various issues and ushering a range of solutions (similar to Bill McKibben's conception of the "Fossil Fuel Resistance" (McKibben 2013)). And at the front: none other than those that have been on the frontlines of the climate crisis and fossil fuel industry abuse all along—those that know all too well what the problems are, and, therefore, what

the solutions can look like. It really brought to life the true breadth and depth of the many analyses within the climate movement.

After the march, much criticism was focused on the lack of a single powerful message—a demand for UNFCCC leaders to hear and for march participants to hold them accountable to heed. But the truth is that the march *didn't* lack a powerful demand. It just had more than one, and they were brought forth by The People, themselves, not some committee at the "head" of the PCM. As one example, Avaaz, one of the MST representatives and lead online organizers for the march, conducted an online petition for "100% Clean Energy Now," signed by 2 million people, which was presented to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon on the day of the march. While not endorsed by the PCM, as a whole, this was a clear and convincing demand that the march helped amplify.

Figure 23. Avaaz Executive Director Ricken Patel presenting the results of an online petition for "100% Clean Energy" to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon at the People's Climate March (Avaaz 2014)

In the end, the inclusive march messaging and lineup reflected the goals of both mainstream groups and CJ groups: to grow the base of the climate movement in both numbers and diversity, and to lift up social justice framing as a set of values and perspectives of growing importance in the climate movement. Had a narrow frame and a single political demand been pursued, it's likely that the leadership team would have disbanded and the march would have looked much different than it did. By agreeing on a big tent approach, it allowed MST leadership, and march organizers overall, to

continue working together on common goals and also planted seeds of solidarity that began to open hearts and minds to different ways of understanding the climate crisis.

Diverse tactics: Addressing differing strategies

Each organization in the MST had their own approach to mobilizing their constituents—the approach they were seasoned at doing and that their members were familiar with. Some were experts in online and tech organizing; others in transformative grassroots organizing; others in campaign-based volunteer organizing; and others, still, in helping to facilitate self-organizing, networked "hubs." And when it came to mobilizing for the PCM, the combination of these different approaches produced the intended effect: a massive convergence of all sorts of individuals, responding to all sorts of calls to action for all sorts of reasons. The NYC Occupy-inspired "hub" model, in particular, provided an illustration of the wide reach of the mobilization effort. Under this model, individuals could go online and create a "hub" webpage and email address for people of similar interests and identities to connect with each other, prepare for the march, share ideas and inspiration, and build their base (see the range of "hubs" that were ultimately created in the graphic below).

Alaska • The Arctic • Arts • Beekeepers • Bike Bloc • Biodiversity • The Bronx • Bronx Climate Justice • Brooklyn Boston • Buddhists • California • Call Support • Canada • **Anti-Capitalism** • Central Pennsylvania Central USA: KS MO OK NE • Challenge Corporate Power • Climate Convergence • Climate Literacy Communications • Connecticut • DC Metro Area • The Deep South • Delaware • Direct Action Support Divestment • **Environmental Justice and Frontline Communities** • Elders for Future Generations • Faith Families, Parents, Teachers • Food Justice • Fossil Free • Fracking • Free Palestine Grad Students for Climate Justice • Graphic Design: Rapid Response • Government and Politics Great March for Climate Action • Historic Preservation / Heritage • Housing and Displacement Hudson Valley • **Hurricane Sandy Affected Areas** • Illinois • Immigrant Communities • **Indigenous Peoples Labor** • Long Island • Maine • Manhattan • Maryland • Mass Incarceration • Michigan • New Jersey New York North Adirondacks • No Nuclear Weapons • Nuclear-free, carbon-free • Ohio • Oregon • Pagans Peace & Justice • People's Climate Train • **People of Color** • Performers, singers, and musicians • Philadelphia Phoenix • Photographers • Pittsburgh • Progressive Dems • Public Health • Queens • Quakers Queers for the Climate • Red Hook • Renewable energy and climate solutions • Revolution Solution Rhode Island • **Sacrifice Zones/Mountain Top Removal** • Salt Lake City • Schools • Science and Scientists Seattle • Skaters • Staten Island • Storytellers • Tar Sands Bloc • Techies for Climate Justice • Vegans • Vermont Veterans Climate Action • Videographers • Virginia Westchester County • Western New York • Women Women Elders • Western Massachusetts • **White Anti-Racist Activists** • Workers • Yoga and Spirituality • **Youth**

Figure 24. List of the online organizing hubs facilitated by the People's Climate March website, based on common skills, interest, identity, or geographic region ("How to Stay Involved" 2015) (designed by the author)

Rather than insisting on the "best" methods, the MST embraced all mobilizing traditions, which one respondent said was probably the most important factor for why the PCM turned out to be the smashing success that it was. Nevertheless, groups did not refrain from constructive criticism of

one another's approaches, and holding each other accountable to the core principles on which they were operating. In one of the clearest examples of this, CJ groups quickly became worried when CA began "parachuting in" white outsiders to do on-the-ground mobilizing in NYC neighborhoods of color. This work was best suited for organizers that knew those neighborhoods and residents best—people that were *from* those neighborhoods and were already doing organizing work in those places. From a strategic standpoint, this would be most effective, and from a principled standpoint, this was the right thing to do. I don't believe this was ever fully resolved, because the larger organizations simply had so much more capacity to pay organizers and locate them around the city and around the country, but it was definitely a topic of debate amongst MST leadership, and local organizers were eventually given more priority support.

While various organizing tactics were used to mobilize people for the march, a wide range of activities were also planned to occur around the same time as the march, to attract and provide spaces for those that might prefer other activist venues. First, as is tradition at most UNFCCC gatherings, an alternative "People's Climate Justice Summit" was held across the street from the actual "2014 UN Climate Summit" during the two days following the march. The alternative summit was organized by CJA and hosted a number of frontline leaders from around the world, sharing strategies for climate "resiliency and resistance" ("People's Climate Justice Summit" 2015).

Figure 25. Climate Justice representatives bringing sunflowers to the UN Climate Summit two days after the People's Climate March ("People's Climate Justice Summit" 2015)

Additionally, local Occupy Wall Street veterans organized a "Flood Wall Street" protest the day following the march. The event was in response to a call put out by CJA for a post-march action, and gave activists with a more anti-capitalist analysis of the climate crisis the chance to put a spotlight on Wall Street's role in fueling climate injustice. This eight-hour blockade of the intersection of Wall St. and Broadway in NYC was attended by thousands of people and resulted in over one hundred arrests for nonviolent acts of civil disobedience ("#FloodWallStreet" 2015).

Figure 26. Flood Wall Street protest the day after the People's Climate March, targeting capitalism as a root cause of climate change (Pantsios 2014)

The march also coincided with the release of Naomi Klein's latest book, titled *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. The Climate*. She gave a public talk in NYC, joined by the 350's Bill McKibben and Michael Guerrero (national coordinator for CJA), just days before the march for those interested in learning about the documented ties between climate change and capitalism.

Last, but certainly not least, 2,646 solidarity events took place in 162 countries around the globe during the same weekend as the march—what was known, more broadly, as the "People's Climate *Mobilization*." Known for regularly coordinating "international days of action," as described earlier in this thesis, 350.org worked with its partners around the world to make the global and markedly unjust nature of the climate crisis visible to world leaders, and to give communities around the world the chance to be a part of making history with the People's Climate March.

Figure 27. Map of the solidarity events that took place around the world during the same weekend as the People's Climate March, primarily organized by 350.org (PCM 2014)

Needless to say, the MST used a wide range of tactics to get people to the march and involved in related activities that suited their fancy. While the march itself dominated much of the spotlight as the cornerstone event of that weekend, these other events helped demonstrate the diversity of narratives and approaches within the climate movement. Most importantly, by deliberately connecting these events all together, each with unique but coordinated messaging and each involving a number of MST representatives, the leadership team proved, once again, that solidarity was a priority in the movement—that, in standing by one another, despite differences and disagreements, you can both learn from each other and lift each other up.

4. Lasting impacts of the planning partnership

Introduction: A turning point in the movement

The march—a collaborative experiment between unlikely allies—*worked*. First, the march was enormous, frontline communities were in the lead, and thus the primary goals of the major organizations involved were met. But the "success" of the march goes far beyond the facts and figures of the day of the event itself. It was the hard work of core organizers during the nine months preceding the march that reveals the true success story of the march. Their work provided a tangible example of a successful collaborative project between historically divided CA and CJ groups, while simultaneously producing ideas, tools, and relationships for doing more of this kind of collaborative work the future.

In this sense, the march was not just a single moment in time that symbolized the growing size of the climate movement and the growing power of the CJ community. It was also a historic *turning point* for the movement, symbolizing a *breakthrough* in bridging the gap between historically isolated groups and bringing the CJ narrative into the mainstream messaging scheme. And this was facilitated by the constructive struggle that MST organizers engaged in, facing the historical barriers to collaboration between their organizations and devising solutions that addressed funding, leadership, and framing imbalances and provided a more just and democratic collaboration structure.

In Chapter 5 I discuss how I hope this legacy can live on in the climate movement. Here, on the other hand, I'd like to highlight three specific outcomes of the planning partnership that represent significant lasting impacts of this shared work: personal relationships, organizational culture shifts, and continued engagement.

Personal relationships

I'll start with the personal relationships that were developed as a result of the MST organizing process, because of the critical role they can play in sustaining this work moving forward. Several respondents remarked on the importance of the relationships that were built within the MST during the march organizing process. They claimed that the organizers involved now know each other well, feel comfortable calling each other up on the phone, and have built a certain level of trust with one another. After spending time working together on a common project, rather than disputing organizational ideologies from afar, they now see each other as *colleagues* (not just as oppositional leaders that keep bumping into each other in the climate movement space).

This new collegial relationship means people feel more comfortable both in working together on more collaborative projects *and* in holding each other accountable for their actions. As one respondent noted, "Big environmental organizations, if they do something that's a little off right now, through things like the BEA Initiative and these other things, they [CJ leaders] actually know folks now…people can grab the ED of a Big Green in the hallway right now and say 'Hey, what are you doing? Y'all did this thing and it's kinda messed up…[or] sometimes it's like 'Hey, awesome job, you did that thing, it was really great'. But just that people have *access*." This kind of open and honest communication will be extremely useful as groups continue to grapple with how to tackle the climate challenges ahead and how to do so *together*.

Of course, working under their collaborative agreements in the MST, which emphasized respect and equity, helped immensely with garnering these relationships. This kind of working environment created a relatively safe space for people to share ideas with each other, debate with each other, laugh and cry with each other, and carry out their work in a transparent manner that everyone felt accountable to. By struggling with each other and bringing their full selves into those roles, they learned and grew together, and developed lasting relationships in this way. As one respondent said, "that's what happens when you build with each other."

Even though the MST was just a small group of top-level staff in a handful of major organizations, I would argue that the relationships between these few people are extremely important for the future of the movement. Because of their influential positions in these organizations and in the movement community as a whole, their personal relationships with each other are likely to help keep the different threads of the movement connected; facilitate decisions for new national-scale collaborative projects; and inspire trust, respect, and working relationships between other movement actors, as well. Maintaining relationships is hard, particularly amidst busy schedules, but, so far, it appears that the work that MST members did together has given them a sense of mutual trust and accountability that won't fade anytime soon.

Organizational culture shifts

Another shockwave from the march planning effort has been actual culture shifts within organizations towards more CJ- and solidarity-oriented thinking. The most often cited shifts were those within mainstream organizations that have started using more CJ-centered frames and principles since being involved in the MST planning effort. Specifically, a number of people noted their belief that big organizations like 350.org and Sierra Club "are really beginning to change." If their staffers didn't know about CJ before the MST, they sure knew about it afterward, and if they

already knew about it, the MST process only reinforced their understanding of its meaning and significance. MST organizers were now going back to their separate groups and ensuring that CJ ideas were a part of conversations on messaging, leadership, funding, and organizing.

Most of this appears to be happening on a staff-person-by-staff-person basis, but as the ideas catch on throughout the organization, folks believe that the organizations, themselves, will really begin to internalize them and change the way that they carry out their work. For example, it was noted that some MST representatives have brought the Jemez Principles back to their group's Board of Directors to consider integrating into their organizational ideology. As another related example, when the #BlackLivesMatter protests heated up in fall 2014 after the march, the president of Sierra Club, the nation's oldest environmental organization with a mostly white and middle-class base, wrote a prominent blog post expressing solidarity with those young Black men being targeted by police, and with communities of color, as a whole (Brune 2014). This was unprecedented in Sierra Club's history, and while it cannot be linked to the march organizing experience, directly, this happened after Sierra Club had just finished working with EJ/CJ organizers of color to co-plan the climate movement's most diverse demonstration in history. So I think it's safe to wager that the march planning process, and the people and principles that were a part of it, helped foster an environment in which expressions of solidarity like this are more commonplace and more real.

Sustained engagement

Finally, as a critical lasting effect of the march planning process, the MST groups have continued meeting. The question of whether or not the partnership would carry on after the march was a common one posed by those that weren't involved in the organizing. And, at least for now, I'm happy to report that the answer is "yes." Not wanting to lose the momentum from the march, and from the months of teamwork that went into planning the march, the groups had always planned to stay in touch and follow-up when the march was over, and they've kept that promise. This group of people that was originally brought together to plan a giant climate march now has a common experience to reflect on together, a common language of tools and principles to call on together, and a common motivation to continue working together to produce more great outcomes in the future.

In addition to regular conference calls, the group got together for a two-day retreat in D.C. in February of this year. In the "big tent" spirit of the march, MST members brought along other allies to join the conversation on the climate movement, as well. For example, one respondent mentioned bringing colleagues from an immigrant rights organization. Discussions at the retreat revolved around lessons learned from the march planning process and what next steps for the group might

look like. A number of important climate-related events on the horizon were discussed, such as the next major UNFCCC COP in Paris in December of this year and the rollout of Obama's Clean Power Plan in every state across the U.S. Besides these particular events and campaigns, however, attendees considered the ways in which they could continue to support each other in their existing work and continue to make waves in the movement, more broadly, that continue to lift up the CJ narrative and really bring people together. Unfortunately, I wasn't able to learn about the details of these conversations. But their taking place in the wake of the march reflects that the ripple effects from the march planning process are still being felt, and by wider and wider circles within the movement.

Regardless of whatever tangible outcomes result from these meetings and conference calls, the fact that these groups are connecting like this is, on its own, historic, adding to the energy and intention of recent bridging efforts like the BEA Initiative (as described in Chapter 2). As another respondent said, "it's incredible to see these groups meeting and talking to one another on a regular basis—if you look back just four years ago, none of this was happening at all."

5. The Road Ahead: Collective Struggle for Collective Progress

Introduction: Sustaining, expanding, and improving collaboration

The unique character of the PCM arose out of a mutual interest to overcome historical antagonism and inequity between CA and CJ camps in order to build a more just and powerful climate movement. This kind of transformation required new ways of relating to each other, new ways of working together, and new ways of publically portraying the vision and voices of the movement. In other words, it required constructing new relationships, processes, and results (RPR) that satisfied collaborative goals (IISC 2014). As the last chapter described, this is precisely what the PCM MST achieved, producing new professional connections, inclusive collaborative frameworks, and a unique march that symbolized a growing and increasingly justice-centered movement.

The movement now has an opportunity to build on those successes and carry that collaborative spirit forward. In this chapter, I present recommendations for sustaining, expanding, and improving collaboration within the climate movement on the road ahead.

Use and improve the PCM collaborative framework

The benefits of collaboration never supersede the challenges that come with that work. The historical barriers that have hindered and in many cases *prevented* collaboration between CA and CJ groups (including mistrust, rival leadership, disproportionate funding, divergent framing, and differing strategies) won't disappear anytime soon. As these groups pursue more collaborative projects in the future, these barriers will continue to require patient attention and thoughtful deconstruction.

The PCM framework provided one example of how these barriers can be addressed through shared principles, joint leadership, equitable funding, inclusive framing, and diverse tactics. This framework was generated through CJ actors' persistent demands and through everyone's willingness to listen to one another and envision workable solutions. Future collaborative efforts will have to undergo a similar process, confronting historical barriers, listening, learning, and inventing solutions that everyone can agree to. This process not only produces a common set of expectations to guide the work at hand, but also offers an opportunity to share knowledge, challenge worldviews, build relationships, and, in some cases, change the ethos of an organization – effects that often last beyond the life of the project itself.

CA and CJ groups have big plans for the future as they escalate their campaigns to match the escalating challenge of the climate crisis. As they continue to embark upon new collaborative opportunities to support that work, they will inevitably encounter new points of conflict and struggle. For example, not every project will be a march or a rally, where you can welcome a variety of groups under a "big tent." Some will be policy campaigns in which different groups will have no choice but to take different positions. But as each of these new points of disagreement arise, an opportunity opens up for dialogue and discovery around new ways to express solidarity and new ways to effectively collaborate. As stated in the *Jemez Principles for Democratic Organizing*, "It may involve conflict, but through this conflict we can learn better ways of working together" (SNEEJ 1996).

While it is clear that these opportunities should be embraced and leveraged for their potential to advance relationships and collective wisdom and strategy, this is not such an easy task. Yet, within the collaborative framework, itself, are tools for aiding this effort. By establishing equitable values, leadership, and funding upfront, it allows the groups to come into a new point of conflict through a common, agreed upon framework in which everyone feels valued and the "baggage" of the other existing barriers aren't adding their weight.

The collaborative framework formulated by the PCM MST provides a template that other climate groups can gain inspiration from regarding which elements should be included in future collaborative frameworks and how those solutions should be constructed, debated, and decided upon by the parties involved.

Share the PCM collaborative framework widely

The PCM MST collaborative experience was only shared between the national movement leaders and high-level march organizers on the MST. In fact, many of the interviewees that were not on the MST noted that they knew nothing of the CA-CJ partnership in the MST and that they didn't see the march as a CA-CJ bridging event of any sort. As leaders of local- or state-based CA or CJ organizations, those interviewees didn't really see the march as having a big impact on their work. While some mentioned ideas or attempts at making connections with other local organizations across the CA-CJ divide before or after the march, most didn't see much potential in those connections bearing fruit, still unsure of how to effectively collaborate in the face of the barriers outlined in this paper. In contrast, MST members spoke of their partnership as a truly revolutionary undertaking with a lot of eye-opening lessons for folks on all sides and lasting relationships that will continue to bear fruitful partnerships in the future. However, even *they* admitted that much of their experience

and even the core principles that guided their efforts might not have been effectively disseminated to most march attendees.

This gap between the impressions and hopes of national and local movement leaders and participants presents an opportunity for broad-based learning. MST members should share the lessons from their unique collaborative experience with other local organizers and movement actors to spread the potential for building solidarity and growing the movement. Sharing the models and tools, and even articulating the rationale for collaboration, could prove highly valuable to climate movement actors across the U.S., particularly those that are looking to build collaborative bridges but don't know where to start or are finding it difficult when they try. This could come in the form of a written report about lessons learned from the MST collaboration, which could be posted online and emailed to all of the participating organizations at the march. It could also come in the form of a social media campaign, creatively promoting more equitable leadership or funding amongst different climate organizations to advance collaborative goals. Finally, it could also come in the form of workshops run by MST members, themselves, sharing their experience with others and collectively brainstorming ways that other groups can find the same (or greater) success through collaborative efforts.

The personal relationships between MST members could also prove useful in advancing more CA-CJ partnerships across the U.S., helping establish trust between groups that have, purposefully or not, historically avoided each other. Firstly, by making these MST relationships known and visible, it could inspire others in the movement to imagine and pursue similar partnerships. Secondly, national CA and CJ leaders from the MST could introduce local CA and CJ leaders to one another, directly facilitating the development of new partnerships. Again, this could take the form of online or in-person interactions between MST members and others in the climate movement.

Taking the time to stop and reflect on a completed project, let alone share lessons learned with folks outside of the project team, is hard to do in the fast-paced world of non-profit-driven social change work. Yet, if the experiences of MST members—the good and the bad—don't leave their circle, then there's little hope for the historic turning point that *was* the MST to be extended and expanded for the transformation that many are hoping to see in the movement. One MST member is currently working on writing up the story of the march planning process and highlighting what worked and what didn't work. Once that document is complete, I hope it reaches movement actors far and wide to give them the inspiration and ammo they need to carry the PCM successes forward.

Keep striving for justice

The MST partnership was both revolutionary and successful because it put the historical inequities between CA and CJ groups front-and-center for interrogation. Through persistent CJ leadership and the willingness of all involved, they developed working solutions that lifted up the voices of traditionally marginalized populations in the climate movement and in society, in general. However, although the PCM was a historic turning point in this respect, there is still much work to be done to create an even playing field for genuine shared partnerships in the future. Until frontline community groups receive more funding, more decision-making authority, and more respect and legitimacy for their tactics and framing at levels that rival that of the mainstream groups, these inequities will continue to deepen the divide between these two camps, making collaboration ever more difficult.

Like the PCM MST, and to an even greater degree than that, climate movement work in the future needs to *explicitly* address these extreme inequities between mainstream and marginalized groups and *explicitly* lift up CJ organizations and their people, analyses, struggles, and important on-the-ground work. Having equal representation around a project planning table isn't enough. Embracing the CJ frame will require privileging the voices and leadership of those on the frontlines of the climate crisis. This is not only morally right but also strategically wise: those bearing the brunt of climate impacts and polluter industries *deserve* to be genuinely heard and, from their intimate experience with the problems, often know better than anyone what the solutions must look like. CJ groups in the MST made this clear, and through shared work they were able to achieve the amplification of marginalized perspectives on a primarily mainstream stage at the PCM.

Everyone has a role to play in supporting this work, both inside and outside collaborative projects like the PCM. From inserting CJ talking points into daily conversations in the climate movement workspace to changing funding priorities within key climate foundations, these intentional acts of legitimizing the voices and efforts of frontline communities could literally shift what the now "mainstream" climate movement looks like and stands for. This supports the collaborative goals of both CA and CJ groups, of lifting up the CJ narrative and building a broader base for the movement, as a whole. And beyond these goals, it shifts the movement closer to what many interviewees saw as a longer-term objective: a movement-wide convergence around a more unified and justice-centered CA-CJ platform.

Conclusions: Building solidarity and growing a movement

The partnership behind the People's Climate March was remarkable, but it was just a snapshot of greater shifts that are beginning to emerge throughout the climate movement. Facilitating these shifts will require careful and tireless work by both CA and CJ actors in building collaborative frameworks, sharing those frameworks widely, and constantly striving for just process and outcomes in all of their work, as described in this chapter. This will undoubtedly be a struggle, and represents only the tip of a larger struggle for much deeper social transformation toward mutual love and genuine solidarity amongst all human beings—a struggle that has long been a focus within movements for social justice. But, as Frederick Douglass famously said, "If there is no struggle, there is no progress," and struggle we must to carefully dismantle difficult and uncomfortable historical barriers and make progress together.

The PCM MST provided an example of active struggle through shared work leading to greater solidarity and even movement building. The task now lies with MST members to keep this momentum going, expand the reach of collaborative potential, and learn from lessons along the way to foster constructive struggle and constructive progress for the climate movement going forward. The PCM was so much more than just a march—it was a testing grounds for new partnerships, a storyboard for a new narrative, and a snapshot of both what the climate movement is and what it has the potential to be. For Naomi Klein, looking back on the climate movement's history, it was the unique collaboration that made the PCM special and made it a model for where the movement should head next:

> There were a few big marches in Copenhagen, but it felt like only professional activists were there. This was called "The People's Climate March," and it felt like a people's march. It didn't just feel like activists and NGOs. It felt like communities, and that was because of a really remarkable, often painful, coalition that was built….The march was a glimpse of the movement we need. (van Gelder 2014)

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview protocols

Interview questions for People's Climate March *organizers*

1. Context-Setting
    a. How long have you been involved in community organizing work?
    b. What are the primary issue areas that you have worked on?
    c. What social movements would you say you are a part of?
2. Climate Justice Frame
    a. How would you define "Climate Justice"?
    b. How is Climate Justice different than and/or the same as Environmental Justice? How is it different than and/or the same as Climate Action?
    c. When did you first hear the term Climate Justice?
        i. Do you remember it being defined any differently than what you just described?
        ii. Did you consider your activism part of the Climate Justice effort at that time? And do you now?
    d. How do you think the Climate Justice frame and narrative have changed over time?
        i. Then and now: Which groups are using the phrase? How are they framing it? Has there been a convergence or divergence over the interpretation? Has there been a rise or decline in its popularity?
        ii. Who is actually creating/molding the Climate Justice frame?
    e. Do you think there is currently a Climate Justice *movement* in the U.S.?
        i. What social movement threads are feeding into it?
        ii. What are the demographics of this movement?
        iii. What are the movement's central critiques of the status quo, suggested solutions, and motivations for mobilizing? What is the movement calling for? What is it pointing to in terms of the problems and solutions associated with climate change?
        iv. Do you think the movement is growing? And is the movement diversifying? If so, what is it about the movement's frame that you think is really resonating with increasing numbers of people?
3. People's Climate March
    a. What role did you play in helping organize the People's Climate March?
        i. How did you get recruited/involved in the March's organizing team?
    b. Who conceived of the People's Climate March?
        i. When/how did the ensuing partnerships form?
        ii. What were the motivations for groups to get involved? How did these motivations differ between EJ groups and mainstream environmental groups?
    c. How were groups able to work together, despite differences in ideologies and backgrounds?
    d. In what ways do you think the March embodied the principles of Climate Justice, in terms of *how* it was planned, *who* attended, and *what* messaging was emphasized?
        i. How was this different than previous marches (such as Forward on Climate)?
        ii. Why do you think the March happened as it did, at this time and place and in this way?
        iii. Do you think the Climate Justice framing, discourse, and organizing in the decades leading up to the March influenced the way the March was planned and executed?

        iv. Do you think the CJ narrative got out to the rest of the crowd and the media (not just those in leadership/organizing positions)?
    e. Was there an intentional effort to increase involvement from traditionally marginalized, frontline, environmental justice communities?
        i. What strategies did organizers use to involve and recruit more traditionally marginalized groups? What was the dialogue like amongst organizers on this effort?
        ii. Do you think the Climate Justice narrative played a role in helping organizers recruit people (especially from low-income, working class communities and communities of color) to join the march? (think: marketing messages such as "To change everything, we need everyone" and "Frontlines of crisis, forefront of change")
    f. Why was it decided to organize the march into different sections for different groups of people?
        i. How did the march lineup help tell the Climate Justice story/narrative?
        ii. How was it decided that frontline people of color and indigenous peoples would assume the *front* of the March?
        iii. How do you think the intentional lineup influenced the size and diversity of the march?
        iv. What were the pros and cons of separating people into different sections (rather than having them all mix, mingle, and march together)?
    g. What were your own goals for what the march would accomplish? What do you think the march *did* accomplish?
4. Cross-Movement Solidarity and Collaboration
    a. What does "solidarity" mean to you?
    b. What are the opportunities for collaboration and/or solidarity work between environmental organizations working on climate change and environmental justice organizations?
        i. What are the primary challenges that these groups face in doing more collaborative work together?
    c. Do you think that the Climate Justice frame can act as a bridge between these historically separated social movements to allow for more collaborative work around climate change?
        i. Is it important or necessary for these groups to share a common frame/platform (like Climate Justice) in order to successfully work together?
    d. Do you think there's truly a *transformation* taking place within the climate movement, like the advertising for the People's Climate March suggests (e.g. "today's climate movement is not the same as decades passed")? Is the movement becoming more diverse and inclusive? Is the narrative shifting toward a greater focus on social justice?
        i. What do you see as the pros and cons of having a more integrated and holistic social movement for Climate Justice, as opposed to separate streams of climate activism?
    e. Do you think framing is important?
        i. Can the process of framing/re-framing around Climate Justice help bring groups together to recognize the importance and intersection of different issues and build a more united movement for true Climate Justice?
        ii. Or is this a frivolous process? Are the existing frames too hard to change? Do groups need to learn to work together and build solidarity *across different* frames?
5. Closing

a. How do you think the diversity achieved at the People's Climate March and its focus on EJ communities will influence how groups across the spectrum do their work *after* the March?

Interview questions for People's Climate March *participants* and other movement actors

1. Context-Setting
    a. How long have you been involved in activism?
    b. What are the primary issue areas that you have been active on?
    c. What social movements would you say you are a part of?
2. Climate Justice Frame
    a. How would you define "Climate Justice"?
    b. How is Climate Justice different than and/or the same as Environmental Justice? How is it different than and/or the same as Climate Action?
    c. When did you first hear the term Climate Justice?
        i. Do you remember it being defined any differently than what you just described?
        ii. Did you consider your activism part of the Climate Justice effort at that time? And do you now?
    d. How do you think the Climate Justice frame and narrative have changed over time?
        i. Then and now: Which groups are using the phrase? How are they framing it? Has there been a convergence or divergence over the interpretation? Has there been a rise or decline in its popularity?
        ii. Who is actually creating/molding the Climate Justice frame?
    e. Do you think there is currently a Climate Justice *movement* in the U.S.?
        i. What social movement threads are feeding into it?
        ii. What are the demographics of this movement?
        iii. What are the movement's central critiques of the status quo, suggested solutions, and motivations for mobilizing? What is the movement calling for? What is it pointing to in terms of the problems and solutions associated with climate change?
        iv. Do you think the movement is growing? And is the movement diversifying? If so, what is it about the movement's frame that you think is really resonating with increasing numbers of people?
3. Attending the People's Climate March
    a. Did you attend the People's Climate March? If so, who did you travel with and why did you decide to attend?
        i. What were you hoping to get out of the March, personally, and what were your hopes for what the March could accomplish, on a broader scale?
        ii. Were a lot of your friends and colleagues going?
    b. Was the March what you thought it would be?
        i. What pleasantly surprised you? What disappointed you?
    c. Do you think the March had a central message or theme?
        i. If so, what was it? If not, what were some of the core messages it encompassed?
        ii. Do you see the [one/various] message(s) as a strength or a weakness of the March in terms of mobilizing people and achieving political objectives?
    d. Do you think the March was reflective of Climate Justice principles?
        i. If so, in what ways (in terms of *how* it was planned, *who* attended, *what* messaging was emphasized, etc.)?
        ii. Do you think Climate Justice framing and discourse in the decades leading up to the March influenced the way the March was planned and executed?
    e. What did you think about having people from frontline communities, mostly communities of color and indigenous communities, located at the front of the March?
        i. Have you seen this, or anything similar to it, at other climate change demonstrations you've attended?

        ii. If so, what were those events (and when/where did they take place)? If not, why do you think this is the first time we're seeing this at a major climate demonstration?
    f. Do you think the People's Climate March was special in any way(s)?
        i. If so, what do you think was accomplished by this unique gathering?
4. Cross-Movement Solidarity and Collaboration
    a. What does "solidarity" mean to you?
    b. Why do you think so many different groups, with so many different interests from so many different backgrounds, were compelled to come together for the March?
        i. Do you think the marketing made a difference? (e.g. "To Change Everything, We Need Everyone", lineup with different sections, emphasis on social justice, etc.)
    c. In particular, why do you think EJ groups partnered with mainstream environmental groups to plan and carry out this march, with their long history of tension and disagreement?
        i. What do you see as the challenges and opportunities for more cross-movement solidarity and collaboration between these two movements?
    d. Do you think that the Climate Justice frame can act as a bridge between these historically separated social movements to allow for more collaborative work around climate change?
        i. Is it important or necessary for these groups to share a common frame/platform (like Climate Justice) in order to successfully work together?
    e. Do you think there's truly a *transformation* taking place within the climate movement, like the advertising for the People's Climate March suggests (e.g. "today's climate movement is not the same as decades passed")? Is the movement becoming more diverse and inclusive? Is the narrative shifting toward a greater focus on social justice?
        i. What do you see as the pros and cons of having a more integrated and holistic social movement for Climate Justice, as opposed to separate streams of climate activism?
5. Closing
    a. How do you think the diversity achieved at the People's Climate March and its focus on EJ communities will influence how groups across the spectrum do their work *after* the March?

Appendix B: Historical EJ and CJ Principles

The Principles of Environmental Justice (1991)

Developed at the first National People of Color Environmental Justice Leadership Summit

WE, THE PEOPLE OF COLOR, gathered together at this multinational People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, to begin to build a national and international movement of all peoples of color to fight the destruction and taking of our lands and communities, do hereby re-establish our spiritual interdependence to the sacredness of our Mother Earth; to respect and celebrate each of our cultures, languages and beliefs about the natural world and our roles in healing ourselves; to insure environmental justice; to promote economic alternatives which would contribute to the development of environmentally safe livelihoods; and, to secure our political, economic and cultural liberation that has been denied for over 500 years of colonization and oppression, resulting in the poisoning of our communities and land and the genocide of our peoples, do affirm and adopt these Principles of Environmental Justice:

1) **Environmental Justice** affirms the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, and the right to be free from ecological destruction.

2) **Environmental Justice** demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all peoples, free from any form of discrimination or bias.

3) **Environmental Justice** mandates the right to ethical, balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for humans and other living things.

4) **Environmental Justice** calls for universal protection from nuclear testing, extraction, production and disposal of toxic/hazardous wastes and poisons and nuclear testing that threaten the fundamental right to clean air, land, water, and food.

5) **Environmental Justice** affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination of all peoples.

6) **Environmental Justice** demands the cessation of the production of all toxins, hazardous wastes, and radioactive materials, and that all past and current producers be held strictly accountable to the people for detoxification and the containment at the point of production.

7) **Environmental Justice** demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making, including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement and evaluation.

8) **Environmental Justice** affirms the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood and unemployment. It also affirms the right of those who work at home to be free from environmental hazards.

9) **Environmental Justice** protects the right of victims of environmental injustice to receive full compensation and reparations for damages as well as quality health care.

10) **Environmental Justice** considers governmental acts of environmental injustice a violation of international law, the Universal Declaration On Human Rights, and the United Nations Convention on Genocide.

11) **Environmental Justice** must recognize a special legal and natural relationship of Native Peoples to the U.S. government through treaties, agreements, compacts, and covenants affirming sovereignty and self-determination.

12) **Environmental Justice** affirms the need for urban and rural ecological policies to clean up and rebuild our cities and rural areas in balance with nature, honoring the cultural integrity of all our communities, and provided fair access for all to the full range of resources.

13) **Environmental Justice** calls for the strict enforcement of principles of informed consent, and a halt to the testing of experimental reproductive and medical procedures and vaccinations on people of color.

14) **Environmental Justice** opposes the destructive operations of multi-national corporations.

15) **Environmental Justice** opposes military occupation, repression and exploitation of lands, peoples and cultures, and other life forms.

16) **Environmental Justice** calls for the education of present and future generations which emphasizes social and environmental issues, based on our experience and an appreciation of our diverse cultural perspectives.

17) **Environmental Justice** requires that we, as individuals, make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources and to produce as little waste as possible; and make the conscious decision to challenge and reprioritize our lifestyles to insure the health of the natural world for present and future generations.

Delegates to the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit held on October 24-27, 1991, in Washington DC, drafted and adopted 17 principles of Environmental Justice. Since then, The Principles have served as a defining document for the growing grassroots movement for environmental justice.

(EJ Summit 1991)

The Albuquerque Declaration (1998)

Developed at the Native People-Native Homelands Climate Change Workshop-Summit

As Indigenous Peoples, we begin each day with a prayer, bringing our minds together in thanks for every part of the natural world. We are grateful that each part of our natural world continues to fulfill the responsibilities that have been set for it by our Creator, in an unbreakable relationship to each other. As the roles and responsibilities are fulfilled, we are allowed to live our lives in peace. We are grateful for the natural order put in place and regulated by natural laws.

Most of our ceremonies are about giving thanks, at the right time and in the right way. They are what were given to us, what makes us who we are. They enable us to speak about life itself. Maintaining our ceremonies is an important part of our life. There is nothing more important than preserving life, celebrating life, and that is what the ceremonies do. Our instruction tells us that we are to maintain our ceremonies, however few of us there are, so that we can fulfill the spiritual responsibilities given to us by the Creator.

The balance of men and women is the leading principle of our wisdom. This balance is the creative principle of Father Sky and Mother Earth that fosters life. In our traditions, it is women who carry the seeds, both of our own future generations and of the plant life. It is women who plant and tend the gardens, and women who bear and raise the children. The women remind us of our connection to the earth, for it is from the earth that life comes.

We draw no line between what is political and what is spiritual. Our leaders are also our spiritual leaders. In making any law, our leaders must consider three things: the effect of their decisions on peace; the effect on the natural order and law; and the effect on future generations. The natural order and laws are self-evident and do not need scientific proof. We believe that all lawmakers should be required to think this way, that all constitutions should contain these principles.

Our prophecies and teachings tell us that life on earth is in danger of coming to an end. We have accepted the responsibility designated by our prophecies to tell the world that we must live in peace and harmony and ensure balance with the rest of Creation. The destruction of the rest of Creation must not be allowed to continue, for if it does, Mother Earth will react in such a way that almost all people will suffer the end of life as we know it.

A growing body of western scientific evidence now suggests what Indigenous Peoples have expressed for a long time life as we know it is in danger. We can no longer afford to ignore the consequences of this evidence. We must learn to live with this shadow, and always strive towards the light that will restore the natural order. How western science and technology is being used needs to be examined in order for Mother Earth to sustain life.

Our Peoples and lands are a scattering of islands within a sea of our neighbors, the richest material nations in the world. The world is beginning to recognize that today's market driven economies are not sustainable and place in jeopardy the existence of future generations. It is upsetting the natural order and laws created for all our benefit. The continued extraction and destruction of natural resources is unsustainable.

There is a direct relationship between the denial of Indigenous Peoples land and water rights, along with the appropriation without consent of Indigenous Peoples' natural resources, and the causes of global climate change today. Examples include deforestation, contamination of land and water by pesticides and industrial waste, toxic and radioactive poisoning, and military and mining impacts.

The four elements of fire, water, earth and air sustain all life. These elements of life are being destroyed and misused by the modern world. Fire gives life and understanding, but is being

disrespected by technology of the industrialized world that allows it to take life such as the fire in the coal-fired powered plants, the toxic waste incinerators, the fossil-fuel combustion engine and other polluting technologies that add to greenhouse gases. Coal extraction from sacred earth is being used to fuel the greenhouse gases that are causing global climate warming.

Because of our relationship with our lands, waters and natural surroundings, which has sustained us since time immemorial, we carry the knowledge and ideas that the world needs today. We know how to live with this land we have done so for thousands of years. We are a powerful spiritual people. It is this spiritual connection to Mother Earth, Father Sky, and all Creation that is lacking in the rest of the world.

Our extended family includes our Mother Earth, Father Sky, and our brothers and sisters, the animal and plant life. We must speak for the plants, for the animals, for the rest of Creation. It is our responsibility, given to us by our Creator, to speak on their behalf to the rest of the world.

For the future of all the children, for the future of Mother Earth and Father Sky, we call upon the leaders of the world, at all levels of governments, to accept responsibility for the welfare of future generations. Their decisions must reflect their consciousness of this responsibility and they must act on it. We demand a place at the table in discussions that involve and affect our future and the natural order and natural laws that govern us.

THEREFORE

We, the participants in the "Circles of Wisdom" Native People-Native Homelands Climate Change Workshop, held in Albuquerque, New Mexico of the United States, in the traditional territory of the Pueblo Peoples, express profound concern for the well being of our sacred Mother Earth and Father Sky and the potential consequences of climate imbalance for our Indigenous Peoples and the significance of these consequences for our communities, our environment, our economies, our culture and our relationships to the natural order and laws.

Indigenous prophecy now meets scientific prediction. What we have known and believed, you also now know The Earth is out of balance. The plants are disappearing, the animals are dying, and the very weather —rain, wind, fire itself — reacts against the actions of the human being. For the future of the children, for the health of our Mother Earth, Father Sky, and rest of Creation, we call upon the people of the world to hold your leaders accountable.

We submit this declaration to the Fourth Conference of the Parties (COP-4) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC) being held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, November 2-13, 1998. We wish to add our voices to ongoing global discussions regarding the impact of climate imbalance on forests, oceans, plants, animals, fish, humans and biodiversity.

PRINCIPLES

The following principles are self-evident and guide our beliefs and actions.

- Mother Earth, Father Sky, and all of Creation, from microorganisms to human, plant, trees, fish, bird, and animal relatives are part of the natural order and regulated by natural laws. Each has a unique role and is a critical part of the whole that is Creation. Each is sacred, respected, and a unique living being with its own right to survive, and each plays an essential role in the survival and health of the natural world.
- As sovereign Peoples and Nations, we have an inherent right to self-determination, protected through inherent rights and upheld through treaties and other binding agreements. As Indigenous Peoples, our consent and approval are necessary in all negotiations and activities that have direct and indirect impact on our lands, ecosystems, waters, other natural resources and our human bodies.

- Human beings are part of the natural order. Our role and responsibility, as human beings, is to live peacefully and in a harmonious balance with all life. Our cultures are based on this harmony, peace and ecological balance, which ensure long-term sustainability for future generations. This concept of sustainability must be the basis of the decisions and negotiations underway on national and international levels.
- The Creator has entrusted us a sacred responsibility to protect and care for the land and all of life, as well as to safeguard its well being for future generations to come.
- Indigenous Peoples have the right and responsibility to control access to our traditional knowledge, innovations and practices, which constitute the basis for the maintenance of our lifestyles and future [The Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples]

CONCLUSIONS

Indigenous Peoples of North America were invited by neither the United States nor Canada to participate in the negotiations of the United Nations Convention on Climate Change.

In June 1997, more than 2,000 U.S. scientists, from over 150 countries, including Nobel Laureates, signed the Scientists Statement on Global Climate Disruption which reads, in part, the "accumulation of greenhouses gases commits the sacred earth irreversibly to further global climate change and consequent ecological, economic, social and spiritual disruption" (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, December 1995). Climate imbalance will cause the greatest suffering to the Indigenous peoples and most pristine ecosystems globally.

The migration of Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs) through the air and water pathways continues from warmer southern climates to the colder climates of the Great Lakes and Arctic climates of North America and the Arctic Circle. Increased temperatures and persistent organic pollutants (POPs) disproportionately impact Indigenous Peoples, through their food web systems, causing health and ecosystem impacts.

Within the next 20 years, temperatures over land areas of North America, Europe and Northern Asia will increase as much as 5 to 15 degrees Fahrenheit over today's normal temperatures, well in excess of the global average (IPCC Report 1998). This increase in temperature will cause the sea level to rise (5-25 feet over the next 500 years), drying out North America's soil moisture (20 - 50%), and result in major increases in the summer heat index (10 - 25 degrees F).

The burning of oil, gas, and coal ("fossil fuels") is the primary source of human-induced climate change. The increasing demand and use of fossil fuels continues to have adverse impacts on natural forests. Natural forests are critical parts of the ecosystems that maintain global climate stability. The continued large-scale taking of fossil fuels results in numerous impacts on these vital areas through deforestation and pollution from drilling operations and ultimately forest degradation from the global climate imbalance. The mining and drilling for coal, oil, and gas, as well as other mineral extractions, results in substantial local environmental consequences, including severe degradation of air, forests, rivers, oceans and farmlands. Cultural impacts, forced removal, land appropriation, destruction of sacred and historical significant areas, breakdown of Indigenous social systems, and violence against women and children are too often the outcomes of fossil fuel development on Indigenous Peoples. Fossil fuel extraction areas are home to some of Mother Earth's last and most vulnerable Indigenous Populations, resulting in accelerated losses of biodiversity, traditional knowledge, and ultimately in ethnocide and genocide.

ACTIONS

We request that the potential consequences of climate imbalance for Indigenous Peoples and our environments, economies, culture, place and role in the natural order be addressed by:

1) Establishing and funding an Inter-sessional Open-ended Working Group for Indigenous Peoples within the Conference of the Parties (COPs) of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC);

2) Provisions for case studies be established within the framework of FCCC that would allow for assessing how climate changes effect different regions of Indigenous Peoples and local communities; assessing climate changes on flora and fauna, freshwater and oceans, forestry, traditional agricultural practices, medicinal plants and other biodiversity that impact subsistence and land-based cultures of Indigenous Peoples; and other case studies that would provide a clearer understanding of all effects and impacts of climate change and warming upon Indigenous Peoples and local communities;

3) Indigenous Peoples have the right, responsibility and expertise to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making including needs assessments, case studies, within national and international policy-making activities concerning climate change impacts, causes and solutions;

4) Within the FCCC, establish protocols that would actively promote international energy efficient and sustainable forms of development, including the widespread use of appropriately scaled solar energy and renewable energy technologies as well as sustainable agricultural and forestry practice models;

5) Mandating a moratorium on new exploration and projects for extraction for fossil fuel reserves in pristine areas. Exploration and development in the traditional territories of Indigenous Peoples of the world must be done with the full consent of Indigenous Peoples, respecting their right to decline a project that may adversely impact them;

6) Imposing a legally binding obligation to restore all areas already affected by oil, gas, and coal exploration and exploitation by the corporations or public entities that are responsible. This restoration must be done such that Indigenous Peoples can continue traditional uses of their lands.

This is a partial list of additional Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups signing in support of the Declaration. The following Indigenous Peoples and Nations attended this Albuquerque Workshop-Summit and fully endorse this declaration:

Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force - Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Tuscarora; Native Coalition for Cultural Restoration of Mount Shasta and Medicine Lake Highlands Defense; Columbia River Alliance for Economic and Environmental Education; International Movement Against All Forms of Discrimination and Racism; International Indian Treaty Council; Intertribal Council On Utility Policy; Native American Council of New York City; Seventh Generation Fund; Roundtable of Institutions of People of Color; Sapa Dawn Center; Dine' Citizens Against Ruining the Environment (CARE); Anishinabe Niijii; North American Indigenous Peoples Biodiversity Project; Gwiichin Steering Committee; Alaska Council of Indigenous Environmental Network; Eastern Cherokee Defense League; Great Lakes Regional Indigenous Environmental Network; White Clay Society of Gros Ventre; Oklahoma Regional Indigenous Environmental Network; Shundahai Network; American Indian Chamber of Commerce of New Mexico; American Indian Law Alliance

Traditional and Spiritual Leaders:

Oren Lyons, Onondaga; Kendall Rice, Potawatomi; Arvol Looking Horse, Lakota; Marvin Stevens, Kickapoo; Tom Stillday Jr., Red Lake; Ojibway Johnny Jackson, Yakama; Cascade Band Corbin Harney, Western Shoshone; Jake Swamp, Mohawk; Albert Yazzie, Navajo; Richard Dalton Sr, Tlingit

Individuals:

Tonya Gionella Frichner, Onondaga; Chuck Crowe, Eastern Band of Cherokee; Kent Lebsock, Lakota; Fidel Moreno, Yaqui/Huichol; Carlon Ami, Hopi/Tewa; Mary Loiuse Defender-Wilson, Dakota/Hidatsa; Jan Stevens, Sac & Fox; Walt Bresette, Red Cliff; Ojibwe Earl Tulley, Diné; Floyd Buckskin, Pitt River; Andrew Becenti, Diné; Barbara Bernacik, Laguna Pueblo; M.C. Balwin, Diné; Joseph Campbell, Dakota; Elena Bautista Sparrow, Yujpik; Joseph Chasing Horse, Lakota; Charlotte Caldwell, Menominee; Tami Soreson, Ojibwe; Marylou Stillday, Ojibwe; Sarah James, Neestaii Gwichin Athapascan; Tom Goldtooth, Diné/Dakota; Michael Sturdevant, Menominee; Jose Barrero, Taino; James Main, Sr, Gros Ventre; Roy Taylor, Pawnee/Choctow; Barbara McCloud, Puyallup; Janet McCloud, Tulalip; Valerie Taliman, Diné; Wilbur Slockish Jr, Yakama Klickitat Band; Dana Mitchell, Penobscot; James Ransom, Haudenesaunee; Robert Shimek, Ojibwe; Jimbo Simmons, Choctow; Patrick Spears, Lakota; Carlos Pelayo, Yoreme; Dean Suagee, Oklahoma Band of Cherokee; Angel Valencia, Yaqui; Mose Walkingstick, Eastern Band of Cherokee; Geraldine Warledo, Cheyenne/Arapaho; Jackie Warledo, Seminole

(Maynard 1998)

Bali Principles of Climate Justice (2002)

Developed in preparation for the second Earth Summit (World Summit on Sustainable Development)

Whereas climate change is a scientific reality whose effects are already being felt around the world;

Whereas if consumption of fossil fuels, deforestation and other ecological devastation continues at current rates, it is certain that climate change will result in increased temperatures, sea level rise, changes in agricultural patterns, increased frequency and magnitude of "natural" disasters such as floods, droughts, loss of biodiversity, intense storms and epidemics;

Whereas deforestation contributes to climate change, while having a negative impact on a broad array of local communities;

Whereas communities and the environment feel the impacts of the fossil fuel economy at every stage of its life cycle, from exploration to production to refining to distribution to consumption to disposal of waste;

Whereas climate change and its associated impacts are a global manifestation of this local chain of impacts;

Whereas fossil fuel production and consumption helps drive corporate-led globalization;

Whereas climate change is being caused primarily by industrialized nations and transnational corporations;

Whereas the multilateral development banks, transnational corporations and Northern governments, particularly the United States, have compromised the democratic nature of the United Nations as it attempts to address the problem;

Whereas the perpetration of climate change violates the Universal Declaration On Human Rights, and the United Nations Convention on Genocide;

Whereas the impacts of climate change are disproportionately felt by small island states, women, youth, coastal peoples, local communities, indigenous peoples, fisherfolk, poor people and the elderly;

Whereas local communities, affected people and indigenous peoples have been kept out of the global processes to address climate change;

Whereas market-based mechanisms and technological "fixes" currently being promoted by transnational corporations are false solutions and are exacerbating the problem;

Whereas unsustainable production and consumption practices are at the root of this and other global environmental problems;

Whereas this unsustainable consumption exists primarily in the North, but also among elites within the South; Whereas the impacts will be most devastating to the vast majority of the people in the South, as well as the "South" within the North;

Whereas the impacts of climate change threaten food sovereignty and the security of livelihoods of natural resource-based local economies;

Whereas the impacts of climate change threaten the health of communities around the world-especially those who are vulnerable and marginalized, in particular children and elderly people;

Whereas combating climate change must entail profound shifts from unsustainable production, consumption and lifestyles, with industrialized countries taking the lead;

We, representatives of people's movements together with activist organizations working for social and environmental justice resolve to begin to build an international movement of all peoples for Climate Justice based on the following core principles:

1) Affirming the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, Climate Justice insists that communities have the right to be free from climate change, its related impacts and other forms of ecological destruction.

2) Climate Justice affirms the need to reduce with an aim to eliminate the production of greenhouse gases and associated local pollutants.

3) Climate Justice affirms the rights of indigenous peoples and affected communities to represent and speak for themselves.

4) Climate Justice affirms that governments are responsible for addressing climate change in a manner that is both democratically accountable to their people and in accordance with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities.

5) Climate Justice demands that communities, particularly affected communities play a leading role in national and international processes to address climate change.

6) Climate Justice opposes the role of transnational corporations in shaping unsustainable production and consumption patterns and lifestyles, as well as their role in unduly influencing national and international decision-making.

7) Climate Justice calls for the recognition of a principle of ecological debt that industrialized governments and transnational corporations owe the rest of the world as a result of their appropriation of the planet's capacity to absorb greenhouse gases.

8) Affirming the principle of ecological debt, Climate Justice demands that fossil fuel and extractive industries be held strictly liable for all past and current life-cycle impacts relating to the production of greenhouse gases and associated local pollutants.

9) Affirming the principle of Ecological debt, Climate Justice protects the rights of victims of climate change and associated injustices to receive full compensation, restoration, and reparation for loss of land, livelihood and other damages.

10) Climate Justice calls for a moratorium on all new fossil fuel exploration and exploitation; a moratorium on the construction of new nuclear power plants; the phase out of the use of nuclear power world wide; and a moratorium on the construction of large hydro schemes.

11) Climate Justice calls for clean, renewable, locally controlled and low-impact energy resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for all living things.

12) Climate Justice affirms the right of all people, including the poor, women, rural and indigenous peoples, to have access to affordable and sustainable energy.

13) Climate Justice affirms that any market-based or technological solution to climate change, such as carbon-trading and carbon sequestration, should be subject to principles of democratic accountability, ecological sustainability and social justice.

14) Climate Justice affirms the right of all workers employed in extractive, fossil fuel and other greenhouse-gas producing industries to a safe and healthy work environment without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood based on unsustainable production and unemployment.

15) Climate Justice affirms the need for solutions to climate change that do not externalize costs to the environment and communities, and are in line with the principles of a just transition.

16) Climate Justice is committed to preventing the extinction of cultures and biodiversity due to climate change and its associated impacts.

17) Climate Justice affirms the need for socio-economic models that safeguard the fundamental rights to clean air, land, water, food and healthy ecosystems.

18) Climate Justice affirms the rights of communities dependent on natural resources for their livelihood and cultures to own and manage the same in a sustainable manner, and is opposed to the commodification of nature and its resources.

19) Climate Justice demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all peoples, free from any form of discrimination or bias.

20) Climate Justice recognizes the right to self-determination of Indigenous Peoples, and their right to control their lands, including sub-surface land, territories and resources and the right to the protection against any action or conduct that may result in the destruction or degradation of their territories and cultural way of life.

21) Climate Justice affirms the right of indigenous peoples and local communities to participate effectively at every level of decision-making, including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement and evaluation, the strict enforcement of principles of prior informed consent, and the right to say "No."

22) Climate Justice affirms the need for solutions that address women's rights.

23) Climate Justice affirms the right of youth as equal partners in the movement to address climate change and its associated impacts.

24) Climate Justice opposes military action, occupation, repression and exploitation of lands, water, oceans, peoples and cultures, and other life forms, especially as it relates to the fossil fuel industry's role in this respect.

25) Climate Justice calls for the education of present and future generations, emphasizes climate, energy, social and environmental issues, while basing itself on real-life experiences and an appreciation of diverse cultural perspectives.

26) Climate Justice requires that we, as individuals and communities, make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources, conserve our need for energy; and make the conscious decision to challenge and reprioritize our lifestyles, re-thinking our ethics with relation to the environment and the Mother Earth; while utilizing clean, renewable, low-impact energy; and ensuring the health of the natural world for present and future generations.

27) Climate Justice affirms the rights of unborn generations to natural resources, a stable climate and a healthy planet.

Adopted using the "Environmental Justice Principles" developed at the 1991 People of Color Environmental Justice Leadership Summit, Washington, DC, as a blueprint.

Endorsed by:

CorpWatch, US; Friends of the Earth International; Global Resistance; Greenpeace International; Groundwork, South Africa; Indigenous Environmental Network, North America; Indigenous Information Network, Kenya; National Alliance of People's Movements, India; National Fishworkers

Forum, India; OilWatch Africa; OilWatch International; Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice, US; Third World Network, Malaysia; World Rainforest Movement, Uruguay

("Bali Principles of Climate Justice" 2002)

Climate Justice Declaration (2002)

Developed at the second National People of Color Environmental Justice Leadership Summit

To protect the most vulnerable communities, climate policy must follow these principles:

1. Stop Cooking the Planet

Global climate change will accelerate unless we can slow the release of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. Communities have the right to be free from climate change, its related impacts and other forms of ecological destruction.

2. Protect and Empower Vulnerable Individuals and Communities

Poor nations, low-income workers, people of color, and Indigenous Peoples will suffer the most from climate change's impacts. We need to ensure the opportunity to adapt and thrive in a changing world.

3. Ensure Just Transition for Workers and Communities

No group should have to shoulder alone the burdens caused by the transition from a fossil fuel-based economy to a renewable energy-based economy. A just transition would create opportunities for displaced workers and communities to participate in the new economic order through compensation for job loss, loss of tax base, and other negative effects.

4. Require Community Participation

At all levels and in all realms, people must have a say in the decisions that affect their lives. Communities, particularly affected communities, must play a leading role in national and international processes to address climate change. Indigenous Peoples must have the right to self-determination to control their lands and resources. Nations must recognize their government-to-government relationships with tribes.

5. Global Problems Need Global Solutions

The causes and effects of climate change occur around the world. Individuals, communities, and nations must work together cooperatively to stop global climate change.

6. The U.S. Must Lead

According to the principle of common but differentiated responsibility agreed to by 165 nations as part of the 1992 U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change, countries that contribute the most to global warming should take the lead in solving the problem. The U.S. is four percent of the world's population but emits over twenty percent of the world's greenhouse gases. All people should have equal rights to the atmosphere.

7. Phase Out Exploration for Fossil Fuels

Presently known fossil fuel reserves will last far into the future. However fossil fuel exploration destroys unique cultures and valuable ecosystems, so exploration should be phased out as it is no longer worth the social and environmental costs. We should instead invest in clean, renewable, locally controlled and low-impact energy sources.

8. Monitor Domestic and International Carbon Markets

Any market-based or technological solution to climate change, such as carbon-trading and carbon sequestration, should be subject to principles of democratic accountability, ecological sustainability and social justice.

9. Caution in the Face of Uncertainty

No amount of action later can make up for lack of action today. Just as we buy insurance to protect against uncertain danger, we must take precautionary measures to minimize harm to the global climate before it occurs.

10. Protect Future Generations

The greatest impacts of climate change will come in the future. We should take into account the impacts on future generations in deciding policy today. Our children should have the opportunity for success through the sustainable use of resources.

11. Ecological Debt Must be Repaid

Fossil fuel and extractive industries must be held strictly liable for past and current life-cycle impacts relating to the production of greenhouse gases and associated local pollutants. Industrialized country governments and transnational corporations owe the victims of climate change and victims of associated injustices full compensation, restoration, and reparation for the loss of land, livelihood, and other damages.

12. Hold Financial Institutions and Corporations Accountable

Stop the role of financial institutions and transnational corporations in shaping unsustainable production and consumption patterns and lifestyles that lead to global warming. Stop their role in unduly influencing national and international decision-making on policies that affect the climate.

13. Create Culturally-Appropriate Climate Education

Educate present and future generations about climate, energy, social and environmental issues based on real-life experiences and an appreciation of diverse cultural perspectives.

14. Foster Individual and Community Responsibility to Mother Earth

Individuals and communities must make personal choices to minimize consumption of Mother Earth's resources, reduce our need for fossil energy, make the conscious decision to challenge and reprioritize our lifestyles, and re-think our ethics with relation to the environment and Mother Earth.

We acknowledge and endorse the Bali Principles of Climate Justice, the Environmental Justice and Climate Change Initiative's "10 Principles for Just Climate Policies in the U.S.", and the Principles of Environmental Justice adopted at the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit of 1991, from which these principles were drawn.

("The Climate Justice Declaration" 2004)

Cochabamba People's Agreement (2010)

Developed at the World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth

Today, our Mother Earth is wounded and the future of humanity is in danger.

If global warming increases by more than 2 degrees Celsius, a situation that the "Copenhagen Accord" could lead to, there is a 50% probability that the damages caused to our Mother Earth will be completely irreversible. Between 20% and 30% of species would be in danger of disappearing. Large extensions of forest would be affected, droughts and floods would affect different regions of the planet, deserts would expand, and the melting of the polar ice caps and the glaciers in the Andes and Himalayas would worsen. Many island states would disappear, and Africa would suffer an increase in temperature of more than 3 degrees Celsius. Likewise, the production of food would diminish in the world, causing catastrophic impact on the survival of inhabitants from vast regions in the planet, and the number of people in the world suffering from hunger would increase dramatically, a figure that already exceeds 1.02 billion people. The corporations and governments of the so-called "developed" countries, in complicity with a segment of the scientific community, have led us to discuss climate change as a problem limited to the rise in temperature without questioning the cause, which is the capitalist system.

We confront the terminal crisis of a civilizing model that is patriarchal and based on the submission and destruction of human beings and nature that accelerated since the industrial revolution.

The capitalist system has imposed on us a logic of competition, progress and limitless growth. This regime of production and consumption seeks profit without limits, separating human beings from nature and imposing a logic of domination upon nature, transforming everything into commodities: water, earth, the human genome, ancestral cultures, biodiversity, justice, ethics, the rights of peoples, and life itself.

Under capitalism, Mother Earth is converted into a source of raw materials, and human beings into consumers and a means of production, into people that are seen as valuable only for what they own, and not for what they are.

Capitalism requires a powerful military industry for its processes of accumulation and imposition of control over territories and natural resources, suppressing the resistance of the peoples. It is an imperialist system of colonization of the planet.

Humanity confronts a great dilemma: to continue on the path of capitalism, depredation, and death, or to choose the path of harmony with nature and respect for life.

It is imperative that we forge a new system that restores harmony with nature and among human beings. And in order for there to be balance with nature, there must first be equity among human beings. We propose to the peoples of the world the recovery, revalorization, and strengthening of the knowledge, wisdom, and ancestral practices of Indigenous Peoples, which are affirmed in the thought and practices of "Living Well," recognizing Mother Earth as a living being with which we have an indivisible, interdependent, complementary and spiritual relationship. To face climate change, we must recognize Mother Earth as the source of life and forge a new system based on the principles of:

- harmony and balance among all and with all things;
- complementarity, solidarity, and equality;
- collective well-being and the satisfaction of the basic necessities of all;
- people in harmony with nature;
- recognition of human beings for what they are, not what they own;
- elimination of all forms of colonialism, imperialism and interventionism;

- peace among the peoples and with Mother Earth.

The model we support is not a model of limitless and destructive development. All countries need to produce the goods and services necessary to satisfy the fundamental needs of their populations, but by no means can they continue to follow the path of development that has led the richest countries to have an ecological footprint five times bigger than what the planet is able to support. Currently, the regenerative capacity of the planet has been already exceeded by more than 30 percent. If this pace of over-exploitation of our Mother Earth continues, we will need two planets by the year 2030. In an interdependent system in which human beings are only one component, it is not possible to recognize rights only to the human part without provoking an imbalance in the system as a whole. To guarantee human rights and to restore harmony with nature, it is necessary to effectively recognize and apply the rights of Mother Earth. For this purpose, we propose the attached project for the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Mother Earth, in which it's recorded that:

- The right to live and to exist;
- The right to be respected;
- The right to regenerate its bio-capacity and to continue it's vital cycles and processes free of human alteration;
- The right to maintain their identity and integrity as differentiated beings, self-regulated and interrelated;
- The right to water as the source of life;
- The right to clean air;
- The right to comprehensive health;
- The right to be free of contamination and pollution, free of toxic and radioactive waste;
- The right to be free of alterations or modifications of it's genetic structure in a manner that threatens it's integrity or vital and healthy functioning;
- The right to prompt and full restoration for violations to the rights acknowledged in this Declaration caused by human activities.

The "shared vision" seeks to stabilize the concentrations of greenhouse gases to make effective the Article 2 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which states that "the stabilization of greenhouse gases concentrations in the atmosphere to a level that prevents dangerous anthropogenic inferences for the climate system." Our vision is based on the principle of historical common but differentiated responsibilities, to demand the developed countries to commit with quantifiable goals of emission reduction that will allow to return the concentrations of greenhouse gases to 300 ppm, therefore the increase in the average world temperature to a maximum of one degree Celsius.

Emphasizing the need for urgent action to achieve this vision, and with the support of peoples, movements and countries, developed countries should commit to ambitious targets for reducing emissions that permit the achievement of short-term objectives, while maintaining our vision in favor of balance in the Earth's climate system, in agreement with the ultimate objective of the Convention.

The "shared vision for long-term cooperative action" in climate change negotiations should not be reduced to defining the limit on temperature increases and the concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, but must also incorporate in a balanced and integral manner measures regarding capacity building, production and consumption patterns, and other essential factors such as the acknowledging of the Rights of Mother Earth to establish harmony with nature.

Developed countries, as the main cause of climate change, in assuming their historical responsibility, must recognize and honor their climate debt in all of its dimensions as the basis for a just, effective, and scientific solution to climate change. In this context, we demand that developed countries:

- Restore to developing countries the atmospheric space that is occupied by their greenhouse gas emissions. This implies the decolonization of the atmosphere through the reduction and absorption of their emissions;
- Assume the costs and technology transfer needs of developing countries arising from the loss of development opportunities due to living in a restricted atmospheric space;
- Assume responsibility for the hundreds of millions of people that will be forced to migrate due to the climate change caused by these countries, and eliminate their restrictive immigration policies, offering migrants a decent life with full human rights guarantees in their countries;
- Assume adaptation debt related to the impacts of climate change on developing countries by providing the means to prevent, minimize, and deal with damages arising from their excessive emissions;
- Honor these debts as part of a broader debt to Mother Earth by adopting and implementing the United Nations Universal Declaration on the Rights of Mother Earth.

The focus must not be only on financial compensation, but also on restorative justice, understood as the restitution of integrity to our Mother Earth and all its beings.

We deplore attempts by countries to annul the Kyoto Protocol, which is the sole legally binding instrument specific to the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by developed countries.

We inform the world that, despite their obligation to reduce emissions, developed countries have increased their emissions by 11.2% in the period from 1990 to 2007.

During that same period, due to unbridled consumption, the United States of America has increased its greenhouse gas emissions by 16.8%, reaching an average of 20 to 23 tons of CO2 per-person. This represents 9 times more than that of the average inhabitant of the "Third World," and 20 times more than that of the average inhabitant of Sub-Saharan Africa.

We categorically reject the illegitimate "Copenhagen Accord" that allows developed countries to offer insufficient reductions in greenhouse gases based in voluntary and individual commitments, violating the environmental integrity of Mother Earth and leading us toward an increase in global temperatures of around 4°C.

The next Conference on Climate Change to be held at the end of 2010 in Mexico should approve an amendment to the Kyoto Protocol for the second commitment period from 2013 to 2017 under which developed countries must agree to significant domestic emissions reductions of at least 50% based on 1990 levels, excluding carbon markets or other offset mechanisms that mask the failure of actual reductions in greenhouse gas emissions.

We require first of all the establishment of a goal for the group of developed countries to achieve the assignment of individual commitments for each developed country under the framework of complementary efforts among each one, maintaining in this way Kyoto Protocol as the route to emissions reductions.

The United States, as the only Annex 1 country on Earth that did not ratify the Kyoto Protocol, has a significant responsibility toward all peoples of the world to ratify this document and commit itself to respecting and complying with emissions reduction targets on a scale appropriate to the total size of its economy.

We the peoples have the equal right to be protected from the adverse effects of climate change and reject the notion of adaptation to climate change as understood as a resignation to impacts provoked by the historical emissions of developed countries, which themselves must adapt their modes of life and consumption in the face of this global emergency. We see it as imperative to confront the adverse effects of climate change, and consider adaptation to be a process rather than an imposition, as well

as a tool that can serve to help offset those effects, demonstrating that it is possible to achieve harmony with nature under a different model for living.

It is necessary to construct an Adaptation Fund exclusively for addressing climate change as part of a financial mechanism that is managed in a sovereign, transparent, and equitable manner for all States. This Fund should assess the impacts and costs of climate change in developing countries and needs deriving from these impacts, and monitor support on the part of developed countries. It should also include a mechanism for compensation for current and future damages, loss of opportunities due to extreme and gradual climactic events, and additional costs that could present themselves if our planet surpasses ecological thresholds, such as those impacts that present obstacles to "Living Well."

The "Copenhagen Accord" imposed on developing countries by a few States, beyond simply offering insufficient resources, attempts as well to divide and create confrontation between peoples and to extort developing countries by placing conditions on access to adaptation and mitigation resources. We also assert as unacceptable the attempt in processes of international negotiation to classify developing countries for their vulnerability to climate change, generating disputes, inequalities and segregation among them.

The immense challenge humanity faces of stopping global warming and cooling the planet can only be achieved through a profound shift in agricultural practices toward the sustainable model of production used by indigenous and rural farming peoples, as well as other ancestral models and practices that contribute to solving the problem of agriculture and food sovereignty. This is understood as the right of peoples to control their own seeds, lands, water, and food production, thereby guaranteeing, through forms of production that are in harmony with Mother Earth and appropriate to local cultural contexts, access to sufficient, varied and nutritious foods in complementarity with Mother Earth and deepening the autonomous (participatory, communal and shared) production of every nation and people.

Climate change is now producing profound impacts on agriculture and the ways of life of indigenous peoples and farmers throughout the world, and these impacts will worsen in the future.

Agribusiness, through its social, economic, and cultural model of global capitalist production and its logic of producing food for the market and not to fulfill the right to proper nutrition, is one of the principal causes of climate change. Its technological, commercial, and political approach only serves to deepen the climate change crisis and increase hunger in the world. For this reason, we reject Free Trade Agreements and Association Agreements and all forms of the application of Intellectual Property Rights to life, current technological packages (agrochemicals, genetic modification) and those that offer false solutions (biofuels, geo-engineering, nanotechnology, etc.) that only exacerbate the current crisis.

We similarly denounce the way in which the capitalist model imposes mega-infrastructure projects and invades territories with extractive projects, water privatization, and militarized territories, expelling indigenous peoples from their lands, inhibiting food sovereignty and deepening socio-environmental crisis.

We demand recognition of the right of all peoples, living beings, and Mother Earth to have access to water, and we support the proposal of the Government of Bolivia to recognize water as a Fundamental Human Right.

The definition of forests used in the negotiations of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which includes plantations, is unacceptable. Monoculture plantations are not forests. Therefore, we require a definition for negotiation purposes that recognizes the native forests, jungles and the diverse ecosystems on Earth.

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples must be fully recognized, implemented and integrated in climate change negotiations. The best strategy and action to avoid deforestation and degradation and protect native forests and jungles is to recognize and guarantee collective rights to lands and territories, especially considering that most of the forests are located within the territories of indigenous peoples and nations and other traditional communities.

We condemn market mechanisms such as REDD (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) and its versions + and + +, which are violating the sovereignty of peoples and their right to prior free and informed consent as well as the sovereignty of national States, the customs of Peoples, and the Rights of Nature.

Polluting countries have an obligation to carry out direct transfers of the economic and technological resources needed to pay for the restoration and maintenance of forests in favor of the peoples and indigenous ancestral organic structures. Compensation must be direct and in addition to the sources of funding promised by developed countries outside of the carbon market, and never serve as carbon offsets. We demand that countries stop actions on local forests based on market mechanisms and propose non-existent and conditional results. We call on governments to create a global program to restore native forests and jungles, managed and administered by the peoples, implementing forest seeds, fruit trees, and native flora. Governments should eliminate forest concessions and support the conservation of petroleum deposits in the ground and urgently stop the exploitation of hydrocarbons in forestlands.

We call upon States to recognize, respect and guarantee the effective implementation of international human rights standards and the rights of indigenous peoples, including the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples under ILO Convention 169, among other relevant instruments in the negotiations, policies and measures used to meet the challenges posed by climate change. In particular, we call upon States to give legal recognition to claims over territories, lands and natural resources to enable and strengthen our traditional ways of life and contribute effectively to solving climate change.

We demand the full and effective implementation of the right to consultation, participation and prior, free and informed consent of indigenous peoples in all negotiation processes, and in the design and implementation of measures related to climate change.

Environmental degradation and climate change are currently reaching critical levels, and one of the main consequences of this is domestic and international migration. According to projections, there were already about 25 million climate migrants by 1995. Current estimates are around 50 million, and projections suggest that between 200 million and 1 billion people will become displaced by situations resulting from climate change by the year 2050.

Developed countries should assume responsibility for climate migrants, welcoming them into their territories and recognizing their fundamental rights through the signing of international conventions that provide for the definition of climate migrant and require all States to abide by abide by determinations.

Establish an International Tribunal of Conscience to denounce, make visible, document, judge and punish violations of the rights of migrants, refugees and displaced persons within countries of origin, transit and destination, clearly identifying the responsibilities of States, companies and other agents.

Current funding directed toward developing countries for climate change and the proposal of the Copenhagen Accord is insignificant. In addition to Official Development Assistance and public sources, developed countries must commit to a new annual funding of at least 6% of GDP to tackle climate change in developing countries. This is viable considering that a similar amount is spent on national defense, and that 5 times more have been put forth to rescue failing banks and speculators, which raises serious questions about global priorities and political will. This funding should be direct

and free of conditions, and should not interfere with the national sovereignty or self-determination of the most affected communities and groups.

In view of the inefficiency of the current mechanism, a new funding mechanism should be established at the 2010 Climate Change Conference in Mexico, functioning under the authority of the Conference of the Parties (COP) under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and held accountable to it, with significant representation of developing countries, to ensure compliance with the funding commitments of Annex 1 countries.

It has been stated that developed countries significantly increased their emissions in the period from 1990 to 2007, despite having stated that the reduction would be substantially supported by market mechanisms.

The carbon market has become a lucrative business, commodifying our Mother Earth. It is therefore not an alternative for tackle climate change, as it loots and ravages the land, water, and even life itself.

The recent financial crisis has demonstrated that the market is incapable of regulating the financial system, which is fragile and uncertain due to speculation and the emergence of intermediary brokers. Therefore, it would be totally irresponsible to leave in their hands the care and protection of human existence and of our Mother Earth.

We consider inadmissible that current negotiations propose the creation of new mechanisms that extend and promote the carbon market, for existing mechanisms have not resolved the problem of climate change nor led to real and direct actions to reduce greenhouse gases. It is necessary to demand fulfillment of the commitments assumed by developed countries under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change regarding development and technology transfer, and to reject the "technology showcase" proposed by developed countries that only markets technology. It is essential to establish guidelines in order to create a multilateral and multidisciplinary mechanism for participatory control, management, and evaluation of the exchange of technologies. These technologies must be useful, clean and socially sound. Likewise, it is fundamental to establish a fund for the financing and inventory of technologies that are appropriate and free of intellectual property rights. Patents, in particular, should move from the hands of private monopolies to the public domain in order to promote accessibility and low costs.

Knowledge is universal, and should for no reason be the object of private property or private use, nor should its application in the form of technology. Developed countries have a responsibility to share their technology with developing countries, to build research centers in developing countries for the creation of technologies and innovations, and defend and promote their development and application for "living well." The world must recover and re-learn ancestral principles and approaches from native peoples to stop the destruction of the planet, as well as promote ancestral practices, knowledge and spirituality to recuperate the capacity for "living well" in harmony with Mother Earth.

Considering the lack of political will on the part of developed countries to effectively comply with commitments and obligations assumed under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol, and given the lack of a legal international organism to guard against and sanction climate and environmental crimes that violate the Rights of Mother Earth and humanity, we demand the creation of an International Climate and Environmental Justice Tribunal that has the legal capacity to prevent, judge and penalize States, industries and people that by commission or omission contaminate and provoke climate change.

Supporting States that present claims at the International Climate and Environmental Justice Tribunal against developed countries that fail to comply with commitments under the United

Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol including commitments to reduce greenhouse gases.

We urge peoples to propose and promote deep reform within the United Nations, so that all member States comply with the decisions of the International Climate and Environmental Justice Tribunal.

The future of humanity is in danger, and we cannot allow a group of leaders from developed countries to decide for all countries as they tried unsuccessfully to do at the Conference of the Parties in Copenhagen. This decision concerns us all. Thus, it is essential to carry out a global referendum or popular consultation on climate change in which all are consulted regarding the following issues; the level of emission reductions on the part of developed countries and transnational corporations, financing to be offered by developed countries, the creation of an International Climate Justice Tribunal, the need for a Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth, and the need to change the current capitalist system. The process of a global referendum or popular consultation will depend on process of preparation that ensures the successful development of the same.

In order to coordinate our international action and implement the results of this "Accord of the Peoples," we call for the building of a Global People's Movement for Mother Earth, which should be based on the principles of complementarity and respect for the diversity of origin and visions among its members, constituting a broad and democratic space for coordination and joint worldwide actions.

To this end, we adopt the attached global plan of action so that in Mexico, the developed countries listed in Annex 1 respect the existing legal framework and reduce their greenhouse gases emissions by 50%, and that the different proposals contained in this Agreement are adopted.

Finally, we agree to undertake a Second World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth in 2011 as part of this process of building the Global People's Movement for Mother Earth and reacting to the outcomes of the Climate Change Conference to be held at the end of this year in Cancun, Mexico.

("Cochabamba Peoples Agreement" 2010)

Appendix C: Historical Organizing and Partnership Principles

Jemez Principles of Democratic Organizing (1996)

Developed at the Working Group Meeting on Globalization and Trade

#1 Be Inclusive

If we hope to achieve just societies that include all people in decision-making and assure that all people have an equitable share of the wealth and the work of this world, then we must work to build that kind of inclusiveness into our own movement in order to develop alternative policies and institutions to the treaties policies under neo-liberalism.

This requires more than tokenism, it cannot be achieved without diversity at the planning table, in staffing, and in coordination. It may delay achievement of other important goals, it will require discussion, hard work, patience, and advance planning. It may involve conflict, but through this conflict, we can learn better ways of working together. It's about building alternative institutions, movement building, and not compromising out in order to be accepted into the anti-globalization club.

#2 Emphasis on Bottom-Up Organizing

To succeed, it is important to reach out into new constituencies, and to reach within all levels of leadership and membership base of the organizations that are already involved in our networks. We must be continually building and strengthening a base which provides our credibility, our strategies, mobilizations, leadership development, and the energy for the work we must do daily.

#3 Let People Speak for Themselves

We must be sure that relevant voices of people directly affected are heard. Ways must be provided for spokespersons to represent and be responsible to the affected constituencies. It is important for organizations to clarify their roles, and who they represent, and to assure accountability within our structures.

#4 Work Together In Solidarity and Mutuality

Groups working on similar issues with compatible visions should consciously act in solidarity, mutuality and support each other's work. In the long run, a more significant step is to incorporate the goals and values of other groups with your own work, in order to build strong relationships. For instance, in the long run, it is more important that labor unions and community economic development projects include the issue of environmental sustainability in their own strategies, rather than just lending support to the environmental organizations. So communications, strategies and resource sharing is critical, to help us see our connections and build on these.

#5 Build Just Relationships Among Ourselves

We need to treat each other with justice and respect, both on an individual and an organizational level, in this country and across borders. Defining and developing "just relationships" will be a process that won't happen overnight. It must include clarity about decision-making, sharing strategies, and resource distribution. There are clearly many skills necessary to succeed, and we need to determine the ways for those with different skills to coordinate and be accountable to one another.

#6 Commitment to Self-Transformation

As we change societies, we must change from operating on the mode of individualism to community-centeredness. We must "walk our talk." We must be the values that we say we're struggling for and we must be justice, be peace, be community.

(SNEEJ 1996)

Guidelines of Environmental Justice Grassroots Organizing (1999)

Developed by the Sierra Club Environmental Justice Program Site Selection Committee

The Sierra Club's relationship with the communities it assists will be governed by the following guidelines:

1) We will hire grassroots organizers to serve as a bridge linking the Club to communities fighting for environmental justice; and we will encourage qualified applicants from these communities to apply for these positions.

2) We will enter a community to provide grassroots organizing assistance only when invited to do so by the community.

3) We will respect the right of the community to define its agenda to address its environmental problems. We will not be present to persuade the community to work on "our" issues, but rather provide support to the community as it seeks to define its own issues and lead its own campaign

4) Our grassroots organizers will work to link activists from Sierra Club groups, chapters, and Regional Conservation Committees with the citizens of the community.

5) We will work as a supporting partner with the community facing environmental injustice. This may mean providing training and support to meet the needs defined by the community.

6) We will encourage the empowerment of the members of the community and will seek to nurture that empowerment.

7) We will respect the comfort level of the community in responding to requests for tactical assistance. For example, in providing media assistance, we will strive to avoid even the appearance of making public relations capital out of the community's misfortune.

8) We will seek to foster community self-reliance and will be prepared to leave the community at any time as requested.

(Sierra Club EJ Program Site Selection Committee 1999)

Principles of Working Together (2002)

Developed at the second National People of Color Environmental Justice Leadership Summit

Principle One: Purpose

A. The Principles of Working Together uphold the Principles of Environmental Justice and to eradicate environmental racism in our communities.

B. The Principles of Working Together require local and regional empowered partnerships, inclusive of all.

C. The Principles of Working Together call for continued influence on public policy to protect and sustain Mother Earth and our communities and also honor past promises and make amends for past injustices.

Principle Two: Core Values

A. The Principles of Working Together commit us to working from the ground up, beginning with all grassroots workers, organizers and activists. We do not want to forget the struggle of the grassroots workers. This begins with all grassroots workers, organizers and activists.

B. The Principles of Working Together recognize traditional knowledge and uphold the intellectual property rights of all peoples of color and Indigenous peoples.

C. The Principles of Working Together reaffirm that as people of color we speak for ourselves. We have not chosen our struggle, we work together to overcome our common barriers, and resist our common foes.

D. The Principles of Working Together bridge the gap among various levels of the movement through effective communication and strategic networking.

E. The Principles of Working Together affirm the youth as full members in the environmental justice movement. As such, we commit resources to train and educate young people to sustain the groups and the movement into the future.

Principle Three: Building Relationships

A. The Principles of Working Together recognize that we need each other and we are stronger with each other. This Principle requires participation at every level without barriers and that the power of the movement is shared at every level.

B. The Principles of Working Together require members to cooperate with harmony, respect and trust—it must be genuine and sustained relationship building. This demands cultural and language sensitivity.

C. The Principles of Working Together demand grassroots workers, organizers and activists set their own priorities when working with other professionals and institutions.

D. The Principles of Working Together recognize that community organizations have expertise and knowledge. Community organizations should seek out opportunities to work in partnerships with academic institutions, other grassroots organizations and environmental justice lawyers to build capacity through the resources of these entities.

Principle Four: Addressing Differences

A. The Principles of Working Together require affirmation of the value in diversity and the rejection

of any form of racism, discrimination and oppression. To support each other completely, we must learn about our different cultural and political histories so that we can completely support each other in our movement inclusive of ages, classes, immigrants, indigenous peoples, undocumented workers, farm workers, genders, sexual orientations and education differences.

B. The Principles of Working Together require respect, cultural sensitivity, patience, time and a willingness to understand each other and a mutual sharing of knowledge.

C. The Principles of Working Together affirm the value in our diversity. If English is not the primary language, there must be effective translation for all participants.

Principle Five: Leadership

A. The Principles of Working Together demand shared power, community service, cooperation, and open and honest communication.

B. The Principles of Working Together demand that people from the outside should not come in and think that there is no leadership in the grassroots community. The people in the community should lead their own community and create legacy by teaching young people to be leaders.

C. The Principles of Working Together demand that people from grassroots organizations should lead the environmental justice movement.

D. The Principles of Working Together demand accountability to the people, responsibility to complete required work, maintain healthy partnerships with all groups.

Principle Six: Participation

A. The Principles of Working Together demand cultural sensitivity. This requires patience and time for each group to express their concerns and their concerns should be heard.

B. The Principles of Working Together require a culturally appropriate process.

C. The Principles of Working Together have a commitment to changing the process when the process is not meeting the needs of the people. The changes should be informed by the people's timely feedback and evaluation.

Principle Seven: Resolving Conflicts

A. The Principles of Working Together encourage respectful discussion of our differences, willingness to understand, and the exploration of best possible solutions.

B. The Principles of Working Together require that we learn and strengthen our cross-cultural communication skills so that we can develop effective and creative problem-solving skills. This Principle promotes respectful listening and dialogue.

C. The Principles of Working Together affirm the value in learning strengthening mediation skills in diverse socio-economic and multicultural settings.

Principle Eight: Fundraising

A. The Principles of Working Together recognize the need for expanding sustainable community based avenues for raising funds, such as building a donor base, membership dues, etc.

B. The Principles of Working Together oppose funding from any organization impacting people of color and indigenous communities. In addition, the Principles oppose funding from any

organization that is the current target of active boycotts, or other campaign activity generated by our allies.

C. The Principles of Working Together encourage larger environmental justice organizations to help smaller, emerging environmental justice organizations gain access to funding resources. We encourage the sharing of funding resources and information with other organizations in need.

Principle Nine: Accountability

A. The Principles of Working Together encourage all partners to abide by the shared agreements, including, but not limited to, oral and written agreements. Any changes or developments to agreements/actions need to be communicated to all who are affected and agreed upon.

B. The Principles of Working Together encourage periodic evaluation and review of process to ensure accountability among all partners. Any violation of these agreements or any unprincipled actions that violate the EJ principles, either:

   a. Must attempt to be resolved among the partners
   b. Will end the partnership if not resolved, AND
   c. Will be raised to the larger EJ community

(EJ Summit 2002b)

Principles for Alliance with Green Groups (2002)

Developed at the second National People of Color Environmental Justice Leadership Summit

Over the last ten years, there has been some history of collaboration between environmental justice organizations and green groups. In many instances there has been at best unprincipled behavior and at worst abuses that have taken the form of opportunism, racism, classism, and a low or no value ascribed to community-level impacts. Additionally, scant progress has been made in increasing the number of People of Color on green groups' staff, boards and membership base. An alliance is a mutually agreed to strategic partnership between green groups, community groups, and commonly shared environmental justice goals. The following principles can serve as a guide to a *just* collaboration between environmental groups and environmental justice organizations.

1. Prior to forming an alliance, green groups shall show respect for the history, culture, traditions, and capacity of the community.

2. Green groups, their staff, members and volunteers must actively seek to gain a substantive understanding of environmental racism and environmental injustice, as defined by the Environmental Justice Movement.

3. There must be a good faith belief amongst all alliance members that the alliance will maximize the opportunity to create new solutions, agreements and decisions for greater value.

4. All members of an alliance, regardless of resources and status, should be treated as full and equal partners.

5. Green groups professional and decision-making staff, board, membership, and vendors will reflect the full richness and racial diversity of America.

6. Prior written consent should be obtained before the use of a partner organization's name in connection with endorsements of initiatives, policies or funding.

7. There must be a prior agreement on how resources should be sought, administered, allocated, and how costs should be borne.

8. There should be notification of meetings, press opportunities, and inclusion in key meetings and negotiations.

9. Given that there is a continued disparity in funding, alliances should build the long-term capacity of EJ organizations which have not had the benefit of the 20 to 30 years of continuous funding that Green Groups have experienced.

10. The alliance should work together to educate government agencies, foundations, and other funding sources on the value of directly funding Environmental Justice groups.

11. Fundraising for collaborative projects must be a joint effort.

12. Alliances should create a space where conflict can be respectfully resolved.

13. Members of an alliance should not engage in unilateral decision-making or actions. There should be a process in place that ensures input from all alliance members.

14. Green groups should only work on Environmental Justice issues at the invitation of or with the consent of the community group.

15. Green groups will respect the right of the community groups to set the agenda, including identifying the problem, determining the goals, and defining success.

16. Credit for outcomes should be shared.