

# NIGHTFALL

FREE

An Agitational Newspaper

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## SUSTAINABLE FOR WHO?

At this point only the most stubborn would attempt to deny the connection between the highway and structural violence. The office worker who glides comfortably from their workplace in downtown Minneapolis to their house in the suburbs and the person on the street whom the office worker only ever sees from the skyway both exist in their present forms because the police stand at the ready in case the person on the street decides to take action to get what the office worker has got, and the architecture of the city itself works in tandem with the police in ensuring this separation of decidedly closed loops of circulation, with highways and sky-

ways reserved for some and sidewalks and bus routes for the rest. There are even some parking decks in the skyway system that exit directly onto the highway. But we want to talk about a relationship that is less obvious but no less real, the relationship between the greenway and police murder, between the greenway and displacement, between the greenway and the continuing climate catastrophe.

At first glance nothing could seem more absurd. *The greenway is progressive. The greenway is eco-friendly. The greenway is for regular people. You know, people like us.* What goes

## Sustainable, continued from pg 1.

unexamined in statements like these is just who is included in this *us* and who is excluded. Witness for example the furor that erupted when muggings occurred on the Midtown Greenway on three consecutive days in 2015. Three muggings in three days would barely register if they took place a block south on Lake Street, but the muggings on the greenway enraged certain citizens, who fumed online in thinly coded language about the barbarity of anyone who would rob a biker, betraying a total lack of awareness of the role the greenway plays in shuttling the modern leisure class safely through destitute parts of the city to destinations like the co-op in Seward, the restaurants at the Midtown Global Market, or any of the numerous condos that line the greenway in Uptown. What does it matter to someone living in one of the neighborhoods that the greenway bypasses that the person they are robbing is passionate about progressive causes? The only thing that matters is that they have shit worth taking and are an easier target than someone in a car. Following the muggings Soren Jensen of the Midtown Greenway Coalition, an organization whose primary function seems to be to cloak the interests of business and development in the language of community, advised bikers in an interview with the Star Tribune to call the cops if they see groups of people loitering on the greenway. This despite the fact that anyone who uses the greenway regularly knows that people often congregate there not to rob anyone but because they have nowhere better to go, because it provides more shelter and less of a chance of being harassed by police than other public spaces in the area. In light of this Jensen's exhortations for those passing through the greenway to ally themselves with the structural violence directed against those attempting to dwell there makes plain that the greenway is not there for everyone to use as they wish like the commons of some mythic past or future, but rather exists for a specific reason, to smooth the flow of certain people between various sites of work and play, if things that one must pay to do can ever really be called play. In this way the greenway can be viewed as a single piece in a giant mosaic of infrastructural projects and consumer trends that have been gaining steam for a while now.

At this point in time the market has realized that the old way of doing things, the way of suburbs and strip malls, is no longer sustainable. Not because

of the violence needed to secure the existence of such places or the environmental havoc they wreak but because they are really fucking depressing. Too many people sense on some level the emptiness and destruction on which such a world is built and lose their desire to work and to play alike. The forces of the market cannot sit idly by and let this happen, and so a new capitalism must be forged, a sustainable capitalism. The modern capitalist subject who bikes to work, eats organic, puts a few solar panels on top of their house, posts an outraged Facebook status every once in a while can go to sleep feeling that they have done their part, or at least that they are not as guilty as those in the suburbs. But all the greenways, light-rails and co-ops in the world can't conceal the fact that the concentration of carbon in the atmosphere recently eclipsed 400 ppm. Can't conceal the communities across the Global South that have smoothly transitioned from being devastated by the drilling of oil to being devastated by the mining of the minerals needed to make solar panels and iPhones. Can't conceal the fact that people's rage is being expertly exploited by corporations like Berkshire Hathaway, which funnels millions through its various foundations into fights against pipelines yet just happens to own BNSF Railway, the railroad that currently transports 75% of the oil fracked in the Dakotas (approximately 600,000 barrels a day, much more than the 470,000 barrels that the Dakota Access Pipeline will transport if it is completed). In fact about 50 BNSF trains filled with this highly-volatile oil pass through Minneapolis each week on their way to refineries and ports, many of which Berkshire Hathaway also owns. Unsurprisingly, Berkshire Hathaway does not fund organizations that challenge the oil economy as a whole and not just the pipelines, and the spokespeople of the organizations it funds often work to discredit those who do as 'unrealistic.' And of course we shouldn't forget that a major argument used by the state in favor of destroying much of Minnehaha Park and numerous important environmental and religious sites in order to reroute Highway 55 as discussed elsewhere in this issue was that the reroute of the highway was a necessary first step towards building the light-rail system, although one would think that if the goal was for people to use the light-rail building a highway parallel it would be the exact opposite of what one should do. This argument proved to be



# FALSE SOLUTIONS TO THE CATASTROPHE

We recently hit a point of no return for climate change. Atmospheric carbon levels reached over 400 parts per million, well above the 280 ppm of preindustrial times, the 300 ppm agreed upon by many low-lying countries as the limit above which anything further would constitute genocide, and even the 350 ppm touted as the acceptable limit by North American NGOs. It's likely that this level won't return to a more environmental-friendly level ever again, at least not within the lifespan of the human species. Rather than being demobilized, however, this news only reinforces in our minds the urgent necessity of change, but we are still barely scratching the surface while we are rapidly destroying the planet. In the last couple years more and more environmental NGOs stepped up and launched campaigns to save the environment and reverse climate change, yet these campaigns mainly focus on changing personal habits and endorsing politicians. Let's take a closer look at two organizations and their attempts to save our planet.

First let's take Friends of the Earth Action, a sister organization of Friends of the Earth, one of the biggest national environmental organizations. Friends of the Earth's biggest campaign right now is a campaign called "Save the Bees". While saving the bees is definitely a cause worth fighting for, considering the issues we are facing right now it is pretty trivial, especially since FoEA doesn't link the shrinking bee population to climate change. And even though Friends of the Earth Action is still hiring organizers to help save the bees, taking a look at their website the last article about anything related to their save the bee campaign is dated in 2014, which was also when the last action relating to this campaign hap-

pened. Still, Friends of the Earth Action is sending out canvassers every day to go door to door and ask people for donations.

The way this is done is very typical of NGO's. Canvassers are not allowed to talk about specific goals and strategies of the campaign or even get into a discussion with people, but instead are instructed to keep it light and simple, focusing only on getting the biggest donation. Friends of the Earth Action's strategy is for canvassers to hand people a



tablet with a static screen displaying a picture of a bee and their slogan. The tablet doesn't offer any information about the campaign, the cause, or what can be done to save the bees. FoEA doesn't want to talk about strategies and action plans because they don't have any. Their main goal is to get people to donate and become a member of their organization.

This is a well known strategy, as the more members an organization has, the more funding it can get, and the more influence and power it has.

The second organization I'd like to talk about is 350.org. This is an environmental organization that is best known for organizing the People's Climate Marches that took place all over the country in 2015. The first red flag is that like many other environmental NGOs, 350.org accepts significant donations from foundations such as Tides, which is primarily funded by oil profiteers. It might seem odd that the companies who are most involved in destroying our planet are donating to an environmental organization that is claiming to fight climate change and environmental destruction, but it actually makes a lot of sense from a capitalist perspective; buying the organizations, who might be able to hurt them to keep them quiet and their actions inef-

## Sustainable, continued from pg 2.

effective in driving a wedge between mainstream progressives and those who were putting their lives on the line not to reform industrialization but to stop it. Similar rhetoric is currently being used to argue for the removal of the K-Mart at Lake St and Nicollet Ave, as this is said to be necessary to build a streetcar line that will run down Nicollet connecting the restaurants and boutiques a few blocks north of Lake with those a few blocks south. The fact that this will destroy one of the last stores in the area that those with low-incomes can afford as well as a large parking lot where people can gather is simply seen by our progressive city council and neighborhood associations as an added perk (not that we are any friends of K-Mart, of course). What all these examples make plain is that the only thing sustainable capitalism ever sustains is capitalism itself.

So what then? We're not arguing that use of the greenway should or could be replaced with some other more moral mode of circulation. Some of us use the greenway everyday, just as some of us eat organic when we can afford to, but we do these things because we prefer them to the similarly flawed al-

ternatives, not because they will change anything fundamental about our society. Clearly they instead function hand-in-hand with the current order, as evidenced by the condos sprouting along the greenway like hideous brick-and-glass mushrooms and the gentrification taking place in Central around the newly opened Seward Co-Op Friendship Store. While we are forced to circulate as subjects of this brutal system, forced to work and to buy groceries and to pay rent and all the rest, we might make use of these amenities at times, but we should be careful not to mistake them for solutions to the mess we find ourselves in. Solutions will never come in the form of consumer choices. We only begin to work on real solutions when we stop identifying as consumers and citizens and begin thinking of ourselves as insurgents against this regime of consumption and death, and begin to link up with others who think similarly.



## BRINGING THE WAR HOME: A FEW WORDS ON ST CLOUD

With the exception of the most naive optimists, it is hard to deny that the future is looking bleak. Reactionary forces, from the far-right on the one hand to the likes of Daesh on the other, are advancing from all sides while the State sells itself as the provider of stability between these opposing forces. Caught in the middle, it can be difficult to navigate these shifting conflicts while maintaining a liberatory perspective.

St. Cloud has long been a stronghold for old-school white supremacy, having earned itself the nickname "White Cloud." As in many European

countries, an influx of refugees has reinvigorated racist and islamophobic activity in many parts of the U.S. and Minnesota is no exception. St. Cloud is hostile territory for many based on their perceived religion, culture, ethnicity or race. It shouldn't be surprising that these conditions paved the way for an attack like the one on September 17th, in which an individual claiming ties

to Daesh stabbed ten people in a mall before being shot by police.

The experience of dispossession, hunger and exposure to gratuitous violence that creates terrorists in the Global South is not that far removed from the experience of many within the U.S. Faced with a seemingly-impervious state machine backed by millions of rabid racists, random acts of violence that will supposedly be rewarded by eternal salvation can seem like the only way that an individual can take meaningful action against their conditions.

We would like to suggest another possibility. The possibility of rebellion against all authority in all of its forms; whether it appears as the uniformed police officer, hooded klan member or Daesh combatant. We might say, the possibility of anarchy.

*In memory of Jordan MacTaggart  
& Jimi Joonas Kartunnen.*



### Catastrophe, continued from pg 3.

fective. Unlike Friends of the Earth Action, whose main focus is raising donations which seem to disappear into a void 350.org focuses on what they call direct action. During the People's Climate Marches 350.org got a lot of people involved, partnering with many organizations, companies and politicians who all publicly promised to make an effort to stop and reverse climate change. But in the end that's all that happened: a lot of empty promises. 350.org managed to mobilize tens of thousands of people to take the streets for a day to demand climate justice, but offered no way for participants to follow up on that demand. The marches garnered attention in the media, but that was all. Instead of building our capacity to fight against environmental destruction, 350.org continues to stage media-centric events and focus on people changing their personal habits. Despite their rhetoric, 350.org finds itself among the long list of environmental organizations who claim to advance radical change but instead only offer individual solutions such as taking shorter showers to save water, biking or walking instead of driving, using energy saving light bulbs to save electricity and all the other tips we have heard so many times.

While there's nothing wrong with these tips, they don't even begin to address the monstrous scale of the catastrophe. To be able to save the environment and slow down climate change, we need a radical action strategy in place of the idea that we can keep capitalism and our current lifestyle alive.

*"If people took the scientific reports about global warming seriously, the engines of every fire department would sound their sirens and race to the nearest factory to extinguish its furnaces. Every high school student would run to the thermostat, turn it off, and tear it from the classroom wall, then hit the parking lot to slash tires. Every responsible suburban parent would don safety gloves and walk around the block pulling the electrical meters out of the utility boxes behind houses and condominiums. Every gas station attendant would press the emergency button to shut off the pumps, cut the hoses, and glue the locks on the doors; every coal and petroleum corporation would immediately set about burying their unused product where it came from—using only the muscles of their own arms, of course."*

– CrimethInc., "The Climate is Changing"

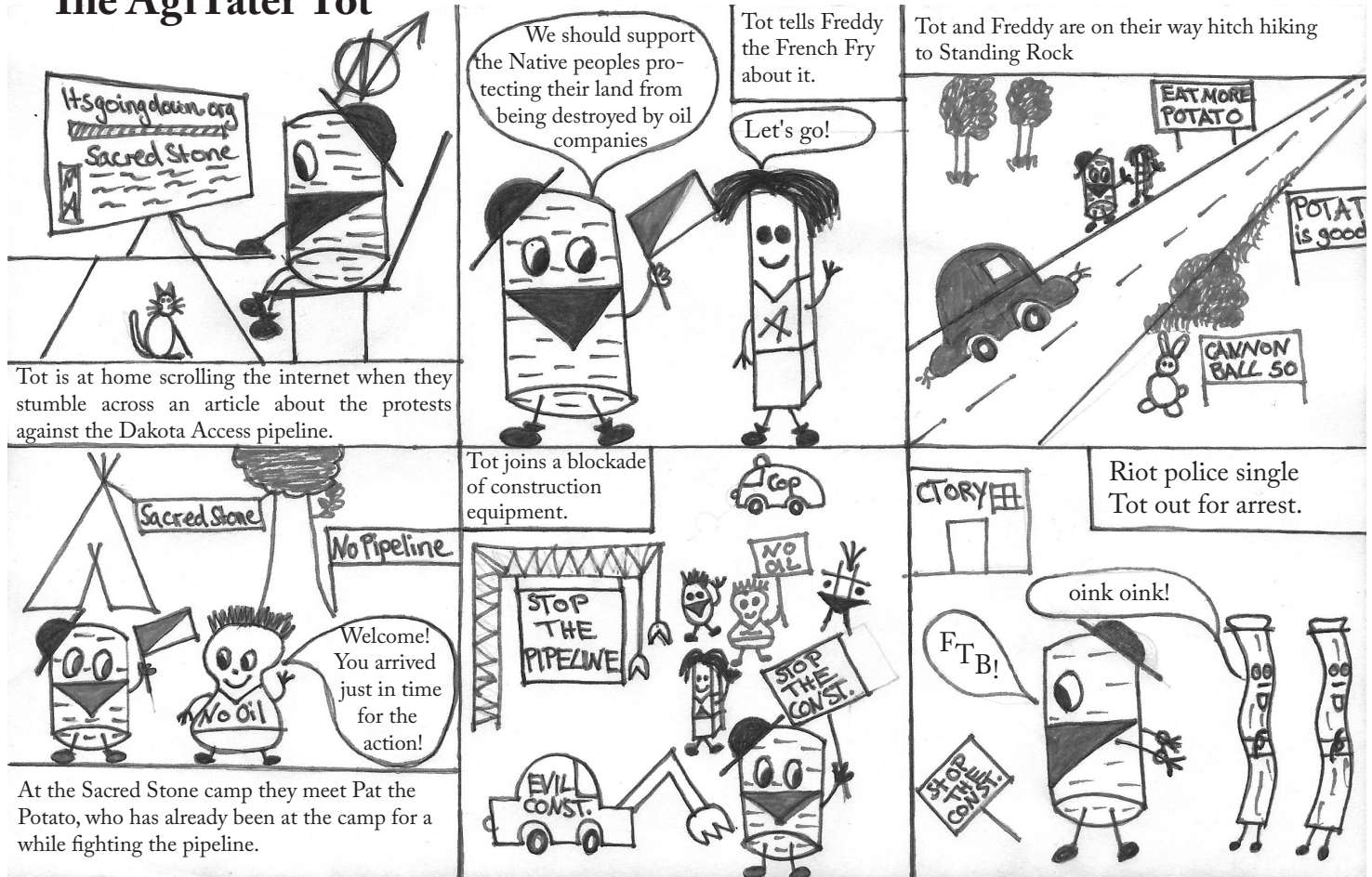
## THE FREE STATE: A HISTORY

From August 1998 to December 1999 a group of local residents, environmentalists and Native peoples held down a camp blocking the proposed reroute of Highway 55 through Minnehaha Falls Park and land south of it in what became known as the Minnehaha Free State. Despite its status as the longest urban land occupation in the history of this country, this struggle isn't even on the radar of many in the Twin Cities. With this in mind we want to give a brief overview of what took place where that smooth stretch of concrete now resides.

The reroute of Highway 55 was decades in the making, with people fighting it every step of the way. The administrators of the Minnesota Department of Transportation would not be deterred, however, as they claimed that the reroute was absolutely necessary to speed the flow of traffic between downtown and the airport, mall, and southern suburbs. By August 1998 every legal channel for stopping the project had been exhausted, and so a camp was established on Riverview Road, with occupiers setting up lockdowns in houses slated for destruction. This camp lasted until December 20th, 1998, when 800 cops brutally arrested 38 occupiers, who were beaten, maced, and threatened at gunpoint in order to get them to unlock. This did not, however, prove to be the decisive blow the state desired. A second camp was established days later in a stretch of endangered oak savannah, from which occupiers coordinated tree-sits along the route of construction. During this period the Earth Liberation Front also claimed multiple attacks on the equipment and offices of the contractor building the highway. These actions caused huge headaches for MNDOT, but construction crews were able to slowly whittle away at the territory defended until December 11th, 1999, when a second police raid evicted the Free State for good. In the end the only concession won was the alteration of construction plans so as not to destroy the historic Coldwater Spring. Despite this it would be a mistake to read the story of the Free State solely as one of defeat; in addition to the experience gained by participants it is clear that the resistance MNDOT faced will make it think twice before embarking upon similar projects in the future.

People came to the Free State for a variety of reasons. Some hoped to defend their homes or their favorite park, some saw any industrial expansion as worth opposing, and some felt called to defend the numerous sacred sites in the area, as the point where the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers come together is said by the Mendota Mdewakanton Dakota to be the place where the Dakota

# The AgiTater Tot



## Free State, continued from pg 5.

people were first placed into the world by the Great Spirit, in addition to serving as a natural meeting ground of different cultures for thousands of years. No matter why they came, the one thing that is repeated again and again when participants talk about the Free State is that it changed them in a deep way. From the mundane, such as the endless chopping of firewood to warm the lodges and tipis through the winter, to the extreme, such as resisting the first raid and the sieges of tree-sits, everything that was done at the Free State was shot through with a sense of purpose that many say they had never felt before or since. These statements, along with similar ones we have heard from those participating in the Sacred Stone Camp at Standing Rock and the ZAD in France, point to a very powerful connection between attacking this world and building new ones. All too often these activities are divorced from each other in even radical oppositional practices, leading to burnout and isolation. What will it take for occupations with the potential to disrupt industrialization and at the same time radically remake life to proliferate not just as last resorts against impending destruction but in natural areas that are not eminently threatened, and in urban and suburban spaces where it can seem as if the total destruction of the natural is a fait accompli?

## MINNEHAHA FREE SPACE

Last month we were sad to learn that the Minneha-ha Free Space, Minneapolis' only autonomous social center, is being forced to leave its current home at the end of the year following its rent nearly doubling in line with the ongoing gentrification of the Longfellow neighborhood in South Minneapolis. In an age when so much of our communication is mediated by the internet or takes place within the highly-restrictive environments of school, work and commercial establishments, independent spaces where we can meet face to face are more important than ever before, whether we're plotting the overthrow of everything we hate or just relaxing and sharing a meal. We encourage you to come on out to one of the many events taking place at the Free Space in the next two months, throw a few dollars their way and to be on the lookout for updates.

Here's to ringing in the New Year at a brand new Free Space!

More info:

[minnehahafreespace.org](http://minnehahafreespace.org)



# GLOBAL NEWS OF RESISTANCE

## PRISON STRIKE

As discussed in our previous issue, prisoners called for a strike against prison slavery starting September 9th.

Just days ahead of the strike, it was reported that a major riot broke out at Holmes prison in Florida. Around the 9th, several other "disturbances" were reported by officials in addition to some sit downs and work stoppages elsewhere in the Florida prison system. Inmates at Holman prison in Alabama reported a full strike, meaning all labor was being performed by guards. At Kinross prison in Michigan, prisoners staged a demonstration that was brutally repressed by a riot squad. This sparked an intense rebellion that trashed several dorms in the prison. Several work strikes were reported at facilities across the country, including California, Kansas, Virginia, and Washington—several of them women's facilities. Other inmates began hunger strikes, including whistleblower Chelsea Manning and inmates in Merced, California. As of now over 50,000 prisoners are estimated to have participated in strike actions since September 9th.

While many of the work stoppages only lasted a day or two, uprisings continued to erupt in the following weeks. Holman prisoners forced a riot squad to retreat when attempting to confiscate a prisoner's cell phone. After a guard who had been stabbed earlier in the month died of his injuries, the entire facility's correctional officers ended up quitting *en masse*.

In South Carolina, inmates in Turbeville rose up as well. According to an interviewed prisoner, when a guard tried to punish an inmate he was surrounded and beat up. When more guards came to his aid, they were run out of the dorm.

At the end of October, prisoners in North Carolina's Neuse prison rioted for four hours, lighting fires and trashing their dormitories. Two thirds of the inmates had to be transferred due to the extensive damage.

While not necessarily related to the strike itself, guards were stabbed by prisoners in Nebraska, New York and North Carolina. These inmates took matters into their own hands and for this they deserve our support. The fact that they weren't involved in larger collective efforts doesn't make their actions any less important.

Outside solidarity was also inspiring—actions were reported in hundreds of cities around the world, ranging from banner drops to noise demos to property destruction. In Minneapolis two rowdy noise demos took place, among other actions.

More info:

[itsgoingdown.org](http://itsgoingdown.org)

## DEFEND LA ZAD

In a forest near Nantes, France there exists what many have called the *Zone À Défendre* (Zone to Defend), or the ZAD. Where the government has planned to build an airport, radicals and local farmers have occupied the land to prevent construction and built communes instead. Starting in 2007, squats proliferated through the area for several years. A massive police operation evicted the ZAD at the end of 2012, but it only took a month for the ZAD to be reoccupied, as a mass demonstration reclaimed the territory and built new houses.

Support committees formed in several cities across France and the world have also formed a basis for attacks that act as deterrents against police action. At the beginning of 2016, state officials announced their intentions to once again evict the ZAD using the additional powers granted them by the state of emergency enacted last November. This never came to pass, however, while thousands marched through city centers destroying banks, shops and fighting with police. *Zadistes*, as they are sometimes called, have done extensive research into the companies involved in the airport's construction and their subsidiaries in order for actions to have direct economic impacts.

While last winter's eviction attempt was dropped, the state of France proclaimed that October 2016 would see the ZAD gone. In response tens of thousands of people marched to the ZAD in solidarity, vowing to fight the eviction by any means necessary. As of this writing, there have been no actions taken by the state to clear the occupation, possibly because it is instead concentrating its forces on evicting a huge encampment of refugees in Calais.

*Zadistes* have called for international solidarity in the event of an eviction, in the form of actions targeting VINCI (the company to construct the airport) and the French government, although the closest consulate is in Chicago and VINCI and its subsidiaries have no offices in Minnesota. This just means local *Zadistes* must be more creative in finding targets. Spreading the struggle beyond a single project (like this airport) provides a basis for insurrectional activity—in other words, an attack on capital anywhere is an attack on capital everywhere.

The ZAD can provide current land defenders at the Standing Rock encampment or Mississippi Stand with several lessons of severe importance, some of which is summarized in an open letter from a *Zadiste* to the struggle against the DAPL.

More info:

[zad.nadir.org](http://zad.nadir.org)

## LOCAL ACTIONS

**August 28th:** Multiple Car2Go cars are flipped over in St Paul.

**Early September:** Posters in solidarity with the nationwide prison strike are wheatpasted in St Cloud.

**September 2nd:** A yuppie coffee shop is covered in graffiti in Dinkytown, Minneapolis.

**September 9th:** A banner is dropped in solidarity with the prison strike in St Cloud.

**September 10th:** A rowdy noise demo in support of the prison strike lights fireworks outside the youth jail before snaking through downtown Minneapolis. A few businesses are vandalized and the streets are barricaded with construction materials.

**September 21st:** A jewelry store is robbed in Edina.

**September 23rd:** Graffiti painted in solidarity with Charlotte rebels. After another police killing on the 20th, residents immediately gathered to confront the police before marching to the highway and burning the contents of a semitruck. Riots continued for two more nights in the wealthy uptown district before the National Guard is called in and peace is reimposed.

**September 30th:** A pro-Trump mural painted by University of Minnesota students is vandalized several times shortly after being unveiled.

**October 1st:** A banner is hung in response to a call for solidarity with the prison strike.

**October 15th:** A large Donald Trump banner is decorated with bras and set on fire in Bloomington.

**October 15th:** Posters in solidarity with prison rebels are wheatpasted in the context of a week of renewed action in solidarity with the prison strike.

**October 22nd:** Dozens gather for a noise demo outside the youth jail, setting off fireworks despite a heavy police presence.

### LINKS

#### NIGHTFALL

[nightfall.blackblogs.org](http://nightfall.blackblogs.org)

#### CONFLICT MN

[conflictmn.blackblogs.org](http://conflictmn.blackblogs.org)

#### TC RADICAL CALENDAR

[tradical.wordpress.com](http://tradical.wordpress.com)

#### NORTH STAR ANTIFA

[northstarantifa.blackblogs.org](http://northstarantifa.blackblogs.org)

#### IT'S GOING DOWN

[itsgoingdown.org](http://itsgoingdown.org)

## UPCOMING EVENTS

??? There aren't many clues on when the decision will be announced on whether or not to charge the officer who murdered Philando Castile, but a demonstration is planned for the first 6:00 PM after the announcement.

*JJ Hill - 998 Selby Ave at 6:00 PM*

**November 3rd:** Monthly prisoner letter writing night. Fill out birthday cards and write letters to political prisoners. This month will focus on prisoners involved in the prison strike. *Walker Church - 3104 16th Ave S at 7:00 PM.*

**November 10th:** Court support for Louis Hunter. Louis is facing felony charges stemming from the July 9th protest and highway shutdown. Come show support at his next court appearance. *Ramsey County Courthouse - 15 W Kellogg St at 1:15 PM.*

**November 8th:** Election day: whoever they vote for, we are ungovernable!

**November 10th:** Midwest Trans Prisoner Pen Pal Project twice-monthly letter writing night. Write letters to and potentially start friendships with queer/trans prisoners in the Midwest. *Boneshaker Books - 2002 23rd Ave S at 6:00 PM.*

**November 15th:** Movie screening of "Stop The Re-Route" about the Minnehaha Free State. *Minnehaha Free Space - 3747 Minnehaha Ave S at 7:00 PM.*

**November 17th:** Movie screening of "Concerning Violence" an adaptation of the writings of influential post-colonial theorist Franz Fanon. *Minnehaha Free Space - 3747 Minnehaha Ave S at 7:00 PM.*

**November 29th:** Movie screening of "Kanehsatake" on the 1990 Oka Crisis. *Minnehaha Free Space - 3747 Minnehaha Ave S at 8:00 PM.*

**December 1st:** Monthly prisoner letter writing night. Fill out birthday cards and write letters to political prisoners. This month's featured prisoner is Marius Mason, an eco-anarchist serving a 22 year sentence for property destruction claimed by the Earth Liberation Front. *Walker Church - 3104 16th Ave S at 7:00 PM.*

**December 13th:** Movie screening of "Little Black Fishes" about the Turkish state's brutal oppression of Kurds. *Minnehaha Free Space - 3747 Minnehaha Ave S at 7:00 PM.*

**December 31st:** New Year's Eve noise demonstrations outside jails and prisons are a tradition amongst anarchists and other antagonists, making sure that prisoners are never forgotten behind bars.