FREE

**An Agitational Newspaper** 

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# FRIENDSHIP & RESISTANCE

We've now passed the one year mark of Trump's presidency. This time last year we were fast learning what his reign had in store for us. Following the riotous eruptions nationwide on the day of his inauguration, immense numbers of people participated in Women's Marches, others spontaneously blockaded airports, and hundreds stormed the uc Berkeley campus on February 1st and laid siege to the police-protected venue hosting Milo Yiannopolous.

In the year since nothing has slowed down. The regime continues to launch assaults on a daily basis: voting down net neutrality, revoking the temporary protected status of thousands of Central American migrants, allowing states to require people to work in order to acquire Medicaid. All of which was punctuated by scandal after scandal, provoking our indignation at Trump's latest racist remark or indiscretion. Rage against the police as well as the far-right

has escalated and spread to every corner of the country.

At the beginning of 2017, we published an essay "Autonomous Organizing in the Age of Trump" which looked to the year ahead while sketching the outline of a possible strategy for resistance. Without falling into passive retrospective we want to consider the past twelve months with this strategy in mind, and to see how we can prepare for the days, months, and years ahead.

Autonomous self-organization is the term we used to describe the approach we laid out. By autonomous we mean actions taken outside of formal organizations, parties, non-profits, etc. In place of organizations we suggest affinity groups, the close circle of friends whom one trusts deeply— as trust and a shared vision is necessary for acting together in a meaningful way. By self-organization we mean that there are no leaders to follow when acting, that affinity groups should strive to take active roles instead of passively participating. In addition to guarding against the threats posed by authoritarianism, repression, and co-optation, self-organization makes our struggles more vital and effective, taking away the passivity inherent in waiting for someone higher up to tell us how to achieve the world we want as well as the disappointments and frustrations we encounter when we go along with something that feels wrong to us just because the more experienced or legitimate people say it is the right path.

On January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2017 perhaps a thousand people marched from south Minneapolis to downtown against Trump's inauguration. The night before, posters were wheatpasted along the route of the march with anti-state messages that interrupted the prevalent narrative that Trump was to blame rather than the whole system. After the mass march concluded in front of the county building, some came together on the light rail tracks



An autonomous demo against sexual assault took place in September when dozens marched down frat row with flares, music, spray paint and even a marching band.

# **EDITORIAL**

So in an effort to be more upfront than maybe we usually are in this space, we've been kinda tired. Tired of work, tired of winter, tired of atrocities committed against those we love and tired of vultures parlaying those atrocities into a scoop or a job with some corporate/state-funded nonprofit. Tired of being tired.

Despite this, we want to keep providing a space for coverage and analysis from a perspective that doesn't get a lot of print space elsewhere even if maybe you feel it already somewhere inside when you pass that smug cop with the crew cut or see the latest fortification built by the city so that the elite of global capitalism can safely use this place as their own personal playground.

So, as you might have noticed if you were eagerly anticipating a new issue at the beginning of January (which realistically you weren't, but humor us), this issue is a little late, and moving forward we might be experimenting with different publication schedules. This is for a number of reasons, but first and foremost so that we can consistently bring out articles that we think are worth reading and get them out to as many people as possible.

Distribution particularly is an area we want to improve on, and this is something you can totally help us with if you've found Nightfall at all useful to you. We encourage you to download the paper from our website, print some copies, and leave them anywhere you think they might speak to someone. In a time such as this, when most of the news we consume either comes from massive corporate conglomerates or is shared with us by our small bubble of friends, simply leaving papers at coffeeshops, corner-stores, libraries, and laundromats carries a surprising potential to open up circles of communication and strengthen our collective networks, at least that's the hope.

Even if you don't have time or resources to do this, if there are spaces you think would be particularly good spots to leave NIGHTFALL send us an email and we'll see what we can do. And if you don't have suggestions, if this paper has mattered at all to you, or even if you disagree with everything we've said, we encourage you to drop us a note with your thoughts, to tell us what you want more of and what has fallen flat.

The disembodied nature of this project means that we often have no idea if anyone is actually engaging with what we put out, and it is so easy to fall into the assumption that we're wasting energy we could be using to lay other schemes or go skating or just take a nap. We don't want to quit though, because the few times we have heard from people who have been impacted, who have said we helped them look at something in a new light or who have reached out from across the country or the world to say that they have appreciated hearing about what is happening here have been rewarding enough to make up for all of the silence. So get in touch if you feel like it; it will help warm our hearts through these upcoming months of slush.

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# WHY WRITE?

Recently we were pleased to notice that a number of issues of various radical publications from Minnesota's past had been uploaded to counter-information site Conflict MN. Digging into the history of struggles that have taken place in this land has always been an important part of Nightfall, so we want to amplify some of the perspectives contained within the pages of these publications with a new semi-regular feature. Each column will spotlight a different publication, giving an overview of some of the topics covered in its pages as well as reprinting excerpts that seem particularly relevant to our contemporary struggles. This feature will start with our next issue, but first we want to lay out some thoughts on the place of radical publishing in a larger liberatory movement. In the meantime we encourage you to head over to Conflict MN to read the publications for yourself.

Why write? It's a question that keeps popping up in my head lately. Some who do this work hold that we can free ourselves from the domination of the capitalist world by taking up the tools of image production and using them for our own purposes, rendering the dominant media obsolete by becoming the media ourselves. For me, however, the goal of becoming the media has always rung hollow. I don't want to be the media, I want to be free, and a world where we are all constantly producing and sharing content with each other strikes me as something less than a utopia. Indeed it would not be far-fetched to argue that social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter have in fact fulfilled the promise of a world in which the people who consume content are at the same time those who produce it, yet the isolation and pacification associated with older forms of mass media remain, and in some ways have even deepened.

The problem is not just that Facebook is a hierarchical corporation raking in ad-revenue off the interactions of its users, or that most Facebook posts are actually other people's words that we repost as stand-ins for original expressions of our own thoughts and feelings. The problem is that no matter how horizontal a form of media becomes, if it solely leads to its own reproduction rather than the production of new and more vital ways of organizing our lives and deepening our bonds with each other in the real world then it is ultimately just another strand in the web of spectacle that keeps us from confronting the emptiness of our lived experience. This is often just as true for self-consciously radical media as it is for mainstream entertainment, as making and consuming more and more woke critiques of the existent from the comfort of one's home can often end up acting as a stand-in for putting any effort into any real world projects or relationships.

Nonetheless, I know that writing can also act as a spark to set off the powder keg of the daily resentments and frustrations we all face in our daily lives, opening us up to something more. While I definitely at times can slip into a cycle of endless mediated passivity, my own life and practice have been enriched again and again by being exposed to the experiences of people with different perspectives than my own. Clearly those who want everything to stay as it is recognize the destabilizing potential of certain types of media practices too, leading to regulations such as one recently instituted

at a number of New York prisons limiting written materials to a list of 50 pre-approved texts consisting almost entirely of romance novels, religious works and coloring books. Apparently prison administrators suspected that books prisoners were reading were giving them too much perspective on their position within the modern prison-slave industry, leading to them being increasingly harder to control.

What then separates media that connects us and enriches our lives from media that isolates and pacifies, if it is not just a matter of being far enough to the correct side of some spectrum of radicalness? I don't have any concrete answers, but I suspect that often the answer is not actually innately imbedded in whichever fragment of media that is under consideration but rather in how it is put to use by those who interact with it. This idea certainly seems to be supported when I look over issues of the publications we intend to spotlight more in this space in the future, such as Daybreak, an anarchist newspaper from the early-2000's rooted in DIY culture; Anpao Duta, a Dakota journal of decolonization from the late 2000's/early 2010's; and The Blast, an anarchist newspaper from the 90's with a wide range of coverage but with especially strong coverage of prison resistance.

A persistent feature of all of these publications is articles focusing on introducing key radical concepts, such as autonomy and decolonization, providing points of entry into the themes being explored in these papers for people who may be less versed in radical ideas so as to introduce them to anti-authoritarian politics. For people who have already been exposed to those ideas, however, what is most exciting and energizing to read through are the articles that combine reports of local happenings that were often ignored or diminished by mainstream outlets at the time with analysis of how these efforts can function together to build up vibrant networks of resistance. For example, reports on confrontational actions such as the clashes between police and North Minneapolis residents that took place in 2002, covered in Daybreak #3, or the arson of a museum in southeastern North Dakota celebrating the Whitestone Hill Massacre of 1863, covered in Anpao Duta #4, share pages in these publications with articles on community efforts to establish autonomy from corporate medicine and the agribusiness industry.

In addition to rescuing these happenings from the wastebin of history, these articles give the impression of being both firmly rooted in and feeding back into the struggles and movements taking place at the time. There seems to be a clear recognition on the part of many of the articles in these publications that the point of writing and reading should always be to thoughtfully and deliberately consider the problems we face in a way that will serve to enrich our actual lived experiences, rather than simply build up an intellectual identity or brand to show off to others. In this respect I think it is no coincidence that these publications were all wholly or primarily print-based. The effort involved in writing, designing, printing and distributing an actual physical publication forces you to be very deliberate about what you want to communicate and what you intend to get out of it, something that is rarely true and began shooting off fireworks, drawing in more and more people bored by the politicians' speechifying before deciding to march. The crowd shot off more fireworks at the youth jail and vandalized the nearby Wells Fargo headquarters before quietly dispersing. By all accounts, there was no one in charge, just a convergence of affinity groups who each brought their own goals and contributions—fireworks, banners, spray paint, a sound system, etc—together forming a successful action.

Between larger public actions, single affinity groups can take action in a decentralized manner while honing their skills. For example, multiple vandalism attacks on gentrifying businesses in south Minneapolis took place over the past year, with at least three reported in February and one more on Halloween (see issue 5). Beyond these types of attacks, the idea of affinity groups applies more broadly to any time a crew of friends organizes together to accomplish a task, such as a crew of graffiti writers who steal spray cans before painting the town.

It is hard to think of a place where this approach was better put to into practice recently than at the G20 summit in Hamburg (see issue 8). When the police cracked down on the large demonstration on the eve of the summit, the crowd fragmented into smaller mobs that split up throughout the city center, wreaking havoc as they went. Smaller groups attacked police officers, burnt luxury cars, and blockaded intersections all night before crowds re-converged at dawn. The police, who had been prepared for the threat of a single enormous crowd, were powerless to contain the decentralized and autonomous resistance that spread throughout Hamburg. The police would not regain control of the city until the end of the summit. In the meantime, a liberated zone was established and people were free to do as they pleased—perhaps they enjoyed a drink outside with friends, covered the walls in artful slogans, or looted a convenience store. Speaking on revolutionary organization, the Invisible Committee write "by successfully reclaiming urban districts and areas of the countryside, by establishing relatively secure zones, it became possible to go beyond the stage of discrete, anonymous activity on the part of little groups."

Approaching this question locally, we're obviously starting from a much smaller scale. Still, there is something to think about when a masked individual steps away from an anti-fascist demonstration and tags "Antifa Zone" on a wall, as happened last August along Cedar Ave. It shows, first of all, that in this neighborhood we have some amount of power, that one could brazenly declare such a thing in broad daylight—if a right-winger could do the same with one of their own slogans, they haven't dared to try it yet. Second, and perhaps most importantly, it shows that police control is not omnipotent, that there are gaps in the police's ability to maintain order. It is by expanding these gaps in police power that we open up the potential to create a real "antifa zone" or a liberated space, just as the decentralized attacks in Hamburg opened up such a space despite the twenty thousand police officers summoned to the city.

To expand these gaps through decentralized actions, emphasis is placed on actions that are easy to do, with tools that are easy to acquire. Paint is cheap and easy to find—pouring it in a bottle and tossing it at a bank ATM is simple to accom-

plish. Ten more affinity groups inspired by the paint attack could easily do the same with a little effort. For example, from the end of summer until Columbus Day, the Pioneer Statue in northeast Minneapolis was vandalized at least four times, presumably by different people or groups. The first was communicated anonymously over counter-info site Conflict MN; those that followed it were apparently inspired by the initial defacement, finding it easy to repeat. Likewise with a wave of vandalism against the police also in northeast Minneapolis. Over the summer several anti-police slogans were seen spray painted in the area, and come autumn there were reports of graffiti at the police union headquarters, a cruiser and the MPD substation itself. From the hand styles it again seems safe to assume these were often from different individuals or affinity groups.

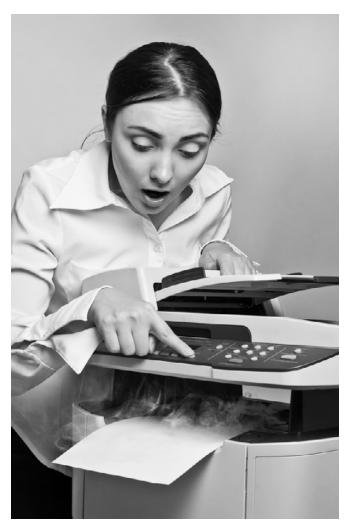
For these practices to truly proliferate, they must spread beyond any particular subculture, scene, or identity. The state and the media have latched onto the term "antifa" as an identity for a certain set of rebels who participate in militant actions. With this label, or any other, individuals are put at a distance from everyone else, making them appear foreign rather than as as one's neighbor, one's coworker, one's friend. The goal with this maneuver is isolation, preventing rebellious practices from spreading all throughout society and reducing backlash when repression strikes.

Taking a step back, a fundamental component of affinity group-based autonomous organizing is of course affinitythat is, friendship. A lot of people don't have a crew to go to a demonstration with, or go tagging with, or to even speak of these ideas with. Often, there isn't anyone in our lives who we trust enough for these things, or who is even interested in them. Having public spaces to find each other in are vital to forming the bonds that grow into what we call affinity groups. Spending time together and sharing our lives with one another can strengthen these bonds over time and ultimately form the basis of the liberating experiences we create. Many who have spent time at Standing Rock or other protest encampments in the past have remarked that just the simple fact of living together, of making and sharing food around a fire day in and day out, caused their projects together to proliferate and bloom in ways that no amount of prearranged structure ever could. Putting our lives in common in such a way here in the city can be a more tricky proposition, as cities were in many ways designed to keep people locked into the role of isolated worker-consumers, but this doesn't mean we can't take small steps in such a direction. Reading groups, workshops, movie screenings, potlucks are a few of endless possibilities where we can come into contact with others who see the world as we do, with whom we experience community. Through these encounters, constellations of crews and affinity groups can emerge.

As a friend once said, the commune is that which sustains the attack and the attack is that which enlarges the commune. It is through friendship that we build the bonds necessary to self-organize and attack, and it is through attacking this world of misery that we can reclaim a sense of living, fighting because we have something to fight for: each other. Writing, continued from pg 3.

for writings distributed online.

"I detest writing" opens Russell Means in his essay "For America to Live Europe Must Die," which is appropriately not actually an essay but a transcription of a speech. "[Writing] is one of the white world's ways of destroying the cultures of non-European peoples, the imposing of an abstraction over the spoken relationship of a people." Means consents to have his words written down only so as to reach into the pockets of the world where the written word is considered the most valuable and authentic form of communication, that is the Western world, and see if he can touch the hearts or minds of any people who find themselves positioned there. This goal, to use writing against the systems of control which birthed it, is as close as I can come to a mission statement for a project like this. If it leads us, both as writers and as readers, to starting conversations, asking questions, and listening more to the people and the world around us then it is a good thing. On the other hand, if it only leads to more reading, watching, and writing, continually chasing that next edgier burst of information, well then that will be the time for us to lay down the pen and paper and step outside.



Radical publishing is fun and easy! Steal paper and toner from work.

# **DEFEND J20**

Almost a year after the mass arrest at the anti-capitalist and anti-fascist march against Trump's inauguration in Washington DC, the US attorney's office announced on January 18th 2018 that all charges against 129 of the remaining 188 J20 defendants are dismissed.

Following the arrest on January 20th 2017, 230 people were charged with multiple felonies and misdemeanors, facing up to 60 years in prison.

Today 59 out of the original 230 people are still facing these charges. We know that this case has always been about political repression and expanding the state's ability to stifle resistance. The government is making a calculated choice to single out these 59 as they further their efforts to redefine basic political organizing as conspiracy and to set the terms of what is "acceptable" protest. Just as the anti-capitalist march was brutally attacked by police in the streets, the government is attacking dissent by leveraging the so-called "justice system" to break people's spirits.

This has been a long and harrowing year for the 194 people who committed to taking their cases to trial and will continue to be for those still facing charges. All defendants have been bolstered by a massive support base and the ability to fight the charges without having to sit in jail for this past year. Most people captured by the state are not this lucky. The legal system is designed to punish arrestees long before they can get to trial, whittling down their emotional and financial resources to impair resistance and coerce concessions. The legal system is a weapon used to repress anyone that challenges white supremacy, colonialism, and capitalism. This is the daily reality for those who are black, brown, immigrant, indigenous, and/or poor who challenge those systems both actively and by their very existence.

We recognize the support of a social movement and the need for anti-prison efforts to reach every person facing charges and intimidation. The dismissal of charges for 129 defendants, and the prior acquittal of the first six who went to trial late last year, shows both the power of solidarity in fighting against state repression and the privilege of media attention.

In the week around January 20, 2018 over thirty cities across Turtle Island participated in a week of solidarity with J20 arrestees, hosting fundraisers, dropping banner and organizing demonstrations. In Minneapolis, in addition to a security workshop and benefit dinner, a banner was hung over the highway.

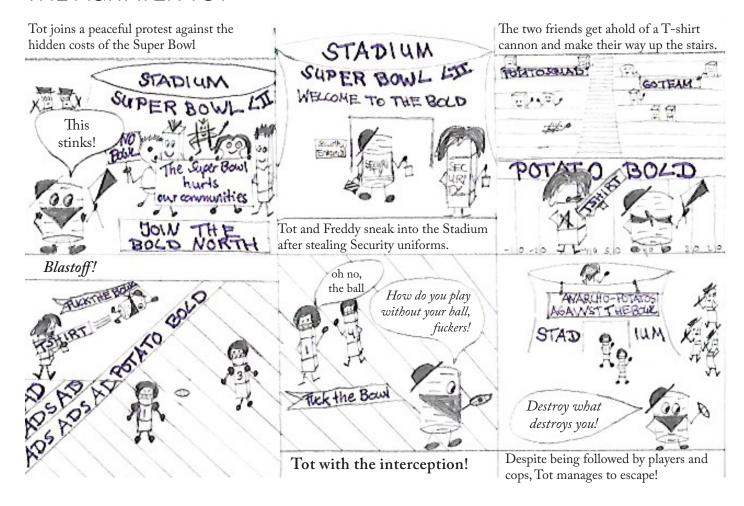
The government will not break the solidarity among the remaining defendants in this case and their supporters, nor will their repressive strategy stop resistance to fascism, capitalism, and the state. Every attempt to weaken us will only make us stronger. Our capacity to resist has only grown.

Keep showing up for the 59 remaining defendants and for all who resist the state.

#### Defend J20 resistance, now more than ever!

More info: defendj20resistance.org

# THE AGITATER TOT



# **UPDATE ON LINE 3**

Line 3 is a proposed tar sands oil pipeline being built by Enbridge that will run over 1000 miles from Alberta to Wisconsin, with the largest section crossing through northern Minnesota. As such it will both cross the headwaters of the Mississippi River as well as border Lake Superior, threatening as much as a fifth of the world's fresh water. Enbridge has spun the project as a replacement for an existing line in order to circumvent a federal oversight process governing new pipelines, but in reality this is an entirely new pipeline being built, following a different corridor and featuring a much greater capacity than the pipe it is supposedly replacing. What's more, Enbridge intends to do nothing to remove or contain the old pipeline, instead abandoning it to rust away into the earth, seeping oil and other toxic wastes into the lands it passes through.

Residents of affected areas are not taking this lying down, mobilizing against the pipeline in a number of ways. In Minnesota the project is currently held up in the permitting phase, with various challenges having been filed against it by a variety of environmental groups, but a number of different camps in the vein of those seen at Standing Rock have been established to serve as bases of support for decentralized autonomous resistance to the building of the pipeline both in Wisconsin,

where construction has already begun, as well as in Minnesota when the time comes.

Predictably, Enbridge is not waiting for the permits to be granted to begin preparations either, illegally stockpiling pipe in a number of locations around Northern Minnesota as well as chopping down trees and clearing land along the corridor in order to be able to build as fast as possible when the permits are granted.

Actions taken so far against the pipeline have varied widely. Multiple marches have taken place, disrupting permitting meetings as well as paying visits to Enbridge's illegal pipeline stockyards. Lockdowns and blockades have temporarily shut down construction at multiple construction sites in Wisconsin, and have also hit a Duluth Wells Fargo in opposition to Wells Fargo's investments in Enbridge. Dozens of arrests have taken place at these and other actions against Line 3 since fall.

To keep tabs on future developments as well as to throw some cash towards those out there facing legal cases and the winter's fury visit their facebook page below.

More info:

https://www.facebook.com/makwainitiative

# LOCAL ACTIONS

**Nov 4<sup>th</sup>** Cedar Avenue is briefly blocked in solidarity with late water protector Dennis Banks and the struggle against Line 3.

**Nov 17<sup>th</sup>** A police cruiser in northeast Minneapolis is tagged with "Fuck cops."

Mid Nov Anti-gentrification graffiti is seen in south Minneapolis.

Nov 26<sup>th</sup> The MPD substation in northeast Minneapolis is tagged with "FTP."

Late Nov Posters are wheatpasted in solidarity with the Olympia Commune across in Minneapolis. In Olympia, wa an encampment came together blockading the port to prevent the shipment of fracking materials to drilling sites. The blockade lasted nearly two weeks.

Dec 4<sup>th</sup> A banner was hung at the University near frat row against the rape culture encouraged by frats, and also in solidarity with Anna Chambers, a woman recently raped by two NYPD officers.

Dec 31st A small crowd held a noise demo outside the youth jail, reminding those locked up that they are not alone.

**Jan 13<sup>th</sup>** A spontaneous protest forced a homeless shelter in south Minneapolis to stay open during the freezing temperatures.

Jan 20<sup>th</sup> A banner is hung in Minneapolis to support the 120 defendants.

## Links

#### **NightFall**

nightfall.blackblogs.org

#### **Conflict MN**

conflictmn.blackblogs.org

#### Belli Research Institute

belliresearchinstitute.com

### Minnesota Vandalisms

@mnvandalisms

#### **Midwest Unrest**

@mw\_unrest

### It's Going Down

itsgoingdown.org

#### CrimethInc.

crimethinc.com

# **UPCOMING EVENTS**

**Feb 4th** The Super Bowl takes place at us Bank Stadium in Minneapolis—a mega-spectacle protected by a variety of security agencies armed to the teeth.

Feb 8th Free movie screening "Dead Man" about an accountant William Blake who, on the run after murdering a man, encounters a Native American man named Nobody who prepares him for his journey into the spiritual world. Boneshaker Books - 2002 23rd Ave S at 6:00pm.

**Feb 10<sup>th</sup>** Women's Prison Book Project pancake breakfast and book sale to benefit the project, which sends books to women prisoners across the country. *Boneshaker Books - 2002 23rd Ave S at 6:00pm.* 

Feb 11<sup>th</sup> 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 6:00pm.\*\*

**Feb 15<sup>th</sup>** Monthly letter writing night to support political prisoners and prison rebels around the country. *Walker Church - 3014 16th Ave S at 6:00pm*.

Feb 15<sup>th</sup> Worshipping Power: An Anarchist View of Early State Formation author Peter Gelderloos will be giving a talk on his latest book. Walker Church - 3014 16th Ave S at 6:30pm.

Feb 22<sup>nd</sup> Free movie screening "The Battle Of Algiers" about the anti-colonial struggle for liberation in 1950s Algeria. *Boneshaker Books* - 2002 23rd Ave S at 6:00pm.

Mar 8<sup>th</sup> Free movie screening "The Little Rascals" a story about a misogynist group of working class boys who must toss away their toxic masculinity and defeat a rich adversary in order to build a new clubhouse. *Boneshaker Books* - 2002 23rd Ave S at 6:00pm.

Mar 15<sup>th</sup> Monthly letter writing night to support political prisoners and prison rebels around the country. Walker Church - 3014 16th Ave S at 6:00pm.

Mar 22<sup>nd</sup> Free movie screening "A Taxi Driver" the story of of a taxi driver who accidentally got involved in the Gwangju Uprising while driving a foreign journalist around.

Boneshaker Books - 2002 23rd Ave S at 6:00pm.

STUPOR BOWL? NATURAL FOOTBALL LEAGE OFFERS CHANCE OF LIFETIME TO ASSORTD PLANNERS DEVELOPERS EN-VELOPERS AND COUNCILSPERSON **CITY: CLEAR UNWANTEDS/CONSUMMATE** DOWNTOWN DREAMLAND FOR DOUGHY BURB BOYS, NEW TOYS FOR KROLLS KREWE. FARES TEMPORARILY INCRESD TO TWO GRAND, STREET DENSITY FALLS AS CONDOS RISE. GLOBE WARMING MAKES MPLS NEW HOT SPOT. TECHIES ON GREEN BIKES, FOOTBALL WILL SAVE US, HALF-TIME SHOW PITS KAEPERNICK AGAINST A REAL LIVE LION, FREY FOR PROGRESSIVE CAGES FOR BROWN YOUTH, NO FLASH PHOTOG IN STADIUM: BRIGHT LIGHTS HARMFUL FOR CONCUSSEES. FORT SNEL-LING REOPENED AS ICE STRONGHOLD. MINIMUM WAGE FIXED AT ONE THOU-AVERAGE VIKING SANDTH TICKFT PRICE, PRINCE STILL DEAD, FUCK