

JULY THE 2012 PORTLAND R(A)DICLE SOWING THE SEEDS OF LIBERATION & COMMUNITY

*Patriotism is a Gun and it is Aimed
at Your Identity. Shoot Back!*

By Däv

18th-century British Tory writer Samuel Johnson once said of people who feign love of country to promote political aims that “Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel.” What Johnson missed in his analysis was that more broadly, patriotism in its ideal form as an identification with the abstract concepts which comprise the idea of the nation and its character, is an abnegation of self-identity both in its collective and individuated forms. This is accomplished for the individual, through the acceptance of the ideal national identity into oneself through the act of identifying with those characteristics, which constitute the abstract idea of the nation. For the mass community of nationally assimilated communities, this is accomplished through the collective aspiration toward a broader amalgamated collection of such conceptions into a more homogenous (and indeed culturally hegemonic) center. To thrive fully, however, patriotism requires, from both the individual and the national mass, an active will toward and craving for social alienation from self-identity. Thus the struggle against alienation, is inherently a struggle against patriotism.

This can be seen, in its American complexion, through the totalitarian bodies assigned the task of superimposing the identity of the nation upon the identity of the state in an effort to succor much of the national mass, discontented in their collective disempowerment. The political party system within the United States, which holds two great parties in perpetual conflict with one another provides dual engines for the idealization of national self-conception as well as incubators for newly developing and future arrangements of self-conception. For the Republican of today, a relative alignment with abstract conceptions of rural life, christian morality, and national exceptionalism tend to be the guiding culturally central themes around which the individual republican identifies with in and the collectivity of republicans reinforces through the party. For the Democrat of today, these themes include abstract notions of urban life, a will toward social diversity and a love of technocracy. This dual

instrument of reflecting “American values” onto these incubators of state functionaries can, however, be reoriented to any configuration of value sets the popular mass demands.

In each of these cases, these bodies of political identification act in such a way as to seduce the individual through the foreplay of eliciting soft support. The party member or party sympathizer does not have to engage with the party to such a degree as to sacrifice their professional identity or social life & time. The party member need only support the party in elections and less frequently, on campaign work, while the sympathizer need only give lip service to the perceived ideals of the party. The dual body engine of political idealization, whereby the mass offsets its own identity into those of the parties never has to make good on finalizing or fulfilling the wishes of the mass which perpetuates it. Indeed, the will aroused within the masses by each party must always be driven to a point of torrid turgidity but never to a point of full political climax, if the state is to maintain social stability. Meanwhile, any dysfunction or failure to fulfill the political needs of the masses by the party can be easily offset onto the counterbalancing force of the opposing party.

The seduction of patriotism can only thrive off our individual and collective will toward alienation. It is only when we accept our disempowerment from the capacity to take agency for ourselves and our communities as inborn and natural that we have need to seek refuge in such inherently alienated identities. The decolonization of the patriotic mind, subsequently begins with the fight to build and sustain our identities, our community and our autonomy from the cultural hegemony perpetuated by those who would seek to illicit your “patriotism.” Today we live amid a sea of scoundrels but tomorrow, through creativity and struggle, win the fight to free all of our hearts and minds. Let’s get creative. Let’s win.

The Error of Patriotism

By Matthew

Emotion, social identifier, politician's tool—patriotism is a complex topic to address. It is most concisely defined in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy as “love of one's country, identification with it, and special concern for its well-being and that of compatriots.” These seemingly benign words hide the problematic nature of patriotism: its propagation of a false dichotomy of “us versus them”.

The extreme forms of patriotism can be identified as a general belief in “my country right or wrong”, which justifies placing the interests of the country above morality or ethics. From the American Indian genocide of the nineteenth century to the current oil-driven conflicts in the Middle East, examples abound that plainly condemn patriotism's extremes. In the midst of the ultra nationalistic era of World War I, leftist Randolph Bourne observed that war is the health of the state. If that is the case, then patriotism is the lifeblood of war. It is war that America, a nation supposedly founded on liberty, freedom and justice, has carried out since its very inception against all manner of peoples. The stirring of imperialism, manifest destiny, and American exceptionalism form the very essence of this country. One needs look no further than the systemic violence that is upheld in our international policies and even national policies.

Just within Oregon, this can be seen in the Constitutional banning of black people from the state until 1927, the historical exclusion of Chinese immigrants and the deliberate prohibition against the formation of black communities in Portland, as well as violence against indigenous communities. Patriotism's nationalistic form sees multiculturalism as a threat to the American way of life. This type of nativism is part and parcel to extreme forms of patriotism as it seeks to create an “us” and “them”, further strengthening the in-group's bonds at the expense of and through the demonizing out-groups.

The liberal form of patriotism is perhaps a murkier pool in which to wade. This is the patriotism that you see on bumper stickers, which proudly proclaim that “peace is patriotic”, or “dissent is the highest form of patriotism”. It is in these polluted waters that liberal patriotism festers. First both liberal and extreme patriotism seek to limit dialogue within a specific spectrum as Noam Chomsky states:

“The smart way to keep people passive and obedient is to strictly limit the spectrum of acceptable opinion, but allow very lively debate within that spectrum—even encourage the more critical and dissident views. That gives people the sense that there's free thinking going on, while all the time the presuppositions of the system are being reinforced by the limits put on the range of the debate.”

Second patriotism sees America as a set of ideals laid down in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, the founding documents of the nation. However, these ideals are by no means unique to our country but are based on the universality of freedom, justice, and equality. The patriotism of the liberal as well as that of the extremist is in essence what could only be considered a specific type of self-love turned into an ideal. It is an egotistical selfishness that inevitably becomes self-preference. No matter one's intentions, the nature of nation-states as organizations of power seeking ever more power is to compete consciously or unconsciously with other nation-states. They will inevitably be destructive towards other countries; this rarely helps the people within the country and is usually at their expense. There is specificity to the concept of liberal patriotism in that it seeks to uphold universal ideals within the narrow spectrum of love of country, which requires the us-and-them dichotomy. In contrast to such universal humanism, all forms of patriotism seek to include a specific few and exclude all others, thus creating both in-groups and out-groups.

There are a number of psychological dimensions of patrio-

What is the Radicle?

The Portland Radicle aims to stimulate discussion of anarchist thought in our communities. We seek to disseminate diverse ideas of autonomy, self-determination, and mutual aid in order to encourage constructive resistance against political, economic, and social forms of domination in our lives.

tism that provide us with a lens though, which we can better its problematic nature. Patriotism is part of a myriad of interconnected behaviors and attitudes that we express consciously and unconsciously, rationally and irrationally, and which, frame the social makeup of our society. Patriotism applies specifically to the relationship between citizen and nation-state about which noted anarchist/Communist Murray Bookchin wrote:

“Patriotism... is the nation-state’s conception of the citizen as a child, the obedient creature of the nation-state conceived as a paterfamilias or stern father, who orchestrates belief and commands devotion. To the extent that we are the ‘sons’ and ‘daughters’ of a ‘fatherland,’ we place ourselves in an infantile relationship to the state.”

Further not only does the nation-state see us as “sons” and “daughters”, but we ourselves project onto ever-expanding forms of social authority the longings originally satisfied by adult caregivers in childhood, further cementing the hierarchical relationship between citizen and country. This can be seen in the process of socialization, in which, through a series of loyalty transfers from smaller to larger groups, we come to see ourselves as representatives of those groups and responsible to these larger entities. Substantial research, across disciplines indicates that people not only see groups as providing them with a sense of security and safety in exchange for loyalty, but that loyalty appears of the utmost



Students pledging allegiance to the Flag in 1941

importance in defining the individual within the group. The nation-state itself only becomes personally relevant to the individual when he or she gains both a sense of identity and self-esteem from it and an emotional attachment to the homeland. All forms of patriotism seek to include and exclude others by its very nature, thus creating both in-groups and out-groups.

Given the divisive nature of patriotism and its ready insertion into the psychology of group behavior, we are faced with a difficulty. If not patriotism, then what? What should we hope to see in its place? First we must extricate ourselves from the dialogue of patriotism, as it keeps us within the state’s defined limit of conversation.

If we in fact to seek to uphold the ideals of the liberty, justice and equality upon which America was supposedly founded, then we are bound to uphold them universally, precluding the special concern based on nothing but the randomness of birth on which patriotism insists. Second, as Bookchin discusses, there is a need for us to create the “spiritual underpinnings” that seek to reinforce ideals of solidarity, mutual aid, freedom and equality, in order to create a new world. It follows that to realize these ideals in the here-and-now

we must not only meet the material needs of people, but these “spiritual underpinnings” that sustain the human side of life. If we are to do this we must create a movement that seeks to both support new forms of a more inclusive community and attack forms that wish to constrict and limit our ideals.

Call to Contribute

The Portland Radicle is an anarchist-without-adjectives project that is looking for articles from anarchists of all backgrounds for consideration. We like writing that is accessible, but not simplistic. We are looking for articles between 500 and 1500 words.

To submit please contact us at:

portlandradicle.wordpress.com
theportlandradicle@riseup.net

This World is Too Big for Patriotism

By polynya

The summer season always brings with it those outbursts of patriotism--Memorial Day, the Fourth of July, Olympic celebrations--plenty of reasons to fly a flag and shoot some fireworks. For many radicals these occasions are deeply cynical times; reiterating that "patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels" seems like an understatement. With deadly wars being waged and an ongoing history of oppression, anti-patriotism is a logical reaction, but despite this we will still see millions of Americans waving the red, white and blue this summer. For a long time the Left has treated nationalism like a spell, as if the image of a burning flag would awaken us from a collective hallucination. But if we are to overcome the current reality we must seriously understand the positive impact patriotism has on the lives of citizenries around the world.

As communities gather for parades and barbecues while children light firecrackers, as veterans bond over common personal struggles and as new citizens finish naturalization ceremonies, there are always points and places where patriotism goes well beyond nationalistic chauvinism. Love of country is not based simply on place but also on principles, both aspired to and acted upon. At its best patriotism allows the collective solidarity we seek to briefly find expression within the restricted confines of the nation-state. Community, camaraderie, altruism, struggle, newly enjoyed freedoms, newly shared equalities, creativity and pageantry. These are values that most activists would rejoice in bringing to life, even if only temporarily. Is it not understandable that any citizen has this same reaction even as such sentiments are later turned into grist for a much more cynical and dangerous political machine?

"Thinking men and women the world over are beginning to realize that patriotism is too narrow and limited a conception to meet the necessities of our time. The centralization of power has brought into being an international feeling of solidarity among the oppressed nations of the world; a solidarity which represents a greater harmony of interests between the workingman of America and his brothers abroad than between the American miner and his exploiting compatriot.." Emma Goldman, 1908

The breaking point for patriotism is always at the borders. Even as some previously marginalized populations are brought into the national identity as good Americans (although the cruelties of exclusion and oppression are by no means over), even under the most utopic patriotism, there will always be an "Other" on the opposing side of the fence. Nowhere

else does the state more quickly drop its ideals than at the border, the checkpoint, the port security zone. For those in power the exact size and proportions of national divisions is not the issue, but rather the continued existence of some divisions within the global population in order to guarantee their control. Politicians and capitalists have always been jetset and cosmopolitan, happy to play golf or dine in any country's capital; for them the threat is not a more benevolent nationalism, but rather internationalism.

Patriotism has historically been tasked with interrupting migration flows and preventing the formation of grassroots social orders from below. It is no surprise that almost all time-honored American patriotic traditions arose at the end of the 19th century. The Fourth of July, Memorial Day, the Star Spangled Banner, the Pledge of Allegiance, flag standardization and desecration laws were all products of a time when propertyless men, adrift after the Civil War, launched the first mass labor movements and as peak levels of immigrants freely crossed borders uninterrupted. The new national symbols explicitly aimed to coalesce previously divided populations into an American identity, while the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) and the Anarchist Exclusion Act (1903) instituted the first restrictions on immigration in order to prevent subversion of this new identity. Despite these pressures, growing numbers of anarchists and socialists organized across national and racial lines to confront global capital and imperialist wars. By 1917 international solidarity overwhelmed patriotic sentiments in many countries, as revolutions swept through Russia, Hungary, Germany, and Italy. Massive general strikes in the U.S. were only quelled by the arrest of over 10,000 workers and deportation of over 500 immigrants.

While socialist internationalism continued to have its fits and starts, with clandestine networks rising to fight Spanish fascism in the 1930s and imperialism in the 1960s, modern barriers to mobility drastically undermine political organizing. Most Leftists have since abandoned the goal of international liberation in favor of personal liberation abroad, the compensatory crumbs of elite cosmopolitanism in return for toeing the political line. The thirst to rise above the confines of American xenophobia, to experience cooperation and community with other peoples is sated by the hollow "cultural experiences" of the ecotourism market and token donations to international NGOs. If mass patriotism is the saccharine facade of national community after any authentic bonds have been thoroughly dissolved away, liberal cosmopolitanism is its international counterpart.

The cosmopolitan world citizen looks at their flag-waving compatriots with disdain, "Why don't they see its all a charade? There is such a wide world available beyond our bor-

ders! Handcrafted baskets, beautiful keffiyehs...they probably don't even know how to drink yerba mate right!" For too long the main counterpoint to patriotism has not been a demand to remove the structures that confine solidarity to the nation, but rather the cynical liberalism that confuses its own privilege for a higher philosophical plane of reason. Crafting a self-identity that crosses borders and symbolizes values has become the goal instead of enacting our values in action with others and reaching outside the consumerist self.

"We have always chosen our friends, our companions-in-arms, as well as our enemies, because of the ideas they profess and of the position they occupy in the social struggle, and never for reasons of race or nationality. We have always fought against patriotism, which is a survival of the past, and serves well the interest of the oppressors; and we were proud of being internationalists, not only in words, but by the deep feelings of our souls."

-Errico Malatesta, 1914

Books to Prisoners

By James

Portland Books to Prisoners (PDX B2P) is an all-volunteer operation that sends used books to prisoners for free. We are located in a garage in North East Portland and we have a volunteer night on Tuesdays from 5:30pm to 8pm.

One function of prison is to crush the spirit and will of the prisoner. In her essay, "Prisons: A Social Crime and Failure," Emma Goldman puts it thus: "Year after year the gates of prison hells return to the world an emaciated, deformed, will-less, ship-wrecked crew of humanity, with the Cain mark on their foreheads, their hopes crushed, all their natural inclinations thwarted."

Prisons dis-empower inmates by denying them choices in every sphere of their lives. This is most evident in the restriction on prisoners' physical location with walls and bars. Their diets are restricted to whatever the prison system is willing to feed them. Their sleeping hours are regulated. Their ability to bathe is constrained. Opportunities for exercise are limited. Access to nature is almost nonexistent. Non-compliant captives are prodded, shoved, beaten, and electrocuted.

One small way that those of us on the outside can re-empower prisoners is by restoring their ability to choose what reading materials they have available. When you send requested books to a prisoner, you are allowing her to decide how she will spend many hours of her life: what she will read, what she will learn, what new ideas she will explore, consider, accept, and reject.

Dissent is the highest form of patriotism. Resistance is what will surpass it. Patriotism continues to hold its appeal because it is free to supplement its propaganda with deeds, with the nationalistic solidarities that find expression within its narrow confines. With this enemy it is no longer sufficient to be internationalist only in words, to restrain our own propaganda to symbolism and contempt. Action is needed to allow an internationalist community to exist in more than our screeds. Four decades of complaining about the system, of pointing out its flaws, of proclaiming our higher ideals, have not created alternatives within the reach of most people. Nationalism was forged by attacking those who dared to transgress borders, but it would be a mistake to assume it will be eroded merely by our personal transgressions. The nation will only be overcome when those borders are torn to the ground and all people are free to explore beyond their walls. Detention centers, prisons, poverty, cops, ecological wastelands...there are a lot of hard painful walls in our society, but among us we have many hands. Let's actually put them to use...

Volunteer efforts like PDX B2P can be a vital source of information for the incarcerated. Many prisons do not allow individuals to send books to people they know in prison. Only bookstores and other "reputable organizations" are allowed to send books inside.

PDX B2P's primary activity is answering letters from prisoners requesting books, magazines, comics, zines, and resource guides. Prisoners usually ask for books from any of several genres that interest them. For each request we select three or four books from our shelves and prepare a package complete with a packing slip.

Selecting books is not always so easy. Every prison has its own restrictions on what materials a prisoner may receive. These might include only paperbacks, three items at most, no torn covers, good condition only, and restrictions on content. Fortunately we have an expert who writes these restrictions on the front of each letter in red before it gets into the hands of the other volunteers.

Currently we have drop-off boxes for donated books at three locations: Red and Black Cafe, Laughing Horse Books, and In Other Words. If you donate a book to us and you later see it for sale at Powell's Books, there is a very good explanation! We take likely candidates to Powell's to see if they will buy them. The limiting constraint on our operation is money for postage,

Books to Prisoners Continued on pg 7

An Interview with Alexander Baretich; on Cascadia Part I

Alexander Baretich is an unemployed teacher and long-time advocate for bioregional awakening. He can frequently be found engineering Cascadian memes at the Occupy Portland office at St. Francis Church and can be reached via e-mail at a_cascadian@yahoo.com or on Facebook. The full transcript will be available online after Part II in August.

What is a bioregion?

Some people define it based on watersheds; some people define it based on what species are in a region. It literally means “life region.” I really define it based on water cycles, so not so much where the water is under the ground, that watershed itself, but that flow of water through the region.

So in the case of Cascadia, our bioregion starts off with the Pacific. It’s that evaporation of the water that flows above us in the form of clouds, comes back down as rain, snow, ice, and all that stuff onto the Western side of the Rockies, which is that natural barrier flows and then back as rivers, streams, creeks into lakes and eventually back into the ocean to restart the cycle over.

What is bioregionalism?

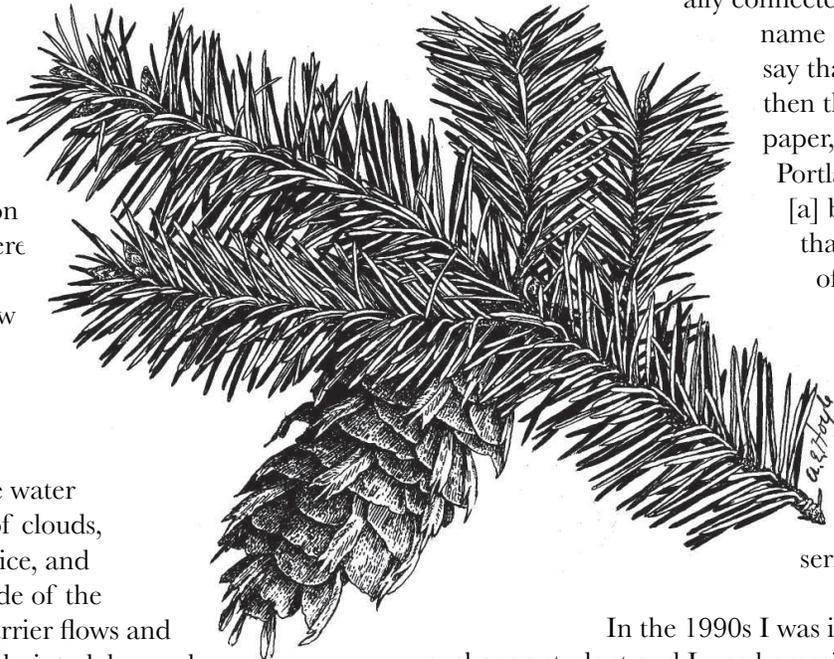
Bioregionalism is the awakening or consciousness that you live within a bioregion, that... your bioregion is where you eat, sleep, or defecate (I use usually another word for that) and it is that awakening that my existence extends into the existence of others around me, and that whatever I take away or add to my environment, that’s an extension of me. My community is me. I am my community.

Kropotkin ... saw things with mutual aid, where there are organisms working together to have the survival of the community. I would say bioregionalism adds another element to that... because it sees symbiotic relationship between trees and salmon and between bears and grass... that it’s a much more complex community [that] is not simply horizontal but ... much more rich, much more dynamic... If we take on a bioregional perception, we will put our economic model into that and we will end up having a model that is community-based,

cooperative-based, and... horizontal.

Would you tell us about Cascadian bioregionalism? What has your involvement been?

Well, the history of Cascadian bioregionalism really starts with David McClosky. Currently he’s a retired teacher from the University of Seattle. And he was the one who actually connected the bioregion with the name “Cascadia.” So you could say that starts in the 1970s. And then there was actually a newspaper, a quarterly that was in Portland, called “Cascadia” ... [a] back-to-earth movement at that time. ... There was kind of a background idea that was left with geographers and some sociologists, this fantasy world that maybe we could create a country called Cascadia, but it was not really taken seriously.



In the 1990s I was in Eastern Europe as an exchange student and I was homesick and realized we need a flag. So I designed the flag. The reason for that flag was to take an abstract idea and make it a little bit more concrete. And after that I just kept on pushing it. I made sure that there was always... a dialogue about Cascadia online.

I wouldn’t call myself a leader--I don’t believe in leaders at all in this movement. As an anarchist, I especially don’t believe in leaders, but I count myself as a catalyst or an inspirer. This is a decentralized, leaderless movement... about paradigm shifts on how we see ourselves and our relationship to each other and to mother nature. ... Things have their own reason to exist. They don’t have to exist for man, or humans. We need to go from seeing things [in terms of] commodification to seeing things as living things again.

Based on what you’ve said here, it sounds like you would be challenging traditional capitalist notions of both private property and personal property possibly.

Yeah, I wouldn’t say all bioregionalists believe in this, though I’ve talked to several who...lean toward what Gandhi believed: ...that you are entrusted with something as opposed to owning

something. In ownership (and this is, again, mostly me saying this)... when you own something you can control it, you can destroy it, you can manipulate it, you can... abuse it. In trusteeship ... when you are entrusted with something you have responsibility. ... If I'm not doing my part of my responsibility then in some sense [the thing with which I am entrusted] should be taken away from me, or it can be taken away from me. Now the question then is power issues of taking away. That's a whole other issue. But as a society, as a community, we can create community norms; we can have dialogues about that.

You've mentioned that you identify as an anarchist. How do you see anarchism intersecting with bioregionalism?

Well, both of them strongly believe in decentralization. Anarchism really is totally against hierarchical structure. It tends to be against linear ideas. And bioregionalism is really the same thing. It doesn't believe in hierarchical structures; it actually believes in something like holons... Arthur Koelster came up with that term. Holarchy is not hierarchical structure but more horizontal. The parts equal the sum of the whole. And the idea of decentralization is really crucial in bioregionalism. You could, I guess, have bioregional capitalists, but given the fact that bioregionalism really focuses on localization and that relationship with nature and given the fact that capitalism is about exploitation, I would say there would be a conflict there with those who call themselves bioregional capitalists. So I tend to obviously lean toward anarchism or horizontalism.

Books to Prisoners Continued

and books sales to Powell's is one of our few sources of income. Powell's only buys ten to twenty percent of the books we take to them, so most donated books are in fact sent to prisoners. The only things on which we spend money are: postage, brown paper, packing tape, photocopies, and dictionaries we get at the dollar store. We have no rent expense because our garage space is donated.

PDX B2P has three addresses depending on your interest in our operation:

- **Volunteers:** On Tuesday evenings we meet in the garage behind the house at 1112 NE Morton St. However, this is not our mailing address, so please don't give this address to prisoners.
- **Letters from prisoners:** We receive all our letters through Seattle Books to Prisoners, c/o Left Bank Books, 92 Pike St. Box A, Seattle WA 98101. This is the address to which prisoners write requests. Every couple of weeks Seattle B2P sends us a large bundle of unopened letters from prisoners all over the US.
- **Donations:** We have a third address for people who want to send us monetary donations: Portland Books to Prisoners, P.O. Box 11222 Portland, OR 97211. We accept checks made out to "Portland Books to Prisoners." Tax-deductible donations can be made out to "Education Without Borders," a registered non-profit that processes donations for us. We are chronically short of money and have a huge backlog of packages awaiting postage. Donations go straight to mailing packages that have already been prepared.

If this project sounds valuable to you, there are several things you can do to show your support. You can come to our volunteer night on Tuesdays and help answer letters. You can donate your used books by bringing them on Tuesday or by dropping them off in one of our boxes. You can donate money for postage by sending us a check. You can plan a benefit concert or other event for B2P. Please write to us if you have any questions: pdxbookstoprisoners@riseup.net. Or visit our website at pdxbookstoprisoners.org.

WE ARE PLANNING A

**PACIFIC NORTHWEST
REGIONAL ANARCHIST
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
AND WE WANT
YOUR IDEAS!**



This multi-day event will be an opportunity for anarchists from all over the Pacific Northwest to come together to network, build affinity, share stories of struggle, and take action.

Tentatively planned for sometime between mid-July and mid-August, we need your ideas to make this happen! What do YOU want to see out of a multi-day regional anarchist general assembly?

Which dates work well for you? What do you want in terms of discussion spaces, networking, format, workshops, working groups, etc? What games do you like to play? Are there specific accommodations we should keep in mind to make this event accessible for as many folks as possible? What kinds of peripheral social events do you want to attend?

If you have skills, resources, workshops, or anything else you'd like to contribute, please get in touch!

pnwanarchistgeneralassembly@riseup.net

The Red & Black Needs your Help

The Red and Black, founded in 2000, is a worker-owned cooperative restaurant and community space in Southeast Portland, Oregon. They are currently in tough financial straits and have recently contemplated shutting their doors for good.

So what happened? Like many other local restaurants after 4+ years of recession (depression?): they need more business. In this economy many people have less money to eat out. Their situation is compounded by the fact that they have never had anything near a comfortable amount of working capital. They attempted to raise sufficient capital during the fundraising drive when they decided to buy our building. While they did raise enough money to make their down payment, they were far from their goal. This left the collective financially vulnerable to the point that a slow month could bankrupt them. This is why, a few months ago, the money they raised to replace their broken window was eaten up by operating expenses.

Their financial situation has left them to make do with subpar equipment which slows them down. It also means running out of menu items and ingredients when they are unable to afford to restock them. The more they stress about money and the day-to-day of keeping their doors open, the less time and energy they have to figure out what needs to be done to turn things around.

While there are several things they do that don't make a lot of business sense, financially, they are things they refuse to compromise on. They are welcoming to unhoused folks who often can't afford to spend money at the cafe. They make most of their food from scratch which is labor intensive and because their ingredients are (mostly) organic, they are more expensive.

They are also much more than just a restaurant. They are a community space; specifically a radical, queer-positive safer space; an important hub for many overlapping grassroots political projects, a cop-free zone, an amazing vegan restaurant, a music venue, a hangout and meeting space for Industrial Workers of the World union members, a low-income collective household upstairs—the list goes on.

In order to meet this challenge head on they're making changes that they believe will not only avert catastrophe, but put them on a path of financial sustainability. The most dramatic and immediate change is that they've decided to work without pay until they can turn this situation around. This decision is both difficult and easy to make. Difficult because they, as individuals, can't afford it for long and because they are a closed union shop with the goal of paying themselves a living wage. But the decision is also easy because the alternative is something none of them want: losing the Red and Black.



So they are fundraising \$20,000 in donations, gift certificates and merchandise sales. This amount would not only cover their current obligations but would mean having an adequate amount of working capital for the first time. They would be able to afford to go back to a paid wage, to purchase adequate equipment, fix the window, and keep the building. This is a crucial time for the Red and Black and they need your help!

Most of all they want everyone to know that as much as capitalism tries to beat them down, they're determined to keeping pushing on! Thank you so much for your support!

You can visit their website www.redandblackcafe.com to donate. Now is the time to schedule meetings, events, live music, films, book readings, workshops etc. etc. at the Red & Black. The stuff you do at the cafe is what makes it a community space! It's easy just go here: www.redandblackcafe.com/event-booking.

Stop on by the Red and Black 11-9pm to not only support a wonderful local union shop, but get some great food as well!

Red & Black is located at:

400 SE 12th Avenue, Portland, OR 97214