

NIGHTFALL

FREE

An Agitational Newspaper

One Year Anniversary

July/Aug 2017

They murdered my motherfuckin' son with his seatbelt on, so what does that say to you? Now they got free reign to keep killing us, any kind of way they want to. So I just want to say one thing to everybody out there, I don't give a fuck what you do. Do what your heart desires, 'cause that shit wasn't right. And I'm here to say that, and fuck the police. Say whatever the fuck you wanna say. Now this is the real Valerie Castile. I don't give no fucks no mo'. This shit is crazy. You're gon' kill a man in front of a child, and a woman. Who gon' bring some children to a motherfuckin' gun fight? Come the fuck on. Please. I don't know where they got them motherfuckin' jurors from, but that was some straight up bullshit. And they gon' keep on killin' us as long as we sit down and just take it. "Ah yeah, he was in fear for his life." Bull-motherfuckin'-shit. You shouldn't be no police officer if you gon' handle yourself in that manner. Do what you do, 'cause this shit gon' keep on happening, and it's gon' be you one day, in this fucked up mother's club, with they children murdered by the motherfuckin' police. I don't give no fucks, man, y'all just don't know how a sister feelin' right now. If I had it my way, it's on and crackin'. Fuck that shit. I'm sick of this shit. Y'all been killin' motherfuckers all these years, but here in Minnesota, this cracka 'Bama ass motherfuckin' state, fuck these motherfuckers. And with that, peace out. Do ya motherfuckin' thing. Whatever. Have a nice life. I hope that motherfucker die tonight.

Inside: The Dakota Wars, Gentrification on Lake Street, and more!

DAKOTA WARS, THEN AND NOW

The lake formerly known as Calhoun is officially restored by the city to its original Dakota name, Bde Mka Ska. A sculpture which capitalizes on the pain of indigenous genocide to produce heady conceptual art aimed primarily at non-Natives is destroyed following widespread condemnation, with the offending museum promising to hire Dakota consultants in the future. Based on these incidents alone one could argue, and indeed some have, that colonialism in Minnesota is fading away. Yet at the same time, Hennepin County Sheriff's Office personnel display remarkable brutality in assisting their North Dakotan counterparts and the National Guard in attacking water protectors at Standing Rock, some of whom are direct descendants of Dakota who were displaced from what became Hennepin County by the predecessors of our modern Sheriff's Office. Meanwhile, Fort Snelling, once used as a concentration camp for the Dakota prior to their expulsion from Minnesota, is used by ICE as a pre-deportation detention center for immigrants, many of whom are of indigenous Chicane heritage.

What can we make of these contradictions? Are we inching our way forward bit by bit, slowly excising the cruelty demonstrated by Trump and the oil companies from a wider American project that at its core tends towards ever-increasing degrees of freedom for all? Or do recent concessions made by colonial institutions, concessions that come for the most part in the realm of the symbolic rather than the structural, function primarily to reduce pressure on the material day-to-day functioning of colonialism? There are no universal answers to these questions, and we certainly aren't suggesting forsaking symbolic and cultural arenas of struggle, but it is important to examine the legacy of the institutions that are now paying lip service to decolonization. When we do so it is clear that these institutions, whether public or private, only ever act to preserve their own existence, an existence that is founded upon Native genocide. As such, the only truly decolonial course of action that the city, the police, or the museums could ever undertake is the only one that they never will, the path leading to: their own self-destruction.

Europeans passed through this land intermittently from the time when Father Louis Hennepin first kicked off a long tradition of bullshit and deception by chronicling fantastical beasts and barbarous savages on his 1680 journey down the Mississippi, but it wasn't until 1805 that America established a permanent presence here. By that point the U.S. had realized that all-out war against every indigenous nation on Turtle Island at once was a prohibitively costly proposition, and so it turned to more subtle methods of fulfilling its genocidal expansionist fantasies, methods it has been refining ever since. Zebulon Pike was commissioned to negotiate a treaty to give U.S. claims of sovereignty over the area a veneer of legitimacy. Like practically all subsequent treaties between the U.S. and the Dakota, including those of 1833, 1837, 1851, and 1857, this treaty was made with a handful of

Natives who had little authority to speak for anyone beyond their immediate kin, under threat of violence, and lubricated by copious amounts of government-supplied liquor. The paltry payments guaranteed by these treaties in return for the Dakota forsaking much of their lands, and with them their ability to live their traditional lifestyle, were delivered late, if at all, and the government made little attempt to keep its subjects from violating the treaties by settling on land reserved for the Dakota. At the same time the government used resistance by Natives angry over treaties not being honored, as well as by those who had never recognized the treaties to begin with, as justification for voiding the treaties and moving in with force to steal even more land.

These offenses, and the havoc they wrought on the Dakota's ability to live in their traditional way as they had for centuries, caused tensions to come to a head in 1862. In August, with their people starving, a group of Dakota confronted Indian Agent and State Senator Thomas Galbraith and trader Andrew Myrick, one of many whites who had gotten rich siphoning off treaty payments guaranteed the Dakota, demanding the food and supplies owed them. Galbraith refused to distribute the food, and Myrick reportedly said "if they are hungry, let them eat grass." Three days later Myrick was found dead, his mouth stuffed with grass. Dakota across the state rose up, destroying multiple settlements in an attempt to drive the invaders from their land once and for all. Major victories were won by the Dakota at New Ulm and Birch Coulee, prompting Governor Alexander Ramsey to petition President Lincoln to mobilize troops in order to "exterminate or otherwise drive the Sioux forever beyond the border of the state." Lincoln granted Ramsey's wish, lending the colonizers a large advantage in numbers which led to a decisive victory at the Battle of Wood Lake along the Minnesota River in September, at which U.S. troops were commanded by Colonel Henry Sibley, another Minnesotan who made a fortune stealing treaty payments owed to the Dakota, for whom parks, schools and counties across the Midwest are named. Following their surrender, 38 Dakota warriors were executed in Mankato on spurious murder charges, and a bounty of \$25 per scalp was placed upon all Dakota, including children. The majority of the Dakota were rounded up into a concentration camp at Fort Snelling and forced to endure the harsh winter with inadequate supplies, leading to the death of hundreds. Following this they were exiled to surrounding states, although some eventually returned to Minnesota to pick up the pieces of their lives as best as possible despite the constant threat of colonial violence.

The centrality of these events to the continued existence of the Minnesota we know today cannot be overstated. The twin industries which built the economy of the state, logging and mining, were only possible because of the removal of the Native population, and the destruction wrought by these practices guaranteed that even once the industries

COMMUNES NOT CONDOS

Gentrification has been a problem faced by many across the country for years, but it has recently been surging particularly here in Minneapolis, as well as in cities like San Francisco, New York, Portland, Seattle and Washington, D.C. Gentrification is often defined as “class transformation”, with neighborhoods that once held a low-income population shifting towards a high-income population, reinforcing racial divisions. What we can learn from other places and parts of Minneapolis such as the division between Uptown and the other half of Lake Street is that this is bad news for low-income folks in varying degrees.

Gentrification is an incredibly complex process, frequently proceeding by pitting those with little against those with even less. To really get to the bottom of gentrification one must at least go back to the creation of the ghettos and other urban areas with lower rents via a strategic process of disinvestment in the era following World War II, concurrent with the more widely-acknowledged phenomenon of white-flight. As capital withdrew urban infrastructure crumbled. This combined with heightened policing under the guise of the War on Drugs to wreak havoc on communities of color, significantly weakening the autonomy that had been won through the ferocious struggles seen from the 20's to the 60's. Fast-forward to the present era, which sees a high volume of uninvested capital and relatively few traditional avenues available to it, and capitalists have realized that allowing poor people to live in the areas surrounding the shiny urban core is unprofitable and even dangerous, given that intense concentrations of poverty have given birth to innumerable insurrections over the years. This is especially true now that the main reason for concentrating large numbers of poor people in cities, manufacturing, has largely been outsourced.

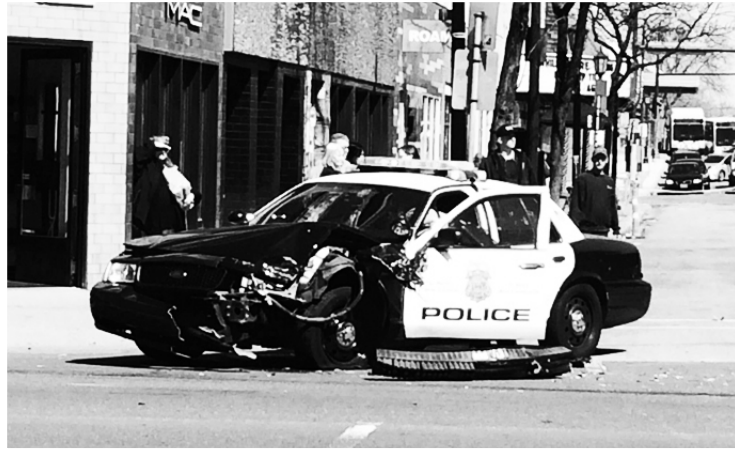
On the ground level, we can think of gentrification as happening in four main stages: first, an area with low rent is seen as moderately financially viable, as folks

such as artists and small business owners move in. They renovate and restore property using their own private capital, because investments are still higher-risk there. Second, word begins to spread of the economical viability of an area, but developers are still reluctant to push capital there because of the “sketchiness” of the neighborhood. Displacement and evictions become more common as rent rises and available housing goes out the window. At this point, blood-sucking capitalist vultures begin their descent into an area. Third, rich yuppies, white folks, and higher end businesses set up shop in a neighborhood. The class antagonism between gentrifiers and long-term residents becomes more pronounced as capital begins to flow into the area. Fourth, a mature gentrification takes hold. The area is considered “safe”, trendy and a good investment.

The color and life of the neighborhood are almost completely erased, or at most fragments are kept around as a ghost of what once was to sell newcomers on the “life” and “vibrancy” of their neighborhood.

Anyone who has lived in Minneapolis for a hot minute can see clearly the drastic ways in which Uptown has shifted into the over-priced, over-po-

liced, yuppie nightmare that it is today. What is striking is that this trend continues to move east down Lake Street; without resistance it will have some very serious consequences. More than anyone, the black and brown residents and homeless folks are living in the growing shadow of Uptown. This is already taking effect by way of an increased police presence in the area. Dystopian camera towers are appearing everywhere, most recently underneath Hiawatha Avenue, shining their bright spotlights where people used to sleep. Sex workers are regularly harassed and homeless folks are swept up into the jails. On Lake Street, poverty is criminalized. The new residents cry for more cameras, more police, and more security, but if they'd spent five minutes talking to literally anybody walking down Lake Street, they would know that the people that are getting chased off need resources,



A police cruiser is demolished on Lake St during a fierce insurrection.
Minneapolis, 2018?

moved on the reclamation of these lands and the traditional life-ways entwined with them would be impossible. Furthermore, Minnesota's modern economy, having largely shifted away from timber and mining, is still completely founded upon Native genocide. For example, the Mayo Clinic and the Walker Art Center, juggernauts within their respective fields that have positioned Minnesota as a leader in medicine and the arts, were both founded by active perpetrators of genocide.

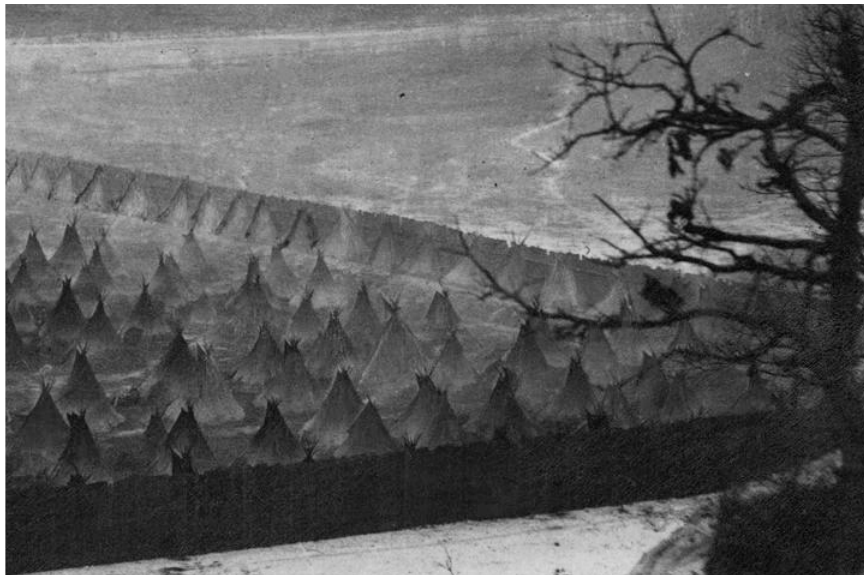
William Mayo worked as a doctor for the U.S. military during the Dakota War. After the execution of the 38 at Mankato, Mayo stole the body of Mahpiya Akan Nažin, one of the Dakota warriors, and used it to teach anatomy and surgery to his sons, who later became his business partners in the medical practice that would evolve into the modern Mayo Clinic. The Mayo Clinic has carried on this legacy since then, reinforcing colonialism in numerous ways, such as developing multiple life-support technologies that revolutionized high-altitude flight in the mid-20th century, paving the way for subse-

quent colonial wars in the Far and Middle East. Even the Mayo Clinic's more positive medical activities cannot be unentangled from the context which birthed them. For example, one of the Mayo Clinic's specialties is in researching treatments for cancer. While it is obvious that we need such treatments, we must also remember that skyrocketing cancer rates are a direct result of the destruc-

tive colonial system of which the Mayo Clinic is an integral part. The Mayo Clinic's perfection of expensive cancer treatments serves to insulate those who are destroying our world from (some of) the consequences of their actions, allowing them to continue with business as usual. Those who can't afford such treatments, however, are out of luck. It is no accident that Native people on Turtle Island suffer the highest rates of just about every disease linked to environmental destruction.

Thomas Walker, meanwhile, made the fortune with which he founded the Walker Art Center in timber, stripping the forests of Minnesota and sending them packing down the Mississippi en route to becoming the richest man in the state. The precious contemporary artworks, the shiny modernist building, the fancy restaurant; all of it is paid for with the blood and suffering of the Native people who lived in the forests that once covered much of this state. Even when the Walker shines its spotlight on radical art created

to challenge colonialism or capitalism, the context within which it frames these works, that of a sterile gallery staffed by Target-branded museum guards, transmutes works that may have once been challenging and mobilizing into commodities for passive contemplation, neutralizing any threat that they may pose to the status quo. In light of this legacy, can we expect meaningful change to come out of promises made by the Walker to solicit Native input in the future? Or, to adapt a critique made by Dakota scholar Waziyatawin regarding the Minnesota Historical Society, will the Walker "reject the most critical Dakota voices and perspectives as insignificant and... simply use their new Dakota employees as mouthpieces to express the party line," thereby maintaining the Walker's authority over cultural debates in Minnesota? The answer is never wholly black-and-white, and as a non-Native I do not intend to criticize Natives who see potential in self-consciously exploiting the resources of colonial institutions for their own ends. However, as someone who has their own desires which lead towards confronta-



Dakota concentration camp at Fort Snelling following the Dakota Wars.

tion with the colonial machine, I find it extremely important to keep this warning of Native author Zig-Zag in mind: "any discussion of decolonization that does not take into consideration the destruction of the colonial system and the liberation of land and people can only lead to greater assimilation and control. The demand for greater political and economic power by chiefs and councils, although presented

as a form of decolonization (i.e., "self-government"), only serves to assimilate Indigenous peoples further into the colonial system." Will the Walker hiring Dakota or the city of Minneapolis renaming a lake hasten their own destruction? Clearly, the answer is no. Only by working outside of the colonial system, on our own timelines using our own methods and desires, can we get closer to such a goal.

In researching this essay I drew primarily from Waziyatawin's What Does Justice Look Like?, which outlines how Minnesota was stolen from the Dakota and lays out some possible courses of action, as well as the anonymous entry on the Dakota War in The Struggle is Our Inheritance, a compilation of radical Minnesota history. For further analysis of, among much else, the role of culture in decolonization and the potential for decolonial rhetoric to become co-opted by colonial forces, the work of Zig-Zag/Gord Hill is invaluable, particularly Colonization and Decolonization. These last two works can be found for free online.

housing, a meal.

The big, overarching question remains: how do we respond? Often we hear that we should be working within government institutions to fix the problem. Voting, challenging city ordinances, working with large bloated organizations, etc. But what interest does the State have in countering gentrification? Its no secret that the government acts at all times to solidify the ability of capitalists to extract value out of our daily activities. The higher property values rise, the more money the city will make in property taxes, and intensifying policing in order to push poor and brown people into distant crumbling suburbs, the model in Europe ever since World War II, has proven to be more profitable for cities than actually addressing the causes of racism and poverty. The State is complicit in gentrification when it is not actively pursuing it.

Recently some residents of South Minneapolis started holding Coffee Not Cops semi-regularly on Lake Street. Coffee Not Cops is an event that began in San Francisco as a response to rising rents and subsequent increases in policing. Folks hang out with free coffee and food and have discussions about the effects of gentrification and policing, as well as distribute resources for everything from dealing with the police to responding to immigration raids. In the mid-2000s in San Francisco's Mission District up-scale businesses were anonymously vandalized while posters and fliers were distributed advocating further attacks, methods that are still put into practice today. In the Powderhorn neighborhood of Minneapolis this sort of rage has already been expressed, as seen in the cosmetic makeover of yuppie boutique Frostbeard Studios, which we covered in a previous issue of NIGHTFALL. These sorts of actions taken by disgruntled residents not only demonstrate a rage against the neo-colonialism of gentrification but have the potential to lower the incentive of more companies and start-ups to open up shop in a neighborhood where the environment is seen as hostile and unwilling to take redevelopment lying down.

Beyond attacks, building connections with our neighbors is crucial so that we can support each other before and when our rents begin to rise. Mutual aid networks for distributing food and other resources, copwatch programs, and defense against evictions are all projects we can self-organize to create. Power can only come from ourselves and from our neighborhoods.

THE SAVAGE PEACE

Democracy has failed. The institutions we were supposed to believe in are falling into ruin all around us. Everywhere we look, exceptions to the law replace its normal application. Global civil war is becoming the new normal, and the police, developers, teachers, and politicians are doing everything in their power to prevent this fact from becoming known. Since the beginning of the West, there have been two parallel stories: one is the story of democracy progressing since its glorious founding in Ancient Athens, the other is the story of the wreckage it has left behind, which goes by the name Civil War.

So reads the back cover of *The Savage Peace*, a short book about civil war, Minnesota, and much more released this past spring by local author Sasha Durakov that should be of interest to all who desire to build liberatory momentum in this hostile world, no matter where they live. Jumping millennia in the span of sentences, critiquing efforts made to preserve the illusion of social peace at the 4th Precinct Occupation in North Minneapolis in 2015 using the same analytic framework developed in critiquing the slave-holding democrats of ancient Greece and revolutionary America, the book is insightful, provocative, and at times frustrating, resisting all efforts to neatly boil it down into its main components. Instead of attempting to do so, I want to tease out a few strands running through the text that have stuck in my mind since I first read it.

Upon first receiving the book I was most intrigued by the interspersed sections recounting various episodes of conflict and rebellion in the distant and not-so-distant past of the Twin Cities. Digging into the desires and antagonisms that animated past struggles, especially those written off as unintelligible, blind, even bordering on barbaric by the grand historians of 'establishment' and 'movement' alike has been for me one of the most exciting parts of *Nightfall* and similar projects. However, the circuitous logic of *The Savage Peace* continually frustrates the desire to take these incidents and translate them into intelligible episodes to be slotted as correctives into these grand historical narratives. Rather than wrapping the events of the past up in neat packages, every outburst explained away as either a victory or a betrayal in the inevitable march towards the perfection of multiculturalism, communism, decolonization, anarchy or whatever other flavor of utopia you prefer, the text insists on dwelling with how the buried antagonisms found in conflicts such as the Dakota War of 1868 or the rioting surrounding the 1972 rent strike on the West Bank are not only incompatible with the progressive democratic myths pushed by practically everyone of any political legitimacy in the Twin Cities, but actively shatter these narratives when interrogated closely. Speaking of the riots that racked North Minneapolis in the successive summers of 1966 and 1967, the text asserts that "in this revolt without issues and without representation, in addition to the ambiguity of racial factors involved, there's nothing to democratize, nothing to sell, nothing but a specific local contestation and disaffection, and thus, nothing in the eyes of the Left." People acting on their own terms with their own grammars of desire and anger against the techniques of oppression that confront them in their daily lives present a



SMOKE ON THE PRAIRIE

While NIGHTFALL has generally focused on actions that took place within the confines of the Minneapolis/St. Paul metropolitan area, we thought we would take a moment to highlight a few attacks from the surrounding territory. It can be easy to lose perspective while concentrated in the urban landscape, however we insist on understanding our power regionally—flaunting all colonial border lines to the contrary. The following excerpts were stolen from the capitalist press:

Bemidji Police Investigating Shots Fired At Enbridge Building

Police are investigating after shots were fired at the front door and windows of Enbridge's Bemidji office.

[...]

As of Thursday morning, the Enbridge office's front windows were covered with black plastic and damage from a shotgun blast was visible.

Enbridge, a Canadian energy company, has been involved in a number of high-profile oil pipeline projects both locally and out of state. Enbridge is currently working to replace Line 3, a pipeline that runs from Alberta, Canada, through northern Minnesota to Superior, Wis. (2/23/17)

Second Pipeline Arson Near Newell, Iowa Damages Equipment

A fire on a Dakota Access pipe-line site near Newell Thursday night has been ruled an arson.

About \$70,000 damage was done to a contractor-owned skid loader that was set on fire, and \$75,000 to pipeline equipment. The fire, in a field near 180th Avenue north of Highway 7, was reported around 9:20 p.m.

[...]

Late last year, an arson fire that is still unsolved caused over a million dollars in damage at a pipeline construction site near Newell, only about four miles from Thursday's fire.

[...]

He said that investigating such crimes are proving "very taxing" on the department's time and resources. (4/30/17)

Vandals Scratch, Throw Paint On Amery, WI Police Chief's Squad, Personal Vehicle

One or more vandals scratched and threw paint on a western Wisconsin police chief's squad vehicle and personal truck this past weekend. (5/1/17)

LOCAL ACTIONS

Early May: Spontaneous brawls erupt across St Paul. Law enforcement scrambles to find a cause or explanation.

May 6th: Pro-Trump and alt-right demonstrators are confronted by anti-fascists at the State Capitol in St. Paul. While a handful attempted to unite with Trump supporters against the alt-right, many others in the crowd made no distinctions during the conflict, opposing all on the right.

May 26th: Five inmates escape by van from Lino Lakes prison.

Late May: Anti-police graffiti painted in south Minneapolis.

June 10th: Fights break out between alt-rightists and counter-demonstrators at the State Capitol.

June 16th: Thousands take to the streets after officer Yanez is acquitted of murdering Philando Castile last year. The march takes over the highway for several hours and leaves a trail of graffiti.

June 18th: State of Minnesota and Minnesota State University servers are hacked in retaliation for the acquittal of Yanez.

June 21st: Two officers are injured by thrown fireworks outside the in north Minneapolis while confronting a crowd in the neighborhood. It is supposedly the second firework attack on police this week.

June 22nd: University of Minnesota servers are hacked in retaliation for the acquittal of Yanez.

June 25th: An anti-police demonstration blocks the Pride parade for over an hour in downtown Minneapolis.

UPCOMING EVENTS

July 1st: In Defense of Revolutionary Struggle: A book presentation and community discussion about strengthening our struggles for liberation when facing criminal charges. This presentation and discussion are based on the ideas in the recently published book, *A Tilted Guide to Being a Defendant* by the Tilted Scales Collective. *Boneshaker Books* - 2002 23rd Ave S at 3:00 PM.

July 2nd: Film screening of "No Justice... Just Us". In this month's episode of Trouble, anarchist media collective sub-Media interviews a number of individuals engaged in legal defense and prisoner solidarity, and looks at some of the ways we can begin to build movements that are more resilient in the face of state repression. *Walker Church* - 3104 16th Ave S at 7:00 PM.

July 13th: 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.

July 25th: International Day of Solidarity With Anti-fascist Prisoners. Look out for events that may be planned for this day or organize a direct action with your crew.

August 23rd: A Week of Solidarity with Anarchist Prisoners takes place during the last week of August. It is often marked around the world with informational events, sabotage, and noise demonstrations outside of prisons.

Savage Peace, continued from pg 5.

scandal to those who forever preach an ill-defined 'unity' as the most important prerequisite to any change.

From the point of view of *The Savage Peace*, this shattering of myths is a good thing. Again and again the text comes back to the assertion that civil war is an incontrovertible fact of existence. Difference exists, and always will; so will conflict. Any statement to the contrary must be read as itself an act of civil war, an attempt to bury the differences that permeate our lives in order to position the speaker at the head of the supposedly-unified mass for which they claim to speak. Rather than fearing difference, *The Savage Peace* urges us to recognize in it the possibility of friendship. "Friendship is the leap across and yet within division. Friends neither try nor desire unification into One. It is the play between their differences that makes the connection so strong." Only by confronting our situation as entities positioned in a complex web of relationships, some friendly, some adversarial, many undefined, can we begin the real work of building power with those whose visions of life overlap in ways with ours.

For those who want a longer taste of the work in order to decide for themselves whether it is worth their time, I would recommend the brief concluding section of the book, entitled *Civil War Revisited*, which in my opinion serves paradoxically as a good introduction to many of the points developed in the body of the text. *Civil War Revisited*, as well as *The Savage Peace* in whole, can be found online at: belliresearchinstitute.com

LINKS

NIGHTFALL

nightfall.blackblogs.org

CONFLICT MN

conflictmn.blackblogs.org

BELLI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

belliresearchinstitute.com

NORTH STAR ANTIFA

northstarantifa.blackblogs.org

TC RADICAL CALENDAR

tcradical.wordpress.com