

## Shell Must Fall actions

### Principles, goals and practical tips



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## Table of Contents

<b>1. Action principles: Shell Must Fall .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>2. Our demands and goals .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>3. Action preparations .....</b>	<b>6</b>
a. Coming up with an action idea.....	6
b. Engaging people and group formation.....	6
c. Consensus decision-making .....	7
d. Creating affinity groups .....	7
e. Contact Code Rood .....	8
<b>4. Inclusiveness, power, and oppression .....</b>	<b>9</b>
a. Questions to discuss in your group.....	9
b. Tips for meetings .....	9
c. Tips for actions.....	10
d. Continue reading .....	10
<b>5. Caring for each other .....</b>	<b>12</b>
a. Important for activists.....	12
<b>6. Dealing with the police and authorities .....</b>	<b>13</b>
a. Police and police brutality .....	13
b. Tips and tricks for police spokespeople .....	13
c. Demonstration rights.....	14
d. To report or not to report? .....	14
e. Legitimation .....	14
f. Arrest .....	14
<b>7. Dealing with the secret service .....</b>	<b>15</b>
a. Introduction .....	15
b. Safety Culture .....	15
c. Continue reading about safety culture .....	16
<b>8. Demonstrations and corona .....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>9. Media.....</b>	<b>17</b>
a. Media team, media plan, and media back office .....	17
b. "House-style" and visuals .....	18
c. Social media and website .....	18
d. Press.....	18
e. Photo and video.....	19
<b>10. The Arrestee Group ("legal") .....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>11. Packing List.....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>12. Atmosphere management.....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>13. Rapid decision-making .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>14. Review and evaluation .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>15. Fundraising .....</b>	<b>22</b>
a. Create a budget and coverage plan .....	22
b. Apply for a grant .....	23
c. Report .....	23
d. Private donations and crowdfunding.....	24



## 1. Action principles: Shell Must Fall

We are at the beginning of a rapidly escalating climate crisis. Already, the survival of millions of people worldwide is threatened. Meanwhile, fossil multinationals like Shell continue their devastating, business-as-usual policies. That is why we are taking action.

With the Shell Must Fall! campaign we are building a movement that can dismantle the power and destructive activities of fossil multinationals. We demand an end to the age of Shell; a fair transition for fossil industry workers; recovery for affected communities and ecosystems; and a socialized energy democracy for all!

We come from different social movements and political currents and are part of a growing call for systemic change and climate justice. Anyone who subscribes to the ideas and principles in this text can organize actions independently under the banner of Shell Must Fall.

- In our actions, the **safety** of all humans involved (including participants, workers, and bystanders) is our highest priority. We share the responsibility to care for and support each other. For our health and the health of others, we follow the Corona recommendations of health experts in our actions.
- We **oppose all forms of oppression** and do not tolerate racism, sexism, validism, and other forms of discrimination. We strive to be as inclusive as possible so that people with diverse backgrounds, experiences, and abilities feel safe and are able to participate.
- We organize ourselves in a **horizontal and democratic** way. We believe it is important that everyone is heard and can contribute.
- We do not believe that the ecological crisis and the climate crisis can be solved within **the capitalist system**, which is based on exploitation and depletion. We want to shape our actions and collaborations in a way that is inspired by the future we are fighting for.
- We recognize that social change always results from **a combination of different forms of resistance**, including civil disobedience. The struggle against Shell is no exception. Depending on the context, actions are announced publicly or not.
- **We protect ourselves and each other** against possible violence and repression from third parties, including the State and therefore hide - where necessary - identity information of activists, such as (last) names, telephone numbers, emails, and address details.
- We **stand in solidarity with other climate, environmental, and social justice fighters** in the Netherlands and worldwide. We do not allow (eco)fascists, reactionaries, or greenwashers to hijack or infiltrate our movement.

## 2. Our demands and goals

Shell Must Fall is committed to public and political acceptance of the idea that a future without Shell is not only necessary, but possible.

Our **demands** are:

- **DISMANTLE SHELL** with the assistance of any legal, economic, or political means necessary
- Provide a **JUST TRANSITION** for all workers in the fossil industry
- Ensure **REPARATIONS** for affected communities and ecosystems
- Build a decentralized and socialized **ENERGY DEMOCRACY** for all

The **campaign goals** of Shell Must Fall are:

- Making **Shell's wide range of crimes** visible to a wide audience: These crimes go beyond causing climate chaos and downplaying, distorting, and obscuring the truth of their harmful activities for decades. Shell is also guilty of human rights violations, corruption, tax evasion, and greenwashing. Putting profit before people and nature is deeply rooted in all layers and facets of the company. Shell cannot and will not change into a company in which a sustainable, fair, and just future is paramount.
- With this campaign we want to damage Shell's **reputation** as much as possible, so that partners and shareholders withdraw, employees are less proud of their employer and may even leave, politicians will no longer give Shell advantages or allow it to have a say in policy, and consumers will boycott Shell.
- Working with partners, we will **research** what it takes to dismantle a fossil multinational like Shell and what a future without Shell looks like.
- In addition, with this campaign we will **make visible the underlying system** that causes climate

disruption, exploitation, and destruction of nature: capitalism and colonialism and their interconnections with other oppressive power systems such as racism, sexism, and fascism.

- We are contributing to the **politicization and radicalization of the climate movement** and building **a movement of like-minded organizations** and people with whom we can work in unison - but from different strategies - to bring down Shell (and companies like Shell).
- Last but not least, within this campaign we want to put the systemic change we envision into practice as best we can and collectively **develop a vision of the future** for a different, more sustainable and equitable system.

### 3. Action preparations

#### a. *Coming up with an action idea*

Coming up with an implementable idea that everyone is excited about, and that contributes to the above goals, is perhaps the most difficult part of action planning.

Make it clear in advance how much time there is to brainstorm an action idea and when you need to get started on implementation. This way you avoid getting stuck in the brainstorming phase forever. Here are tips for facilitating a good brainstorming session: <https://www.bureauspraakwater.nl/artikelen/effectief-vergaderen/driestappenplan-voor-een-effectieve-brainstormsessie/>

Discuss in your group whether you want to be civilly disobedient or not. If you choose to take a more risky action, realize that there will always be different roles and tasks. People who can't or don't want to take a risk can contribute in other ways, such as helping with media from a back office or providing a safe place to gather after the action.

Also, always check how many people have time and energy to implement the various ideas. Nothing is more demotivating than spending five meetings discussing all kinds of exciting action ideas and then find out that nobody in the group wants to or has the capacities to carry out the action.

Sometimes it works best to come up with a plan with a small group of people and then get more people involved. There are many people who would like to participate in a plan, but don't feel like having endless meetings about how and what. But it can also be very powerful to gather people first and then come up with a plan that everyone is excited about.

Questions to ponder:

- What is **the purpose** (or purposes) of your action?
- Be clear about **the target** of your action: infrastructure, politics, investors, Shell employees, Shell partners, society at large?
- It is important to have a **clear core message**: what do you want people to remember (see also Chapter 9: Media)? Tips: <https://landslidecreative.com/6-ways-to-make-your-ideas-stick/>
- Who is **your audience**? Who do you want to appeal to? How will what you want to accomplish happen through them?

It helps to have a clear understanding of what you want to achieve in advance. This will help your group set achievable goals. It is unrealistic to think that Shell will be dismantled by a single action. Achievable goals include, for example: having the core message in at least one article in mainstream media; engagement of people and other groups on social media; X number of new people joining your group; making the blockade last for X number of hours, etc. Reading through the various components of this toolkit can help you set achievable goals.

In Part 3 of this toolkit, you'll find inspiration for different types of actions you can organize.

#### b. *Engaging people and group formation*

Think about approximately how many people you will need for your plan. It works best to approach people directly with a request for help in which you are as specific as possible about what you need and how much time it will take. For example, "We're still looking for someone to handle the media at our campaign and you've done that before anyway; do you feel like helping? We expect it will take about five to ten hours a week over the next month."

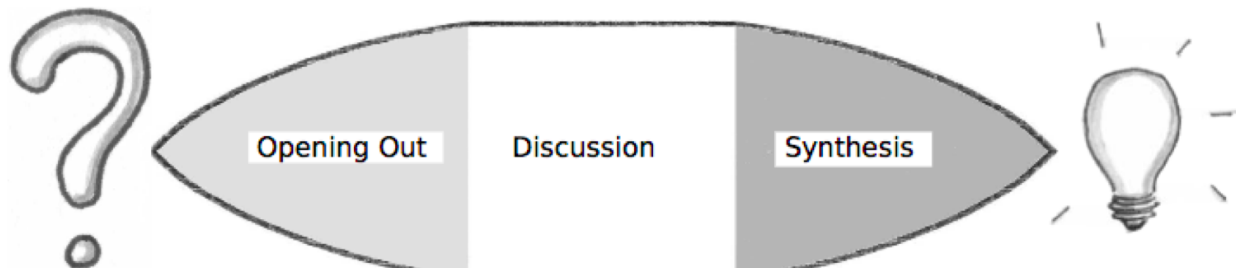
As a group, think about how you make decisions (*see tips on consensus decision making in the section below*), how often you meet, and what the meetings will look like. It is helpful to have a standard agenda for meetings and to rotate facilitation. Tips on facilitating online meetings can be found in this guide from trainer collective Stroomversnellers: <https://commonslibrary.org/facilitating-online-meetings/>

Be realistic about the amount of work. Always schedule more time than you think you will need. If possible, try to work generally below capacity (at the individual and group level) so that everyone has the space and energy to do more during peak times. Try to make sure everyone is only responsible for 1 thing.

### c. Consensus decision-making

Consensus decision-making is a creative and dynamic way of reaching an agreement with all members of a group. It is based on the idea that everyone has the freedom to determine their path in life and can play an equal role in creating a shared future.

The diagram below shows how a discussion develops during the consensus process. At first, the discussion spreads out as people contribute different perspectives and ideas. Then the group forms a proposal based on the commonalities/agreements in the group - where the best pieces of all the ideas can be put together.



Short Guide to Consensus Decision Making

Pg.3/8

If all goes well, the group will come up with a proposal that everyone actively supports, or one that at least everyone can live with.

Guidelines for the decision-making process:

- ★ Don't be afraid to point it out if you don't understand something.
- ★ Be willing to work toward a solution that is best for everyone, not just what's best for you.
- ★ Be flexible and willing to give up something to reach a decision.
- ★ Help create a respectful and safe atmosphere.
- ★ If you have a concern about something, let it be known early so it can be included in the decision-making process.
- ★ Don't be afraid of disagreement. Consensus is not about being the same or thinking the same as the group. Differences of opinion are to be expected and may lead to a better decision. With a lot of information and different opinions, it is more likely that the group will find a good solution.

#### More reading:

- Starhawk's Short consensus summary (in English): <https://starhawk.org/short-consensus-summary/>
- Flow accelerators guide to facilitation: <https://learningforsustainability.net/facilitation/>

### d. Creating affinity groups

Once the plan is clear, it's time to create affinity groups. Or maybe your action collective is a single affinity group. An affinity group is a group of 4 to 8 people who trust each other and participate together in direct action. This group size ensures that everyone can actively participate in decisions and be heard.

Affinity groups have two main functions:

1. They are the best way to protect the individual during a demonstration, direct action, or similar event. Affinity groups are there to look out for each other's concerns and needs. Within your affinity group you care for each other, discuss how far you want to go, how you feel, and what you want to do. Usually, you try to come back from the action all together.
2. Affinity groups are an important part of any autonomous organization. On the one hand, this structure allows large groups to function more effectively, for example, when decision-making structures are built around a delegation system (aka *spokescouncil*). They also offer participants the chance to not only follow, but also contribute to the action with their own ideas and plans.

An affinity group divides into smaller units called buddies: 2 or 3 people who stay together under all circumstances. If something happens to one of you - getting hurt, getting arrested, etc. -, then their buddy or buddies can support this person. The others in the affinity group can then decide whether to stay behind as well or go with the action. What is important is that no one is ever alone!

Often affinity groups are composed of people with similar action experience. But this is not necessary. It is much more important that your ideas about action are similar. How far are you willing to go? How long are you willing to stay? How do you behave towards others, for example the police? The better you know each other as a group, the easier it is to make decisions, the more comfortable everyone will feel in the group, and the more effective your action can be. Before starting the action, especially take the time to get to know each other and discuss possible scenarios! For example, use this questionnaire to better understand each other's goals and ideals:

<https://skillsforaction.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/checklist-affinity-groups.pdf>

**e. *Contact Code Rood***

If we know that a Shell Must Fall action is going to take place, we can share the action through our social media channels @ShellMustFall and @Climate Action. If we are notified in advance, we can make sure someone is on standby. If it is not possible to inform us in advance, please tag us on our social media during the action so we can spread the word further.

In some cases, we can also support the action in other ways, for example financially or with manpower. Please contact us to discuss what is possible! [info@code-rood.org](mailto:info@code-rood.org)



## 4. Inclusiveness, power, and oppression

When planning an action, it is important to discuss and analyze inclusivity, power, and oppression. This is important both in relation to the story, message, and demands of your action, as well as how you organize your action and your group internally.

We do not have all the answers when it comes to intersectionality, decolonization, power, and oppression. Indeed, within our group there is often disagreements about what the concepts mean, how useful they are, and what role they (should) play within the climate movement. We are not experts, which is why in this chapter we mainly want to invite you to do research and engage in discussions. We have no illusions that this chapter is complete, and we see it more as the beginning of a discussion than as a final outcome.

Of course, we are not the first generation to deal with these issues, so we can learn a lot from other forms of struggle and movements that came before us. Therefore, we provide reading tips from political thinkers and groups that have inspired us in the areas of intersectionality and decolonization. We give suggestions for questions to discuss in your group, because we think it's important to have discussions about intersectionality and decolonization. And we give a few tips that have helped us.

### **a. Questions to discuss in your group**

First, it is important to talk about power and different forms of oppression in your organization. Learning about our own racism, sexism, and class prejudices works best when we share and evaluate experiences together and try out different proposals together. It is important to create an atmosphere in which we can learn from each other openly and honestly, without fearing the loss of our personal integrity and facing ridicule. We believe it is important that each member of the collective can express insecurities, fears, and practice (self)criticism.<sup>1</sup>

The following questions can help guide a discussion:

- In what ways are different people affected differently by the issue we are addressing (e.g., the climate crisis)?
- Who is affected by the demands we make (e.g., workers and communities)?
- How do we ensure that our group is inclusive?<sup>2</sup>
- Whose voices are often not heard in our society and group? For example, people of color, women, non-binary or trans people, people from immigrant backgrounds, LGBTQ+ people, people with lower socioeconomic status or no education, and people with mental health vulnerabilities or physical disabilities. How can we make sure these voices are heard?
- How can we ensure involvement or representation of affected communities?
- What does climate justice mean to us? What is the difference between climate justice and sustainability?
- What does solidarity mean to us?
- How do we promote and strengthen learning and sharing within our group?
- What risks are there for activists participating in (our) action(s), and how are risks different for different people? What are the needs of these groups and how can we adapt our precautions accordingly? While there is often a perception that we can take action relatively safely within Europe (especially when compared to communities in the global South), it is important to be aware that in Europe this is not always true for people of color, poor people, and queer people, for example.

### **b. Tips for meetings**

- Pay attention to power relations in meetings and conversations: For whom is it easy to talk and take space and time, and for whom is this more difficult? Whose opinions are listened to?
- Invest in establishing ground rules with the group to create a space for learning.
- Use the step-up, step-down principle: ask people who tend to talk a lot to talk less and listen more; ask people who are often silent to speak up. This often does not happen automatically; a good facilitator will notice whose voices are loudest in the room and actively seek a better balance.

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<sup>1</sup>This sentence is inspired by a section from 6 of these 11 Theses: <https://perspektivesv.noblogs.org/files/2020/01/Kollektiv-11-Theses-about-organizing-and-revolutionary-practice-for-a-fundamental-reorientation-of-left-wing-politics-ENG.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> 'Diversity' describes one aspect of inclusiveness: the extent to which an organization involves people from diverse backgrounds or communities as board members, employees, and/or volunteers. Inclusive organizations, on the other hand, not only have diverse individuals but, more importantly, they are learning-oriented organizations that include the perspectives and contributions of all people.

### **c. Tips for actions**

A well-prepared affinity group that you can trust is critical! In addition to the list in Section 3.d., you can discuss the following questions with your affinity group:

- What are your hopes and fears for this action?
- What makes you feel safe/confident about an action?
- Avoid assumptions about what people want and can do, and encourage each other to switch roles.

Discuss in your affinity group:

- Have you participated in an action like this before?
- If so, what kind of roles do you usually take on and what kind of roles would you like to gain experience with?
- If not, what kind of role would you like to take on?

Inform yourself about police violence and about how different groups in society are more or less at risk of becoming victims of (police) violence. See, for example, chapter 6 in this toolkit.

#### **For inspiration: Queer-feminist organizing**

One of our goals for our 2020 action was to make sure that queer feminism, and by extension anti-racism, was at the center of attention in as many areas as possible. Particularly when it came to creating and implementing action plans, we often saw that mostly white men took on this role. This was reflected in the form of the action, but of course also in its accessibility.

To change this, we established the following values:

- Strengthen the leadership of women, trans and non-binary people (and primarily people of color) by investing in skill sharing and breaking traditional gender roles;
- Be explicit about anti-racism and decolonization in the action;
- Create a space where learning can take place and also learn to hold each other accountable;
- Make sure the work does not fall to a small group;
- Ensure proper and transparent decision-making processes and that information is accessible to all;
- And most of all, take good care of each other!

### **d. Continue reading**

In this toolkit, we do not have the space to provide a comprehensive overview of perspectives around inclusivity, decolonization, and intersectionality, so we present a list of reading tips (which is far from complete) as input for further conversations within your group. We encourage everyone to organize (internal) discussions on the topic and continue to learn from each other and shape shared ideals together. We have tried to find an English equivalent of Dutch websites whenever possible. If you have a good English equivalent for an article feel free to contact us and we will replace it as soon as possible.

Institutional racism in the Netherlands: what it is, where it is, and what you can do about it (in Dutch):

<https://decorrespondent.nl/11317/institutioneel-racisme-in-nederland-wat-het-is-waar-het-zit-en-wat-jij-eraan-kunt-doen/815691855462-f160ab8e>

An English alternative might be the following article: <https://dutchreview.com/expat/racism-the-netherlands/>

White homework: an incomplete reference book for people who want to delve into their fight against racism (In Dutch): <https://www.withuiswerk.nl/>  
<https://www.toriglass.com/white-homework>

A critical piece by Miriyam Aouragh in which she argues for the rediscovery of the black radical tradition: The Limits of White Privilege: Shortcuts in the Anti-Racism Struggle (In Dutch):

<https://socialisme.nu/de-beperkingen-van-wit-privilege-shortcuts-in-de-antiracisme-strijd/>

A critical article on identity by Kenan Malik: It's solidarity, not identity (in Dutch): <https://www.vrij-links.nl/artikelen/het-is-solidariteit-niet-identiteit/?fbclid=IwAR1a-3q7ktJvJX7oLkE80O4QOW3C0VScIVhoikkV7CAsXL1uni2a84NYf2Y>

An article by the anti-racism working group of action group Ende Gelände (in English): Notes for an anti-racist approach in the Ende Gelände Action 2020 in Rhineland

<https://www.ende-gelaende.org/en/news/notes-from-antira-wg-for-the-mass-action-2020/>

Bell hooks: Where we stand - Class matters (in English): [http://www.carbonfarm.us/amap/hooks\\_class.pdf](http://www.carbonfarm.us/amap/hooks_class.pdf)

The Combahee River Collective was a Black feminist socialist organization active in Boston from 1974 to 1980. They were named after the raid on Combahee Ferry, in which Harriet Tubman led an expedition of 150 African-American soldiers that liberated 750 former enslaved people. The collective has become most famous for their Combahee River Collective Statement, an important document in the history of contemporary Black feminism. From the statement:

*"We realize that the liberation of all oppressed peoples means the destruction of the political-economic systems of capitalism and imperialism and patriarchy. We are socialists because we believe that work should be organized for the collective good of those who do the work and make the products, and not for the profit of the bosses. Material resources should be distributed fairly among those who create them. However, we are not convinced that a socialist revolution that is not also a feminist and anti-racist revolution will guarantee our liberation."*

[https://americanstudies.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Keyword%20Coalition\\_Readings.pdf](https://americanstudies.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Keyword%20Coalition_Readings.pdf)

The 11 Theses were written by kollektiv from Bremen, Germany. Kollektiv is a small group of people with different ideological traditions (Marxist, Marxist-Leninist, autonomous, anarchist, and libertarian-communist) and geographical backgrounds (Germany, Turkey, Iran, and Kurdistan). In eleven viewpoints, they address the question of what social change in today's society could look like and what concrete steps are needed to achieve this. These 6 are about how we as a left movement can step out of the subculture to become a much broader movement:

*"The socialization within radical left structures creates the illusion that leftist places are free from social influences such as, for example, increasing capitalist, sexist, racist, nationalist, and fascist tendencies. This self-image promotes the separation of the radical left scene from society and carries an elitist consciousness. In it, one's own scene is styled as a haven of enlightenment and emancipation while society "out there" is seen as the embodiment of reactionary decline."*

<https://perspektivesv.noblogs.org/files/2020/01/Kollektiv-11-Theses-about-organizing-and-revolutionary-practice-for-a-fundamental-reorientation-of-left-wing-politics-ENG.pdf>

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was the most influential, militant black power organization of the 1960s in the United States. The Black Panthers confronted politicians, challenged the police, and protected black citizens from acts of violence. The party's programs provided food, clothing, medical care, and transportation for poor people. Instead of reforming American society, members wanted to fundamentally change it. Their "10 Point Program" is highly relevant for forming autonomous, socialist societies:

Read more about the Black Panther Party: <https://nmaahc.si.edu/blog-post/black-panther-party-challenging-police-and-promoting-social-change>

## 5. Caring for each other

Regardless of the type of action you choose, caring for each other is important! The struggle for social and climate justice is longer than one action. If you are organizing something yourself, think about what kind of support the people in the action can offer each other. Pass on information about this effectively.

Here's a list of different things you can think about:

- A safe(r) space - a physical place after the action where people can come to rest, receive food/drink, and/or talk about their experiences;
- An online place after the action (for example, a jitsi call), where people can talk about their experiences and receive emotional support;
- Flyers or online posts with information about psychological first aid.  
<https://supportrecoveryteam.wordpress.com/> is a very good source for this; Information on how to reach support and recovery.

### **a. Important for activists**

Talk to your friends, buddies, and affinity group before the action. For important questions to discuss in your affinity group, see section 3.d.

Listen well! People have different ways of dealing with scary situations. Listen and check if people in your group need your support.

Debrief: Some people need to talk about their experiences with their group or buddy days or weeks after the action. Even if you don't need this, it may be important for other people in your group to process it better. Find a consensus on how you will process the action with your buddy as well as your group beforehand. What will you need? What can you provide? Who will be on the listening and who on the talking "end" and when?

Sharing all your intense experiences in a group immediately after the action can be very stressful for other people in the group so try to reach a consensus beforehand. Experience has shown that it might (generally speaking) work better to rather share your experiences with your buddy or a small group of people.

And in each case, Support and Recovery can provide help. This is a group of people you can approach even weeks or months after your action. At S&R you can talk about your experiences and ask for help. Support and Recovery can be reached via this mail address: [s-r@riseup.net](mailto:s-r@riseup.net)

Last but not least, celebrate success! You don't have to throw a big party if that's not your thing. You may just want to meet up with your buddy or affinity group to do something fun together. Just celebrate that you did it, no matter what the outcome!

## 6. Dealing with the police and authorities

### **a. Police and police brutality**

In our actions, we see the police as an obstacle to be overcome and not as a target. Depending on the action, we communicate with the police, but never cooperate. Tips and tricks for police spokespersons can be found in section 6.b below.

However, one of the risks in actions, especially civil disobedience actions, is that we may encounter violence from police or security. It is important to think about this and prepare for it.

The purpose of police repression is to suppress resistance to the status quo and to frighten activists. Therefore, it is important to be open with repression, to talk about your fears, and not to be isolated or intimidated. To ensure that no one is alone in the face of police repression, there are affinity groups, arrestee groups, advocates, and support & recovery. Police repression is something we face together!

Not everyone has the same experience with (police) violence. Some people may not choose to encounter police violence. Think of undocumented people or people who the police think look dangerous. For people who have experiences with (domestic) violence or sexual violence, experiences of violence with the police in actions can have an extra impact.

#### **More reading/listening/watching about the police:**

On police brutality and ethnic profiling (in Dutch): <https://controlealtdetele.nl>

On the introduction of the electric shock weapon (taser) in the Netherlands and the police lobby and the twisting of figures that goes with it (in Dutch): [https://www.npostart.nl/medialogica/09-06-2020/VPWON\\_1310567](https://www.npostart.nl/medialogica/09-06-2020/VPWON_1310567)

The History of Tear Gas in America (in English): <https://www.washingtonpost.com/podcasts/post-reports/a-brief-history-of-tear-gas-in-america/>

In Europe, the police were created to control the poor, working class (in English): <http://www.lawcha.org/2014/12/29/stop-kidding-police-created-control-working-class-poor-people/>

### **b. Tips and tricks for police spokespeople**

Think in advance: What is the purpose of police spokespersonship in this action? What do we have to gain? And to lose? Realize that towards the police you are always in the weaker position!

As a police spokesperson, you are the point of contact for the police and any security guards. You do not actively participate in the action yourself, so you can focus on this task. It is useful to approach the police when you see them coming. Inform the rest of the group that you are the police spokesperson and that all communication with the police goes through you. This prevents people from talking to the police themselves and the police from finding out more than you would have liked.

Is there no police or security on site at the beginning of the action, and you have not reported your action? You can then call the regional number of the police to inform them that there is a demonstration. This then applies as the notification. This can make a difference in how the police (once they are at the scene) start the conversation with you. The police generally ask what you are doing and how long it will take. How much of this you want to tell is up to you. Think about this carefully beforehand!

Options of what to tell police and security (generally, keep it short and sweet):

- Your name and what organization you are speaking for
- That it is a demonstration/protest
- That you will be the point of contact for the course of action
- How many people you are with
- What you are doing and why (brief substantive reason)
- Possibly: how long you plan to stay
- That your action does not have the purpose of causing destruction

Sometimes it is possible to negotiate with the police. The negotiations then go through you as the police spokesperson. Think about whether you want to do this and how far you want to go and also discuss the possible scenarios with the participants of the action in advance.

If the police know that you don't want to block the entrance all day, for example, they may be more relaxed about treating you. Conversely, if you tell them things that later turn out not to be true, you can assume that they will treat you less well. It may then be helpful to make it clear that you don't have decision-making authority and that you need to inform the group about any options that are offered in order for them to discuss. Agree in advance who you will consult this with. Of course, try not to be overheard while you are conferring.

### **c. Demonstration rights**

You have the right to protest in the Netherlands. You and your group are exercising that right during your action. The police are not allowed to curtail any demonstration or civil disobedience just like that, and the mayor needs a good reason to do so. This can be based on: a) health, b) risk of disorder, and c) protection of the interest of traffic.

Make sure that the authorities cannot cancel your demonstration based on these reasons. You can take this into account, for example, by leaving escape routes open. Obstruction is inherent in every demonstration. Even the sweetest demonstration is subject to some degree of obstruction, because if you stand on the sidewalk someone has to go around. Demonstrate that you have thought about safety. If the police are going to be difficult, refer to your right to demonstrate. Show them that you are aware of your rights and obligations.

Read more here (in Dutch): <https://www.stroomversnellers.org/over-demonstreren-over-het-recht-op-demonstratie-verdedigen-en-over-je-rechten-als-demonstrant/>

### **d. To report or not to report?**

According to the European court you don't have to announce demonstrations, but according to Dutch rules you have to. The Dutch law does not comply with European regulations. The police and the municipality would like to know what you are planning, they say, so that they can better facilitate the protest and keep it safe. Most municipalities have articulated their stance in their General Municipal Bye-Laws (APV) that state how and whether you have to register demonstrations. If you do not comply, the mayor may, in exceptional circumstances, prohibit the demonstration. In practice, failure to report a demonstration often means that the triangle (mayor, police, and justice) is more inclined to end the demonstration on the grounds of danger to public safety or failure to report it. In several municipalities, including The Hague, you can even be fined for not reporting a demonstration.

### **e. Legitimation**

The police sometimes asks you to identify yourself. They may do so if they have reason to do so. They may do so even if they do not have reason to do so. So always ask for the reason without escalating. It is annoying and intimidating, but often they take your ID for a moment. Ask them why they do this. They should really only do this if they feel there is a need. You also don't know if a file will already be made of you. You may be able to ask at another time if there is a file on you and file a complaint if they wrongfully asked for and took your ID.

### **f. Arrest**

It is always possible that you, or someone in your group, will be arrested in an action. Be prepared for this! In this arrestee manual, you can read more about what the police can and cannot do in case of arrest, and much more useful information (in Dutch): <https://burojansen.nl/pdf/arrestantenhandleiding.pdf>

Also read Chapter 10: The arrestee group ("legal").

## 7. Dealing with the secret service

### a. Introduction

Social movements are closely monitored by the police and intelligence agencies. There are many examples of movements that have been broken up by police and intelligence interference. For example, infiltrator William O'Neal provided the FBI with a map of the Chicago apartment where Black Panther Fred Hampton was murdered in 1969.

We are also being watched in the Netherlands. For example, research by Buro Jansen and Jansen from 2017 shows that the Dutch police are doing social media surveillance and are cooperating with several private social media monitoring companies for this purpose.<sup>3</sup>

In recent years, several people in the climate movement have been approached with the request to become informants for the police. The best way to protect ourselves as a movement against this kind of repression is to discuss it within the movement and to support people who are approached. People who are approached by the police or intelligence services are generally not prepared for this and often experience it as very intimidating. Therefore, it is important to discuss it in your group before an incident occurs. In principle, do not talk to the police, any information you share can be used against you or the group. Here you can read our reaction to various approach attempts from the police intelligence service, including tips for when you have been approached (in Dutch): <https://code-rood.org/nl/2019/06/05/een-open-brief-aan-de-inlichtingendienst-van-de-politie/>

### b. Safety Culture

A safety culture is a set of habits within a group designed to minimize the risks of repression. Using a culture of safety avoids the need to keep working out safety measures, and can counteract paranoia and panic in stressful situations. It can also keep you out of jail. If you get into the habit of not revealing sensitive information about yourself, you can work with strangers without wondering whether or not they are informants; if everyone knows what you can or cannot talk about over the phone, your enemies can tap the line all they want and it won't get them anywhere.

The most important principle of a safety culture is that we do not share information that others do not need, nor do we fish for things we do not need to know.

Also, don't share information about other people who may not want that information known at all ("I ran into Jan at an action in a coal mine the other day...").

Don't brag about illegal things you or other people have done or speculate about things that will or will not happen.

If you are arrested, do not talk to the police. Any information you share can be used against you or your comrades!

- On the Internet, always use trusted apps/software with "end-to-end encryption" when communicating with your comrades, such as Signal (<https://signal.org>), Briar (<https://briarproject.org>), or XMPP (with Omemo) (<https://conversations.im>).
- Do not use e-mail for confidential information unless you are sure that you and the recipient are both using the same secure e-mail service, such as Protonmail (<https://protonmail.com>) or Tutanota (<https://tutanota.com>). OpenPGP (<https://riseup.net/en/security/message-security/openpgp>) is also an option, but not very user-friendly.
- Make sure your phone is protected with a good password when you go out on the street. A pattern, for example, is easy for the police to figure out.
- Make sure your phone is encrypted. You may want to check this with a knowledgeable and trustworthy person.
- If anonymity on the Internet is a maximum priority for you, you can use a VPN (<https://riseup.net/en/vpn>) or even Tor (<https://www.torproject.org>).
- Talk to others about what security culture principles are important to you.

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<sup>3</sup> (In Dutch) <https://www.burojansen.nl/observant/social-media-surveillance-in-nederland/>

**c. Continue reading about safety culture**

What is security culture from CrimethInc (in English): <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/crimethinc-what-is-security-culture#toc1>

Bristol Anarchist Federation (in English): <https://bristolaf.wordpress.com/2017/05/31/essential-online-security-an-anarchists-guide-for-everyone/>

Safety tips from Riseup (in English): <https://riseup.net/en/security>

**8. Demonstrations and corona**

Fortunately, demonstrations are not (yet) prohibited in the Netherlands because of corona, but we do see that municipalities often (and sometimes drastically) restrict demonstrations. If you feel that your protest is being unreasonably restricted, you can object or receive advice from a lawyer (e.g., via PILP <https://pilpnjcm.nl>). Because we consider the safety of activists important, we observe corona measures during actions. Make sure that everyone keeps 1.5 meters distance and that everyone wears a mouth mask.



## 9. Media

Movements are for people, and the media is one way you can get your message heard. How healthy a movement is and how much media attention there is are far from the same thing. Still, media coverage is an important goal for most actions. If your action is not visible (for example, on social media or through regular media channels), the chances that your action will contribute to change are small. Therefore, creating a good media plan and a specific message for the media is essential. Unfortunately, we often see that the media plan does not always get the attention it deserves. That's a shame, because media attention can give your action a greater impact. And that is what we do it for!

In this chapter, we briefly describe what to think about when creating and implementing a media plan.

### ***a. Media team, media plan, and media back office***

When developing promotions or longer campaigns, it is important to put together a media team. For a very small campaign, one person might be enough, but ideally this team should consist of several people, allowing you to divide tasks and roles. The media team is responsible for developing the central message and underlying sub-messages in consultation with all those involved in the campaign.

Tips:

- Make sure the content of the central message and the form of the action are well matched.
- There is always a lot to say about Shell and the issues surrounding Shell, but focus is essential to get your message right. So choose one central message. You can provide additional information in a few sub-messages, but keep it limited and simple for the recipient of your message. If you want to tell even more, you can choose to publish background pieces on your website.

#### Example

Central message: Shell continues to worsen climate crisis

Sub-messages:

- Only 2% of Shell's investments go to renewables
- Shell remains committed to fossil fuels until 2070
- Shell has known for decades that fossil fuels cause dangerous climate change. Instead of addressing the problem, the company has invested in spreading lies and sowing doubt
- Shell has no role at the climate table

Before the action, work out your media plan:

- Write a press release: What headline would you like to see in the paper?
- Think about how you will make your action visible on social media; decide what # (hashtags) to use.
- Think about desired photo and video footage. If you want to live stream the action, practice it beforehand so you can be sure everything works.
- Involve and inform other, solidarity groups and organizations that can help spread the action and the message. If you prefer to keep your action secret for as long as possible, you can also choose to only let people you trust know that something is going to happen on a certain date. They can then keep an eye on social media and share messages further themselves.

Make a clear division of labor. Preferably divide the tasks among as many people as possible. What seems like a small task is often in practice more work than you think. Tasks:

- Send press release
- Spokesperson for journalists
- Social media tracking - preferably one person per channel
- Optional: Website maintenance
- Taking photos
- Optional: Creating videos
- Optional: Livestream

Always provide a media back office. A media back office consists of people who support the action remotely, preferably from an unknown location to avoid arrest risk.

In the case of a major action and/or actions where police action and arrests are expected, it is important to create a schedule that allows people in the media team to take breaks from time to time as well. Ideally, you will have new people available for media duties the day after the action. In fact, the day after the action there is always a lot to do - especially if people are still trapped - and it is necessary to have people with fresh

energy.

#### **b. “House-style” and visuals**

In a Shell Must Fall promotion, you can use the Shell Must Fall corporate identity, presentations, and visuals, such as memes, photos, and logos.

All of this information and examples can be found in Code Rood's Cloud at this link: <https://cloud.code-rood.org/index.php/s/KoB9f5RFzZcq8gr>

Photos of previous actions can be found on Flickr: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/code-rood/albums>

#### **c. Social media and website**

Social media has become an increasingly important medium for action groups. This is the place where we can get our own message out and generate a lot of attention for our story. Therefore, in your media plan, think about what messages and images you want to spread through social media. It helps to have as many texts (including your #) and images as possible ready in advance.

##### **Facebook tips**

- If possible, you can announce your action in advance in a post or event
- Don't post too much in a day and don't place posts too close together
- Provide a closing post at the end of your campaign that includes thanking partners
- For videos, it is useful to turn on 'crossposting' with partners in advance so that your video is immediately distributed on multiple channels

##### **Twitter tips**

- For Twitter, all #'s are important, so make sure partners use your #'s as well.
- On Twitter, you can often post and tag relevant organizations and individuals to generate additional attention, such as media, journalists, and politicians. Look up the Twitter accounts of relevant people in advance and start following them.
- Good images help! So make sure you have nice pictures and short, sharp texts.
- Share your press release yourself on Twitter (e.g., from your website) sometime after you send it. Tag media.

##### **Instagram tips**

- Make sure someone is posting directly to Instagram from the action. It is helpful to have two people at the action who are responsible for this.
- Through clever use of hashtags, you can generate many more "views" for your posts. This is because there are people who do not follow your account, but do follow certain hashtags. You are allowed 30 hashtags per post, use them. For the most views, use this “trap”:
  - Post 10 hashtags that have between 300,000 and a million posts (check this through the app, if you type a hashtag into the search bar you will see the number of posts).
  - Post 10 hashtags that have between 80,000 and 300,000 posts.
  - You use the last 10 hashtags for "niche" hashtags under 80,000 posts.

##### **Website tips**

Place your press release with a good photo on your website and share it further via Twitter and possibly Facebook.

At the end of your action, provide a closing summary with your best photos and perhaps a reference to follow-up actions.

#### **d. Press**

Part of your media plan is to create a press plan. Which media do you want to see your action? Think about this in advance. Invest in creating and maintaining a good press list. Your press list contains email addresses, phone numbers (if available), and Twitter accounts of editors and specific journalists. When journalists call, always write down the name and number and keep it in the press list. On Twitter, you can often find specific areas of interest as well; this is also useful to keep track of.

##### **To inform the press or not to inform the press in advance: advantages and disadvantages**

In the case of an announced action, it is smart to send out a press announcement (press release) before the action to inform the media about what is going to happen. Send out the announcement at least one day in advance. For large actions, you can inform the press longer in advance. Keep in mind that most news media plan their coverage very shortly beforehand.

You can bring an unannounced action - "under embargo" - to the attention of specific media or journalists before the action takes place. The advantage is that you then have a greater chance that a journalist or press photographer will be present. The disadvantage is that there is a greater chance that your action will be leaked. Media will treat your information confidentially, but unfortunately we know that phones are frequently tapped, so be careful with that. Send an "under embargo" announcement targeted to specific media and journalists you think are most likely to be interested and to maintain the secret.

!!Important! In an unannounced action, it is crucial that any press do not loiter at the scene before the action starts. Present press can be a warning to security guards and police.

### **Press Release**

Tips for a good press release:

- Make sure you have a good headline, which attracts attention, and which preferably already contains part of your core message.
- The first paragraph (bold) tells: Who, What, Where, and Why in a few sentences (summary).
- The next few paragraphs go into more detail about the action and your messages. Quotes are a very good way to incorporate your opinion into the press release. The main text can then remain neutral/factual, while in a quote you can show more emotion. It also makes it more interesting to read.
- In the "Note to editors": links to social media and name (can be first name only) and phone number of press spokesperson.
- Put your press release on your website and make sure the press spokesperson's number is also on the site.

### **Spokespersons**

For every action, make sure there is at least one spokesperson available at the scene and one spokesperson in the back office. With large actions you often need more spokespersons to speak to the press.

Think carefully about who are your spokespeople: These individuals are the voice and face of your campaign. It is not only important that they can tell the story well, but also that they come across as reliable and gain sympathy from a wider audience. Depending on your campaign, you can look for the right spokespersons. For example, someone with a Nigerian background for an action about Nigeria. We also like to let people speak who historically in society are often not listened to, such as women, people of color, young people, etc.

Practice!

Good spokesmanship is a matter of lots of practice. The more often you do it, the better you become. You can practice a lot of spokesmanship beforehand. Basic questions journalists ask include:

- Why are you taking action?
- What do you want to achieve?
- Why are you here? What drives you? (Personal aspect)
- Does your action make sense?

Practicing by doing mock video interviews is helpful, because you can watch yourself back.

#### **e. Photo and video**

Good photo and video material is important for your (social) media work. So it is always preferable to have trained photographers and videographers present at your action. This often provides material that you can use later. For some actions, even years later, photos are still in the media.

If you can't find a trained photographer or videographer, ask if the people taking photos and videos will invest some time to educate themselves on how to take good photos or videos. Many tips can be found online. And again, practice makes improvement!

Think in advance about what kind of footage you would like to have so that you can properly instruct videographers and photographers. Also discuss how you will deal with any police violence. Filming violence can be smart because it can protect activists. At the same time, showing police violence on social media distracts from your core message. Therefore, it is important that your group considers the trade-off.

## 10. The Arrestee Group ("legal")

The arrestees group provides practical support for actions where people are (or can be) arrested. In decentralized actions, it is sometimes possible to have a national arrestees group that can support local groups. Previous action days proved that for some, mainly (larger) action groups, it is more convenient to set up smaller arrestant teams. For contact with the arrestees group of Code Rood, send an email to [info@code-rood.org](mailto:info@code-rood.org).

To simplify setting up an arrestee group, we summarize the steps in a script. Of course, not every action carries the same risk of arrest. Some of the steps mentioned will therefore not always be necessary. However, make a habit of strictly enforcing the guidelines for an effective safety culture (chapter 7.b), even in actions that seem innocent. For example, never mention real names. Your co-organizers may also be involved in other actions where protecting their identities is more important.

The work in the arrestee group has three phases: preparation, the action itself, and aftercare and evaluation. Preparation begins at least a month before the action and aftercare at least until the last arrestee is released. After that, there is often the handling of opposition to fines or complaints about disproportionate or unlawful action by the police. For this, support from a.o. PILP is also available. We summarize the entire organization in a script.

The detailed playbook, including a sample logbook, sample arrestee bill, sample support agreement, and sample flyer can be found on Code Rood's cloud at this link: <https://cloud.code-rood.org/index.php/s/aR5CZHcNzKZS9wZ> -

## 11. Packing List

What do you bring to your action and what is better to leave at home? Here we've put together a little checklist.

### General

- Don't go alone, but with friends, preferably in an affinity group, chapter 3.b.;
- Inform yourself in advance about the content and especially the character of the demonstration so that you can assess what may happen;
- Make sure you are well rested and physically fit;
- Choose your clothing based on practical considerations. Long clothes can protect your skin from the sun, but also from tear gas or pepper spray;
- Do not wear creams or makeup during high-risk actions because the tear gas/pepper spray accumulates in the oils;
- Wear glasses (preferably shatterproof) in place of your contact lenses. When tear gas/pepper spray is used, contact lenses are impractical and usually impossible to use;
- Do not wear jewelry, especially large earrings and long necklaces or rings, because you can injure others and especially yourself.

### What to bring

- If not demonstrating anonymously: identity card, passport, and residence permit if required;
- Number of chosen action lawyer in case you are arrested (write on your body, i.e. forearm)
- Pen and paper to write down the nicknames of arrested persons;
- Enough water to drink and possibly rinse your eyes (in case of tear gas or pepper spray);
- Medications you need regularly, at least in the amount needed for the next 24 hours (in case you are arrested);
- Money to make the phone calls you are entitled to in the event of an arrest;
- Money to get home if you are dropped by the police at another location;
- Sufficient food to meet short-term energy needs;
- Sanitary napkins or other menstrual products, if needed.

### What NOT to bring:

- Any objects that reveal personal things about you or other people if you want to remain anonymous (e.g., address books, calendars, a pencil case with your name in it, and so on);
- Alcohol and other drugs;
- Weapons and "dangerous objects" that can get you in trouble with the police.

This list is based on the following list from Skills for action (in German):

## **12. Atmosphere management**

Trainers collective Stroomversnellers has written a great guide on how and why to use atmosphere management/order services (mandatory in legal demonstrations!) in your action - we have nothing to add to that (in Dutch):

[https://www.stroomversnellers.org/app/uploads/2020/09/HandleidingSfeerbeheer\\_Stroomversnellers.pdf](https://www.stroomversnellers.org/app/uploads/2020/09/HandleidingSfeerbeheer_Stroomversnellers.pdf)

## **13. Rapid decision-making**

In some situations, such as during a civil disobedience campaign, you lack the time and space to meet at length about every decision. This guide to rapid decision-making from Power Accelerators explains how to do just that (in Dutch):

[https://www.stroomversnellers.org/app/uploads/2020/09/HandleidingSnelleBesluitvorming\\_Stroomversnellers.pdf](https://www.stroomversnellers.org/app/uploads/2020/09/HandleidingSnelleBesluitvorming_Stroomversnellers.pdf)

## **14. Review and evaluation**

It is important to set a time soon after the action to discuss and evaluate the action. In the case of an exciting action, it may be a good idea to meet in a safe place immediately after the action to talk things over and, if necessary, offer (physical and emotional) support to people who need it. When evaluating, also talk to each other about next steps.

## 15. Fundraising

Although most actions do not involve very high costs, it is important to budget in advance and think about how you are going to cover the costs. In the case of large actions involving higher costs, it is necessary to start in time.

The financial side of campaigning is often seen as tedious and difficult. In practice it is usually not so bad and it is worthwhile to think about money in time and to make good arrangements with the participants in your action. Then everyone knows what to expect. This strengthens mutual trust and makes it more likely that participants will want to participate again in a subsequent action.

### **a. Create a budget and coverage plan**

A budget is an estimate of the costs you will incur with your action. As such, your budget will never quite match the final costs incurred.

Tips for making a budget:

- Prepare your budget in excel (or another program that can do math). This will help you avoid calculation errors.
- Take into account unforeseen costs, you can try to overestimate your total costs by 10%.
- Discuss the budget in the group. This is important not only to avoid forgetting cost items, but also for transparency and consensus building.

Once you have prepared your budget, you should start thinking about your coverage plan. A coverage plan lists the various sources of income you will use to cover your budget. You can think of grants, donations, or participants' own contributions. If your funding plan does not produce sufficient financial resources to cover your budget, you will have to adjust your budget downwards.

Sample Budget and Coverage Plan:

<b>Cost</b>	<b>Budgeted</b>	<b>Coverage Plan</b>	<b>Budgeted income</b>
Sound reinforcement rental	€ 100	Contribution fund X	€ 200
Rental van	€ 100	Contribution fund Y	€ 100
Travel costs participants	€ 50	Private donations	€ 80
Material costs	€ 75	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>€ 380</b>
Telephone charges	€ 20		
Unforeseen (10%)	€ 35		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>€ 380</b>		

You can keep track of your actual expenses and realized income in your budget and coverage plan at all times, so you keep a good overview.

The end result then might look like this:

<b>Cost</b>	<b>Budgeted</b>	<b>Actual costs</b>
Sound reinforcement rental	€ 100	€ 80
Rental van	€ 100	€ 120
Travel costs participants	€ 50	€ 40
Material costs	€ 75	€ 60
Telephone charges	€ 20	€ 0
Unforeseen (10%)	€ 35	€ 30
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>€ 380</b>	<b>€ 330</b>

<b>Coverage Plan</b>	<b>Budgeted income</b>	<b>Actual income</b>
Contribution fund X	€ 200	€ 150
Contribution fund Y	€ 100	€ 100
Private donations	€ 80	€ 100
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>€ 380</b>	<b>€ 350</b>

Difference	€ 20
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### ***b. Apply for a grant***

For many actions it is possible to apply for a grant from a fund. There are big differences between funds: There are big differences between the conditions you have to meet, the size of a possible contribution, the costs you can put up, the time frame in which a decision is made, etc, etc. It is very important to read the conditions carefully before you apply. Does your group not meet the conditions? If so, there is no point in applying. When in doubt, it is better to send an email or make call in advance to ask if you meet the conditions, rather than submit an application and hope for the best. Often only an organization can apply, but sometimes you can be supported as an individual.

Tips for a successful application:

- Read the conditions carefully and apply only if you can meet the requirements.
- The better your action aligns with the fund's goals, the more likely your application will be approved. Don't invest time and energy in applications or funds that have different goals.
- Most funds have an application form. Answer the questions briefly, to the point and as clearly as possible. When filling out, address what the fund thinks is important to know and not (only) what you think is important to tell.
- Make sure your application looks neat and organized. A good first impression is the first step to success.

### ***c. Report***

Most funds want to receive a report after your action. When the contribution is granted, it is usually indicated what the report must satisfy and before what date it must be sent. Read these conditions carefully so you know where you stand! Some funds want to see all receipts for costs incurred, so always make sure you have good records. If there is no obligation to report, it is still wise to send a short report. This will strengthen

your relationship with the grantor.

Tips:

- Adhere to reporting requirements. If you see that there are obligations that you may not be able to meet, contact the fund immediately to discuss. Do not wait to do this until after your action.
- Put the deadline for reporting in your calendar.
- If possible, include the best photos of your action in your report and add media links.
- It is possible that not all of the grant money has been spent. Most funds do not necessarily want the remaining money back (but they can!). If you have money left over, you can use your reporting to make a proposal on how you will spend it. If the fund agrees to this proposal, you do not have to return the leftover money.

#### ***d. Private donations and crowdfunding***

In addition to subsidies, you can look for donations from individuals to make your action possible. The advantage of this is that you do not have to report and you can also show support for your action. If you raise more money than the costs you have made, you can use the donations for your next action. The disadvantage is that donations often come in during or shortly after the action. Because of this, you don't always know if you will succeed in covering all the costs.

Tips for private donations and crowdfunding:

- Ask and make it easy. Many people are willing to donate when asked, so don't forget to ask for a donation. The easier you make it, the more likely you are to get donations coming in. So provide an online payment link and (where possible) a collection box for cash donations.
- Include some social media posts about donations in your campaign's communication plan.
- Try to be as specific as possible in naming what the donations will be spent on, e.g., paying fines.
- For some actions and costs, a crowdfunding campaign is a good idea. For a crowdfunding campaign you can often use a crowdfunding platform. Note that these platforms have conditions that you must meet and often keep a percentage of the donations raised. The advantage is that crowdfunding through an existing platform seems reliable. Therefore, check carefully whether you meet the conditions and weigh whether using the platform makes sense.
- In a crowdfunding campaign, mobilize partner organizations and your supporters to share the campaign on social media.

**Thank you all for joining us on this journey and participating in this movement. We are deeply grateful for all your (continuous) work, input & inspiration.**

**Let's make Shell history!**