

**KLEIN, from page 5**

I think there definitely is an argument for an independent party that has one foot in and one foot out. It's a rigged system, so vote splitting is a real problem. It is a structural problem that you would not have if you had an electoral system – be it that wasn't first-past-the-post (winner take all, such as in the U.S.) – whether it be coalitions, and if there was a system like that it would be an absolute no-brainer to keep the Democratic Party, but that's not the system that is. It's a really complicated question, and anyone who claims it's not is, I don't think, paying attention closely enough.

**E.G.:** *I wanted to touch on "racial capitalism." In Oregon, we have heard from the agriculture sector that the Trump administration's immigration stance is exacerbating the already drastic shortages we have in migrant labor – they think they might not have people to pick the cherry trees this season.*

**N.K.:** The crows will be really happy.

**E.G.:** *Do you think capitalism and across-the-board fair treatment of workers can coexist?*

**N.K.:** This phrase, "racial capitalism" – the late Cedric Robinson, a Marxist theorist, used it to describe the fact that you really can't separate systems of white supremacy from the birth of modern capitalism, and that the modern capitalist system was born with the Industrial Revolution. And, two major inputs of the Industrial Revolution, that created the excess capital, were stolen Indigenous land and stolen African labor. In order to do that, there needed to be the creation of a hierarchy of humanity that would justify the theft of that land and the theft of those people.

That created the context for the Industrial Revolution and the birth of the U.S. economy, which was at the same time. The modern version of this is how neoliberalism has been sold in this country, through using race as a wedge, systematically, at every turn.

One of the details about the Portland stabbing I feel didn't get enough attention was what the attacker was saying to those women. He was saying "go back to where you come from," but he also said, "get off this bus, you don't pay taxes." Which is a really key part of the messaging that has advanced these

economic policies.

At every stage, "people of color are exploiting the system, they are abusing the system." Whether it's the Welfare Queens invented by Ronald Reagan, or Jeff Sessions today talking about how the reason why Chicago and New York's systems are overburdened is because immigrants are taking advantage. This has been the way neoliberalism has been sold in this country, by pitting whites against blacks with this idea that people of color are exploiting the system.

It's worth noting that was what (Jeremy Christian) was saying, "you don't have a right to be riding the bus, because you don't pay taxes." That's very telling about what racial capitalism looks like.

**E.G.:** *You wrote in "No is not Enough" that people must be careful not to come together around lowest-common-denominator demands, such as "Impeach Trump" or "elect Democrats" ...*

**N.K.:** No one's listening to me (laughs).

**E.G.:** *If people read this interview or read your book or see the Leap Manifesto and think, yeah, that's something I really want to get behind, what should they do?*

**N.K.:** There seems to be some local interest. A local youth "leap" group forming, and it doesn't matter if it's called "the leap" or not. There are some great examples, like Portland Just Energy Transition initiative, which is bringing together the racial justice movement with the climate movement in a really meaningful way, calling for a key part of the just transition. We often focus on the "just" piece of it being either workers being included in the transition or communities of color getting resources, but we often don't focus enough energy on the flipside of this, which is that the people who are most responsible for the climate crisis have to do more, have to pay their fair share. This is often glossed over by the big green groups who feel that would be too divisive.

The two pieces of just transition are the people who got the worst deal are first in line to benefit from the transition, and the people who did the most to create the crisis need to pay the most. And (Portland Just Energy Transition) is a great example of bringing those

two demands together and getting the largest businesses to pay a significant part of the justice-based transition. So if people want to get involved locally, I would say, get involved in that. Get involved – Portland has some of the most bold transition policies on the books to get to 100 percent renewable energy, and this is in the Leap, but the question is how is that going to happen?

When we drafted the Leap Manifesto, we were inspired by this slogan by a group in the Bay Area called Movement Generation, which is, "Transition is inevitable, justice is not." The justice piece has to be fought for.

It's possible for the transition off of fossil fuels to be done in a completely brutal way. There is prison labor that is making solar panels right now.

If the jobs are going to be union jobs, if the jobs are going to pay a living wage, all that has to be fought for. If the transition doesn't replicate the same divisions, that has to be fought for.


I would also encourage people to go to leapmanifesto.org and check out the living leap (theleapblog.org) with just examples of what people have done with this vision, whether it's incarcerated youth, postal workers, local city council, students – there's lots of examples of people taking this broad-strokes aspiration of the society that we want, instead of the one we have now.

*The Portland Just Energy Transition is a coalition of environmental and social activists who have joined forces with City Commissioner Chloe Eudaly to get Portland Clean Energy and Justice Measure on the ballot. According to Eudaly's Chief of Staff Marshall Runkel, they are hoping to send it to Portland voters as early as May 2018.*

*The measure proposes a gross receipts tax on businesses that have both global gross sales receipts of \$1 billion or more and Portland gross sales receipts of \$500,000 or more. According to a city Revenue Division report released Friday, as written, the measure would raise between \$35 and \$51 million from the 732 businesses with sales in Portland. That money would be used for a just transition off fossil fuels, investing in renewable energy projects in a way that puts marginalized communities first.*

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22 SW  
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**DOUGHNUT**  
WORD JUMBLE


1501  
NE Davis

EMLPA  
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IPLF  
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MEOHR  
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ASMMOI  
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Which doughnut is named after  
Elvis Presley's entourage?

Print answer here

THE ○○○○○○

○○○○○



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