

# TO THE END



**GUIDE FOR HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATORS**

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# OVERVIEW



“There’s no such thing as too late when it comes to climate. Because this isn’t an on-off switch. The future is about a spectrum of possibilities. Our job is: where are we steering the ship?”

REPRESENTATIVE ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ, *TO THE END*

*To the End* Guide for High School Educators is a film-focused interdisciplinary resource for upper-level high school Government, Civics, and US History classes. The feature-length documentary is the story of four visionary young women of color leading the fight for transformative policy change to stop the climate crisis and make racial and economic justice part of the solution.

Over four volatile years of crisis and upheaval, from street protests to the halls of Congress, these young leaders work together to defend their generation’s right to a future and pave the way for the first major climate legislation in US history—the [Inflation Reduction Act](#) of 2022. As these women grapple with new challenges of leadership and power in the face of cynicism and uncertainty, their story offers students a front seat view into how democracy works (and doesn’t work) in today’s America.

# IN THE CLASSROOM



**In a democracy, a classroom is one place for students to explore civic virtues, strengthen deliberation skills, exercise political agency, and practice critical media analysis.**

Watching *To the End* and incorporating these supplemental materials provides an opportunity to facilitate these learning outcomes while also providing an insider's look at the power of grassroots social movements working together with elected leaders to make political change happen.

More than ever, incorporating climate issues into education does not have to be limited to science class. The climate crisis is right now and when you are in a crisis you need to act in ways that are responsive to the urgency of the moment. An overwhelming majority (over 99 percent) of climate scientists agree that climate change is real and that human actions are the leading cause. It is irrefutable that extreme weather events—heat waves, fires, and flooding—are occurring more frequently and with greater intensity across the globe, and that the fossil fuel industry, large corporations, transportation, and industrial agriculture are the leading contributors to the release of carbon emissions into our atmosphere.

It is necessary to ensure that students understand that **climate justice is an intersectional civil rights issue**. It has profound implications for human rights and social, economic, and environmental justice because crises usually exacerbate existing inequalities. Historically, the most underserved—low-income, 65 and older, and BIPOC communities—are the “frontline communities” most vulnerable to the severe effects of climate change. Worldwide, women and girls bear disproportionate effects as well. And, children and young people can also be considered especially vulnerable, as climate change will be a far greater factor in their lives than it has been for previous generations. The concept of **intersectionality** can be helpful for understanding how different kinds of inequality interact and exacerbate one another. (See the Glossary and Reading Four: Coalition Building for more information and references.)

The original readings, tailored discussion questions, key terms in bold, links to resources to learn more, and reflective writing exercises take a deep dive into topics raised in the documentary and invites students to connect *To the End* to their lives and their civic participation today. We hope you are able to watch the full feature documentary with students, but we know this is not always possible. Time codes of short clips illustrating the reading topic are included in each unit to support different classroom needs.

Depending on discipline or unit focus, these materials will meet content standards outlined in the [C3 Framework](#) and [Common Core for ELA](#), and they align with several themes identified in the [Roadmap for Educating for American Democracy](#). *To the End* can also be a rich resource to engage in strengthening media literacy as explained by the [National Association of Media Literacy Education \(NAMLE\)](#). (See Appendix for complete listing of aligned standards.)

The Campus and Community Guide developed for higher education and community screenings is also available as an additional resource for background and learning.

## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- >> To foster political agency
- >> To expand knowledge of US history
- >> To deepen understanding of climate justice
- >> To strengthen critical media literacy skills

## ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- >> How can grassroots organizing and electoral politics function together to make change happen?
- >> What strategies and tactics can social movements use to create political will for policy change?
- >> How are equity and justice connected to the climate crisis, and to climate solutions?
- >> How does history inform and shape the development of current policy proposals?
- >> How can collective action counteract climate despair and cynicism?
- >> How are corporate interests motivated to perpetuate climate misinformation?
- >> What can I do to help address the climate crisis?



# FOR GOVERNMENT AND CIVICS COURSES

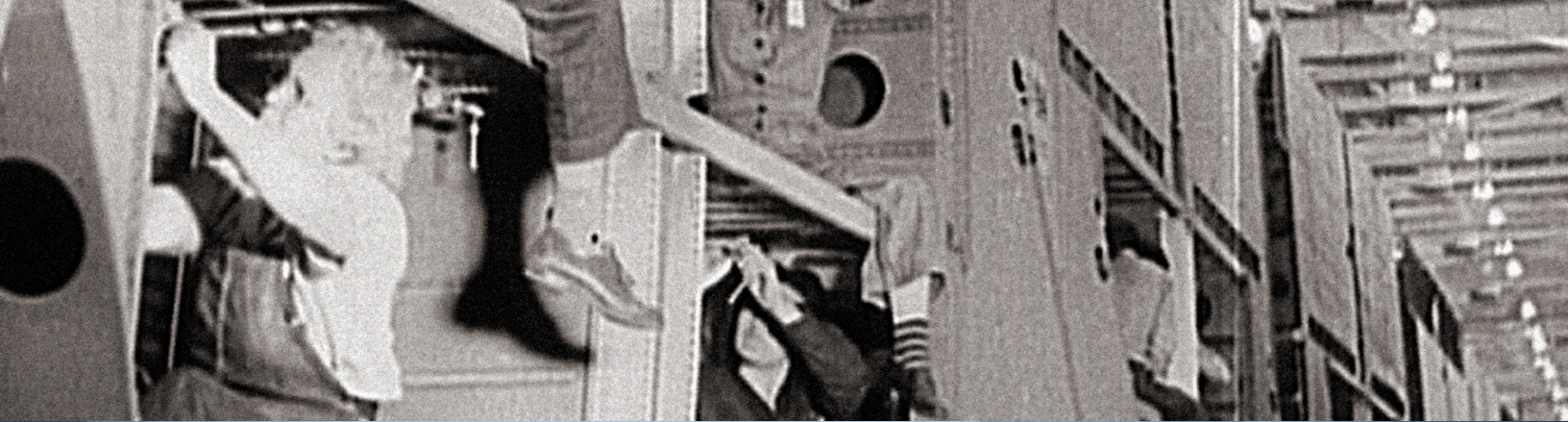
*To the End* is a timely and relevant case study for any student in government or civics courses. Watching, reflecting, and discussing the documentary enables students to learn about grassroots organizing, follow the process of lawmaking, and explore different ways to participate in movement building from protest and direct action to policy writing and serving in elected office.

## ***To the End* Suggested Government/Civics**

- >> Lawmaking
- >> The role of grassroots movements in the political process
- >> Corporate interests and influence in politics and government
- >> What is the social safety net?
- >> Media in politics today
- >> Climate justice and public policy

## **Readings to Support These Units**

- >> Background: The Green New Deal
- >> One: Political Will and the Role of Movements
- >> Two: Individual v. Collective Action
- >> Three: Inside-Outside Strategy
- >> Four: Coalition Building
- >> Five: Negotiation and Compromise—Passing Climate Legislation
- >> Six: Corporate Power in Washington
- >> Appendix III: Timeline of key events in *To the End*



# FOR US HISTORY COURSES

*To the End* offers a highly relevant and compelling case study to help students to connect the past to the present. Students will learn how FDR's New Deal programs, created to address the Great Depression in the 1930s, informed the proposal of the Green New Deal to address our nation's current crises of climate change and racial and economic inequity.

## Topics to use *To the End* in US History

- >> The Great Depression and the New Deal
- >> Legacy of racism in US policy, with a focus on redlining
- >> Social movements in American history
- >> The Green New Deal

## Readings to support these units

- >> Background: The Green New Deal
- >> One: Political Will and the Role of Movements
- >> Five: Negotiation and Compromise—Passing Climate Legislation
- >> Seven: Historical Context and the Green New Deal

# LESSON OUTLINE

We recommend screening the full documentary for students during a block period, over the course of two class periods, or in a flipped classroom model.



Go to **GOOD DOCS** to access *To the End*. Runtime: 94 minutes.



**Pre-screening:** Introduce *To the End* by reading **Handout One: Director's Letter**, and then choose one or more pre-screening questions from **Handout Two: Discussion Questions** to frame students' active viewing experience.



**Distribute Handout Three: Note Catcher.** Review the handout emphasizing the expectation of taking notes and engaging in the documentary as an active viewer. Explore with students some habits of active viewing versus passive viewing.

Before watching, also remind students that documentary films explore factual stories and issues using film. Documentary stories have a point of view and filmmakers use cinematic techniques such as music, archival materials, editing, voiceover, and interviews to tell a story.



**Watch *To the End***



**Postscreening:** Discuss and debrief the documentary using the post-screening discussion questions. Have students refer to their note catcher for the conversation.



**Deep Dive by Discipline:** While the supplemental readings are organized into two groupings—For Government and Civics Courses and For US History Courses—they are interdisciplinary. Each is excerpted from the Campus and Community Resource and touches upon different ideas raised in the documentary that also align with these disciplines. There are numerous ways to use these readings: independently, in small groups, as a jigsaw, or as a class. Several of the readings include suggested film segments to amplify the reading topic.





## Final Assessments

**For Government and Civics Courses:** *To the End* sets up a tension between **faith**, which the protagonists struggle to maintain through difficult times, and **cynicism**, seen in encounters with journalists, media pundits, politicians, and lobbyists. Cynicism, the belief that everyone is just in it for themselves or that “nothing ever changes,” is widespread in the world of politics—and often it can seem justified. But this attitude often stops people from believing it’s worthwhile to try to make a difference or get involved in changing the course of history.

First, reflect on your own state of mind in relation to our political system, the ability to make political change happen, our current climate crisis, and what was inspiring, or dispiriting, from the documentary.

Next, choose one of the quotes from *To the End* as the first line of an essay in which you argue for or against the place of cynicism or faith in politics.

“I THINK THE BIG THING THAT WE’RE UP AGAINST, IN ADDITION TO ALL OF THESE POWERFUL FORCES FOR OURSELVES AND FOR THE COUNTRY, IS CYNICISM.”

ALEXANDRA ROJAS, *TO THE END*

“FIGHTING FOR CHANGE POLITICALLY REQUIRES FAITH. IF WE’RE TRYING TO MAKE A NEW WORLD, IF WE’RE TRYING TO CHANGE OUR FUTURE, WE HAVE TO ACT AS THOUGH THAT FUTURE IS HERE. IN SOME WAYS, LIKE MY MOM USED TO SAY, YOU SPEAK THINGS INTO EXISTENCE.”

REP. ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ, *TO THE END*

“THE THING THAT WE HAVE THAT THEY DON’T IS FAITH, IS BELIEF THAT IT CAN CHANGE. THE THING THAT WE DECIDED TO DO IS TRY.”

WILL LAWRENCE, SUNRISE MOVEMENT CO-FOUNDER, *TO THE END*

**For US History Courses:** Using what you learned from *To the End* and the readings covered, write a one page mock Wikipedia entry explaining the Green New Deal within a historical context. Wikipedia, as you know, is an online encyclopedia with unbiased information.

Here are some requirements:

- >> Be brief and concise. It is harder to write less than more. Your post should not exceed one page.
- >> Include examples connecting the Green New Deal to moments from one or more of the historical eras mentioned.
- >> Accurately cite all references.
- >> If you choose to use archival photographs or images, be sure to cite the original source.



# HANDOUTS

## HANDOUT ONE

# LETTER FROM THE FILMMAKER

Our work on *To the End* began when the UN's 2018 report on climate change declared that the barrier to avoiding climate catastrophe is not technology or finance, but political will.

Since then, we have captured a story that is both intimate and epic as our four remarkable protagonists forge a path of determination, creativity, and strength in the face of powerful opposition. As their work leads directly to the United States making the largest climate investment in history, the film offers credible inspiration in this age of anxiety.

*To the End* is about finding hope in dark times and taking action to push the horizons of political possibility. The film frames our protagonists' fight for a just and sustainable future as a coming-of-age story of courageous young women confronting multiple dystopian dimensions—climate disaster itself, the corporate media, and the Kafkaesque world of Washington politics. With a gripping cinematic narrative, the film offers both a unique document of a pivotal chapter in American history and an opportunity for viewers to imagine themselves in new roles as part of changing the future.

—Rachel Lears, Director



## HANDOUT TWO

# PRE- AND POST-SCREENING DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

## PRE-SCREENING

As a way of introduction, have students discuss these questions in small groups prior to watching *To the End*.

- >> How do you think political change occurs in the United States?
- >> How do you define a grassroots movement?
- >> Can you think of successful movements that achieved their goals?
- >> Have you ever participated in a group—political, social, faith-based, neighborhood, etc.—that worked towards changing a policy or an injustice?
- >> Have you ever heard of the Green New Deal? If so, what do you know about it?

## POST-SCREENING

After the film is over, spend a few minutes debriefing the story as a large group before transitioning to the next part of the lesson.

- >> Which of the four protagonists did you most identify with?
- >> What scene from *To the End* struck you the most?
- >> What themes did the film return to again and again?
- >> One constant throughout the documentary is navigating strategy and tactics. In general, a **strategy** can be defined as a plan of action designed to achieve a long-term overall goal. **Tactics** are short-term steps and specific actions implemented to carry out a strategy.
  - >> What was the long-term strategy employed by the protagonists of *To the End* to achieve climate legislation?
  - >> What were some of the tactics they used?
  - >> Which do you think were most effective and why?

Return to the quote that opens *To the End*. It was written by Italian intellectual Antonio Gramsci in the 1930s, when his country was in the grip of fascism. "The old world is dying and the new world cannot quite be born. In the meantime, all kinds of dreadful things are happening."

- >> What do you think the filmmakers were suggesting by opening with this quote?
- >> What meaning(s) does the title *To the End* evoke for you?

# HANDOUT THREE

# STUDENT NOTE CATCHER

**Directions:** How do you “read” a documentary as you read a written text? One way is to do a close read by looking at the different facets of an audiovisual story arc. As you watch *To the End*, take notes in each of these three columns to strengthen your media literacy awareness and skills.

<b>VISUAL</b>	<p><b>What are you seeing?</b> <i>(Images, primary and B-roll, still or moving, original or archival footage)</i></p> <p><b>?’s to ask yourself:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>&gt;&gt; Why are we seeing this?</li> <li>&gt;&gt; How do these images make us feel?</li> <li>&gt;&gt; What are we not seeing?</li> <li>&gt;&gt; How are archival images recontextualized?</li> <li>&gt;&gt; What do you notice about edits and scene choice?</li> </ul>	
<b>AUDIO/VISUAL</b>	<p><b>What are you hearing?</b> <i>(voices: interviews and narration, sound effects, music)</i></p> <p><b>?’s to ask yourself:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>&gt;&gt; How is music used to create a feeling or mood?</li> <li>&gt;&gt; How does the music support/undercut the visual and/or text tracks?</li> <li>&gt;&gt; What are the effects of the narrator and their word choice?</li> </ul>	
<b>TEXT</b>	<p><b>What are you reading?</b> <i>(subtitles, identifications - people/places)</i></p> <p><b>?’s to ask yourself:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>&gt;&gt; How does the film identify a protagonist or other people?</li> <li>&gt;&gt; Who is not identified?</li> <li>&gt;&gt; Why are particular words, phrases, and graphics used?</li> </ul>	



# READINGS



## BACKGROUND: THE GREEN NEW DEAL

In October 2018, the [Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change \(IPCC\)](#) issued a special report stating that global temperatures must not climb more than 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrialized levels to avoid the most severe impacts of a changing climate.

This will require global reductions in greenhouse gas emissions from human sources of 40 to 60 percent by 2030, net-zero global emissions by 2050, and a rapid and drastic transformation of the global economy. In 2019, in response to the urgency of the IPCC report, newly elected representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez attended a Sunrise Movement sit-in in the office of Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi, demanding bold action on climate. Soon afterwards, AOC and veteran Senator Edward Markey (D-MA) introduced a [resolution](#) (a congressional statement of intent) to pursue a Green New Deal.

“THE GREEN NEW DEAL IS THE ONLY PLAN THAT MEETS THE SCALE, SPEED AND SCOPE THAT SCIENCE SAYS WE NEED TO MITIGATE THE CLIMATE CRISIS.”

RHIANNA GUNN-WRIGHT, *TO THE END*

The Green New Deal resolution laid out an overarching vision and policy agenda to shift the country away from fossil fuels, create millions of new jobs, and mitigate the worst effects of climate change while expanding the social safety net in order to build a more equitable and resilient society. It was not intended to be a single bill but a comprehensive framework requiring partnerships, policy, and legislation across the public and private sectors—in areas like transportation, buildings, agriculture and industry—to carry out the changes that climate scientists call for. Importantly, the Green New Deal’s **intersectional** approach proposes interconnected solutions to the climate crisis and economic and racial inequality because the economic systems that undergird all these issues cannot be disentangled. Moreover, because socioeconomic inequality leads to instability, making society more equitable in the process of [decarbonization](#) will help ensure resilience and stability through the economic transition away from fossil fuels and any future climate disasters that occur.

The Green New Deal pays special attention to “frontline and vulnerable communities”—often low-income and/or BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and people of color) populations—that are disproportionately affected by climate change and pollution. The plan seeks to correct historical inequities and improve overall health and security by securing clean water, clean air, nutritious food, good union jobs, housing, and quality health care for all. It also promises to clean up existing contaminated and hazardous waste sites that are sources of pollution and work with communities to identify areas and projects that would be most beneficial to them. Last, the Green New Deal promises a “just transition” for fossil fuel workers, offering them the support they need to transition to new jobs in renewable energy and other low-carbon sectors.



**Revisit this segment that introduces the Green New Deal:** [Timecode 07:10 - 11:24](#)



## LEARN MORE

- >> Read the New Consensus [Brief](#) on the Green New Deal (2 pages)
- >> Read the New Consensus [Overview](#) on the Green New Deal by Rhiana Gunn-Wright and Robert Hockett: “The Green New Deal: Mobilizing for a Just, Prosperous, and Sustainable Economy” (13 pages)
- >> Read about The Roosevelt Institute and its work on the Green New Deal [here](#)
- >> Watch “[A Message From the Future with Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez](#)” (7 minutes) and “[A Message From the Future II: The Years of Repair](#)” (9 minutes) presented by The Intercept and Naomi Klein.





# POLITICAL WILL AND THE ROLE OF MOVEMENTS

The UN scientists behind the 2018 IPCC report state that the world already has the knowledge, money, and technology to cut carbon emissions in half by 2030. The only thing lacking is **political will**. Political will can be defined as “the extent of committed support among key decision makers for a particular policy solution to a particular problem.”

*To the End* suggests that one of the roles of movements is to create political will where it doesn't yet exist. By pushing a vision of bold solutions that actually match the scale of the problems they set out to solve, movements expand the boundaries of what's considered politically possible. Even when they fall short of their sweeping goals, movements' bold demands open up space for more modest “pragmatic” changes that would not have happened otherwise. As Varshini Prakash says after the passage of the flawed yet historic Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), “Winning is never black and white. But this would have been impossible to imagine even five years ago. We needed the fight for the Green New Deal to get to this moment.”



## Revisit these film segments on political will and the role of movements:

Timecode 24:46 - 27:00



## Discussion

- >> What kind of political will for climate action was evident in the US in 2018 when the film begins? What kind of political will exists by the end of the film?
- >> After watching, do you agree with Varshini Prakash that the IRA would not have passed without the fight for the Green New Deal? What are your reasons?
- >> What factors do you think might contribute to building political will and courage for more drastic climate policy in the future?



## Reflective Writing Prompt

Exxon lobbyist Keith McCoy says in *To the End*, “The bottom line is it's going to take political courage, political will in order to get something done, and that doesn't exist in politics, it just doesn't.”

- >> If you were to write a letter to Mr. McCoy in response to this statement, what evidence from *To the End* would you use to contradict his assessment?

# INDIVIDUAL V. COLLECTIVE ACTION

Many Americans still think the best way to make a difference in terms of climate is through individual consumer choices, like buying an electric vehicle. But absent rapid changes in government policy, this sort of individual lifestyle choice, even if it were within financial reach, won't accomplish change in the timeframe scientists say is necessary. As climate activist and author Bill McKibben explains in a [NY Times podcast](#):

**“The most important thing an individual can do to work for climate justice is to act a little less as an individual and join together with others in movements that are large enough to make big changes on the political, economic, and social spheres.”**

*To the End* makes the case that committed people, working collectively in movements, really can alter the course of history. It's not just a selfless act; a 2022 study by the [Yale School of Public Health](#) showed that participating in collective action alleviates climate anxiety, particularly for young people.



**Revisit this film segment:** Timecode 3:00 - 4:32



## Discussion

- >> Why do you think collective action is an effective approach to organizing around the climate crisis? Is collective action always the most strategic approach for political change?
- >> Why do you think joining the climate movement might be a better strategy for dealing with climate anxiety than trying not to think about the climate crisis?
- >> What are some ways that thinking about climate change exclusively in terms of individual consumer choices and lifestyle change might actually benefit the fossil fuel industry?



## Reflective Writing Prompt

Varshini Prakash shared in *To the End*, “When I joined a movement, it was like the first time in my life that I didn't feel alone.”

- >> Have you ever participated in a movement, or group, where you felt that you were making a difference? Reflect on this memory and share what it meant to you then and now.

# INSIDE-OUTSIDE STRATEGY

“THE THING THAT WE CANNOT DO THAT I HAVE SEEN PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS DO FOR TOO LONG, IS SAY, ‘POLITICAL POWER’S TOO ICKY. IT’S MESSY, IT’S CORRUPTING. LET’S NOT ENGAGE.’ OUR ENEMY, YOU BETTER BELIEVE, IS FIGURING OUT THEIR POLITICAL STRATEGY EVERY SECOND OF EVERY DAY AND POURING BILLIONS OF DOLLARS INTO MAKING IT HAPPEN.”

VARSHINI PRAKASH, *TO THE END*

“SOMETIMES I FEEL LIKE MY JOB IS TO GET MY HANDS DIRTY, SO THAT COMMUNITY ORGANIZERS AND ACTIVISTS DON’T HAVE TO.”

REP. ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ, *TO THE END*

In order to create the political will for climate action, the protagonists of *To the End* adopt an **inside-outside strategy**, an approach to organizing that involves applying strategic pressure from outside powerful institutions (in this case, the US government and Democratic Party) while also working for change from within them.

## For example:

- >> Varshini Prakash and the Sunrise Movement work on the outside in the grassroots activism space, organizing and training young people and pressuring elected leaders through protests and direct action.
- >> AOC works inside government, representing New York’s 14th District in the House of Representatives and navigating a maze of lobbyist influence and political deal-making. She works closely with the other members of “the Squad” (the group of closely aligned members of Congress), as well as with the broader Congressional Progressive Caucus, to exert pressure on Democratic Party leadership in Congress. In the film, these progressive blocks join with outside activists in their call for major climate legislation.
- >> Rhiana Gunn-Wright and Alexandra Rojas function as intermediaries between the inside and the outside. As a policy writer at a progressive think tank, Gunn-Wright works to get ideas from the outside movement space into government legislation. As Executive Director of Justice Democrats, Rojas works to get people from the outside movement space into the government and the power structures of the Democratic Party. She also brings an outsider perspective to the mainstream media as a commentator on CNN.



**Revisit this film segment:** Timecode 13:32-17:38



### Discussion

- >> What strategies and tactics do the protagonists in *To the End* use to pressure the government from the outside?
- >> What strategies and tactics do they use to bring about change from the inside?
- >> What strategies and tactics do they use to bring people and ideas from the outside into the inside?
- >> Can you think of other historical examples where social movements worked together with allies inside the government in an inside-outside strategy to create change? Can you think of any other examples happening today?



### Reflective Writing Prompt

Social change activist Bill Moyer outlines the [Four Roles of Social Activism](#). Take time to review these approaches in relationship to the frame of inside-outside political organizing.

- >> What resonated with you the most?
- >> What ideas do you think are most applicable to our current political climate?



## READING FOUR

# COALITION BUILDING



In *To the End*, we see Rhiana Gunn-Wright working hard to bring people together from different environmental and movement spaces to collaborate on Green New Deal policy. This effort to bring differing constituents together is known as coalition building. It is evident in the film that she is aware of existing tensions within the larger movement.

One coalition of participants identify as **climate justice** activists and seek to highlight that the consequences of climate change do not affect everyone equally, but will disproportionately fall upon populations in **frontline communities**, i.e., low-income, BIPOC communities, and people in the Global South. Climate justice activists fight to ensure that decarbonization and climate mitigation directly address these inequities.

Climate justice coalitions are connected to the **environmental justice movement**, which fights **environmental racism** and the poisoning of under-resourced communities with toxic pollution. The environmental justice movement and the mainstream climate movement both oppose the fossil fuel companies and technologies that are behind most toxic pollution, but environmental justice activists do not support any proposed solutions to climate change (such as carbon capture) that would potentially allow toxic pollution to continue harming people. Both climate justice and environmental justice activists have been critical of the well-funded mainstream environmental movement, which has its roots in a majority white and affluent conservation tradition and has a historically poor record on issues of race and justice.

We see the tensions amongst these constituents at Gunn-Wright's conference. Climate justice and environmental justice activists express doubt about carbon capture technology and raise concerns about collaboration. When the head of a more mainstream environmental NGO, an older white man, argues that the Green New Deal is not going to "put a complete end to white supremacy" but must focus "first and foremost on reducing global warming," a Puerto Rican climate justice activist says, "We have to look at the Black, white, and brown issue. And I'm not looking for a debate with regard to that."



**Revisit this film segment:** Timecode 20:20-23:12



### Discussion

- >> Why do you think the activist believes it's important to talk about race in the context of climate change?
- >> What are some arguments for tying climate change policy to economic, social, and racial justice in the United States?
- >> Climate change is not the only pressing global crisis that humanity faces. Income and wealth inequality have been rising steeply around the world since the 1980s, threatening social stability. In what ways is the global inequality crisis connected to the climate crisis?
- >> What are some other scenes where the film addresses environmental justice?
- >> How does the film connect environmental justice to the fight to stop climate change?



### Reflective Writing Prompt

Rhiana Gunn-Wright shares in the film, "If we're actually going to build a policy that works for everyone, we need to get a slice of everyone in the room, and that is actually incredibly difficult. You might be trying to get folks to work together who have had active beef for years."

- >> What do you think are the largest obstacles preventing different constituencies or groups from working together?
- >> What recommendations from your point of view and lived experience would you bring to the table to move groups forward?
- >> What personal work do you think is important for climate justice (i.e., self-reflection around privilege, racism, sexism, ageism, ableism, homophobia)?

## READING FIVE

# NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE—PASSING CLIMATE LEGISLATION

*To the End* follows the Green New Deal as it moves from a proposed idea to an influence on real-world legislation. On the way, it provides some insight into the legislative process and how power works in Washington, DC.

The Green New Deal first caught the nation's attention when it was introduced as a **resolution** ([H.R. 109](#)) in 2019 by AOC and Sen. Ed Markey (D-MA). A resolution is different from a **bill**, a proposed law. Instead it functions as a statement of intent, used to build support for policies in Congress. In the four years following the first Green New Deal resolution, lawmakers in the House and Senate have introduced dozens of Green New Deal-related bills like the [Green New Deal for Cities](#), the [Green New Deal for Public Housing](#), the [Green New Deal for Public Schools](#), and the [Civilian Climate Corps](#).

Though Joe Biden did not fully embrace the Green New Deal as a candidate for president, his team met with Varshini Prakash, AOC, and other Green New Deal proponents, and his subsequent climate proposals incorporated some of the Green New Deal's framings. In 2020, Democrats maintained a narrow control of the House of Representatives and took control of the 50-50 Senate through a single tie-breaking vote from Vice President Kamala Harris. Biden's climate proposals were split into two bills in this tricky political landscape, the [Bipartisan Infrastructure Framework](#) (BIF) and the [Build Back Better Act](#) (BBB).

A Senate rule called the **filibuster** gives the minority party the power to effectively block any bill with less than a two-thirds majority from becoming law. The Democrats needed to get 10 Republican senators on board to pass legislation. Biden worked with Sen. Joe Manchin and other moderates from both parties on the BIF, a bill with enough Republican support to pass the Senate. It included some climate resiliency spending but would do little to drive down emissions, and many of its provisions benefited fossil fuel companies. Environmental groups pointed out that on its own, the BIF would be a [net negative for the climate](#).

Other Democratic priorities, including spending for climate mitigation and emissions reductions, were relegated to the BBB, a bill created using a special congressional budget process called reconciliation. **Reconciliation** allows the Senate to bypass the filibuster and pass legislation with a simple 51-vote majority, but the legislation must be strictly budget-related, i.e., concerning government spending and taxes. Because Republicans were united in their opposition to the big climate and social spending in the BBB, Democratic leadership needed every Senate Democrat to vote for it, and Manchin posed the biggest threat to the agenda. In an attempt to force his hand, the House Progressive Caucus, (with strong urging from AOC and the Squad-See Appendix II) refused to pass the BIF in the House, promising to "hold the line" until the Senate also passed the BBB.

Ultimately, after months of stalemate and fruitless negotiations, House Democrats (with the notable exception of the Squad) passed the BIF without a guarantee that the BBB would pass the Senate. After the BBB passed the House, Manchin declared that he could not support any version of it, and the legislation was pronounced dead.

Eight months later, Senate Democrats announced they had reached a deal with Manchin on a new bill that would salvage some of the priorities from Build Back Better, including a strong investment in climate. The [Inflation Reduction Act](#) (IRA) was signed into law on August 16, 2022, by President Biden. In addition to tax reform and health care spending, the IRA allocates \$369 billion across many programs to address the climate crisis, including direct consumer incentives to buy energy-efficient appliances, electric vehicle tax breaks, and domestic manufacturing of batteries and solar panels. These combined investments aim to put the US on the path to reducing carbon emissions by 40 percent by 2030. In addition, the bill makes significant investments in environmental justice, including pollution reduction and other policies designed to benefit frontline communities, although some [observers](#) have called these investments inadequate. The IRA also has been [criticized](#) by climate organizations and the environmental justice community as opening the door to further expansion of fossil fuel development in the Gulf Coast region, Appalachia, and elsewhere around the United States, provisions that were added to win Manchin's support.



**Revisit these film segments:** Timecode 1:05:33-1:08:33, 1:18:38-1:22:08, 1:25:30-1:30:25



### Discussion

- >> After seeing the legislative process in action, at least in regard to climate, what are your big takeaways? Was it surprising? Exciting? Frustrating?
- >> Why do you think Biden chose to consult with Varshini Prakash, AOC, and other Sanders supporters about climate policy after Sanders dropped out of the race?
- >> In the film AOC says, “Conservative Democrats and Republicans are not used to the progressive flank having any power. They have been thrown for a loop, because we are making some moves.” Why do you think the House progressives had more power in this moment than they’d had before?
- >> The Congressional Progressive Caucus strategy of “holding the line” and withholding their vote for the BIF succeeded in keeping climate spending in BBB, but ultimately failed to get Manchin to vote for the BBB. What worked and what didn’t about this strategy, and why?
- >> Proponents of the Green New Deal inside and outside Congress ultimately had enough power to significantly push legislation towards the aims of the Green New Deal, but not enough power to achieve more ambitious goals. What would need to happen in order for larger-scale legislation to have the support needed to pass?



## CORPORATE POWER IN WASHINGTON

One topic that comes up repeatedly in *To the End* is the influence of corporate spending and lobbyists on government policy. Special interests like the fossil fuel industry pay for “greenwashing” PR campaigns to create the appearance that they have the problem under control, fund think tanks to write corporate-friendly policy, make donations to political campaigns, and employ lobbyists to maintain close relationships with elected leaders. Joe Manchin is identified in *To the End* as Congress’s top recipient of campaign donations from the oil and natural gas industries, and we hear head ExxonMobil lobbyist Keith McCoy saying that he talks to Joe Manchin’s office every week.

Toward the end of the film, we watch a Congressional hearing in which industry leaders from ExxonMobil, Chevron, Shell, and BP refuse to disavow their relationship with the American Petroleum Institute (API), a lobbying group funded by the fossil fuel industry that has been largely dedicated to circulating misinformation on climate change and blocking, stalling, or weakening environmental legislation. We see a number of Republican lawmakers passionately defend the CEOs from progressive Democrats who are questioning them. Describing fossil fuels, the Republican lawmakers, the CEOs and the head of API repeat the words “reliable” and “affordable.” Later, when Sen. Manchin is asked if his objections to the BBB are about climate and the environment, he says “the main thing that we need is dependability, reliability, and affordability.”



**Revisit these film segments:** Timecode 34:00-35:05, 1:02:11-1:03:52, 1:13:51-1:16:45



### Discussion

- >> What point do you think the film is making by drawing attention to these repeated words?
- >> What contrast did you notice in the film between the tone and messaging of the oil company CEOs and of the Republican members of Congress who defend them? What do you think explains this contrast?
- >> What strategies and tactics did you see the fossil fuel industry use in *To the End*, and how were they successful or unsuccessful?



### Reflective Writing Prompt

Read [Five Myths About Bipartisanship](#), *The Washington Post*, January 17, 2020.

Write a letter to the editor of *The Washington Post* responding to this article. If you have never written a letter to an editor of a newspaper, or you are unsure about what point of view you want to take, see [these sample formats](#) published by the National Educational Association (NEA).

# HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND THE GREEN NEW DEAL

In 1929, a stock market crash unleashed the worst economic crisis in US history. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt assumed office in 1933 on a promise to fulfill “a new deal for the American people,” and in his first inaugural address, he promised to “wage a war against the emergency.” Over the next decade, FDR and Congress passed laws to regulate banks, increase employment, support the poor and elderly, and empower workers to organize unions. They created programs like the Civilian Conservation Corps, which put young people to work improving America’s parks; the Works Progress Administration, which built public works and sponsored projects in the arts; and the Social Security Administration, which continues to support seniors and disabled Americans. These New Deal policies and programs did not suddenly arise within the Roosevelt administration but came out of demands made for years by organized labor, women’s groups, and left-wing social movements.

When the US entered World War II, FDR’s government initiated a massive expansion of government spending and a rapid transformation of the country’s industries and economy to build enough aircraft, tanks, guns, and ships to defeat the Axis powers. This public-private mobilization, in which government investment allowed the industry to adapt rapidly without taking on financial risk, accelerated technological innovation and productivity growth. Far from forcing Americans to sacrifice, as many expected, the massive mobilization for World War II grew the economy and lifted the country out of the Depression.

The New Deal and World War II policies helped build a strong middle class and ushered in decades of prosperity, suggesting that a policy like the Green New Deal could yield similar benefits. But FDR’s policies disproportionately benefited white male workers. Agricultural and domestic workers (primarily Black, Hispanic, and female) were left out of the New Deal’s labor protections. And New Deal-era housing policies institutionalized the discriminatory practice of **redlining**, in which neighborhoods with large populations of minorities or low-income people were classified as “hazardous for investment” and denied subsidized mortgages and other services. These policies laid the foundation for a racial wealth gap that has endured to the present day. As Rhiana Gunn-Wrights points out in *To the End*, redlining also made it easier for industry and utility companies to “hide” toxic infrastructure in segregated minority neighborhoods, where its health consequences were easier for white Americans to ignore.



**Revisit this film segment:** Timecode 23:25 - 24:44



## Discussion

- >> What are some ways that you and your family have benefited and continue to benefit from the policies of the FDR era?
- >> How were the crises of the Great Depression and World War II similar to the climate crisis? How were they different?
- >> What are some of the ways the Green New Deal aims to correct the problems of the original New Deal?

# GLOSSARY

These definitions are adapted from [Yale Program on Climate Communication](#), [the University of California, Center for Climate Justice](#), [the Climate Portal at MIT](#), [Oxford Languages Dictionaries](#), and [Wikipedia](#).

**Clean energy**, often used interchangeably with **renewable energy**, comes from natural sources or processes that are constantly replenished and do not burn fossil fuels.

**Climate change** is defined as the change in global or regional climate patterns particularly apparent from the mid-to-late 20th century onwards and attributed largely to the increased levels of atmospheric carbon dioxide produced by the use and burning of fossil fuels.

**Climate justice** is the principle that the benefits reaped from activities that cause climate change and the burdens of climate change impacts should be distributed fairly.

**Climate mitigation** is a human intervention to reduce the sources of greenhouse gases.

**Direct action** is the use of strikes, demonstrations, or other public forms of protest rather than negotiation to achieve one's demands.

**Environmental justice** is a social movement to address the unfair exposure of poor and marginalized communities to harm from hazardous waste, resource extraction, and other land uses. The movement has generated hundreds of studies showing that exposure to environmental harm is inequitably distributed.

**Environmental racism** is a form of institutional racism leading to landfills, incinerators, and hazardous waste disposal being disproportionately placed in communities of color.

**Fossil fuels:** Energy that is formed from the remains of plants and animals; oil, natural gas, and coal are all fossil fuels. These resources are finite.

**Greenwashing** is defined as the practice of making a product, policy, or activity appear more environmentally friendly than it really is.

**Intersectionality** is the interconnected nature of social categorizations such as race, class, and gender as they apply to a given individual or group, regarded as creating overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage.

**Just Transition** represents the transition of fossil fuel-based economies to equitable, regenerative, renewable energy-based systems. A just transition emphasizes employment in renewable energy and other green sectors, sustainable land use practices, and broader political and economic transformations.

**Neoliberalism** is a political approach that favors free-market capitalism, deregulation, and reduction in government spending.

**Paradigm** is a distinct set of concepts and thought patterns, including theories, research methods, and standards for what constitute legitimate contributions to a field.

**Reconciliation** in relation to the legislative process, enables expedited passage of a bill relating to certain matters in the federal budget by a simple majority of votes.

**Resiliency** is the ability to recover from or to adjust to adversity.



# APPENDIX

# APPENDIX I

# NATIONAL STANDARDS

According to the National Council for Social Studies (NCSS), the purpose of social studies is to enable young people to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world. Educating students who are committed to the ideas and values of democracy is necessary to maintain and enable our democratic institutions to flourish.

As well as developing civic competencies within social studies, *To the End* offers first-person narratives of four women with diverse experiences leading the fight for the passage of major climate legislation. Documentary storytelling and film as “text” are powerful resources for critical media analysis and for applying other skills of literary analysis, such as point of view and bias. The stories and skills learned can be models for students to connect and advocate for important issues in their lives, their community, and the world around them.

## **C3 Framework**

### **Civics**

#### **Civic and Political Institutions (p. 32)**

**D2.Civ.2.9-12.** Analyze the role of citizens in the U.S. political system, with attention to various theories of democracy, changes in Americans’ participation over time, and alternative models from other countries, past and present.

**D2.Civ.5.9-12.** Evaluate citizens’ and institutions’ effectiveness in addressing social and political problems at the local, state, tribal, national, and/or international level.

#### **Participation and Deliberation: Applying Civic Virtues and Democratic Principles (p. 33)**

**D2.Civ.10.9-12.** Analyze the impact and the appropriate roles of personal interests and perspectives on the application of civic virtues, democratic principles, constitutional rights, and human rights.

#### **Processes, Rules, and Laws (p. 34)**

**D2.Civ.12.9-12.** Analyze how people use and challenge local, state, national, and international laws to address a variety of public issues.

**D2.Civ.13.9-12.** Evaluate public policies in terms of intended and unintended outcomes, and related consequences.

**D2.Civ.14.9-12.** Analyze historical, contemporary, and emerging means of changing societies, promoting the common good, and protecting rights.

## History

### Change, Continuity, and Context (p. 46)

**D2.His.1.9-12.** Evaluate how historical events and developments were shaped by unique circumstances of time and place as well as broader historical contexts.

**D2.His.3.9-12.** Use questions generated about individuals and groups to assess how the significance of their actions changes over time and is shaped by the historical context.

### Perspectives

**D2.His.5.9-12.** Analyze how historical contexts shaped and continue to shape people's perspectives.

## Common Core State Standards (CCSS)

For purposes of alignment, the text of reference is the documentary *To the End*.

**CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RI.9-10.2** Determine a central idea of a text and analyze its development over the course of the text, including how it emerges and is shaped and refined by specific details; provide an objective summary of the text.

**CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RI.9-10.3** Analyze how the author unfolds an analysis or series of ideas or events, including the order in which the points are made, how they are introduced and developed, and the connections that are drawn between them.

**CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RI.9-10.6** Determine an author's point of view or purpose in a text and analyze how an author uses rhetoric to advance that point of view or purpose

## Educating for American Democracy Roadmap

Aligned themes

[Civic Participation](#)

[We the People](#)

[Institutional and Social Transformation](#)

[Contemporary Debates & Possibilities](#)

# BIOGRAPHIES OF FILM PROTAGONISTS



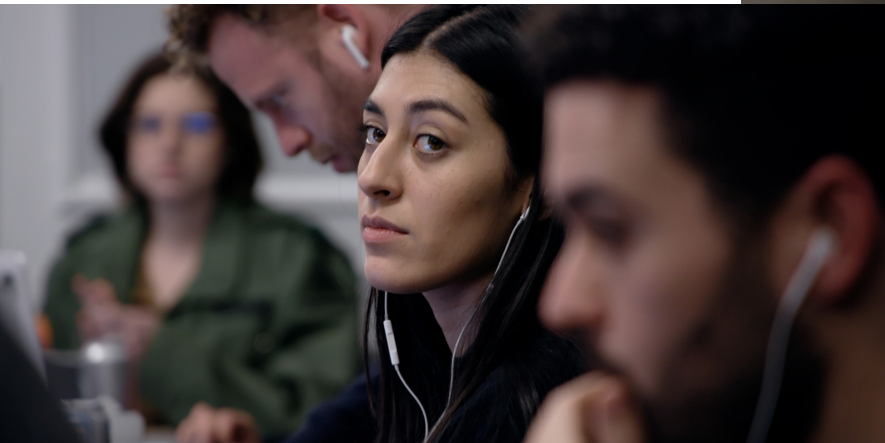
## Varshini Prakash

Varshini Prakash grew up outside Boston, the daughter of immigrants from Southern India. Her career in organizing around climate change issues began during her college years at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, where she led a fossil fuel divestment campaign. The university eventually became the first large public university to divest from fossil fuels. In 2017, she co-founded the [Sunrise Movement](#), a youth-led organization dedicated to building a movement to address climate change. As the 25-year-old Executive Director of Sunrise, she led the 2018 sit-in at Rep. Nancy Pelosi's office, which helped catapult the Green New Deal to public consciousness. In 2020, she sat on the Biden-Sanders Unity Task Force, helping to shape climate policy for the incoming administration.



## Alexandra Rojas

Alexandra Rojas grew up near Hartford, Connecticut, in a Colombian and Peruvian immigrant family. In 2016, she left college to intern on the Bernie Sanders presidential campaign. By 2018, at the age of 23, she had become the Executive Director of [Justice Democrats](#), a group that recruits and trains primary challengers—often young, working-class people of color—to unseat less progressive incumbents. Justice Democrats' mission is to elect representatives “who resemble the demographics of their districts, who reject corporate donations and embrace an uncompromisingly progressive platform that includes supporting Medicare for All, the Green New Deal, and criminal justice reform.” In 2018, they helped elect what's now known as the Squad: Reps. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Ilhan Omar, Rashida Tlaib, and Ayanna Pressley. With each new election cycle, Alexandra works to expand progressive power in Congress.





## Rhiana Gunn-Wright

Rhiana Gunn-Wright grew up in the South Side Chicago neighborhood of Englewood, where asthma rates are higher than average due to proximity to pollution. She majored in African-American studies at Yale University and later attended Oxford as a Rhodes scholar, where she studied social policy. In 2018, at the age of 30, she worked as policy director for Abdul El-Sayed's Michigan gubernatorial campaign and soon after joined New Consensus, a think tank dedicated to developing policy for the Green New Deal. Today she is Director of Climate Policy at the [Roosevelt Institute](#) and leads the progressive think tank's research at the intersection of climate policy, public investment, racial equity, and public power. Rhiana's young son serves as a motivation for her vision of a just and equitable society.



## Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez

Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez grew up in the Bronx and Westchester, New York, in a working-class Puerto Rican family. In 2018, months after quitting her day job bartending, she defeated the second most powerful Democrat in the House of Representatives in a shocking primary upset. Catapulted to international celebrity status, she was sworn in as the youngest woman and youngest Latinx person ever to serve in Congress (a story captured in Rachel Lears' prior film *Knock Down the House*). Rep. Ocasio-Cortez's first piece of legislation was the Green New Deal resolution, which envisions a 10-year national mobilization, akin to FDR's New Deal, that would put millions to work repairing the nation's infrastructure, reducing air and water pollution, and fighting the intertwined economic, social, racial, and climate crises crippling the country. A master of social media storytelling and sparring, Rep. Ocasio-Cortez (now known far and wide as AOC) has become the most public face of the Green New Deal—an inspiration to many and a lightning rod for attacks from the political right.





TIMELINE OF KEY EVENTS IN *TO THE END*

- October 2018:** Scientists at the UN's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) release a [special report](#) warning that the world has 12 years to limit climate change catastrophe.
- November 2018:** Democrats win control of the House of Representatives. The deadly, climate-fueled Camp Fire destroys Paradise, CA. Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez joins Sunrise Movement activists in a sit-in at the office of future Speaker of the House Rep. Nancy Pelosi demanding bold climate action like a Green New Deal.
- February 2019:** AOC and Sen. Ed Markey introduce the Green New Deal resolution.
- Early 2019:** The Green New Deal is adopted by high profile Democratic presidential candidates but receives negative coverage on right wing media. Sunrise Movement expands rapidly, culminating their nationwide tour with a high-profile DC event in May 2019.
- September 2019:** Swedish climate activist Greta Thunberg arrives in New York City to lead the youth climate strike. Sunrise Movement participates.
- 2019-2020:** In the Democratic presidential primary, Rhiana endorses Elizabeth Warren, while Sunrise, AOC, and (eventually) Justice Democrats endorse Bernie Sanders. All are critical of Joe Biden's initial climate plan.
- March 2020:** Justice Democrat Jessica Cisneros loses to fossil fuel-backed incumbent Rep. Henry Cuellar in a close primary. COVID-19 lockdowns begin in the US.
- April 2020:** Joe Biden defeats Bernie Sanders and becomes the Democratic presidential nominee.
- Summer 2020:** Multiple climate-related disasters coincide with a national racial reckoning following the police killing of George Floyd. Justice Democrats works with Sunrise Movement to elect Cori Bush and Jamaal Bowman. Sanders appoints Varshini Prakash and AOC to Biden's climate task force.



**June 2021:** The BIF passes the Senate. Sunrise Movement activists blockade the White House, demanding climate action and urging House progressives to “hold the line” and refuse to pass BIF alone.

**May 2021:** Sunrise Movement launches treks across climate-affected regions to call attention to the need for urgent climate action.

**Spring 2021:** Biden's agenda is split into two tracks:

>> The [Bipartisan Infrastructure Framework \(BIF\)](#) developed by Senator Joe Manchin and other moderate senators, which contains some climate adaptation and resiliency spending but would do little to reduce fossil fuel emissions.

>> The [Build Back Better Act \(BBB\)](#) a reconciliation bill with historic amounts of climate mitigation and social spending.

The House Congressional Progressive Caucus refuses to back the BIF unless Joe Manchin and the Senate will also back the BBB, leading to a stalemate.

**January 2021:** President Biden is inaugurated. He rejoins the Paris Agreement and revokes the Keystone XL pipeline's federal permit.

**November 2020:** Joe Biden narrowly defeats Donald Trump, with help from youth and BIPOC voters, including Sunrise Movement, in key states.

# TIMELINE OF KEY EVENTS IN *TO THE END* (CON'T)

- **August–October 2021:** On several separate occasions, moderate Democrats in the House attempt to force a vote on BIF. The Congressional Progressive Caucus refuses to vote for BIF unless BBB is voted on at the same time.
- **October 2021:** With the BBB still stalled in Congress, frustrated Sunrise Movement activists launch a hunger strike outside the White House. Congress calls oil company CEOs to testify in a hearing on fossil fuel misinformation.
- **November 2021:** Sunrise Movement activists confront Sen. Manchin in a parking garage. After President Biden calls upon the House to pass BIF and promises to secure the votes needed for BBB in the Senate, House Democrats vote to pass the Senate's BIF. Rep. AOC and the rest of the Squad vote against it. The House passes BBB, but it remains stalled in the Senate.



○ **December 2021:** After months of negotiations and despite major concessions, Sen. Manchin declares on Fox News that he can no longer support the BBB. The bill is declared dead.

○ **July–August 2022:** Sen. Manchin and Sen. Chuck Schumer announce a surprise deal on a slimmed-down version of BBB. Weeks later, President Biden signs [The Inflation Reduction Act](#) into law. The act is missing much of the BBB's social spending and contains concessions to the fossil fuel industry to ensure Manchin's support. It is nonetheless the largest investment to fight the climate crisis in world history.

## APPENDIX IV

# RESOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL LEARNING AND RESEARCH

### General Books about the Green New Deal

- >> *On Fire: The (Burning) Case for a Green New Deal*, Naomi Klein, 2019
- >> *A Planet to Win: Why We Need a Green New Deal*, Kate Aronoff, Alyssa Battistoni, Daniel Aldana Cohen, and Thea Riofrancos, 2019
- >> *Winning the Green New Deal: Why We Must, How We Can*, Varshini Prakash, Guido Girgenti (eds.), 2020

### Sunrise Movement Reading List on Movements and How Change Happens (2022)

- >> *Dare to Lead*, Brené Brown, 2018
- >> *Dog Whistle Politics*, Ian Haney López, 2013
- >> *The Revolution of Everyday Life*, Raoul Vaneigem, 1967
- >> *Holding Change: The Way of Emergent Strategy Facilitation and Mediation*, Adrienne Maree Brown, 2021
- >> *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, Charles Payne, 1995
- >> *Let The Record Show*, Sarah Schulman, 2021
- >> *Poor People's Movements*, Frances Fox Piven, 1977
- >> *Why David Sometimes Wins*, Marshall Ganz, 2009

### On Building a Just and Sustainable Economy

- >> New Consensus Reading List on the economic underpinnings of the Green New Deal framework (updated periodically): <https://newconsensus.com/library>
- >> Read about The Roosevelt Institute and its work on climate and economic transformation and the Green New Deal [here](#)

### On the Theme of Hope

- >> ["Is America Possible?"](#) by Vincent Harding, 2007
- >> *Hope in the Dark: Untold Histories, Wild Possibilities*, by Rebecca Solnit, 2004

# RESOURCES FOR TAKING ACTION

“Legislation is one of the most significant vehicles that we have for structural investment and change. It cannot be ignored and without it, we will lose. Without it, we have no hope. The same can be said for peoples’ movements and grassroots organizing, because legislation alone is not going to get us out of this.”

**REP. ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ, UNUSED INTERVIEW CLIP FROM *TO THE END***

Addressing and solving the climate crisis will require all of us to be involved with all available skills, resources, organizing, or creative ideas. This will apply to all levels of power, from the “inside” with legislative action to the “outside” with community-based actions, organizing, and support. Consider supporting and learning more from the partner organizations featured in *To the End*:

**Sunrise Movement** is a youth movement to stop climate change and create millions of good jobs in the process.

- >> Join a local Sunrise Hub near you. Find out where [here](#).
- >> Attend a weekly welcome call, and take part in active Sunrise Movement organizing campaigns. Learn how [here](#).
- >> And if you don’t identify as youth, you can still show up and be part of Sunrise Movement. Learn how [here](#).

**Justice Democrats** is a political action committee dedicated to electing the next generation of Green New Deal champions to Congress all over the country. They work to challenge the power of the fossil fuel industry in government and elect representatives who refuse corporate money. Their sister organization [Movement School](#) is working to cultivate leaders and organizers to fight on behalf of their working class communities by providing tools and resources to advocate for justice, achieve innovative, locally driven solutions to key issues, and mobilize grassroots engagement in the democratic process.

**Roosevelt Institute** is a [think tank](#) and campus network that works to move the country toward a new economy and democracy by the people, for the people. They dig deep into cutting-edge research and policy proposals around climate and economic transformation, race and democracy, and corporate power. If you’re a college student interested in a career in policy, connect with the Roosevelt Network [here](#).

For another great collection of resources check out the [Can You Hear Us?](#) campaign and their great [search feature to find a local organization](#) to connect with in your community.



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