CRAWLSPACE ANALYSIS

Assessment: Europe's Autumn Revolt

Open Source Assessment: The Student, Housing and Strike Protests Across the European Union, October and November 2026, the Pressures on the People in Them, and What to Watch Next

Prepared by Crawlspace Analysis

Information cut-off: 22 November 2026

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Scope Note

This assessment examines the wave of student, housing and labour protests that has moved across the European Union and its neighbours since late September 2026. It covers France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Belgium, Austria, Greece, Portugal, Croatia, Finland and Sweden, with Albania, Britain and Switzerland where their protests are tied to the same days and coalitions.

It proceeds in seven steps. It first explains how the protests began and why they spread. It then sets out the legal and surveillance pressures on the people taking part, from national police and prosecutors, from European cooperation and from the United States. A timeline follows, running to 18 November. The fourth chapter describes the political currents inside the movements and where they cooperate and clash. The fifth sets out the violence used against protesters, country by country, through 22 November. The sixth lists what has been announced for the weeks ahead. The last chapter gives the signs that would show the wave growing or fading, and the signs of where US law enforcement is likely to go next.

- A police count, a ministry figure and an organiser's figure are each claims by that body. Where they differ we give both and say whose each is.
- What a government says about who organised a protest, or who started a clash, is that government's account. What a movement outlet says about police conduct is that outlet's account. We say which we are relying on.
- An intelligence agency's public notice naming groups is a statement by that agency. No court has ruled on it.
- We name ministers, officials, union leaders, public organisers, lawyers and spokespeople, and people named in court records or in news reports of their own cases. We record no home addresses, dates of birth or identification numbers. Where an outlet withheld a protester's surname, so do we.
- Chapter 7 contains our own estimates, given as ranges of likelihood.

The information cutoff is 22 November 2026. Sources are cited in the notes and listed in the Bibliography.

Estimative language

TERM	MEANING
Almost certainly	90 to 99%
Very likely	80 to 90%
Likely, probably	55 to 80%
Roughly even chance	45 to 55%
Unlikely	20 to 45%
Very unlikely	5 to 20%
Remote	1 to 5%

Confidence levels reflect the quality of the sources. High confidence rests on primary records or several independent sources. Moderate confidence rests on credible but incomplete sourcing. Low confidence rests on fragmentary information from one source, or on inference.

Key Judgments

KJ	JUDGMENT	CONFIDENCE
1	The wave is a set of national revolts with their own causes, joined since June by an open youth coalition that gives them shared dates and a shared slogan	High
2	National law is the main danger to protesters: pretrial detention in Spain, prosecutions of minors and a new intelligence law in Germany, school discipline and custody in France, and new protest offences in Italy	High
3	The United States has built a system of designations, sanctions and data sharing aimed at the European far left, and European agencies are already naming groups in these protests in terms that system can cite	High
4	Police violence has followed a common sequence in France, Italy and Germany: a large peaceful march, a breakaway section, then charges, gas, water cannon and kettles that also catch the peaceful	Moderate
5	French street numbers have fallen by more than 80% since 17 October while the wave has widened across borders; its future depends on whether unions commit to strikes and whether repression produces new grievances faster than it deters	Moderate
6	US agencies are likely to treat European coalition ties as the foreign link that unlocks wider investigative tools against American groups, following the methods already used in Minneapolis, Atlanta and Texas	Moderate

KJ1. National revolts, one calendar. We assess with high confidence that the protests began as separate national movements. French lycée pupils in the Paris suburbs walked out over crumbling schools and staff shortages in late September. Belgian pupils blockaded schools against education cuts from 1 October. Albanian students rose against Prime Minister Edi Rama from 13 October, Spain's tenants' unions drove a general strike over housing on 11 November, and German pupils struck against conscription. An open coalition of youth and student groups, launched in Cologne in June, gave these movements a common date, 20 November, and a common slogan, "Fight for our future, not their wars".[1]

KJ2. The main danger is national. We assess with high confidence that the heaviest legal consequences fall under national law. Four Spanish strikers were jailed without bail after 11 November. German police and prosecutors list children and dozens of minors among riot suspects, and the Bundestag passed on 13 November an intelligence law that lets data on minors go to NATO states. French pupils face custody, prosecution and school discipline. Italy's governing party has tabled amendments that would cut study grants for students merely under investigation.[2]

KJ3. A US system is in place. We assess with high confidence that the United States has built, since November 2025, a system of terrorist designations, sanctions, visa bars, workshops and bilateral agreements aimed at what it calls transnational far left terrorism. It has designated four European groups and an Italian internet provider, held a workshop with practitioners from 31 countries in Berlin this month, and signed an information sharing memorandum with Hungary. In the same weeks the Hamburg intelligence office named communist and autonomist groups among the organisers of the German protests, and the French Interior Ministry blamed the far left for the violence. Neither alleges foreign money or direction, but both give US officials named groups to cite.[3]

KJ4. A common sequence of police violence. We assess with moderate confidence that police violence in France, Italy and Germany has followed a common sequence. A large and peaceful union or student march is followed by a smaller section breaking off toward a prefecture, ministry, ring road or bridge. Police then charge, use tear gas and water cannon, and kettle groups for identity checks, often well after the march has ended and often catching people who threw nothing. The confidence is moderate because many of the clearest accounts of police striking first come from movement outlets and video, and police accounts dispute them.[4]

KJ5. Shrinking in France, widening abroad. We assess with moderate confidence that the wave is at a turning point. French ministry counts fell from 550,000 on 17 October to 82,500 on 21 November. Over the same weeks 20 November drew coordinated action in more than 25 countries, the Italian general strike claimed more than a million marchers, and Spain's housing movement gained new prisoners to

campaign for. Growth now depends on whether national unions commit to further strike days and whether jailings, injuries and new laws produce more protest than they deter.[5]

KJ6. The foreign link as a key. We assess with moderate confidence that US agencies are likely to use ties between American groups and European coalition partners as the foreign link that, in the words of a counterterrorism official quoted by the Washington Post, “can unlock certain investigative tools”. The Attorney General’s December 2025 memorandum already orders task forces to map networks “inside and outside the United States”. The Minneapolis prosecution of 15 members of Direct Action Minnesota shows the methods those task forces use: undercover agents, financial subpoenas aimed at unions and nonprofits, and network charts that place dozens of lawful organisations around a single target.[6]

1. How the Protests Began

IN BRIEF

- The wave began in suburban French lycées in late September, over decaying buildings, missing teachers and Parcoursup.
- Belgium, Albania, Spain, Germany and Italy each had its own trigger: education cuts, corruption, rents, conscription and budgets.
- A youth coalition founded in Cologne in June, with a second meeting in Paris on 17 October, linked these movements through a shared day of action on 20 November.
- The common demands are wages, housing, education funding and opposition to rearmament and conscription.

1.1 France: the suburban lycées

Estelle Joannin, a student activist writing in Inprecor on 10 November, dates the start of the French movement, the largest in the wave, to late September and early October in lycées of the Paris suburbs. Pupils there protested racism, their study conditions and buildings in far worse repair than those in central Paris. She calls the movement spontaneous and contrasts it with the pension protests and the 2006 fight over the CPE youth employment contract, each aimed at a single law. The demands she lists are teaching posts filled, lighter timetables, the end of Parcoursup, the national university admissions platform, and repairs to “ceilings that collapse” and buildings overrun by rats.[7]

The movement organised itself through general assemblies in each school, coordinations in each city and a national coordination that sends delegates to Paris. University students joined first to defend pupils against the police and then with demands of their own. By its fifth national meeting in Paris on 15 November, the lycée coordination had delegates from 33 schools in 20 cities and called new strike days for 17 and 26 November.[8]

The unions followed. The intersyndicale, the joint front of France's main union confederations, called a national strike for 5 November, and the Yellow Vests, the 2018 protest movement against fuel taxes and living costs, joined the marches. The government's response widened the grievances. A law strengthening police officers' legal protection when they use weapons, which opponents call a "licence to kill", was adopted by the Senate on 20 November and became a headline demand the next day.[9]

Assessment. The French movement grew from a local grievance, the state of suburban schools, into a national confrontation over policing, budgets and the right of pupils to protest. Its roots in daily school life explain why it has survived falling numbers in the streets.

1.2 The other national movements

Each of the other main movements had its own trigger before any coordination existed. In Belgium, pupils in Liège province blockaded about ten schools on 1 October against the education reforms of Valérie Glatigny, minister for the French Community of Belgium, and against higher tuition fees. Marie, a pupil in her last year, told La Libre the pupils were there "above all for our teachers". Glatigny called it an "instrumentalisation of our pupils". Belgian unions have since held national demonstrations of 30,000 to 50,000 people.[10]

In Albania, a candidate for EU membership, student protests against tuition fees and corruption began on 13 October. They grew out of protests earlier in the year against coastal developments, among them a resort project on Sazan island. Journalist Arlis Alikaj told Al Jazeera the unrest was "the boiling point of months of suppressed grievances". The students reject both Rama's Socialist Party and the opposition led by Sali Berisha. Rama blamed a "foreign hand".[11]

In Spain, the Sindicato de Inquilinas, the national tenants' union, pushed the two largest union confederations, CCOO and UGT, into a general strike over housing on 11 November, the first joint general strike of the major unions since 2012. The strike followed months of evictions and a housing encampment that held Barcelona's Plaça Catalunya for 47 days.[12]

In Germany, school pupils have struck against the return of military service since before the autumn, in a campaign called Schulstreik gegen Wehrpflicht. A second movement, “Gen Z regelt” (“Gen Z handles it”), led by its named national organiser Akram Selo, held large marches on 31 October and 20 November. Italy’s movement rests on its unions: the CGIL called its fifth consecutive general strike against a budget of Giorgia Meloni’s government for 20 November.[13]

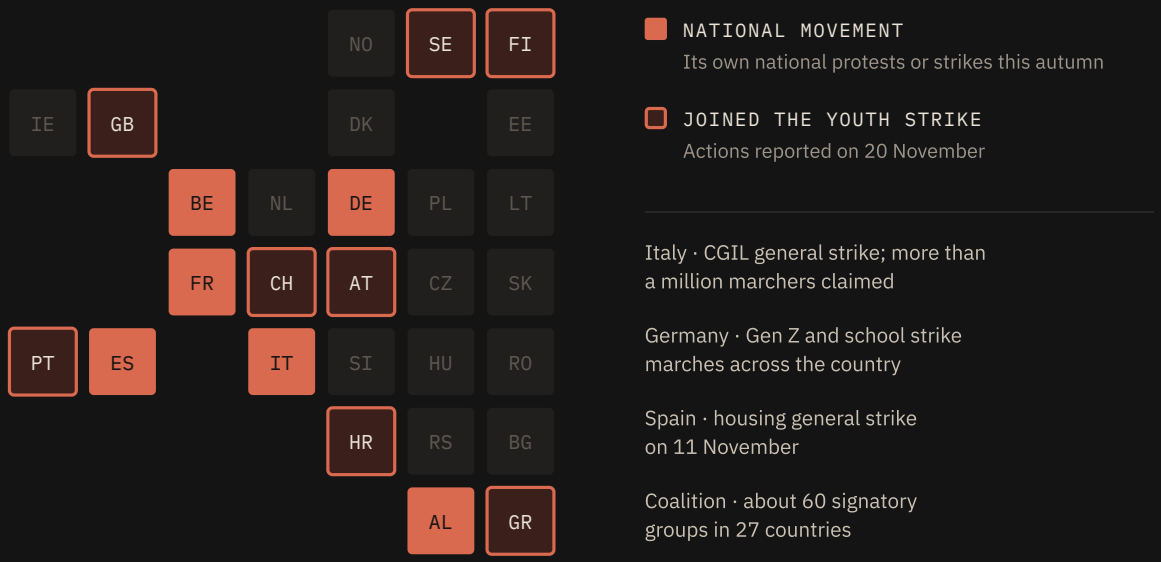
Assessment. The movements have separate origins and shared demands. The protesters tie them together in their own slogans: money goes to rearmament while schools, housing and wages decline.

1.3 The coalition that linked them

The International Youth Strike coalition was launched at a meeting in Cologne in June, attended by 12 organisations from eight countries, and held a second meeting in Paris on 17 October with 27 organisations from 11 countries. Its slogan came from Socialist Students, the student wing of the Socialist Party of England and Wales. The coalition lists about 60 signatory groups in 27 countries and claims a million participants on 20 November (Figure 1).[14]

FIGURE 1 · 20 NOVEMBER

Where the shared day of action reached



SOURCES: COALITION LISTS; REPORTING CITED IN CHAPTERS 1 AND 5.

The coalition's core is made up of socialist, communist and Trotskyist youth organisations, the youth wings of left parties and national student unions. Its named spokespeople include Alessandro Di Miceli of Italy's Rete della Conoscenza, Leonor Chicó of Portugal's Estudantes pelo Fim ao Fóssil, Alice Cohen of France's Union Étudiante and Shabbir Lakha of Britain's Stop the War Coalition. In Britain the National Union of Students, the University and College Union and the National Education Union joined later. RTÉ lists the French Yellow Vests among the organisers of the protests from 20 to 22 November. A larger conference is planned in Italy in February 2027.[15]

Assessment. The coordination is open, publicly announced and built from existing youth organisations. It accounts for the shared calendar. Most of the national movements were already large before it called its day.

2. Who Is Vulnerable, and to What

IN BRIEF

- National police and courts carry most of the risk: Spanish pretrial detention, German prosecutions of minors, French custody and school discipline, and Italian protest offences.
- German and French authorities have named autonomist and communist groups in these protests, which places those groups and their members under formal suspicion.
- The United States has designated four European groups and an Italian internet provider, bars visas for “convergence” with the far left, and is building data sharing agreements with European states.
- The server hosting Paris-luttes.info and Indymedia Nantes carried backdoors with the highest privileges, which likely gave the attackers the IP addresses of authors and visitors.
- Americans who join these protests face expulsion by the host state and device searches when they return home.

2.1 National law

In Spain, four people arrested after the 11 November strike were sent to prison without bail: three young women from Barcelona’s Sant Martí district and a union picket in Castelló. The three Barcelona women belong to the Sant Martí strike committee and a neighbourhood housing union. Six people in the case are under investigation for public disorder, aggravated arson damage and assault on an officer. Their lawyer, Eduardo Cáliz of the legal collective Alerta Solidària, appealed to the Audiencia de Barcelona on 19 November, calling the jailing a political punishment.[16]

In Germany, prosecutions for breach of the peace under sections 125 and 125a of the Criminal Code have followed the Gen Z marches. After the 31 October demonstrations, Frankfurt police reported 54 arrests and more than 100 injured officers, and Welt reported four children and more than 40 young people among the

suspects in Leipzig and nationwide. Interior Minister Alexander Dobrindt blamed "violent left groups" and "migrant troublemakers". Defence Minister Boris Pistorius rejected the migrant framing.[17]

In France, pupils who blockade schools face arrest, custody and discipline. Révolution Permanente, a Trotskyist group and news site, reports that the government sent a ministerial telegram on 13 November ordering sanctions against blockaders to be made systematic. The ministry counted 565 arrests on 31 October alone. The dissolution of political groups by decree remains the government's tool against named organisations: the antifascist group La Jeune Garde was dissolved in June 2025 and the Conseil d'État upheld the decision, and Bruno Retailleau, leader of Les Républicains, has suggested dissolving La France Insoumise (LFI), the largest party of the left.[18]

In Italy, a security decree of April 2025 made blocking a road with one's body a criminal offence, and Turin prosecutors have asked for a ruling on its constitutionality. On 22 November La Verità reported 27 amendments tabled by Fratelli d'Italia to a further protest bill, the "decreto Cortei". They would suspend study grants for students under investigation for protest offences, make organisers of occupations liable for damage caused by others, raise penalties for resisting police to one to six years and lower the age of criminal responsibility to 13.[19]

Assessment. The legal costs of taking part are rising in every large movement, and they fall hardest on the young. A student under investigation in Italy, a minor among German riot suspects or a picket jailed in Spain carries consequences that outlast the protest.

2.2 Groups named by the state

The Hamburg office of the Verfassungsschutz, Germany's domestic intelligence service, issued two public notices. On 30 October it named the mobilisers of the 31 October march as including the autonomist groups OAT040 and Roter Aufbau, the Interventionistische Linke, and two groups it describes as "extremist groups with a foreign reference", Young Struggle and Thawra. On 18 November it said the 20

November march had been mobilised “decisively” with the Internationale Jugend Hamburg, which it calls a substructure of the communist organisation Kommunistischer Aufbau. Hamburg police visited about 14 people at home before 20 November to warn them.[20]

The investigative outlet Correctiv found that the website of the German school strike was registered by the federal board of the SDAJ, the youth organisation of the German Communist Party, at the party’s headquarters in Essen, and the SDAJ confirmed it. Die Vossische found that the Internationale Jugend posted a “#GenZ regelt!” call three days before the Gen Z regelt website was registered, and concluded that funding or control by Kommunistischer Aufbau “is not proven”.[21]

In France, the Interior Ministry’s account of 21 November blames several hundred people “from or driven by” the ultragauche, the French term for the far left, for unauthorised marches, looting attempts and attacks on police in eight cities, and groups them into what it calls high risk groups. Neither the Hamburg notices nor the French account alleges foreign money or direction.[22]

Assessment. The notices put the named groups and their members under formal suspicion at home. Abroad, they hand any government looking for evidence of an organised far left a list of names drawn from official European sources.

2.3 European cooperation

Europol’s 2026 terrorism report, covering 2025, counts 12 attacks in the EU that it classes as left wing or anarchist, ten of them in Italy, and 13 such arrests out of 486 terrorism arrests of all kinds. Europol says violent extremists “continued to maintain transnational networks, frequently travelling between Member States”. The category is small, mostly Italian and separate from the mass protests of 2026.[23]

Germany’s intelligence reform, adopted by the Bundestag on 13 November in the Interior Committee’s version, is due to take effect on 31 December after the Bundesrat. It lets the domestic intelligence service run joint data systems with foreign intelligence services, allows transfers abroad to protect “the security of another state”,

and, in section 54(5), allows data on minors to go to EU and NATO states on the same terms as transfers inside Germany. Junge Welt reports that the law also lets the service recruit minors as informants.[24]

The EU and the United States are negotiating an agreement to exchange information for identity checks and border screening, known as the Enhanced Border Security Partnership. The Commission sent the Council its proposal on 10 September, and each member state chooses which national databases to open to US border authorities. Statewatch argues the proposal conflicts with EU data law.[25]

Assessment. Records created by German, Spanish or French arrests are moving into systems that can be shared with the United States, whether or not anyone is prosecuted.

2.4 The US system

On 13 November 2025 the State Department designated four European groups as terrorist organisations: Germany's Antifa Ost, the Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI/FRI), which began in Italy, and two Greek groups, Armed Proletarian Justice and Revolutionary Class Self-Defense. The Federal Register notice gives no facts, saying only that "the Administrative Record" provides "a sufficient factual basis". The National Counterterrorism Center's own profile of Antifa Ost describes attacks in Germany and Budapest and no US member, attack or funding.[26]

In May 2026 the US counterterrorism strategy committed the government to "map them at home, identify their membership, map their ties to international organizations like Antifa". At a ministerial meeting in Washington on 16 July, Secretary of State Marco Rubio said militants "travel from across Europe and to the Americas to participate in each other's attacks" and use "shared encrypted channels" and "transnational funds". The same day the State Department announced a visa policy barring entry to people who finance, recruit for, support or show "convergence" with groups of the far left.[27]

On 26 August the State Department and the Treasury designated Autistici/Inventati (A/I), an Italian volunteer collective that has provided email and blog hosting to social movements since 2001, calling it “a key node in a transnational campaign”. Every example the State Department gave was a use of A/I’s services by others. A/I shut its services on 18 September. Dutch police seized one of its servers in Amsterdam on 13 October on a US request for legal assistance, and the Dutch justice minister has declined to give parliament details, citing confidentiality.[28]

The United States has also built working channels with European police. A first workshop on far left terrorism took place in Europe in May with 14 countries, according to the Daily Wire, and a second, hosted jointly with Germany’s Interior Ministry, brought practitioners from 31 countries to Berlin this month. The State Department says far left terrorism “increasingly overlaps” with narcoterrorism and with antisemitic extremism. On 29 October Rubio and Hungarian Foreign Minister Anita Orbán signed a memorandum on information exchange against groups “such as Antifa Ost”. Its text is unpublished. Total US visa revocations had passed 300,000 by October.[29]

Assessment. The tools attach to dealings with designated entities, to visa decisions and to data requests, and none is aimed at protest itself. They reach the protests through the groups the European agencies have named and through the infrastructure the movements share.

2.5 Attacks on movement infrastructure

On 21 November the server committee of the Mutu network, which hosts Paris-luttes.info and other French movement news sites, announced that a “double attack” had placed backdoors “with the highest privileges” on the machine it shares with Indymedia Nantes. The sites were down for about ten days.[30]

The committee lists the data the attackers could easily reach and probably took: password hashes, authors’ email addresses and pseudonyms, newsletter subscribers’ addresses, moderation and internal messages, the contents of hosted mailboxes, and the IP addresses of visitors and authors for the whole period the backdoor was present

and the 15 days before. It warns that if an investigation is opened, police could use an author's IP address to request that person's identity from an internet provider, which matters most for authors of calls to unauthorised marches or claims of illegal acts. The statement gives no attribution.[31]

Assessment. The movements depend on a small number of servers run by volunteers for calls to action, legal advice and reports. Whoever placed the backdoors has gained a record of who wrote and who read during the largest weeks of the French protests.

2.6 Americans in Europe

A German state can expel a citizen of a country outside the EU over a protest. In 2025 Berlin ordered a US citizen, Cooper Longbottom, expelled over a protest at the Free University, with a Schengen entry ban. The administrative court suspended the order in urgent proceedings, and Berlin's Senate said in July 2026 that the main proceeding had not concluded.[32]

On return, a traveller faces the US border. Customs and Border Protection ran 52,080 searches of electronic devices in the first three quarters of fiscal 2026, against 39,251 in all of fiscal 2025. In United States v. Tunick, in Atlanta, an investigation by Homeland Security Investigations (HSI) and the Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF), the task forces led by the FBI that bring federal, state and local agencies together, became a border lookout. The government's filing of 9 November quotes the lookout as stating that the traveller "is under investigation by HSI/JTTF for suspected terrorist activities" and says he was sent to secondary inspection "solely because of the lookout". The traveller, a Stop Cop City activist returning from the Dominican Republic, was indicted after wiping his phone.[33]

Counterpunch reported on 16 November that the media of the Democratic Socialists of America had not yet mentioned the European movement.[34]

Assessment. An American who marches in Berlin or Paris and is already of interest to a JTTF can be sent to secondary inspection on return and have their phone searched.

3. Timeline to 18 November

IN BRIEF

- The coalition met in Cologne in June; the French lycées and Belgian schools moved in late September and early October.
- 17 October was the high point in France and brought riots and an army deployment in Italy.
- Late October and early November brought the memorandum with Hungary, the Dutch server seizure, the French national strike and clashes in Tirana.
- The Berlin workshop on far left terrorism and the German intelligence law came in the same week as the 11 November Spanish strike.

3.1 The sequence of events

The table sets out the main events in order, with the protests and the security measures taken in the same weeks side by side (Figure 2). Dates after 18 November are covered in Chapters 5 and 6.

DATE	EVENT
14 Jun	Youth strike coalition founded in Cologne: 12 organisations, eight countries
16 Jul	Rubio’s ministerial on “political terrorism”; State Department visa policy against far left groups
26 Aug	US designates Autistici/Inventati
Late Sep	Walkouts begin in suburban Paris lycées
1 Oct	School blockades in Liège province, Belgium
13 Oct	Albanian student protests begin; Dutch police seize an A/I server on a US request
15 Oct	Internationale Jugend posts the first “#GenZ regelt!” call in Germany
17 Oct	France’s largest day: 550,000 at 430 actions (ministry); Paris coalition meeting, 27 organisations; riots and looting in Italy, followed by army deployment

DATE	EVENT
24 Oct	France: 410,000 (ministry)
29 Oct	US and Hungary sign a memorandum on information exchange against far left terrorism
30 Oct	Hamburg intelligence office names autonomist and diaspora groups among 31 October mobilisers
31 Oct	France: 320,000 and 565 arrests (ministry); German Gen Z marches, 54 arrests in Frankfurt
5 Nov	French intersyndicale national strike day
7 Nov	Tirana clashes: stones and Molotov cocktails, water cannon and tear gas, 12 detained; France: 146,000 (ministry)
9 and 10 Nov	Berlin workshop hosted by the US and Germany, practitioners from 31 countries
11 Nov	Spain’s housing general strike: Madrid 120,000 (government) or 400,000 (tenants’ union); 67 arrests in Catalonia
13 Nov	Bundestag passes intelligence reform; three Barcelona strikers and one in Castelló jailed without bail; French telegram on blockades
14 Nov	France: 106,000 (ministry)
15 Nov	Fifth national lycée coordination, Paris: 33 schools, 20 cities
16 Nov	Barcelona’s Plaça Catalunya housing encampment evicted after 47 days
17 Nov	Athens Polytechnic anniversary march; officer filmed striking a young woman
18 Nov	Hamburg intelligence office names Kommunistischer Aufbau’s youth group behind the 20 November march; Turin hearing on special surveillance for Askatasuna figures

Sources.[35]

FIGURE 2 · TWO TRACKS

Protests and security measures, June to 18 November



SOURCES: AS FOR THE TABLE IN SECTION 3.1. ROWS ARE IN DATE ORDER, NOT TO SCALE.

3.2 What the sequence shows

Three points stand out from the dates. The French movement peaked early. Its largest day, 17 October, came within three weeks of the first walkouts, and each weekly count since has been lower.[36]

The other movements spread while France shrank. Albania rose in the middle of October, Germany’s Gen Z marches began at the end of the month, Spain struck on 11 November, and the coordinated day of 20 November came when French numbers were a fifth of their peak.[37]

The security measures came in the same weeks as the protests. The Hungarian memorandum, the Dutch server seizure, the Berlin workshop, the Hamburg notices and the German intelligence law all fall between 13 October and 18 November. Most were prepared earlier; the German government told parliament it had been preparing the Berlin workshop with the State Department and the Justice Department since the summer.[38]

Assessment. The protests and the cooperation against the far left grew side by side through October and November. The overlap gives officials on both sides of the Atlantic a ready reason to link them, whatever the separate origins of each.

4. Tensions and Alliances

IN BRIEF

- The movements combine unions, student organisations, party youth wings, communist and Trotskyist groups, anarchists and autonomists, with different aims and methods.
- The sharpest line in France and Italy runs between the large union confederations and the autonomous sections that break from their marches.
- Anarchists and autonomists take part as blocs and through anarchist unions; socialist and communist youth groups organised the coordinated day.
- Protesters have policed their own side: union stewards against “casseurs”, and students shielding police from people throwing bottles.
- In Spain, the 11 November strike united every major union, and the jailings have turned the movement against the Catalan Socialist government.

4.1 France

The intersyndicale, led by the large confederations including the CGT, calls the national days and marches on declared routes. In front of the union columns, the cortège de tête, an autonomous front made up of anarchists, antifascists and unaffiliated young people, has repeatedly tried to set the pace. In Lille it seized the head of the march and blocked a CGT van before being gassed. In Lyon on 5 November the prefecture asked the unions to take back the head of the march from the black bloc, and in Paris the same day masked people attacked a union column.[39]

By 21 November the division was built into the call itself. Lyon’s march set off in three named columns, the “Communards”, the “Voraces” and the “Gones”, one of them openly described as combative, each trying to reach the Presqu’île, which the prefect had banned. A text circulating in the movement in early November argued that “a demonstration is useless if it does not overflow”.[40]

A second line runs through the left parties. Révolution Permanente attacks La France Insoumise over its position on the 2027 army budget and over a police eviction of Roma families ordered by the LFI mayor of Saint-Denis, while holding meetings for its own 2027 presidential candidate, Anasse Kazib. The government and the right treat LFI and the far left as one.[41]

The anarchist presence is organised as well as spontaneous. The Confédération Nationale du Travail (CNT-F), an anarchosyndicalist union, called the 5 November strike alongside the intersyndicale, and the Union Communiste Libertaire, an anarchist communist organisation, has given interviews on what it calls the "revolt in France". Street medics are divided too: political medic collectives published a joint statement on 22 November attacking new "apolitical" groups that treat police or refuse to treat "casseurs".[42]

Assessment. The unions and the autonomous front need each other's numbers and resent each other's methods. As union turnout falls, the autonomous sections make up a larger share of each march, which raises both the visibility of the clashes and the government's ability to describe the whole movement by them.

4.2 Italy

Italy's division runs between the CGIL and the base unions and student collectives to its left. The CGIL's 20 November strike was led on the Rome march alongside the leaders of the centre left: Elly Schlein of the Democratic Party, Angelo Bonelli, Nicola Fratoianni and Giuseppe Conte of the Five Star Movement. Landini tied the strike to a wealth tax for the centre left programme. The base unions Cobas, CLAP and SIAL struck separately in about 40 cities, and the USB marched with students on war and conscription.[43]

In Naples, the USB, Potere al Popolo and student collectives burned an image of the CGIL, CISL and UIL leaders as cartoon robbers shaking hands with Confindustria, the employers' federation, over a 12 November wage agreement. Students say they were shoved and refused the floor at the CGIL rally. The USB calls the CGIL a "concertation union".[44]

The autonomous centres form a third current. Askatasuna, Turin's most prominent autonomous social centre, evicted in December 2025, led its own section of the Turin march on 20 November. Infoaut, the autonomist news site, called the day "the strike of the people". Askatasuna's thirtieth anniversary on 21 November hosted an open international debate with speakers from France, Albania, Serbia and the Barcelona encampments.[45]

Inside the marches, some protesters policed their own side. In Rome on 20 November, when hooded people threw firecrackers at the Education Ministry, other marchers rebuked them, and some students stood between police and the throwers.[46]

Assessment. The Italian movement has the largest union base in the wave, and the CGIL's alliance with the parliamentary centre left pulls it in a different direction from the collectives and base unions. The autonomous current is openly building ties across borders.

4.3 Spain

Spain's movement is united at the top and at odds with the government. The 11 November strike brought together CCOO and UGT with the CGT, the CNT, Solidaridad Obrera, Co.Bas and the tenants' unions. After the strike, the movement's anger turned against the Socialist Party of Catalonia (PSC), which governs both the region and the city of Barcelona. Marchers chanted that "the PSC jails three of ours". Marta Espriu, spokesperson for the Catalan housing unions' confederation, named regional president Salvador Illa, mayor Jaume Collboni and regional interior minister Núria Parlon for what she called a "criminalising discourse". The eviction of the Plaça Catalunya camp on 16 November, to make room for Christmas lights, added to the grievance.[47]

Assessment. Repression has widened the Spanish alliance. The prisoners have become a cause for the whole housing movement, and the general election on 29 November puts that cause before the national government.

4.4 Germany

Germany's movement combines a student strike with communist roots, a broad youth initiative and a militant fringe. The school strike and Gen Z regelt marched together for the first time on 20 November, under the slogan "fight together instead of shooting at each other". Gen Z regelt formally rejects violence, and Selo has told marchers not to mask up, yet its marches have repeatedly been followed by separate marches of masked groups.[48]

The Greens, who support the €500 billion defence fund and conscription screening, have become a target. Greens leader Felix Banaszak was told to leave the Berlin march to shouts of "Go to the eastern front yourself!"[49]

Assessment. Opposition to conscription holds the German movement together and unites pupils across party lines. The state's attention falls on the communist and autonomist groups the intelligence office has named.

4.5 Elsewhere

In Belgium, the union front of the CSC, FGTB and Synova has kept its distance from anonymous social media accounts that called for violence at October demonstrations. Albania's students reject both main parties and organise horizontally through messaging apps. In Finland, a researcher quoted by Yle said protests there rarely grow large without unions behind them.[50]

Assessment. Across the wave, the line that matters most is between movements with strong union backing, which can sustain strike days, and movements resting on students alone, which depend on the school calendar and on the next grievance.

5. Violence Against Protesters

IN BRIEF

- France: a volunteer tracker counts 277 cases of police violence, including 11 people who lost an eye and seven amputations; prosecutors are investigating strip searches of young people in custody.
- Italy: charges, water cannon and tear gas in Turin and Bologna on 20 November and again at Askatasuna's anniversary.
- Germany: water cannon and kettles in Leipzig, Hamburg, Cologne and Nuremberg on 20 November, likely including minors.
- Spain: pepper spray and charges on pickets on 11 November, and four strikers jailed without bail.
- Greece and Austria: an Athens officer is under criminal investigation for striking a young woman; Vienna police broke up a student rally with pepper spray.

FIGURE 3 · POLICING

One sequence in four cities, 20 and 21 November

	01 LARGE MARCH	02 BREAKAWAY	03 CHARGE AND GAS	04 KETTLE, ARREST
LYON 21 NOV	Three marches; 4,000 (prefecture)	Combative column heads for Presqu'île	Tear gas at 14:50, grenade into retreat	15 arrests; Presqu'île held
TURIN 20 NOV	Union march, general strike	Askatasuna section turns to Prefettura	Charges, water cannon; evening tear gas	not reported
LEIPZIG 20 NOV	About 2,500 march peacefully	Group heads toward Connewitz	Water cannon used	Kettle, Petersteinweg; identity checks
BOLOGNA 20 NOV	Student march	Students try to break cordon, Confindustria	Police charge	not reported

SOURCES: LYON MAG; ITALIAN AND GERMAN REPORTING CITED IN CHAPTER 5.

5.1 France

A volunteer tracker, vp-ref.fr, compiled with a neurosurgeon at Besançon university hospital for the medical categories, counted 277 cases of police violence by 19 November: 174 people injured, 117 seriously, 19 with permanent injuries, 11 who lost an eye and seven amputations. The Ligue des droits de l'Homme (LDH), the French human rights league, says its observers were knocked to the ground by a GL-304 stun grenade and that it holds 85 reports of possible police violence.[51]

Pupils have borne much of the force. Célya, 17, a pupil at Lycée Jean-Pierre Timbaud in Aubervilliers, described to Basta! police violence at school blockades and humiliations in custody. A Marseille teacher told Café pédagogique that police "in force" at the school gates stopped blockades, and a prefectural order banned demonstrations within 100 metres of some schools in Marseille and Aix. Paris prosecutors opened a preliminary inquiry into two officers after two young people arrested on 31 October complained of violence, sexual assault by abuse of authority and strip searches in custody.[52]

On 21 November in Lyon, police pushed back the combative column with tear gas at 14:50, and video embedded by Lyon Mag shows a tear gas grenade thrown directly into a retreating group, striking a man on the shoulder. The prefecture counted 4,000 marchers and 15 arrests. In La Rochelle a minor was among four arrested, for writing "ACAB" on a statue. A German activist who travelled to Strasbourg for the 5 November strike told Perspektive of being slapped while handcuffed, injured at the wrist by a backpack police hung on the cuffs, questioned through an interpreter who joked with officers, and given nothing to eat for 19 hours.[53]

The ministry counted 144 arrests nationally by 18:00 on 21 November and reported attacks on police in eight cities.[54]

Assessment. The French record combines mass arrests with serious injuries from weapons classed as less lethal and complaints of abuse in custody, much of it involving minors. The police protection law adopted by the Senate makes it less likely that officers will face consequences.

5.2 Italy

In Turin on 20 November, the section led by Askatasuna left the union route for the Prefettura with plywood shields, eggs filled with red paint and bottles, and was pushed back with charges and water cannon. The evening march, “Turin Against Rearmament”, was met by a police charge in via Accademia Albertina, then water cannon and tear gas on the Vittorio Emanuele bridge after bottles were thrown. Some protesters needed first aid.[55]

In Bologna, students tried to break a police cordon near the offices of Confindustria Emilia and police charged; the police headquarters reported a Digos officer and two riot officers injured. A motorist drove at protesters blocking the ring road. On the night of 21 November police used water cannon and tear gas on several hundred people who tried to march from Askatasuna’s anniversary concert to the building evicted in December 2025, after fireworks were fired at them.[56]

The courts have followed the streets. On 18 November a Turin prosecutor asked for two years of special police surveillance, with a ban on living in Turin and the Val di Susa, for a leading Askatasuna figure, and Sara Munari was questioned in her own surveillance proceeding. Her lawyer, Claudio Novaro, called the measure “undemocratic”.[57]

Assessment. In Italy the clashes are concentrated where the autonomous current is strongest, Turin and Bologna, and the state’s response combines force on the day with lasting measures against named organisers.

5.3 Germany

In Leipzig on 20 November, a march of about 2,500 passed off peacefully under a police order banning fireworks, masks, laser pointers and glass. Afterwards a group marched toward the Connewitz district, and police used a water cannon, then kettled a large group on Peterssteinweg, likely including minors, for identity checks. Police described “massive riots” by former participants. Police also removed about 40 occupiers from Leipzig University, where the student council opened a room for “those affected by police violence”.[58]

Perspektive, a communist news site, reports that helmeted police struck marchers in Cologne shortly after the start and held a group in an underground station afterwards, that about 40 people were kettled in Nuremberg, that every exit of the Karlsruhe rally was closed, and that water cannon were used in Hamburg. A pupil from Karlsruhe told it that teachers and police locked pupils inside their school to stop them joining the strike.[59]

Assessment. German police have moved from managing marches to containing them, with kettles and identity checks that create records on young people. Those records fall under the new intelligence law from 31 December.

5.4 Spain

Police charged pickets through the 11 November strike. At Mercamadrid, the capital's wholesale market, they used pepper spray on pickets, and the artist Samantha Hudson told elDiario.es that police sprayed her on the Gran Vía "without doing anything". CCOO's general secretary, Unai Sordo, said he would file a criminal complaint over the pepper spray used on pickets.[60]

In Barcelona, groups smashed windows, looted shops and burned bins near Plaça Catalunya after the march, and police arrested 67 people across Catalonia. The families and lawyer of the three jailed Barcelona women say records place them at two points in the city centre five minutes apart. "They are in prison for who they are, not for the disturbances," they told Metrópoli Abierta. Six minors were given supervised release and banned from demonstrating.[61]

Assessment. The Spanish strike was policed with force against pickets, and the decisive act was judicial: pretrial detention of union and neighbourhood activists on contested evidence.

5.5 Greece, Austria, Albania and Belgium

In Athens on 17 November, the anniversary of the 1973 Polytechnic uprising, video shows a riot police officer on Alexandras Avenue striking a young woman with a baton; she falls with blood on her face. An Athens prosecutor ordered an urgent

criminal investigation, and police opened a disciplinary inquiry. Police detained 23 people that day and arrested four, and two officers and three civilians were injured.[62]

In Vienna on 20 November, police broke up a youth strike rally outside the university after less than an hour, using pepper spray and reporting 66 arrests, about 60 of them administrative. A participant told profil, while putting drops in a friend's eyes, "My friend here can't open his eyes anymore."[63]

In Tirana on 7 November, protesters threw stones, fireworks and Molotov cocktails near the Education Ministry and the prime minister's office, and police used water cannon and tear gas; 12 people were detained. In Liège on 1 October, police reported projectiles at school blockades and made three judicial and three administrative arrests.[64]

Assessment. Outside the three largest movements, force has been used sporadically and in short bursts. The Athens case is the only one in which prosecutors have opened a criminal investigation of an officer within a day.

6. What Has Been Announced

IN BRIEF

- France: a national student and lycée strike day on 26 November.
- Belgium: a national union demonstration on 23 November and a further action on 10 December.
- Greece: a public sector general strike on 25 November and the annual Grigoropoulos anniversary on 6 December.
- Spain: the general election on 29 November, with protest calls in at least 12 cities.
- Italy: a CGIL health mobilisation on 5 December and a national demonstration on 12 December.
- Netherlands: a response due on 9 December in A/I's challenge to the server seizure carried out at US request.

6.1 Dates in the next three weeks

The protest dates and legal deadlines below were announced for the weeks after the cutoff.

DATE	COUNTRY	EVENT
23 Nov	Belgium	Union front national demonstration, Brussels, Gare du Nord to Gare du Midi; public transport disrupted
25 Nov	Greece	ADEDY public sector strike for 24 hours, joined by 25 labour centres and 11 federations
26 Nov	France	National student and lycée strike day called by the fifth lycée coordination
28 Nov	France	La Rochelle march against violence against women
28 Nov	Spain	Demonstration for the three jailed Sant Martí strikers
29 Nov	Spain	General election; protest calls in at least 12 cities, mostly under the "Blocus" label
5 Dec	Italy	CGIL mobilisation for public health care

DATE	COUNTRY	EVENT
6 Dec	Greece	Annual marches for Alexandros Grigoropoulos, killed by police in 2008
9 Dec	Netherlands	Response due in A/I's challenge to the server seizure
10 Dec	Belgium	Next union front action, Brussels
12 Dec	Italy	CGIL national demonstration in Cosenza; students name the day for Rome

Sources.[65]

6.2 Legal and policy deadlines

A ruling on the motion to suppress in the Tunick case cannot come before early December, because the defence asked on 19 November for two more weeks to reply. In the Minneapolis case, motions are due on 18 December and a hearing is set for 8 January 2027. Germany's intelligence law and the deadline for the border agreement between the EU and the United States both fall on 31 December. The Düsseldorf trial of six alleged Antifa Ost members has hearing dates running to 12 January 2027. The youth coalition's conference in Italy is set for February 2027.[66]

Assessment. The calendar is denser in late November than in December. If the French, Belgian and Spanish dates draw large numbers, December's Italian and Belgian days will inherit momentum; if they do not, the holidays will close the autumn wave.

7. Conclusions and Indicators

IN BRIEF

- The protests began as separate national revolts and share a calendar set by a youth coalition. France is shrinking while the shared days widen elsewhere.
- Policing has followed one sequence in France, Italy and Germany, and governments have added jailings, surveillance requests and new laws.
- US agencies hold every tool they would need to treat the protests as a foreign link for domestic cases. None has yet been applied to them.
- European courts and governments have so far refused to follow the United States on A/I.

7.1 Conclusions

Europe's autumn protests are several national revolts joined by one calendar. Each began over its own grievance, from crumbling schools in the Paris suburbs to rents in Spain and conscription in Germany, and the youth coalition founded in Cologne gave them a shared date after most were already large. By the cutoff the wave was moving in two directions: France had lost more than 80% of its street numbers since 17 October, while the 20 November day reached more than 25 countries.[67]

Governments have answered with force on the day and with measures that last longer (Figure 3). The Spanish jailings, the Turin surveillance requests, the French police protection law and the German intelligence law will all stay in place whatever happens to turnout.[68]

On the US side, the channels into European policing are built. The designations, the visa bar, the Berlin workshop and the Hungarian memorandum connect US officials to European police, and the Hamburg and French notices supply named groups. A US use of those notices has yet to be documented (Figure 4).[69]

7.2 What US agencies are already doing

The Attorney General's memorandum of 4 December 2025 implements National Security Presidential Memorandum 7 (NSPM-7), the September 2025 directive on "domestic terrorism and organized political violence". It directs JTTFs to "map the full network of culpable actors ... inside and outside the United States", names material support, conspiracy and racketeering among the charges to consider, and orders a lookback of five years. Among its indicators are hostility to America, capitalism or Christianity and "opposition to law and immigration enforcement".[70]

The domestic cases show the methods. In Minneapolis, HSI cited NSPM-7 as its authority to open the case against 15 members of Direct Action Minnesota, a direct action group opposed to ICE whose members were charged in June with conspiracy to impede federal officers. The case used undercover agents, grand jury subpoenas and customs summonses aimed at union trust accounts and payment platforms, and an HSI slide presented to the grand jury drew lines from 20 organisations, among them union locals, the Twin Cities DSA and Veterans for Peace, to the defendants' group. In Texas, the 15 defendants in the Prairieland case, over the 4 July 2025 attack on an immigration detention centre in Alvarado in which a police officer was shot, received sentences totalling more than 556 years, under the material support statute 18 U.S.C. 2339A, which requires no designated organisation. The government's case relied on "Antifa" literature and zines as evidence of motive. In Louisiana, a case built on a paid FBI informant who met members of the Turtle Island Liberation Front produced a guilty plea to terrorism conspiracy in September.[71]

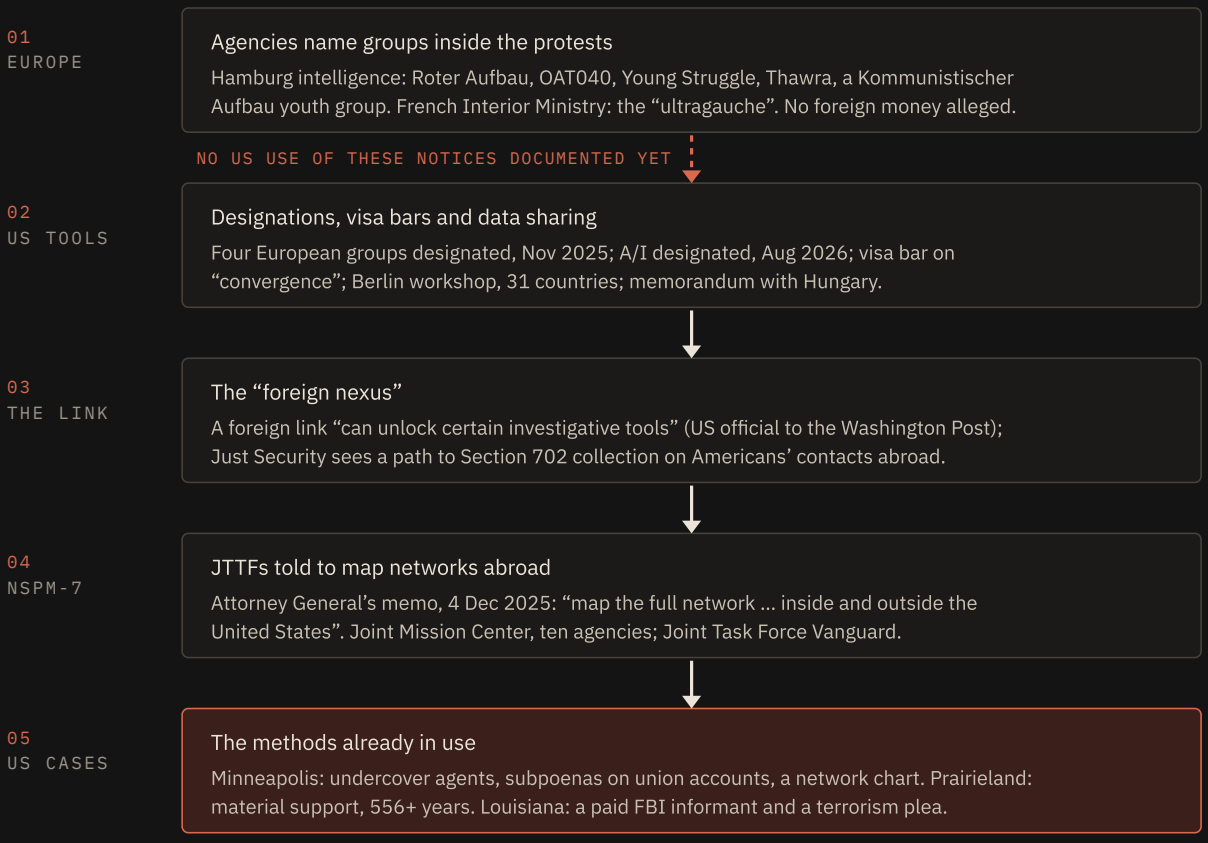
The national machinery is growing. The FBI's budget request for fiscal 2027 describes an NSPM-7 Joint Mission Center with staff from ten agencies "integrating intelligence, operational support, and financial analysis to proactively identify networks". Talking Points Memo reported, from records obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, that 13 IRS employees are detailed to it. The Justice Department has placed at least 13 prosecutions inside its NSPM-7 initiative, led by a task force called Joint Task Force Vanguard. They include the Minneapolis case, federal charges

in Atlanta over the 2022 attack on a contractor building the police training centre, the Louisiana plea, and a Delaware case in which the FBI searched a man's Google, Substack and Bluesky accounts over posts about ICE and Supreme Court justices.[72]

The step from Europe to these cases runs through the "foreign nexus" (Figure 4). A counterterrorism official told the Washington Post that a foreign link "can unlock certain investigative tools", and Just Security argues that the designations of foreign "antifa" groups open a path to collecting Americans' communications with people abroad under Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. Fox News has already described the 20 November youth strike as the work of "a transnational network" of communist groups and tied one of its promoters to the businessman Neville Roy Singham, whose network Fox reports is the subject of a grand jury subpoena for financial records.[73]

FIGURE 4 · THE PATH TO US CASES

How European naming could reach a US investigation



SOURCES: FEDERAL REGISTER, STATE DEPARTMENT, DOJ, COURT RECORDS AND REPORTING CITED IN 2.4 AND 7.2.

Allies have pushed back before. At a meeting in The Hague, European officials told their US counterparts “we don’t see it quite the way you do”, and the Dutch government has called the US listing of A/I “unusual” and criticised its effect on organisations “that we in the EU do not see as terrorist”. An Italian court ordered Banca Etica on 20 November to reopen A/I’s account, finding that a US listing alone gave the bank no power to freeze it, and the bank will comply.[74]

7.3 Likelihood

PERIOD	OUTCOME	ESTIMATE
To Feb 2027	A further coordinated international day of action	Likely (60 to 75%)
To end of 2026	A sustained general strike in France or Italy	Unlikely (20 to 35%)

PERIOD	OUTCOME	ESTIMATE
To end of 2026	French national turnout below 100,000 on every national day	Likely (55 to 70%)
To end of 2026	The wave past its peak in street numbers outside Spain and Italy	Very likely (80 to 90%)
Next 12 months	At least one more European group of the left, or a service provider, designated by the United States	Likely (55 to 70%)
Next 12 months	Another EU or NATO state signs a memorandum like Hungary’s	Likely (55 to 75%)
Next 12 months	A third workshop between US and European officials on far left terrorism	Very likely (80 to 90%)
Next 12 months	The visa policy applied publicly to a European activist or organiser	Likely (60 to 75%)
Next 12 months	A US indictment or affidavit cites ties to a European group or coalition	Roughly even (40 to 55%)
Next 12 months	A material support charge naming one of the four designated groups	Unlikely (15 to 30%)
Next 12 months	Financial process against American nonprofits or funders with European ties	Likely (60 to 75%)

Sources.[75]

The protest rows rest on the French ministry series and the union calendars in Chapter 6. The most likely candidates for a new designation are groups already named in official European documents or tied to the four designated groups. A material support charge naming a designated group remains unlikely because every federal terrorism case against the left so far has used section 2339A. The financial row follows the Minneapolis subpoenas and the work of the Joint Mission Center. Device searches of returning Americans will very likely keep rising.

7.4 Indicators

These would mean the protests are growing:

- a national union in France or Italy calling an indefinite or rolling strike in place of another single day; the French lycée coordination, university assemblies and NPA youth are pushing for one, and the intersyndicale has yet to call it;[76]
- French turnout on 26 and 28 November above the 82,500 counted on 21 November;[77]
- new countries or sectors joining the coalition's shared dates;
- the jailed Spanish strikers' appeal refused, after about 700 people rallied for them in Sant Martí;[78]
- a death or grave injury at a protest, or a mass trial of pupils;
- students and base unions marching with the CGIL on 5 and 12 December.[79]

These would mean the protests are fading:

- the French ministry count falling below 80,000 on the next national day;[80]
- the school holidays from the middle of December ending daily lycée organising;[81]
- a budget concession to the CGIL, a housing measure after the Spanish election, or a reversal of Belgian education cuts;[82]
- clashes between union stewards and autonomous sections, or union columns leaving joint marches;[83]
- arrest numbers falling faster than turnout.

These would mean US action against the protests is coming:

- a US designation drawing on the groups named by the Hamburg intelligence office or the French Interior Ministry;[84]
- a US filing that cites the International Youth Strike or one of its member organisations;
- a European activist refused entry, or a visa revoked, under the "convergence" policy;[85]
- a second European state signing a memorandum on the Hungarian model, or publication of the Hungarian text;[86]

- subpoenas for the bank or payment records of American groups that work with European coalition members, including the Singham network;[87]
- a third workshop on far left terrorism announced.[88]

These would mean European governments and courts are holding it back:

- a Dutch ruling for A/I in its challenge to the server seizure, with a response due on 9 December;[89]
- Banca Etica reopening A/I's account under the Italian court order;[90]
- European officials declining to adopt the US listings, as they did at The Hague;[91]
- a ruling in the Tunick case limiting the use of JTTF lookouts at the border.[92]

Assessment. We assess with moderate confidence that the street wave will pass its peak by the end of 2026 outside Spain and Italy, and that the measures taken against it, from the German intelligence law to the Spanish jailings, will outlast it. We assess with moderate confidence that US law enforcement will keep building its European channels over the next year, and that the first sign of those channels reaching the 2026 protests will be a designation or a court filing citing a group named by a European government.

Notes

Key Judgments

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1. How the Protests Began

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