

***Tiny Gardens Everywhere: A History of Urban Resilience* by Kate Brown**

This book dropped earlier this year (paperback not until 2027) but the interview on the *Death Panel* podcast episode linked in the online version was so exciting that we can't wait to read it. As the intensity of Metro Surge passes, people across neighborhoods are building gardens and talking about food resilience. This book is perfectly timed for exploring how projects like these have nourished entire cities. Let's go!

Energy Transition

Of all the overlapping and compounding crises, we cannot ignore the climate crisis. While there are countless texts on it, we choose here to focus on three that get at a very important point: the much-lauded idea of an energy transition doesn't actually track historically within capitalism. If we are going to build a more resilient world, we must understand the history and context that got us to the one we're in today.

***Fossil Capital* by Andreas Malm**

From the move to steam power through today's climate crisis. Looking into this history, Malm challenges the default assumptions around why we move into new forms of energy: it's not because it's cheaper or more abundant, it's about controlling labor. Drawing this thread through historical shifts in energy fuels, he argues that overthrowing capitalism is the only way we avoid climate collapse.

***Powering Empire: How Coal Made the Middle East and Sparked Carbonization* by On Barak**

In an important parallel to Malm above, Barak focuses on coal as imperial infrastructure. In this history, he lays bare the political and military motives behind energy fuel shifts that, again, we often assume are as a result of technological innovation as opposed to a colonial strategy.

***More and More and More: An All-Consuming History* by Jean-Baptiste Fressoz**

In an important parallel to Malm above, Barak focuses on coal as imperial infrastructure. In this history, he lays bare the political and military motives behind energy fuel shifts that, again, we often assume are as a result of technological innovation as opposed to a colonial strategy.

Note

Please do not buy books from Amazon or other corporate shitheads. The Twin Cities metro has an abundance of independent bookstores worthy of your support. As of now, all links in the online version of this list go to Moon Palace Books and Boneshaker, from which you can order directly.



Online Version: tinyurl.com/readmpls2026

A Summer Reading List for Minneapolis 2026



Compiled by a few Twin Cities organizers

After the winter we had here in Minneapolis, we are eager to seek potential paths forward, in visionary texts, together with our neighbors. With so many people asking "How do we keep doing this?" and "How do we build upon what we've achieved?" we want to look at past experiences with and reflections on resisting empire, and what it could look like to prefigure the next world after/beyond whatever the hell this damn shit is.

We are a few folks who have been living and organizing in Minneapolis over the last decade, have done so in various other locales in previous decades, and participated in different aspects of the recent community response to Operation Metro Surge as it rained violence down on our neighborhoods and beloveds –in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and all around Minnesota.

We hope this list of reading material can support our neighbors in seeing, feeling, and exploring a sense of real possibility as we emerge from our winter of resistance, community defense and care.

List and notes compiled by mags and Flowers with support from a few friends ;) Layout and visual editing for print version by kat.



aTiDoTe Zine

Using This List

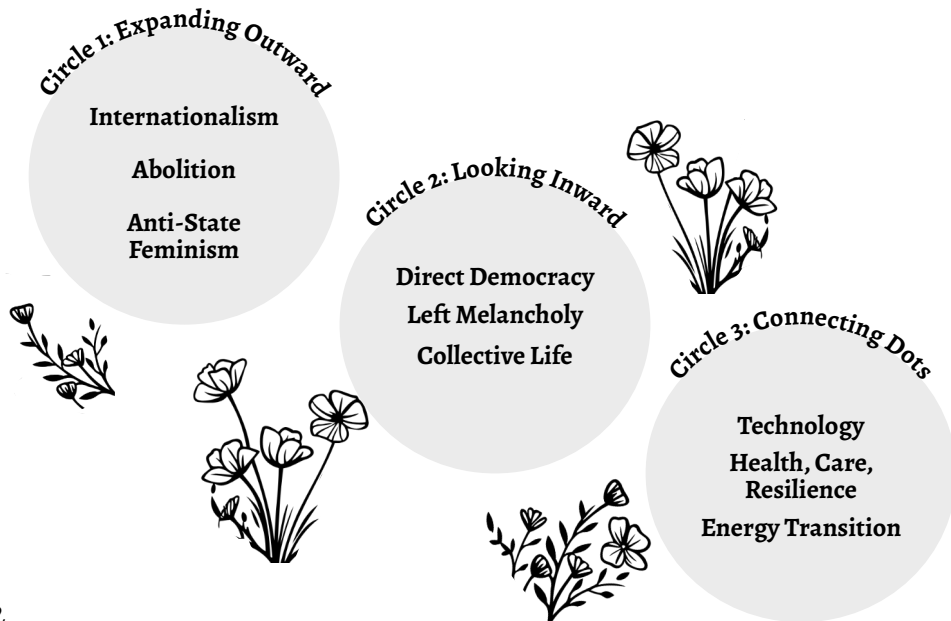
We came up with a handful of topic areas that we think our revolutionary movement would benefit from focusing some attention. In this moment, things may appear bewildering and dangerous, especially because of the way state capitalist and fascist forces continue barreling along without apparent limit or concern. We have found success in action here in Minneapolis, over successive cycles of resistance – but, as ever, greater knowledge, initiative, wisdom, and imagination will serve us in the ongoing and future required to overcome these forces once and for all.

We are fully aware that this is an incomplete list, and there are entire topic areas we didn't touch at all. This is not to disparage the absent topics or forms but to lean into what we have read, have not yet but are excited to read, and find most relevant to this specific moment. We also know there are left texts or topics that are currently very centered—we don't feel like we need to re-center them.

In each area we offer a short selection of readings of various qualities:

- Good first reads for folks who might not know where to start with a certain topic
- Readings on the cutting edge of contemporary analysis that will challenge us and ask us to stretch while still being accessible
- Recent work that may have perceptible shortfalls but is still worth thinking about how to engage with and build upon

It's a long list—the idea is not to expect anyone to read them all, but choose which texts feel most useful to you (and hopefully read them with others too). At the end of this print version, you will find a QR code and URL to the online version which has links. Where possible in the online version, we'll include an audio alternative or supplement, perhaps a select conversation with an author on a podcast, for example.



destroys you without losing sight of the benefits of technological advancement.

Empire of AI by Karen Hao

If we're going to talk tech, we have to face the nightmare that is AI. This book, among a few good ones out right now, just dropped in paperback and we can't wait to read it. Interviews with Hao have been some of the best at revealing the brutal truths of AI, who it serves and who it doesn't. As AI is being shoved down all of our throats, this investigation gives us all the reasons we need to refuse it and fight.

The Mechanic and the Luddite: A Ruthless Criticism of Technology and Capitalism by Jathan Sadowski

A bit more academic of a read but highly recommended. This series of essays is based in the idea that we all need to be both mechanics and luddites (cool idea worth checking out). It then dives into specific areas of today's digital technology, especially data, with brutal clarity for us anti-capitalists.

Health, Care, Resilience

At this point in history, the left has slipped into some dangerous and fascistic perspectives on health and wellness (*Doppelganger* touches on this) or at the very least, showed itself incapable of really meeting the collective needs of moments like the Covid-19 pandemic. But there are lessons from our history that show us we are capable of radical and solidary organizing that benefits people's lives. While there are many more specifically focused books that look at today's health context, we've opted to start with history for now.

Deep Care: The Radical Activists Who Provided Abortions, Defied the Law, and Fought to Keep Clinics Open by Angela Hume

The history of the fight for abortion access and control over one's own reproductive system is a key strand of history that shows us what happens when there is a goal that is collectively worked towards and made possible regardless of the current laws, state apparatus, or rightwing forces. This book traces the history of the movement including its many challenges.

Body and Soul: The Black Panther Party and the Fight Against Medical Discrimination by Alondra Nelson

In a similar vein to the above, this book traces an important aspect of the work of the Black Panther Party that often goes overlooked. Understanding health as a human right, the party's focus on healthcare was practical as well as ideological. Understanding how revolutionaries have historically built up care infrastructure is key to reclaiming a people's collective health today.

***Hope Without Hope* by Matt Broomfield**

This recent book is a fascinating combination of reflections on the Rojavan revolutionary space and what the Western left can learn from it. Broomfield pulls no punches in his assessment of the failed left in the US and Europe, weaving together observations from Rojava with philosophical thought to push us to question our melancholic adherences. For folks newer to movement, we suggest reading this with others who have more experience to help with context/history.

Collective Life Over Individualism

***Joyful Militancy: Building Thriving Resistance in Toxic Times* by Nick Montgomery and carla bergman**

This is an absolute modern classic. Top of the all-time list of reads for folks in movement in these times. From the online blurb: "Why do radical movements and spaces sometimes feel laden with fear, anxiety, suspicion, self-righteousness, and competition? Montgomery and bergman call this phenomenon rigid radicalism: congealed and toxic ways of relating that have seeped into social movements, posing as the "correct" way of being radical." Read it.

***Mutual Aid and Love in a Fucked Up World* both by Dean Spade**

This is one of the few places that we've decided to break from our goal to not center texts that are already being centered in movement. But, the fact is that Dean has good shit to say. It's both anarchist and accessible. If you haven't already read these fundamental texts, they're worth it.

***Hospicing Modernity* by Vanessa Machado de Oliveira**

This came strongly recommended from friends and is on our to-read lists. It both sounds like and is touted as "not easy." But better than feel-good, it challenges us to dig deeper and really show up for ourselves.

Circle Three

Again, these are not less important but focus in on specific and relevant topics that require more critical thinking.

Technology

Let's be honest, the left needs to move into a more nuanced conversation about and relationship with digital technology. The books here are suggested in hopes of sparking such a conversation.

***Blood in the Machine: The Origins of the Rebellion Against Big Tech* by Brian Merchant**

We begin with Merchant's restoration of our understanding of the Luddites and what they have to teach us about destroying what



Circle One

In many ways, these feel like priorities. That is not to say that titles in Circle Two or Three are not important. But these are at the top because they strike at what has often felt missing in the past year and yet is so relevant to our continued struggle and liberation.

Internationalism

***Revolutions of Our Times: An Internationalist Manifesto* by The Peoples Want**

This is a text collectively written by revolutionaries from many of the uprisings of the past fifteen years, reflecting on their experiences and proposing internationalism from below as a survival strategy for all of our movements – something that barely seemed to register this winter in our hyper-focus on the hyper-local, even as solidarity flowed in from around the world.

***Against the State* by James Stout**

A set of case studies examining struggles of armed anarchist movements against authoritarianism and imperialism around the world – without losing sight of how much more it takes than armed struggle.

***Indefensible* by Rohini Hensman**

Hensman uses Lenin's own writings to critique the destructive, binary "anti-imperialism" practiced by ideologues the world over, in case studies from Bosnia to Syria and beyond. An important refutation of the parochial, solidarity-killing party lines still held by many left institutions and organizations in Minnesota – something our movement needs desperately to overcome.

***Land and Freedom: The MST, the Zapatistas, and Peasant Alternatives to Neoliberalism* by Leandro Vergara-Camus**

For decades both the Zapatistas of Chiapas, Mexico and the MST (Landless Rural Workers' Movement) of Brazil have been looked to by radicals and leftists around the globe for inspiration and guidance in the struggle against colonial neoliberalism. This text takes a deep dive into each movement while also comparing them with each other, offering many lessons in the ongoing global struggle against capitalism.

Abolition

MPD150 Report: "Enough Is Enough: A 150-Year Performance Review of the Minneapolis Police Department"

We can't talk about abolition in Minneapolis without looking to the critically important work of MPD150. Their report is a must read for us



to understand our own local history and context of policing. Note: the link in the online version of this list goes to where you can view the report or link to the audiobook. Print copies are also easy to find at Moon Palace Books.

The End of Policing by Alex S. Vitale

While most of us have been focused on defending and caring for our neighbors amidst the occupation by ICE, Minneapolis has both a recent and a long history of movement against policing. This is an accessible introduction to abolition and the argument against police for anyone wanting to begin exploring it.

Unbuild Walls: Why Immigrant Justice Needs Abolition by Silky Shah

Abolition and immigrant justice are not separate but intertwined systems of repression and violence. This book delves into policies of both immigration enforcement and incarceration to help us better understand and articulate why we have to fight both.

Anti-State Feminism

The Kurdish Women's Movement: History, Theory, Practice by Dilar Dirik

This is one of my top reading suggestions of all time (mags). It is a thorough account of the struggle of women in Rojava as they fight for their own liberation as both women and Kurds, working to build democracy while also having to fight against ISIS. Inspiring and informative for organizing that centers a feminism that does not collaborate with the state or capital.

Antifascist Dad by Matthew Remski

A sensitive anti-patriarchal how-to for parents and children of all genders, as well as a demystification of the misogynistic man-o-sphere poison at the rotten heart of American neofascism.

Defiance by Loubna Mrie

Not just one of the best "Syria books" but one of the best books I've ever read, period (Flowers). It is a memoir of a childhood under an abusive father and an abusive regime, and of gutsy resistance to and escape from both – as well as a gritty, granular look at the messiness of the Syrian revolution.

Circle Two

These are no less important but add to the above by challenging us to look inward: inward at our movements and what they need to grow into; inward at ourselves and our relationships for what we need them to become for the shift required for collective liberation.



Direct Democracy and Self-Governance

Days of Love and Rage: A Story of Ordinary People Forging a Revolution by Anand Gopal

Exhaustively researched and reported portrait of a daring, doomed attempt at local self-governance in Menbij, Syria.

From Urbanization to Cities: The Politics of Democratic Municipalism by Murray Bookchin

Bookchin may have been a cranky anarchist out of the West but he inspired Öcalan who leads the movement in Rojava. Bookchin's ideas about the city and a new way of imagining it have much to offer those of us attempting to figure out how we make Minneapolis what we want it to be.

"Dark Municipalism" by the Symbiosis Research Collective

At a time when we are – wonderfully so – looking to build liberation in our own city, this essay serves as a reminder that there are fascistic possibilities in direct democracy and municipalism. Thus, it is an important counterweight to the above.

Left Melancholy: What is it? Why is it so important to understand?

"Left Melancholy" by Wendy Brown

This essay looks to both Walter Benjamin and Stuart Hall as they introduced us to the idea of left melancholy. Brown then expands on that, as many (including Broomfield below) have, subsequently. This is a deeply important concept for us to understand in these times. Will we stay nostalgically attached to past strategies and tactics regardless of whether or not they work? The response to Metro Surge was an example of escaping that and yet, we are already backsliding into ineffective organizing. Can we choose a different path forward?

Utopia of Rules by David Graeber

Four essays examining bureaucracy from an anthropological perspective, and wondering why the left has been unable to overcome its obsession with it. Anyone else notice how a primary role in the response to Operation Metro Surge was "admin"? How do we balance the need for structure with our deep socialization that draws us into conventional, stunting, and overly bureaucratic tendencies?

Doppelganger by Naomi Klein

How to explain this book besides a must-read? Several of us find ourselves referencing it regularly. Part memoir, part cultural analysis of the strange moment we're all in, Klein dives into new political lines teaching us about diagonalism, revealing the breaking boxes of "left" and "right."