

FREE KTEEO



"IN SOLIDARITY WITH ALL THOSE RESISTING THE GRAND JURY..."

KATHERINE OLEJNIK

In Seattle on September 27th 2012, Kteeo was thrown into prison for civil contempt for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury against members of her community. Grand Juries have the power to take away your 5th amendment right so that you can be jailed for remaining silent.

"For me choosing to resist a grand jury is about humanity - I cannot and will not say something that could greatly harm a person's life, and providing information that could lead to long term incarceration would be doing that. For me choosing to resist a grand jury is about freedom of speech and association - I cannot and will not be a party to a McCarthyist policy that is asking individuals to condemn each other based on political beliefs."

WRITE TO KTEEO!

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#9

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&

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*Food Not Bombs Has a
Posse*

Radicle/raedlkel/
[rad-i-kuhl] n. (Botany) The rudimentary shoot of a plant that first emerges from the seed during the process of germination, often the embryonic root of the plant.

Movements & Mobilizations: Reflections on N3

by Kari Koch

There were several critical successes of N3—the November 3rd Solidarity Against Austerity mobilization—including mobilizing 1200 people in the streets, putting the concept of austerity into mainstream conversation in Portland as a program of an economic system that is fundamentally flawed, engaging dozens of new folks in mobilization organizing, and building working relationships between organizers who emerged from the Occupy movement and the institutionalized Left.

There was also significant friction in the organizing of N3 that deserves reflection, specifically around the role and functionality of the Portland Action Lab (PAL). The role of PAL in particular seemed to be a source of confusion within the institutionalized Left and merits some flushing out through public dialogue so that we can all be clear next time, should there be a next time, and so that we can more accurately understand when and how it makes sense to engage the PAL network.

The framework of the PAL organizing was muddled for the November 3rd action. People who were engaged in various pieces of the organizing expressed in the debrief that they felt disconnected from a deep understanding of the purpose of the day, the priorities of the PAL network, and general information from the other working groups. The lack of consistency in participating organizers, the short amount of time spent in the large group during meetings, and the role that “autonomy” played in the organizing and on the day of action all contributed to these feelings of disconnection, I believe.

As one of the few people deeply involved in organizing all three of PAL’s actions, I would like to offer my thoughts on PAL, N3, and the direction of the organizing for this day of action, as they relate to the initial intentions of PAL. These are my thoughts, understandings, and assessments. I welcome dialogue and conversation about all of this.

Goals & Priorities of PAL

The primary goals of the Solidarity Against Austerity day of action were to organize a mobilization based in direct action through affinity groups that focused on the issue of Austerity, specifically as it relates to debt and education; highlight “austerity” to make that amorphous program visible and present it as a target (relating it to issues that affect people’s lives); build support for the growing student anti-debt movement, or student power movement, and harness energy around anti-austerity into on-going organizing.

The general purpose of PAL is to coordinate mass mobilizations. We function as a direct action network that can have stable infrastructure with name recognition that is available for movement purposes. The Action Lab has organized three actions and in each instance the priority and process of our work has been to identify an issue and recruit and coordinate affinity groups that use direct action to target economic institutions. The express purpose has typically been to disrupt the flow of business as usual on those days of action. PAL has also coordinated with affinity groups to participate in the march itself to help provide structure and a physical buffer between the march crowds and the police, who are known violent aggressors. The march uses the affinity group actions as a way to determine the best route and locations for stops. Simply, the actions of affinity groups are the priority of the march and the desire of disruptive (or productive) direct action is generally seen as the most important aspects of the days of action.

Our collective reflections from the F29 Shut Down the Corporations day of action elevated the desire to avoid having actions be “one off” affairs and instead have actions contribute to the capacity of other organizations that are doing movement building or campaigns. This was incorporated into the vision for N3 in offering a coordinated space after the action for people who were moved to fight austerity in an ongoing way to come together, discuss, plan, and hear what campaigns currently exist.

This is the model of PAL. This model rests on the need for direct actions; otherwise we are just a march and rally, which, while valuable, was not the founding purpose of this network. The foundation of direct action is what has allowed our model to be guided by a fluid connection between groups and organizations, and an express understanding that people at PAL actions will be pushing the bounds of the law and challenging institutions of capital. This is, at least, the intention; ultimately it is up to small groups of well-organized people to execute these actions. There is plenty of room for critique about whether or not we have lived up to this vision. In fact, arguably this is much more of a vision than a reality of the three actions. Though, this is certainly the vision for the model, and with creative thinking and dedicated organizing, I think we could use this infrastructure to actualize this vision. PAL clearly states on our website that we believe direct action is at the heart of social change, and the more this direct action can be disruptive and strategic rather than staged, the more powerful it can be. PAL is a direct action network that coordinates mass mobilizations, not a mobilization network that offers space for direct action.

Though, again, those coordinating the infrastructure of PAL can only execute this vision through the recruitment of affinity group willing to take militant action.

The two options above became conflated on N3 because of the range of political leadership in the room and because no affinity groups came forward to do direct actions. Organizers attempted to recruit several high-functioning organizations to engage in strategic and militant direct actions that would advance their ongoing efforts and be an action that would anchor the day in a visual representation of what it looks like to either challenge austerity or build our community's alternatives. These attempts were not successful and in the end only a handful of groups signed on to do any action, and most of those actions were based in street theater. While this is exciting and welcome - street theater energizes a march and serves an important purpose, the vision is for there to be a balance of militancy and symbolic action.

I think the other reason for difficulty in organizing direct action and affinity groups on N3 was the topic itself. Austerity is both broad and amorphous — what does one target that embodies austerity? Well, actually, there are a lot of options - banks, empty buildings, broken-down infrastructure, interests of privatization, epicenters of wealth. In the end, groups had a difficult time nailing down targets and when they did, it was often without the willingness to act militantly in opposition to those targets. This is not to judge those groups too harshly — I believe that strategy trumps militant lashing out most days of the week, but the fact that we couldn't find this capacity in any affinity groups became a serious flaw in our plans.

Who's in the room matters

The vision of N3 as a day of direct action was lost through both poor internal communication and about the different political elements coming to the table together with different visions of how N3 might meet all their personal and organizational desires (for instance, the media team debated whether to call it a march and rally or day of action when there was originally no doubt about the intentions of the day to be about action). So, while many of the people involved previously with PAL actions and those that came out of the Occupy movement, saw this as a day of action to challenge institutions of power and stand up to the police as needed to meet our goals. Those involved in N3 who came from places like trade unions, Jobs with Justice, and other community groups were much more conservative in their approach. Much of the institutionalized Left originally pushed back against this action being right before the election and then focused on traditional soft actions (finger wagging in elected's offices). To their credit, many unions and community groups endorsed the action despite the initial reservations, which showed the weight of the rank and file members from those organizations pushing for radical action within their institutions. The efforts of the rank and file of the organizations and unions deserves immense credit - getting some of these union signed on is no small task! Though the

endorsement of N3 were primarily statements of support for the perceived idea of N3 rather than mobilization for direct action.

These tensions were signs of political divisions in the room, tensions that previous actions had smoothed over with a wild sense of urgency and the momentum of forces like Occupy opening the door for militancy. Additionally, in the two previous PAL actions, the core organizing body established an approach that prioritized direct action and anti-capitalist analysis; the core leadership roles were held by people who were moving that general political analysis and came out of radical grassroots movements. This was not the case with N3. The organizing space was filled in with self-selected leadership that came from across the spectrum of the 'left' and did not have an historical sense of what the Action Lab held as core values in past actions. Avoiding these tensions required political leadership from a solid core of people committed to holding the "PAL model", but this did not exist. This was due both to the fact that leadership from past PAL actions did not return to participate in N3, nor did they provide transitional support for other folks stepping into their roles, and because the people who formed the idea of Solidarity Against Austerity opened up the organizing space broadly before the vision was solidified.

The political divisions became stark when the police attacked the front line of the march and pepper sprayed dozens of youth and comrades, taking their sturdy banners.

The police

The police see the sturdy banners as a useful tool for the movement, so on N3 they confiscated banners from marchers in the park before the rally. As the police took the banners, they made it clear that they could take anything they wanted away from anyone at the park at any time. This includes the metal poles of the Veterans for Peace flags, the wooden picket sticks on virtually every sign in every march, the bullhorns, and anything else they deem "dangerous" or a "nuisance" in the moment. It's no surprise that the state is constantly assessing our movement and looking for ways to both remove advantages that we might gain and to establish a dynamic of "good protester/bad protester" so as to pit us against each other.

The tragedy with N3 is that many individuals and organizations took the bait and somehow managed to envision a situation in which marchers with banners were antagonizing the police in such a way that it then became their fault when the police enacted violence against our comrades. As the cop-talker on N3 and at the front lines of the march, I can say definitively that these perceptions are horrifyingly misconstruing events of the day. The bottom line is this - the police wanted to confiscate all the sturdy banners and indicated to their officers that they should block our route and use necessary force and pepper spray to do so. We, of course, did not know this until after the fact. The police established a situation that was most likely to result in a confrontation. People and groups have successfully 3

and without pepper spray used these sturdy banners in many actions and marches. It is beyond disgusting to blame these folks now for using a successful and tested tactic. Yet, these sorts of accusations were what was coming out of the institutionalized Left after the action - aimed directly at PAL, affinity groups, youth, 'occupiers', and, of course, anarchists. Had this been a conversation of strategy, I think we could have had a productive and useful discussion, because we did have a strategy and it did involve banners, and, ultimately, it could have been better. But the critiques were not about strategy, they were hurtful knee jerk reactions not based in honesty or reality, but on perception and judgement.

This, I suppose, is not surprising - we've seen similar couching and reactions from non-profit and 'peace' organizations in the past, but is disappointing and a step backwards in our movement building efforts. This is a step back towards a non-profit model that reinforces reformist notions and doesn't take militant action for fear of losing big financial backers (one piece what is often called the non-profit industrial complex), to trade unions aligned with politicians, and to the tired old violence/non-violence conversation that is a dead weight on our movement. Occupy and the social uprising of the past year were, perhaps unwittingly, challenging these solidified dynamics and entrenched practices and fears. The social movement is strong and the divisions are not insurmountable, but this, to me, felt like a serious blow.

Next

All these foundations, difficulties, and real life outcomes beg the question of whether or not the PAL model is functional. Has the moment passed where enough groups are capable of mobilizing for simultaneous strategic direct action under the same umbrella; was that a construct of occupy that is currently out of touch? Or did this ever really exist?

Even the previous PAL actions were light on strategic direct actions that have consequences and targets, and N3 had none. The effort should be made to transition in one of several directions. I don't think that it makes sense to ditch PAL all together but it is clear that the infrastructure of a 'direct action network' cannot hold its shape, principles, or vision without

people taking on leadership that carry those elements into the organizing space and through the action.

I actually think that N3 was a success despite its shortcomings. Austerity exists as a program of capitalism that is moving through our community and we put that on the table in real terms. The organizing meetings for N3 were huge, active, and brought many folks into organizing roles who had little previous experience. The media coverage was excellent. The Portland Action Lab continued to build it's strong public reputation for successful actions and mobilizations. This organizing rebuilt momentum from the summer (even though I never personally felt a summer slow down, I hear that's a common perception).

Possible new directions

Focus all the energy of PAL organizing on affinity group actions and use the element of surprise to have the effect of significant shut down. Take the march organizing and the public face out of the picture to allow for more vibrant direct action coordination. This has the added benefit of being a new tactic that the city and police will be unprepared for.

Organize the march and rally as direct actions. The port shutdown is a good example of what this could look like in real life. Instead of thinking of the actions as separate, get a group bought into having a concrete or financial impact on a specific target that applies broadly and organize militant marches.

As the ports come around again as an issue of the intersection of worker power, community control of the commons, and capital distribution the conversation about focusing on one mighty target from lots of different political angles becomes increasingly relevant.

Wherever we go, this is all an experiment. We put together ideas, try our hand at organizing, work to construct actions based in principles and vision of building a strong social movement that can advance the struggle toward liberation, and ultimately we inch closer to understanding where to go with all this vibrant energy that fills our collectives, fills our homes, and fills our streets. ●

Radical Quote of the Month

Order derived through submission and maintained by government terror is not much of a safe guaranty; yet that is the only 'order' that governments have ever maintained. True social harmony grows naturally out of solidarity of interests. In a society where those who always work never have anything, while those who never work enjoy everything, solidarity of interests is non-existent; hence social harmony is but a myth. The only way organized authority meets this grave situation is by extending still greater privileges to those who have already monopolized the earth, and by still further enslaving the disinherited masses. Thus the entire arsenal of government—laws, police, soldiers, the courts, legislatures, prisons,—is strenuously engaged in 'harmonizing' the most antagonistic elements in society.

News Briefs

by Mike

Grand Jury

On July 25, the FBI conducted military-style raids of homes in Portland and served subpoenas in Olympia and Seattle. The government has indicated that it is seeking indictments pertaining to demonstrations that occurred in Seattle on May 1. However, those summoned to appear are being asked to discuss their friends and political beliefs in secret proceedings, akin to McCarthyite tactics used during the infamous “Red Scare” of the 1950s. It appears as if the government is seeking a wide range of information about anarchist communities in the Pacific Northwest.

In the latest news from the grand jury, Olympia resident Maddy Pfeiffer appeared before the grand jury on November 7. After refusing to answer any questions, Pfeiffer (who uses they/their gender pronouns) was issued another subpoena and appeared before the grand jury on December 14. Pfeiffer was found guilty of civil contempt and was imprisoned on December 26.

Maddy Pfeiffer has requested that any mail sent to them not be in cursive.

Matthew Pfeiffer #42421-086
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P.O. Box 13900
Seattle, WA 98198

Another person imprisoned by the grand jury, Portland’s Leah-Lynn Plante had been imprisoned for not cooperating with the grand jury on October 10. However, after a week in prison, Plante apparently agreed to appear before the grand jury, testified and was released. Since grand jury proceedings are secret, no one knows what Plante said. She has since left Portland and is not in contact with those organizing to resist.

In response to the grand jury, numerous solidarity actions have been carried out around the country and internationally. On October 11, a march was held in southeast Portland where numerous bank windows were smashed on SE Hawthorne Blvd. There were no arrests. This was only one action coordinated in solidarity with grand jury resisters. There have been numerous attacks on property, banner drops and noise demonstrations to support those imprisoned in the federal government’s attempt to intimidate local anarchist communities.

Two people remain imprisoned for refusing to cooperate with the grand jury, Matt Duran and Kathleen “Kteeo” Olejnik, both of Olympia, Washington. Their mailing addresses are:

Matthew Kyle Duran
#42565-086
FDC SeaTac,
P.O. Box 13900
Seattle, WA 98198

Katherine Olejnik
#42592-086
FDC SeaTac,
P.O. Box 13900
Seattle, WA 98198

Portland Legal Defense

Portland’s Sergey Turzhanskiy, also known as Kiki, was arrested the morning of November. Turzhanskiy (who uses they/their gender pronouns) is accused of throwing a Molotov cocktail at an empty police cruiser parked at the station on NE Emerson St. They are currently charged with two felonies and two misdemeanors, including possession of a destructive device and misdemeanor attempted arson.

You can write to Sergey at:



Sergey Yefimovich Turzhanskiy #768738
MCIJ
11540 NE Inverness Dr,
Portland OR 97220

Mike Hernandez, a member of Portland’s Bike Swarm was arrested on November 9, in connection with the November 3 Portland Action Lab protest against austerity.

Police allege that Hernandez attempted to push against a police bike with his own. Hernandez, along with numerous others including Portland high school students, was pepper-sprayed during the protest. He is being charged with attempted assault on an officer and three other charges. His bike, Darlene, is still in police custody.

Housing Defense

Two Portland families working to resist foreclosure were evicted from their homes by heavy contingents of police from the Multnomah County Sheriffs and Portland Police Bureau. On October 30, about 30 police officers responded to the scene of the attempted eviction of Patricia Williams and Darren Johnson. Police used pepper spray to disperse protesters trying to regain access to the home. However, after being evicted, Johnson and Williams decided to move back into their home on November 16.

Will and Heather Sirotak were evicted from their home on November 6. The police detained Will Sirotak as he dropped his granddaughter off at school and kicked in the door of his home, where they ordered his wife, Heather, out at gunpoint while she was in her pajamas. Access to their block was blocked off by police conducting the operation.

Debbie Austin, another person resisting foreclosure, was issued with an eviction notice on November 16, effective November 20. And Alicia Jackson, who reclaimed her home on May 1, has been issued an order to vacate by the City of Portland. Jackson has been without running water at her home since shortly after she moved in. The city refuses to turn Jackson's water on and is citing her lack of access to running water in their order to vacate.

The above-mentioned ask for assistance in continuing to resist evictions. To sign up to the rapid response network to respond to further police actions, text "@ploc-openrrn" to the number 23559.

National

In national news, three Cleveland anarchists accused by the government in engaging in a plot to blow up a bridge near that city have been sentenced. Doug Wright received a sentence of 11.5 years, Brandon Baxter received a sentence of nearly 10 years and Connor Stevens got eight years. A fourth defendant, Joshua Stafford is undergoing a competency evaluation and his sentencing has been delayed. A fifth accomplice, Anthony Hayne, decided to testify against the four and is awaiting sentencing. The three were given "terrorist enhancement" sentencing, meaning that sentences were extended under federal guidelines.

The plot involved a paid FBI informant who supplied material resources and a fake weapon and highly encouraged the five anarchists to step up the scale of their plot. Since the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, the federal government has used similar plots to target people who had neither the overt drive nor capabilities to engage in terror plots, using informants to drive a plot that the government monitors from the beginning. Notable cases include those of green anarchist Eric McDavid and Portland's Mohamed Mohamud, among others.

Former Earth Liberation Front prisoner Daniel McGowan was released from federal custody on December 11. McGowan, who was imprisoned in high-security federal Communications Management facilities for a string of crimes that involved destruction of property and never sought to threaten human life, was sentenced using a "terrorist enhancement" designation after the federal government's Operation Backfire, a wide-ranging investigation that ensnared former ELF/ALF saboteurs nationwide last decade. ●

Contribute to The Portland Radicle

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

Food Not Bombs has a Posse

by jenQ

“**F**ood Not Bombs recovers and shares free vegan or vegetarian food with the public without restriction in over 1,000 cities around the world to protest war, poverty and the destruction of the environment. Each group is independent and invites everyone to participate in making decisions for their local chapter using the consensus process. Food Not Bombs is dedicated to taking nonviolent direct action to change society so no one is forced to stand in line to eat at a soup kitchen [and] expressing a commitment to the fact that food is a right and not a privilege. With over a billion people going hungry each day how can we spend another dollar on war?”
- Official Food Not Bombs mission statement

Roughly 40% of the food produced in the United States is thrown away. However, there are ways of recovering and preventing food from going into the waste stream, such as asking for it. Portland Food Not Bombs (FNB) gets nearly eighty percent of its food from relationships we have built with our community, acquiring donations from farmers markets, bakeries, tofu manufacturers and other small businesses. The rest mostly comes from volunteers using their own resources or through rare external donation, which lets us get bulk beans, grains, spices and oils. Ninety percent of our food is organic and we try to use whole grains. And yes, some of the food we use has been dumpstered.

Portland FNB has developed an interesting ethic, which we try to emphasize and share with the other chapters inside of Portland. As we deeply care about the Earth we inhabit, we not only cook strictly vegan food, but make all deliveries, pick up/drop off by bicycles and trailers, year round. FNB encourage folks to use less energy intensive cooking methods, utilizing Styrofoam boxes or stuffed between couch cushions which effectively cook and help keep warm food for hours; rarely use the oven and do a fair amount of raw foods in the summer time. Though temporarily not in use, the meals of our past Tuesdays at Col Summers Park were prepared and cooked outside on a rocket stove! Since half of the food given to us is ‘too ugly’ for the general public to purchase, we use as much of the plants as possible and compost the rest. Those leaves on cauliflower are really tasty! So are broccoli stalks, chard and kale stems, as well as certain winter squash skins!

FNB also fosters a sense of togetherness, true sharing and cultivation of joy. Conversation over the sharing of food is another large aspect of who we are and what we do. The majority of us are interested in living freely or with little money, sharing stories of our journeys, visions, joys, as well as our confusion

and despair. Many of us are living between worlds, one foot amongst modern society and one foot in a world we are currently creating through dedication, generosity, ingenuity, reuse and simplicity where we reject corporations, consumer goods meant to become waste, unimportant work for wages, and hierarchy. We strive to maintain an open environment where people feel safe to hang out, engage in conversation, open up and be themselves, and to assist in the work load.

Many may see us as poverty-stricken, but in our eyes, to be with less is not to be poor. Not requiring more and being open to change means that one is whole. A diversity of folks benefit from servings. The focus isn’t about charity or colonizing those perceived to be in poverty or having some good samaritan notion that we are helping those who need it. We don’t agree with or recognize class; we reject it. We know that food is a necessity for all. And we welcome all to join us. Those who believe they don’t need help need assistance seeing that they can live with less and those who can’t seem to have more, need ways of gathering abundance; that’s why at FNB, we’re interested in sharing, reuse and simplicity first!

You are cordially invited to attend free meals every Monday and Friday at Colonel Summers Park and Tuesdays at City Hall or Chapman Square, starting roughly between 6-6:30pm. Please bring your own vessel to eat out of, a utensil. We not only serve in parks; we also cater activist workshops and pro- tests when we can and are asked to. Come eat with us and see what you think. Share yourself, learn what it’s like building something tangible to get inspired to start your own chapter in Portland or in other cities, and to help us out! We are always in need of volunteers and donations, as creating community and supporting community is super-tough work. It’s not easy as our dedicated volunteers can easily portray. We need your help to eat the food! But also to assist in the process of organization and shared allocation of task and skill so we can all eat together. Please, stop by, let go of some of your preconceived notions of who deserves what, and enjoy good healthy food with a diversity of people.

See you soon. ●

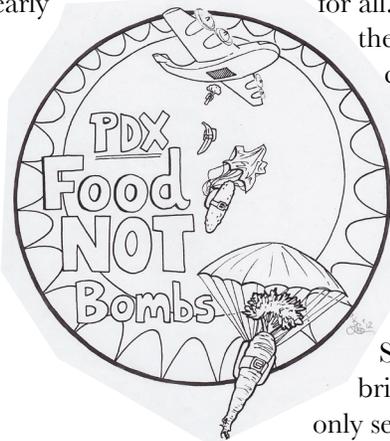
Please join our mailing list for updates, info about our kitchens & discussion.

<https://lists.riseup.net/www/info/pdxfnb>

And our facebook pages for updates, info & meetings.

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/Food-Not-Bombs-PDX/104789846291565>

<https://www.facebook.com/SePortlandFoodNotBombs>



FREE MADDY



**"WHAT THE VULTURES CANNOT UNDERSTAND
IS THAT ANY ATTEMPTS TO REPRESS THIS
STRUGGLE WILL ONLY
EMBOLDEN IT"** -MADDY

MATTHEW "MADDY" PFEIFFER WRITE TO MADDY:

"The official reason the state gives for imprisoning those who refuse to cooperate is to coerce testimony. If they know anything about me or my friends, they know that this will never work. Some have said that this Grand Jury is about trying to repress people's political opinions and free speech. No doubt this is true. My subpoena states that I am being asked to testify about events that took place on May 1st. The state is trying to use broken windows as a reason to ruin people's lives. This is absurd, and I will oppose it to the fullest. This life-ruining system which they call "justice" is organized to defend property and capitalism. This system is against everything I believe in."

No cursive please.

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FULL STATEMENTS & MORE INFO: SAYNOTHING.INFO, SUPPORTRESIST.NET &
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