

# PINK AND BLACK

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## EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Welcome to the fourth issue of Pink and Black Attack! It's been about a year since we started publishing, so this issue is the one year anniversary issue. We've come a long way in this year, improving our layout and design skills (as anyone who's read the past issues can see) and working hard to bring you, the reader, an exciting publication each time. We've also been spending time tracking down historical texts from queer radicals of decades past, and in this issue we feature the first half of a newly-translated essay from Daniel Guérin. Additionally, this article contains updates about our comrade Ariel Attack, who was featured in the last issue after being arrested. We also have several exciting action reports, information on evangelical homophobes, and an article on the Marsha P. Johnson Collective in Memphis, among other pieces.

As excited as we are about this issue, we are also looking towards the future. We want to continue to focus on actions and solidarity with our comrades who face legal troubles. We want to continue to publish theoretical works and historical documents. However, we have noticed a disturbing trend: we

are seeing fewer submissions for each issue. We are always looking for analytical articles, personal essays, action reports, graphics, pictures and anything to do with queer anarchist theory and action. Please get in contact with us! We also want to expand the distribution of Pink and Black Attack, so if you are a distro or an infoshop, get in contact with us!

A disclaimer: We do not necessarily agree with all the content we publish; however, we believe the content is worth reading and we believe in the importance of spreading anti-assimilationist, anarchist thought and analysis.

Our next issue is going to come out in May, so the submission deadline for issue 5 is April 25th.

As always, we welcome comments, criticisms, and letters! Send any correspondence to [pinkandblack-attack@riseup.net](mailto:pinkandblack-attack@riseup.net)

In solidarity,  
Pink and Black Collective

### POINTS OF UNITY:

- We are queer anarchists. We oppose the state and capitalism in all their forms.
- We actively oppose heterosexism, transphobia, ableism, patriarchy, classism, and white supremacy.
- We believe in collective liberation for all people.
- We are anti-assimilationists. We refuse to beg the state for equality.
- We believe in revolutionary solidarity with everyone in the struggle against the state and against the domination of capitalism. We especially support our comrades who face legal trouble because of their struggles.

# Ariel Attack Update

In Denver, we have cause to celebrate as one warm body became secure in its relative freedom—the sort of freedom that reminds us of what we still must do in order to be free. Yesterday morning Ariel Attack plead to Class 2 Misdemeanor (Criminal Mischief) in return for the dropping of the original Felony charge, and the court set the sentence at 11 months (!) of unsupervised probation and full payment of \$5,600 restitution, allowing Ariel to stay on the streets and in the arms of friends. This is much better than the possible 2-6 year bit they were facing. The restitution had to be paid in full and up front (by taking out a loan) for the deal to go through.

A year unsupervised is not a bad deal considering the circumstances of Ariel's arrest and their refusal to name the 'accomplice'. In case you're just tuning in, Ariel was involved in an attack against the Colorado Democratic Party Headquarters in August by means of hammers and the resulting media clusterfuck. We feel there has been a lot of luck mixed up in this situation, but we'll publish a narrative of the events so that anarchists out there can see if there's anything they can learn. Look out for that in the next couple of weeks.

Meanwhile, friends close by and far away are feeling the cold grip of state repression, and the struggle continues.

There are two Denver-based anarchists facing felony charges and massive legal fees, and we extend our solidarity to Jeff and Noah, along with Carrie and Scott, David Japenga, the RNC8, all of our imprisoned comrades; the list is far too long to finish.

While Ariel's legal battle has wrapped up, we are making one last request for donations to help cut away at Ariel's debt—about \$6,000—and we still have some of these fly Hammer Time t-shirts to move. Friends of Ariel@riseup.net to get hooked up.

A brief message from Ariel: "To everyone who has had my back these past months, with everything from letters and cash to

screenprinting, fashion advice, words, and all of that intangible "i got your back" stuff, Thank you! And, yeah, it was fun."

Freedom, however, is not something stable on which we can place our feet. It is a struggle we fight day by day. Yesterday was not a shallow victory—there is nothing shallow about the warmth of friends' arms, the taste of good food, the drag of fingernails across skin. Still, this sense of freedom is nothing compared to what we will experience when we destroy the prisons.

In solidarity,  
Friends of Ariel, Attack!



## Honduras: Gay Revolutionary Assassinated by Nationalists

25 year-old activist Walter Trochez was murdered Monday, December 13th in Tegucigalpa. He was a gay rights advocate and a member of the National Front of Resistance Against the Coup in Honduras.

Trochez, who had publicly reported the abuses of Roberto Micheletti's de facto regime was shot in Tegucigalpa's downtown. A few days before his death, he had been brutally beaten by officers of the dictatorship while they were interrogating him to extract information about the leaders of the peaceful resistance.

The activist had recently published an article exposing the de facto regime for its human rights violations. The article, titled "Increase in hate crimes and homophobia towards LGTB as a result of the civic-religious-military coup in Honduras", was about how what is currently going on in Honduras is a step backwards for the most inclusive processes that have been taking place in Latin America in the recent years.

"It is worth stating that the explicit support of the church in Honduras to the military coup of June 28, 2009 prevented holding a referendum organized by the legitimate constitutional government, while it put dictator Roberto Micheletti in power", reads the article. It also explains that homophobic hate crimes have increased since the coup, promoted by the Honduran church, with the complicity of the oppressing groups.

"Once again we say it is NOT ACCEPTABLE that in these past 4 months, during such a short period, 9 transexual and gay friends were violently killed, 6 in San Pedro Sula and 3 in Tegucigalpa", said the activist in his article, following several press releases of the gay, lesbian, transexual and bisexual community.

The young activist finished his article saying "As a revolutionary, I will always defend my people, even if it takes my life".

## Smack a White Boy Round Three: This One's For Sylvia

In September 2009, Madison APOC made its grand entrance into the world with an action against David Carter, a self-proclaimed historian who denies any significant participation of trans folk and people of color in Stonewall. He also frames the queer liberation movement in the U.S. as a gay white man's movement, not to mention he shit-talks Sylvia and Marsha to no end... (feel free to Google his name and read the transcripts of his speeches.) The University of Wisconsin-Madison had invited Carter to speak on campus, and as the room started to fill with white intellectuals and college students, mad APOC got into position and...

"Trans, women, POC- you can't write us out of history!"

Copies of a communique were thrown into the air and scattered across the lecture room. It read:

*We are a group of autonomous individuals collectively known as APOC (Anarchist / Autonomous / Anti-Authoritarian People of Color). We are not affiliated with any other local groups or organizations. We strive to smash every form of oppression, including white supremacy, patriarchy, ableism, heterosexism, speciesism, transphobia, queerphobia, environmental racism, ageism, classism and authoritarianism. This is our response to this fake historian's "interpretation" of history.*

*The Stonewall uprising was a series of actions by queer and transfolk, both whites and people of color. The queer and trans population of Greenwich Village acted boldly to defend themselves against police brutality in their own neighborhood.*

*We are disgusted by David Carter's blatant racism and transphobia. Transfolk, women, and people of color have been crucial to not only the Stonewall uprising, but also to the bigger struggle for queer and trans liberation. With his interpretation, Carter has attempted to write us out of our own history. If he takes it upon himself to talk about a movement, he should be held accountable for getting that shit right. Queer insurrection is not only for white males, and we are here to make sure he doesn't forget it.*

*David Carter, we hope you get what you deserve.*

*Love, APOC*

# New Jersey: Westboro Baptist Church Reportback

Early this morning, Wednesday Oct. 28 2009, the Hub City Welcoming Committee (HCWC) including members of Hub City Anti-Racist Action and Trenton Anti-Racist Action confronted the sexist, racist, homophobic Westboro Baptist Church (WBC) at their New Brunswick picket stops on their two day tour of New Jersey.

The WBC had chosen New Brunswick High School and the Rutgers University Hillel building for their pickets and local antifascists chose to be a strong presence at both locations. The plan for the "official" Rutgers organized rally, "Rutgers United Against Hate" and the general sentiment of many students planning to attend, seemed to be for the most part, one of "ignore them and they'll go away" or "don't give them attention". Antifascists have learned that ignoring hatred and turning our backs to those who profess it is not an option, and so we met and chose to act.

At the first location we arrived at approximately 7.30am and walked directly towards the corner that the 7 or so WBC members were occupying. New Brunswick Police, numbering around a dozen, immediately defended the bigots and came between our group and them. We were forced back to the street's opposing corner. Joining the HCWC at this location were community members, parents, and students including a handful of admirable members of North Brunswick High School's Gay-Straight Alliance. All together there numbered around

40 or 50 on our side of the street.

One antifascist who had arrived earlier than the HCWC and was using a videocamera to document the WBC on their side of the street was forcibly moved by the police to our side after he began to question and criticize the WBC for their use of the word "wigger".

The WBC's hateful songs and vicious name calling were drowned out and met with chants such as "These Faggots Kill Fascists!", "Queer liberation, human liberation, one struggle, one fight!" New Brunswick High School students showed interest in joining us and walked away from their classes and towards the street but were moved by police and told to return to their school campus.

After staying for approximately half an hour, they all packed into one van and were escorted by the New Brunswick Police to their next picket location on College Ave. to the Rutgers Hillel building. Upon arriving at College Ave, local antifascists linked arms and marched up the street towards the WBC in hopes of confronting them and letting them know how unwelcome their message of hatred was. Upon nearing the WBC, we faced opposition again from the local police who forcibly pushed us back as police instructed us to move to the designated protest zone "inside the yellow tape" near the "official" protest which was taking place at the Rutgers Hillel.

Ignoring the instruction of the cops and informing them that we would protest where we wanted, the Welcoming Committee held its ground and we chose our own location to mock and silence the group. We stood directly across from the WBC and began to send the same message as we had earlier that morning. Shortly after our arrival approximately 50-75 supporters left the "official" protest to join us as we sent our messages directly to the WBC. After about a half hour they left this location, again under police escort, and proceeded to their next New Jersey picket location.

Later in the day they chose to picket at Jersey City's Dickinson High School where, according to reports, they were met with a barrage of rocks and bottles from students who had stayed for about an hour after school's dismissal to oppose the group.

The HCWC distributed literature at both demonstrations commemorating the life of the recently deceased Marek Edelman, the last surviving leader of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Our statement for the day noted that: "while Westboro Baptist Church may be a tiny fringe group, their beliefs--that those who do not conform to their warped vision of a homogeneous, totalitarian world must be pushed to the margins of society--are dangerous. Like Marek Edelman, we must take a stand against oppression. Like Marek Edelman, we must not be afraid to speak out--and to act--even as others urge us to be silent. And like Marek Edelman, we must refuse to oppose some manifestations of bigotry only to endorse or ignore others."

# Twin Cities Bash Back:

## Two Communiques

### Bashing Back in the North Star State: A Bash Back! Twin Cities Recap

Dear Diary,

My, how this month has flown by! I have been so busy bringing the queer insurrection; I've hardly had time to write everything down. Where to begin...



When the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) held its annual Gala Dinner and Silent Auction Saturday, Sept, 12th, autonomous queerz Bash Back: Twin Cities, The Revolting Queers, and the Twin Cities Avengers were there to welcome them even though we had not been invited and had no intention of paying the \$200 entrance fee.

This year's Gala was themed "Speak the Truth", a truth which congratulated rich gay celebrities and gave them expensive "visibility" awards, while Duan-na Johnson, Leeneshia Edwards, Tiffany Berry, & the thousands of other murdered transwomen didn't even receive an honorable mention...

It was clear from the bourgeois atmosphere, and the serious lack of dancing that this Gala was meant to be some sort of overpriced support group for whiney elite gays and lesbians, to express their dreams of a bigger prison industrial complex (hate crime legislation), heteronormativity (gay marriage), and more state militarism (don't ask, don't tell).

But Bash Back! Twin Cities, was fed up with the ridiculous state-lovin' of the HRC lobby and its dis-

tance from our own lived realities, so we decided to do what all rich queerz do in a time of crisis; we got gay married! The Gala had been billed as a "festive, all styles welcome event" so we dressed in our hottest wedding attire and stormed into the dinner.

Despite heckling from HRC security, we stood our ground and held a brief marriage ceremony and handed out leaflets inside. Before the HRC corporate hacks could push us out the door we were able to read the following vows:



"Do you, Bash Back! Twin Cities, take one another to be insurrectionary radical queerz, to resist and to liberate ourselves from all systems of domination, for glitter and for cupcakes, for unicorns and for rainbows, in genderless bathrooms and in the streets, in love and in rage, from this dance party forward?"

"We do!" We held our wedding reception dance party outside and consumed our marital cupcakes to the beats of Janet Jackson, Cher and Lady Gaga. We look forward to the HRC inviting us to its annual Gala next year for our one year anniversary.

On October 11th we glamdalized a bridge the night before it was used for a local "equality" rally in conjunction with the National March for Equality in DC. The bridge was beautified with phrases such as "Liberation Not State Sanction - No To Heteronormative Assimilation". During the rally, we attached a banner to the bridge that read simply "Liberation not

Assimilation!” This action was not only meant to disrupt the complacent rally for (rich, white, homonormative) gay and lesbian “rights” but to also coincide with National Coming Out Day.

Bash Back! Twin Cities resists National Coming Out Day because it is reformist and forces the production of gender-deviant subjects into rigid identity categories that do not disrupt the regime of white heteronormativity. BB! Twin Cities asks the questions “Who gets to ‘come out’ and “why are there so few identity choices when you do”? BB! Twin Cities rejects the idea that your sexual practices equals your sexual identity and asserts that any group that thinks this is true needs to check its cultural privilege. We disagree with mainstream LGBT movements in general because they reinstate systems of domination through their state-sponsored tactics and politics and frankly their inefficiency to yield material change is simultaneously enraging and a snooze cruise.



On Saturday October 17th, Bash Back! Twin Cities organized a radical queer bloc to confront a racist neo-Nazi rally in Austin, a small town in Southeastern Minnesota. Aside from making the counter-demonstration more fierce and fabulous, the National Socialist Movement Twin Cities Unit Leader Corporal Erik Flann was successfully glamified with a green glitter bomb on their disgusting Nazi uniform.

While one of the Nazis hit a demonstrator’s hand and broke their camera and another showed up to the rally with a stun gun, baton, and body armor – not surprisingly – the police were only interested in going after counter-demonstrators while protecting the Nazi scum.



The police indiscriminately pepper-sprayed the crowd a few times and made three arrests. The first person arrested was an Austin local who tripped over the Nazi’s loud-speaker while the crowd was trying to move forward. The second, was a Bash Back! member who police allege threw a glitter bomb at Eric. The third, was a Bash Back! member, and was arrested for simply telling police that he was not a “ma’am”, that he was a transboy, when an officer asked him to “Get back ma’am”.

The two Bash Back! members arrested were charged with disorderly conduct, unlawful assembly, and obstruction of legal process. We need your help to raise money to cover their legal expenses. Please check out the support website we set up at: <http://bashbackleg.weebly.com/>.

Love and Rage,  
Bash Back! Twin Cities

## Twin Cities Bash Back!...Again and Again and Again

Dear Diary,  
Sorry we’ve been too busy to write. We’ve got three more actions to catch up on...

On the afternoon of October 31st, 2009 — a night that would go down in Bash Back! TC history as “Hal-loqueen”– a crew of radical queers dressed in our most fabulous costumes and convened at the Lake Street light rail station. Scary costumes abounded, with folks dressed as clipboard-wielding HRC representatives, Hillary Clinton/Barrack Obama worshipping liberal lesbians, and camo-clad DADT military gays!

Once our posse assembled, we boarded a train bound for the most terrifying place in the Midwest -the Mall of America- the setting for a racistly named

event called “Nick or Treat” put on annually by Rosie O’Donnells childrens media conglomerate Nickelodeon.

When we arrived, we found that we weren’t on the invite list and that this safe-haven of American capitalism was filled to capacity with mega corporations, consumers, assimilationists, tourists, & security. But that didn’t stop us. We pushed through the crowds avoiding security and found ourselves peering over the fifth floor balcony.

From there, we threw down thousands of fliers which condemned consumerism and outlined the link between capitalism and the oppression of trans people, people of color, womyn, and queer people to the massive assembly of people on the first floor. Thinking this was a “planned event” folks began pushing and shoving like greedy Wall Street bankers to get their hands on a flier. Here’s the text from one of the leaflets:

*Queers continually have our desires, bodies, and genders policed in public spaces and privatized sites of capitalism. Queer and trans folks -especially queer and trans people of color- not only face queer-bashing but are also targeted and brutalized by police on a regular basis. Aside from targeting queers who are out in public, the state continues to raid gay bars and other queer spaces.*

*On Saturday, October 3<sup>rd</sup> 2009, police in Memphis, Tennessee raided the Marsha P. Johnson Queer Collective- a radical queer social center and safe house for queer and trans youth. The police broke in with guns drawn without any announcement to vacate or warrant and dragged those inside through a broken window pain before detaining them although no arrests were made.*

*There are no safe spaces except those temporary sites of community that we struggle to create and defend for ourselves. This is one of those spaces.  
Liberation Not Assimilation – Queers Bash Back!*

It wasn’t long before a security guard got ahold of a flier and called over the radio for “heightened security, and that there be a “manhunt” (or transhunt, if you’d rather) for the individuals who threw this disgusting literature.”

But we had been braving heteronormative society for a lifetime and the bitter cold weather all night, so we weren’t going to let a bunch of mall cops get the best of us. Using our charm, our costumes, and our cunning to our advantage, we escaped security checks and boarded the train towards downtown.

Upon departure, we brought out a boombox and massive amounts of glitter, and convened a dance party. While it started off as just our queer crew dancing –and giving MetroTransit riders their money’s worth for once— things eventually spun out of control and turned into a full-fledged train party, as astonished passengers joined in, showing us their best dance moves. It wasn’t long before the train floor was covered in glitter confetti, the boom box was playing at full volume, folks were singing along, and passengers were hanging from the rails dancing.

When we arrived back at the Lake Street station, we parted from the worked up light rail passengers — who were still dancing, shook some of the glitter out of our hair, and said our goodbyes...

On Sunday Nov. 15th Bash Back! Twin Cities participated in our own way in a march and demonstration put on by Join The Impact Twin Cites – a reformist front group founded and controlled by straight folks from one of the local Trotskyist groups (Socialist Alternative). The rally and march was called “Legalize Love” and began with speakers in front of the government center and later marched to the Bedlam theatre for more speeches and slam poetry. Its fliers boasted “inspiring report backs from the National Equality March”, a questioning asking readers if they are “Outraged by the vote to ban same sex marriage in Maine?”, and an appropriated quote from Martin Luther King, Jr. Being tired of the way gay marriage has co-opted our identities and utterly sick of this new trend to assimilate the Civil Rights Movement, we decided to attend to make it known that; Legalizing straight family models and having them reflected in our own families is NOT at all conclusive to gay rights.

We burst onto the scene in the middle of their pre-march rally in a pink and black bloc, and were immediately approached by one of the speakers who said they wanted us to make our point on the megaphone because the “movement is severely lacking the voices of womyn, people of color, & trans”; when

this speaker approached one of the straight organizers about that possibility – that organizer reportedly said we could not and called us fascists, and “a shame to ‘our’ movement”.



After the rally, people began assembling to march. As the march proceeded, and chants became increasingly assimilationist, we responded to their chants with our own such as “Smash the church, smash the state, don’t get married, fornicate!”, “Gay marriage/ gay rights... Same Struggle? Not quite”, & “Queers who seek equality with straights lack ambition”.

While chanting “Queers don’t deny it, Stonewall was a fucking riot” one persyn turned around and screamed “shut the fuck up you backwards fucks, you’re hurting the cause!!!” at us.

The police were blaring their sirens at us and told the marshals that we could only take one lane. Bash Back! was told by the marshals to get out of the other lanes but we held our ground even as the police tried to herd us into one lane using their squad cars. As police presence grew we changed the chant to “Queers don’t deny it, stonewall was a police riot!” We wish it was done in irony, but once the cops were trying harder to suppress the march the group started chanting “Show me what democracy looks like, This is what democracy looks like” to which we agreed later we should’ve responded “shut the fuck up you backwards fucks” but instead countered with “show me what a police state looks like, THIS is what a police state looks like.”

As we approached the Bedlam, police began blaring their sirens, and cutting into our march. At this point the main marshal (one of the straight organizers from the Trotskyist group) ran to the front and diverted the march from the street over a curbed

shortcut which left a queer persyn in a wheelchair attending alone with Bash Back! in the streets to go the long way around, not only leaving that persyn behind but leaving them vulnerable to cars and arrest in the street. Near the end, police came up to us in the streets and told us that back a ways someone’s knee had given out and they needed help getting up and getting to the train station. The police officer, then looked at one white persyn and said “you should hurry, this is a rough neighborhood, she might get robbed” (referring to Minneapolis’ largest Somali neighborhood), at this point some Bash Back!ers began calling the officer and his comments racist and classist. Unsurprisingly, liberal gays attempted to interrupt us by saying “he’s on our side.”

Once at the Bedlam we walked inside to find a white persyn on stage repeating “We shall overcome, We shall overcome.” At that point we decided we couldn’t take any more of this “Gay is the new Black” cultural misappropriation bullshit, and left.

During and after the march, a few liberals tried to start criticizing our views by starting with the premise that “we have the same goals”, and that “although marriage is a terrible institution, expanding it is a step in the right direction”. We also argued with them that productive dialogue does not take place in the streets while being surrounded and “supported” by cops. We passed out some literature explaining our views which some people (mostly organizers) tore up and threw on the ground but most people read eagerly and with interest...

We’ve thought it necessary to take our collective rage to the streets more than once in the past few months. On Wednesday, December 2nd, hundreds of individuals convened on Loring Park in Minneapolis in response to Barack Obama’s announcement of a troop surge in Afghanistan. Autonomous queerz from Bash Back! Twin Cities along with other individuals representing various groups then marched middle of rush hour traffic, chanting and dancing and ignoring the honks from angry drivers. Hundreds of people took over the streets of downtown Minneapolis to disrupt “business as usual” and to oppose escalation of war. Bash Back! Twin Cities put out an anti-authoritarian bloc callout to “Bring Sexy Back”:

*We’re Bringing Sexy Back: A Call for an*

## ***Anti-Authoritarian Bloc at the March Against the Troop Surge***

*The Anti-War movement in the U.S. today is a pathetic and polite plea to the rulers of the nation to listen to their conscience and pray for peace. Enough pandering to liberal politicians who talk about change and hope but then uphold the status quo once they are elected. Enough standing on the sidewalk in orderly rallies waving peace signs.*

*Enough permitted marches that do nothing but express opinions that those in power ignore. We are five years into this war and the same old tactics are not getting us anywhere. People have dropped out of the movement in droves because of the ineffectiveness of these tactics. If we want to build an effective movement that could actually end the wars and infuse some life and energy into the corpse of the U.S. Anti-War movement, we have to get more creative, disruptive, and empowering. Enough is Enough!*



*In order to end the war, we have to act from the premise that corporations and politicians do not give a shit whether we want the war or not. The only way the war will end is if we – not the politicians and corporations– decide to end it. Politicians and corporations care about two things: power and money. History is quite clear; those in power will end the war only when it becomes unviable due to public unrest and direct action. We have the power to end the wars as soon as we come together to exercise that power.*

*We at Bash Back! are still optimistic about the opportunities for queers to bring down the military (and the state and capitalism along with it...) from the inside out (see Bash Back! Communiqué #666), but we are not content to sit back and wait for the cumming insurrection.*

*We are asking our fellow anti-authoritarians in the Twin Cities to come together to build community in the streets and bash back against all systems of oppression. Let's up the sexy, fun, mischievous militancy in this town and the anti-war movement in general.*

*No war but the social war.*

We also brought a mobile sound system called the Funk Mobile, which kicked out some amazing beats like Testament's remix of "Run This Town". Bash Back! Twin Cities had a militant presence in the march, interrupting liberal chants with revolutionary classics like "Bring the War Home!" and other radical chants and cheers. We helped keep folks together, calm and collected, taking up as much of the streets as we could despite police trying to break up the crowd and herd us over with police horses. We were somewhat on edge because of police provocateurs in the black block (among other things, the provocateurs detoured the march and asked us if we had hammers and encouraged us to go break bank windows) but we kept their interference to a minimum and made sure that others were aware of them and didn't say or do anything that would be obviously incriminating.

As the march came to 3rd Avenue and 10th Street, several dozen individuals formed a "soft blockade" by sitting in the intersection and unfurling a banner. Eleven people were arrested and the march continued in different directions. No one affiliated with Bash Back! was arrested. Bash Back! played a crucial role in making jail solidarity happen that night for those arrested. We put out a call for jail support and went to get food, drinks, and warm clothes and then we waited outside for our friends to be released as it began to snow. 9 of the 11 folks arrested were released that night were charged with misdemeanor unlawful assembly and released on bail. The other 2 were released the following day. Aside from having their cuffs on too tight and one persyn having their chin slammed in the pavement during their arrest and the police interrogating folks individually for being anarchists, all those arrested were ok and are doing fine now...

Sinqueerly yours,

BB! Twin Cities

# Radical Queers Bash Back Against HRC Headquarters



October 11

Human Rights Campaign HQ (Washington DC) Glamdalized By Queers Against Assimilation HRC headquarters was rocked by an act of glamdalism last night by a crew of radical queer and allied folks armed with pink and black paint and glitter grenades. Beside the front entrance and the inscribed mission statement now reads a tag, "Quit leaving queers behind."

The HRC is not a democratic or inclusive institution, especially for the people who they claim to represent. Just like society today, the HRC is run by a few wealthy elites who are in bed with corporate sponsors who proliferate militarism, heteronormativity, and capitalist exploitation. The sweatshops (Nike), war crimes (Lockheed Martin), assaults on working class people (Bank of America, Deloitte, Chase Bank, Citi Group, Wachovia Bank) and patriarchy (American Apparel) caused by their sponsors is a hypocrisy for an organization with "human rights" in their name.

The queer liberation movement has been misrepresented and co-opted by the HRC. The HRC marginalizes us into a limited struggle for aspiring homosexual elites to regain the privilege that they've lost

and climb the social ladder towards becoming bourgeoisie.

Last night, Obama spoke at the HRC fundraising gala and currently the HRC website declares, "President Obama underlines his unwavering support for LGBT Americans." The vast amount of organizing resources the HRC wastes on their false alliance with the Democratic party leaves radical queers on the margins to fend for themselves. Our struggle has always had to resist the repression of conservative tendencies in government and society to gain liberation in our lives. The gourmet affair was sponsored by 48 corporations including giants Lockheed Martin, Microsoft, and Wachovia Bank. At \$250 dollars a plate the HRC served our movement a rich, white, heteronormative atmosphere that purposefully excludes working class queer folks.

REMEMBER THE STONEWALL RIOTS! On the 40th anniversary of Stonewall, pigs raided a queer bar in Texas, arrested and beat our friends, and we looked towards politicians and lawyers to protect us. This mentality is what keeps the money flowing to the HRC and their pet Democrats, and keeps our fists in our pockets.

Most of all we disagree that collective liberation will be granted by the state or its institutions like prisons, marriage, and the military. We need to escalate our struggle, or it will collapse.

~~Love and Solidarity~~



# NYC Queers Bash Back Against NYPD

October 15, 2009-  
Listen up bitches!

The 77th Precinct is fucked up, and here's why:  
-officers of the 77th are responsible for consistent harassment of transpeople, sex workers and queers  
-the assault of two lesbians outside of the Ife Lounge on May 16th  
-like all police officers, they colonize poor neighborhoods and threaten the safety of everyone

We act in solidarity with Duanna Johnson, the patrons of Fort Worth's Rainbow Lounge, Ariel Attack, Bash Back! Lansing, New Jersey 4 and countless other fabulous queers and trannies bound by the prison-industrial complex—with no safe words. We want not just accountability for these specific cops but the complete abolition of police and prisons.

In a fabulous act of resistance and exterior design, we have beautified the squad and personal cars of the 77th Precinct with a simple, yet classy, application of spray paint, stencils and glitter everywhere. (We're still queefing glitter.) Fine images of cops on fire and such fierce phrases like: "This is what happens to transphobic cops," "A change I can believe in" and "A very simple solution..." are proudly displayed on the windows and doors of New York's Finest.

Just as a reminder to them and all of us: these pigs are vulnerable, and they're only as powerful as we let them be. They can and will be challenged and held accountable.

That's some real shit.

Yours queerly,  
Farosha Shakure

Press Secretary of Homoexplosion, Aries, and licensed switch blade carrier.

Homoexplosion is a radical queer/trans group of fly fatherfuckers. We advocate people fucking in the street and burning shit—especially cops.



# Bash Back! at G20



As you might have known, Bash Back! queers fucking threw down for the G20 summit protests at Pittsburgh in September of 2009. Many have expressed that the Bash Back!-themed march was the best run of the weekend. And we know it to be true, being as Bash Back! folks know how to fuck shit up and bring our wrath to all who stand in our way.

People in black everything meet up on DeSota Street in the late evening with a marching band ready to play. A figure spoke out words in some sort, “We want this march to be inclusive for everybody so we’re going to ask people not to commit any property destruction...” the figure held a good pause while the crowd responded in the most displeased, disappointed fashion. More words were soon to come out... “Until we reach Forbes!” All

knew that this particular street was only a block away and were prepared for what was to approach them.

Of course, the anxiousness came and we took down E-trade Financial in a swift moment of fury. After that, with the beautiful music of the marching band at our ears and dumpsters being turned over in flames, no establishment stood a fucking chance. Pamela’s Diner, Panera Bread, McDonald’s, Bruegger’s Bagels, Subway, Rite Aid, FedEx Kinko’s, American Apparel, the Pitt Shop, and other businesses felt our rage. Even a frantic turn off the route didn’t stop us, a police substation in our way was torn apart. As the police tried to bring a halt to the destruction we took advantage of the terrain and held our shit together long enough, after a small dispersal of the crowd, to move on to

Craig Street to tarnish Quizno's Subs, PNC Bank, Irish Design Center, BNY Mellon, and Citizens Bank. After this we all went back to our "so-called normal" lives and left the scene.

Now, about the mixture of people in the crowd that stood in awe and confusion. One was even idiotic enough to express his discontent in poorly chosen words. As a boy said "what the fuck are all these faggots doing in my city," he immediately felt the blow of a sucker punch to his side. The force and power of the punch took down both the receiving end and giving. As the fool tried to gather himself up and make his retaliation amongst our own he was greeted with the thick taste of pepper-spray from yet another queer-loving black figure. The

fool laid on the ground in utter pain where he belongs.

And to the girl who proclaimed, "these kids don't even know what they're protesting" we say this: We have no sympathy for these business who exploit us and degrade us. We will bring down this capitalist society that you relish with your Starbucks cup in your hand and that alcohol bottle falling out of your bag with our fists and hammers. You will go to drink to relieve your blind unhappiness as we cloak ourselves in the night to avenge our anger. Yes, we know what we are doing, and it is you who will fail to experience and learn what we live. You don't know what you are living for; we do. We will see you next time.



# Questions to be Addressed Before Bash Back! Convergence in Denver

1. Some things heard at the 2009 Bash Back! Convergence in Chicago:

“That train occupation was just so fucked up. Everyone was kissing and being so queer around all of these poor People of Color who couldn’t possibly understand what that meant” – A racist, who fancies themselves as ‘an ally’ or something.

“Twinkle Fingers” - Evan Greer, of Riot Folk

“This is a NON-VIOLENT protest!!!” - Someone dragging rubbish out of the street to allow police vehicles through.

“I mean, it was just really fucked up. All of these people with passing privilege were rioting and I didn’t have a buddy with me, so I had to take my skirt off to walk back to where I was staying. I was forced to pass!” – Evan Greer, (certified expert in the oppression of transpeople) in regards to a rowdy march where several transpeople were arrested and/or attacked by police while they were getting wild.

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“The ‘riot’ in Oakland after Oscar Grant was murdered was not a riot. It was just a bunch of privileged white anarchists. A riot isn’t a riot if it isn’t in your own neighborhood.” - Eric Stanley of Gay Shame, displaying that he knows about as much about Oakland as he does about what constitutes a riot.

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White Person: “that march was so racist and so fucked up”

Another White Person: “that march was so racist and so fucked up. There were people of color in the neighborhood and womyn and transpeople. “

Several female-bodied, people of color who live in Chicago: “Actually, it wasn’t fucked up. Bash Back! isn’t supposed to be polite. Destroying capitalism and normalcy won’t be pretty or polite. It will probably be very rude. That’s what “Bash Back!” means. I

mean, we are anarchists right!”

Silence for a bit

Another White Person: “We aren’t all anarchists”

Yet Another White Person: “That march was so fucked up! Everyone needs to work on their shit!”

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Some questions to be addressed before the 2010 Bash Back! Convergence in Denver.

What is Bash Back!? Is Bash Back! a network? An organization? A gang? A tendency?

If we are a network, what do we find in one-another? What do we hold in common? A desire? A passion? A strategy? An Ideology? or simply an identity, a name?

If BB! is an organization, we are doomed from the start. We can expect a future filled with heavily moderated consensus meetings upon heavily moderated consensus meetings until we are nothing but arrogant hipsters meeting in a bookstore and taking nearly six months to plan or write anything. If we are ever to have a member-list, count us off of it.

If we are a gang, what is our ritual? How should we fight? How do we measure in/exclusion? In what ways can we share the means of our existences? What are the best ways to have there for eachother? How do the trappings of activism and organization limit us? More importantly, how cute is our outfit? Have we worked out our dance-moves? If we are to be a gang, we have so much to do.

If we name a tendency, how do we make that tendency spread like fire? How can we make that tendency escape the dead-ends of liberal identity politics and/or academia and/or activism? How will we find commonality with other forms-of-life that bash back? How can we make this world explode?

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Is our violence one of substance or of image?

Are we joking when we write about violence? What is meant by that picture of beautiful people holding baseball bats and sledge hammers? Is this symbolism? Is it real? Does it mean anything to bash back?

The road forks here. Will radical queers continue down the path of the image of militancy; of irrelevance? If so, we can expect many more films and photoshoots displaying a glamorous armed struggle (like the red army faction with glitter). We can expect more celebration of riots forty years ago and uprisings across the ocean (accompanied, of course, by condemnation of riot in the here and now – by crying over broken windows and over-tipped newspaper boxes). Violence will be acceptable as long as it takes the form of abstraction, an artform, a historical occurrence or a blip on the global news feed – when it is separate from us. It will always be refused on the level of our daily lives, when we become its agents.

Or we can locate ourselves within the violence of daily life in capitalism. The knowledge of violence felt on our skin will translate to a violence felt in our fists, our arms, our voices. From here, bash back! can only ever conceivably name the praxis. Self defense networks, fight clubs, complicity, intimacy, pepper-spray, bodily fluids and a healthy amount of glitter. We'll choose the latter.

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The question of barricades.

In the ongoing global civil war between capitalism and its negation, we are left to choose sides. There is the side for the barricades (where you'll always catch me) or the side opposed. To be clear: the opposition to barricades is always an endorsement of order; always to side with the police, the queerbashers, the judges and juries, the prisons, the state. So where will we find you? Amongst the rabble or in line with the snitches and good citizens of empire?

A friend wrote from Greece concerning a newly translated piece on the insurrection:

"I worry as to whether its even worth presenting a text that celebrates barricades to readers that condemn their constructions in Chicago streets. In my eyes, what could only be worse is for "Instead of a Conclusion" to be looked at as an exotic applause to blockades, riots, and street fights only in places and

lives far from our own. Gladly and on the other hand, there were those who neglected the banal criticism from the "anarcho-liberals" and erected barricades to for once impede the State's grip on their entire existence. Let be. For better or for worse, a split is inevitable. A split so that the tired discussion about whether or not to build barricades can be silenced like a drunk giving an inappropriate eulogy at a solemn funeral. A scission so that we get on with the important questions, refuse to consider the morality of barricades, and only correctly concern ourselves with how to make them taller, stronger, more terrible, so that metropolitan avenues can become as uncontrollable as an element of nature."

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What does it mean to resist oppression? Will our anti-oppression work take the same tired forms of caucuses, and guilt-ridden ally workshops? Will we simply be the extreme vanguard of the same useless identity politics regurgitated by liberal studies professors in every university in the land? Will we repeat the formulas that fail us over and over? Or can we imagine something else?

To emphasize: the forces occupying our lives are at the same time all pervasive and minute. Terrible and yet invisible. A totality and a multiplicity. The monster that is destroying the world, is the very same monster that makes us hate our bodies, that enslaves us to gender, that ravages our desires. To refuse this society will require new weapons. Let's begin with human strike; all else has yet to be developed.

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What is our purpose?

The answer to this question prefigures and determines all the rest. Do we want a nicer, friendlier, more diverse, inclusive, radical, hyper-mediated, less-fucked-up version of this society? Or do we want to watch it burn? Are we interested in progress or are we interested in rupture? Will we settle for all this but a little different? Or are we insatiable?

If you desire a queer capitalism, please say home. If you want to destroy capitalism, we'll see you in Denver!

# “They can evict us, but not our ideas!”:

## The Marsha. P Johnson Collective

Squatting has, for the past few decades, been an important part of anarchist resistance to capital and state power. Additionally, autonomous social centers and spaces have been central to both anarchist struggle and queer liberation, dating from the example of the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (S.T.A.R.), a revolutionary trans group in New York City. In the spirit of both of these traditions, the Marsha P. Johnson Queer Collective was opened on June 14th, 2009 in Memphis, Tennessee by members of Memphis Bash Back!

Named for a co-founder of S.T.A.R., the Marsha P. Johnson Collective was a squatted social center and living space for queer and trans youth in Memphis. The house, located at 938 Bruce Street, was on a block where, prior to the squat opening, over half the houses were unoccupied. Given that the current social order has repeatedly shown that it is unwilling to meet the needs of queer and trans people, the community decided to meet its needs outside of the current system. Memphis has no shortage of assimilationist LGB (T/Q purposely withheld, as per an interviewee’s statement) organizations and businesses. These include “a million gay bars that have been taken over by straight people, an ageist gay book/novelty store, a trans-



phobic queer youth center, a racist gay/lesbian community center, gay assimilationist-owned businesses and a million gay “lobby” groups”. With no place for radical queer and trans youth in either straight society or in the gay establishment, the necessity of the squat becomes clear.

The squat served many functions for the community, both as a living space and a social center. It contained an infoshop, served as a meeting space for Memphis Bash Back!, and provided housing for homeless queer and trans youth, an alternative to the Memphis Gay and Lesbian Community Center’s temporary housing that required dues and had strict curfews and time limits. Another intended function of the center was to provide “a safe space for sex workers to stay between cli-

ents...but it was raided before we got that project off the ground”. The space was truly an important space for the Memphis radical queer and trans community, as it provided both shelter and social activities.

Beyond working to meet the needs of the local queer and trans community, the Marsha P. Johnson Collective also enjoyed the support of most of their neighbors. The other houses on the block included a family, a collective of artists, and a house of students, all of whom supported the squat in its early days, from loaning tools to fix up the house to allowing the use of their toilets, showers, and computers. However, one neighbor was decidedly hostile to the squat and the people who lived there. A middle-aged white woman, she threatened at least one person affiliated with the squat, and told neighbors that she would “love to break in the door while those faggots are sleeping, and throw their AIDS-infected asses in the street”. In typical reactionary fashion, she

never followed through on this declaration. Instead, she demonstrated her cowardice by calling the notoriously racist and anti-queer Memphis Police Department to evict the squat.

On October 3rd, 2009, police violently evicted the Marsha P. Johnson Collective. They broke out a window, and then stormed the space with guns drawn. Two youths who were making love were dragged through broken glass, as police brought an end to the squat. During the raid, neighbors assembled across the street in support of the squat, heckling the police. On the other side, the neighbor who called the police was shouting homophobic and racist slurs during the eviction. A few days after the raid, the house was boarded up, marking the end of 938 Bruce Street's stint as an autonomous space.

The loss of the space was "a major blow to the radical queer/trans community" in Memphis, as the space was central to plans to hold the 2010 Bash Back! convergence. News of the raid was disseminated through radical websites shortly after it occurred. The local assimilationist gay community, however, was less supportive. While the Triangle Journal, a gay newspaper, offered to a story, it was revealed that their "motivations weren't so much out of concern for homeless queer youth, but because there was a recent incident of a anti-Don't Ask Don't Tell billboard being vandalized and they felt the police weren't 'acting vigilantly enough to catch the perpetrators'". The mainstream press sought to

use the raid as political pressure to solve the vandalism. Those involved with the squat had no desire to "to have any part in putting another innocent Black man in prison," and so they did not cooperate.

Fortunately, those involved with the squat escaped without any criminal charges being filed, including the people that were in the squat when it was evicted. However, the two people who were pulled out of the squat were questioned and refused to give any information to the police. Additionally, a friendly community member who was unaffiliated with the squat or Bash Back! was later approached by an undercover cop, but also refused to answer questions.

All things considered, the Marsha P. Johnson Queer Collective has been one of the most exciting queer anarchist projects to come out of a growing radical queer movement. It simultaneously provided for direct needs of the community as well as including people marginalized by mainstream gay culture. Creating community spaces and collective housing, outside of the management of the state and in direct defiance of capitalist property laws is a form of struggle that allows for the development of true community, as shown by the fact that the Marsha P. Johnson Collective had the support not only of radical queer and trans youth, but also of many of its neighbors. It is projects such as these that allow radical communities to develop and flourish. While the forces of the state have shut down this project, the example is still an inspiring one, and hopefully similar projects will develop in the future.



# American Bigotry and its Deadly Consequences: The Ugandan Anti-Homosexuality Bill and the US Evangelicals

## Who Inspired It

March 2009: American evangelicals Scott Lively and Don Schmeirer, along with American “sexual reorientation coach” Caleb Lee Brundidge arrive in Uganda to speak at a conference entitled “Seminar on Exposing the Homosexuals’ Agenda”. This conference was attended by many Ugandans, including many national politicians (Cabinet-level ministers, Members of Parliament, etc).

October 2009: David Bahati, an Ugandan Member of Parliament, introduces The Anti-Homosexuality Bill, which contains provisions calling for life imprisonment for the crime of homosexuality, and the death penalty for aggravated homosexuality. Also included are prison sentences of up to 7 years for attempted homosexuality, aiding and abetting homosexuality, promotion of homosexuality, and failure to disclose the offense, among other offenses. The death penalty and life imprisonment have since been removed as penalties, leaving long prison sentences in place. The bill, as of early January 2010, has not yet come to a vote.



Homophobia and bigotry are nothing new, especially not from right-wing Christians. However, two things about this specific piece of legislation merit special attention. First, the draconian measures go far beyond other laws regarding homosexuality, with penalties for even failing to report queer people to the police. The second point to note is the role that bigots from the United States played in the creation of this legislation.

This second point will be the focus of this article, as I am in no position to do anything about Ugandan legislation. There is also no shortage of analysis of the bill itself, nor any shortage of outrage from people far more eloquent than I. Instead, I want to focus on the people who promote an ideology of homophobia, who for too long have preached hatred and violence against queer people.

### Profiles in Bigotry: Four American Homophobes

While there were three Americans who actually spoke at the March seminar in Uganda, there is a fourth American who also deserves a mention for the tremendous influence he has, and for his past statements on queer people. In addition to Scott Lively, Don Schmeirer, and Caleb Lee Brundidge, Rick Warren must also be discussed.

# NO BIGOT GOES UNPUNISHED



*Scott Lively*

Lively is a long-time anti-gay activist who is based out of Sacramento, CA. He is notable as the co-author of *The Pink Swastika*, which claims that many leading Nazis were homosexuals and asserts that homosexuality was a root cause of the Nazi's militarism and aggression. He is also the founder of Abiding Truth Ministries, an anti-gay organization (<http://www.defendthefamily.com>) In 1992, during a campaign against a gay rights bill in Oregon, he dragged a lesbian activist out of a meeting by her hair. He is connected to several virulently anti-queer groups, including the American Family Association and Watchmen on the Walls, an organization based in Latvia that has been linked to violent attacks on queer people. Lively initially opposed the bill, but now supports it since the death penalty and life imprisonment are no longer sentencing possibilities.



*Don Schmeirer*

Schmeirer is a board member of Exodus International, an evangelical Christian “ex-gay” group. He is also the author of several books, notably *An Ounce of Prevention: Preventing the Homosexual Condition in Today's Youth*. Both Exodus International and Schmeirer himself condemn the legislation, however, this did not hinder his participation in the conference. Schmeirer is also affiliated with a website called His Servants (<http://www.hisservants.net>), which seems to be a publishing house exclusively carrying his titles. His Servants is based in Lockeford, CA.



*Caleb Lee Brundidge*

Brundidge is a counselor who works for International Healing Foundation (IHF) as a certified sexual reorientation counselor. Caleb and the IHF have denounced the legislation. He is also involved in an organization called Extreme Prophetic, based out of Maricopa, AZ. Part of his involvement in this ministry is as a DJ with Club Mysterio, a Christian dance club. Brundidge is based out of Maricopa, AZ. His myspace is [http://www.myspace.com/dj\\_caleb](http://www.myspace.com/dj_caleb).



*Rick Warren*

Warren did not attend the Uganda conference that Schmeierer, Brundidge, and Lively spoke at. However, he has long-standing connections to Uganda and specifically to reactionary pastors championing the Anti-Homosexuality Bill, as well as Janet Museveni, the wife of the President of Uganda and an important member of Uganda's Parliament. Of the four Americans profiled here, Warren is the most famous and successful. He is best known for his best-selling book *The Purpose Driven Life*. He is also famous as the pastor who gave the invocation at President Barack Obama's inauguration.

He has long-standing connections to Uganda, partially based on his ties to George W. Bush and partially on the influence of his ideas on many Ugandan leaders. One particular connection that stands out is his relationship with Martin Ssempe, an influential pastor credited as one of the architects of the Anti-Homosexuality Bill. While he has distanced himself from Ssempe, he cannot back away from a statement he made to many Ugandan pastors in March of 2008, saying that homosexuality is not a natural way of life and thus is not a human right.

Warren initially refused to condemn the bill, claiming that he was in no position to intervene on matters of domestic policy in Uganda. However, after public pressure, he has condemned the bill as anti-Christian. Warren is the pastor of Saddleback Church, a megachurch located in Lake Forest, CA.

### **Bashing Back: A Call for Action Against These Bigots**

The four people profiled above come from a range of viewpoints and credibility. One is a Holocaust revisionist, another has considerable mainstream political influence, and the other two are figures in the ex-gay movement. What brings them together is their shared responsibility for a violently anti-queer law that their ideas and speeches helped create. Despite their condemnations of the proposed law, their track records and established positions speak for themselves, and they should be held responsible for the tragedy that they helped create.

There is no shortage of ideas on what actions can be taken against these people. We can look to a range of groups past and present for tactics, from ACT UP! to Anti-Racist Action to Bash Back!. What is important is that we make it abundantly clear that bigotry has its consequences for the bigots. These people, and the organizations that they are involved with, should be confronted at every opportunity. They make their name by attacking queer people. We must hold them responsible for their bigotry and all the lives they ruin with their hate.

### **Recommended Link**

<http://www.boxturtlebulletin.com/slouching-toward-kampala>

-An excellent blog that has followed the developments in Uganda since the announcement of the conference

# Homosexuality and Revolution: An Objective Approach

## Part 1

*Editor's Note: This is the first of two parts in which this newly translated text will appear in Pink and Black Attack. Daniel Guérin is best known among English speakers for his book Anarchism: From Theory to Practice and as the editor of No Gods No Masters: An Anthology of Anarchism.*

### 1. Question of Definition

Let us begin by refining a question of vocabulary. What should we think when we hear the word *homosexuality*? What content must one assign to the word *Revolution*?

The first of these terms is cumbersome and ugly. It was fabricated by German sexology at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It designates the interest that one human being (masculine or feminine) has in another person of the same sex. (I will only be dealing with masculine homosexuality, knowing little, with reason, about feminine homosexuality).

That said, we remain in confusion. Because this propensity can manifest itself in all different kinds of ways: disembodied, sublimated, or extremely physical. Between males, it can be directed at adolescents, at mature men, even at children, to pretty boys and athletes, to the slender androgynous as well as Herculean men. It leans sometimes towards sadism and sometimes towards masochism; it can be mad about leather or rubber, tempted by one fetish or another; it may be active or passive or both by turns; it may have a predilection for the hairless or for moustaches or beards; the limit of its partners' age may higher or lower; its preference may go to dimensions of the penis or the hardness of muscles; it may be fond of nudity or prefer outfits and, in the latter case, civilian threads or uniform; it sometimes practices fidelity in the couple or love at first sight for whoever comes along, or again both simultaneously.

**By Daniel Guérin**

But these nuances are relatively nothing but trifles. Much more important is the difference between the exclusively homosexual and the bisexual.

Must not the word homosexuality have therefore only defined a minority of individuals who by the hazards of life, or Pavlovian repetition, or even the castration complex have been habituated to turning away from the feminine sex? That is doubtless the verdict of the bourgeois and Christian morale which has conferred its extensive and pejorative character upon that manner of loving. The word would have had to become obsolete as soon as homophobic laws, prejudices against it, and finally the grounds of a Church that insists that there is all the more reason to vituperate against this tendency given the number of its priests – and for good reason – who devote themselves to it or attempt to deny it, disappeared. But we will see later that bourgeois society, founded upon the family, will not so easily abandon one of its last remaining battlements.

**Revolt is the elementary school of the Revolution**

Let us now weigh out the word *Revolution*. The term has been tarnished. Even to the extent that fascism dared to claim itself as “revolutionary”. Any little tyrant of an under-developed country has the effrontery to boast about a “Council of the Revolution”. As to the bloc of countries of the East, that exercise a ruthless dictatorship upon their proletariat and perpetrate the fraud of calling their State capitalism “socialism”, as to the so-called “communist” parties that make themselves the servile instruments of a totalitarian empire, they would not

know how to pass themselves off as revolutionaries.

But the word Revolution does not necessarily have to be banished. It retains a precise and irrefutable historical meaning. It designates the uprising of the secularly oppressed and exploited laboring masses and their struggle for self-liberation, at the same time as it indicates the disalienation of each individual. Hence the dialectical relationship to establish between the words homosexuality and Revolution. The present article tries its best to do so.

## 2. Sexuality and Homosexuality

For a clear and exact comprehension of the subject which we are now entering, we really must get it into our heads that homosexuality is not an isolated phenomenon, specialized in some way, but a simple variant of an immense propriety of animal and human nature: sexuality. It cannot therefore be interpreted or described except to assist a global investigation on sexual performance. As far as relationship with Revolution, it is less a question of homosexuality than of sexuality period, a question of that which Freud designates under the term *libido*. The problem that this poses for us is therefore that of the compatibility between the free exercise of sexual instinct and the contingencies and demands of revolutionary struggle. Would fucking a lot detract from revolutionary action or, on the contrary, exalt it?

We thus find ourselves thrown into the heart of an old debate between militant revolutionaries. Some, like Robespierre,

Proudhon, and Lenin, base revolutionary efficacy upon “virtue” and continence, and claim that the overly frequent emission of sperm weakens and emasculates the combativeness of those who fight against the establishment of the bourgeois order. If we had wanted to pad out this article, we could have multiplied the ridiculous citations of the bitter guardians of good character, and therefore calculated that they were not very sexually gifted, or that they repressed their carnal appetites in an aberrant fashion.

Against them, other revolutionaries maintain that the appeal of sensual pleasure does not at all dull the energy of the revolutionary combatant, but much to the contrary, the orgasm goes hand in hand with militant *furia*<sup>1</sup>. Such was the point of view publicly displayed on the walls of the Sorbonne<sup>2</sup> by the lascivious juvenility of May 1968.

Of course, it is here to some extent a question of individual cases, sexual potential varying from zero to infinity from one being to another, and certain arousals being drained faster than others. To become soft in the *délices de Capoue*<sup>3</sup> of an unbridled debauchery is not, obviously, the best preparation for the revolutionary clash. In a contrary sense, an overly long abstention from physical connections can create a state of nervous tension that is more or less paralyzing, and therefore not very conducive to militant gallantries. Here Revolution and sport present common points. A boxer or an athlete, at the end of a prolonged night of love, is hard-ly up to precise uppercuts or re-

cord times. On the other hand, an excess of chaste overtraining can turn a champion into a drip. Managers know this extremely well. May the managers of the social struggle be able to take a leaf from their book.

Homosexuality reproduces the same schemes. Contrary to what some hypocrites of the class struggle may claim, it has never been harmful to revolutionary aggressiveness, as long as it does not become excessive in an abundance of one-night stands. If it is the object of certain reticence on the part of some self-proclaimed “guides” of the proletariat, it is for a completely different reason. They fear that sexual dissidence discredits their militants in the eyes of homophobes if it makes itself apparent; that it may even make them subject to blackmail and other humiliations. But here we enter into another realm, that of prejudice and “taboo”, that still affects homosexuals as a whole despite the progress that has been made.

## 3. A Specific Case

I would not know how to hide the fact that in my “objective” research, the connections being established between homosexuality and Revolution are partially representative of personal experience. At the time of my entrance into the social struggle, I found myself to be simultaneously homosexual and revolutionary, moreover without the ability to clearly distinguish which could have been on the part of intellect (lectures, reflections), and which the sensory (physical attraction towards the working class, revolt,

rejection of my former bourgeois status).

For long years I always felt cut in two, loudly expressing my new militant convictions and, by force, feeling required hide to my intimate tendencies. The several writing extracts that can be found in the second part of the present document recount that dichotomy; very exactly, I believe. Cruel, because I am by nature passionate about frankness and extroverted. I kept a secret with difficulty. I am even talkative. To keep quiet, to withdraw into myself, is hard for me. With comrades for whom I felt friendship and whom I trusted, it was all too often necessary for my to bite my tongue so as not to venture into a discussion on sexuality, much less to defend an unorthodox version of love, even in an impersonal fashion.

It was necessary for me to wait until May 68, that is to say until I was over sixty, to be delivered from that heavy little everyday secret. And it was not given to me until much later still to discover by chance that that same companion in revolutionary struggle of my early stages in the movement only took pleasure with boys; with his own students, if he was teaching, with the spirited "teens" if he danced erotically with them on the weekends of the *Arcadie* journal<sup>4</sup>.

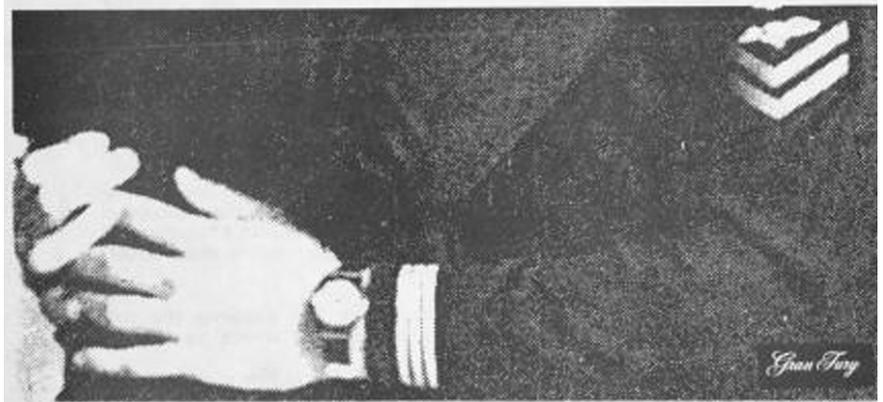
What's more, my arrival to revolutionary ideas had been, more or less, the product of my homosexuality, which had early on made me a shady character, a social misfit, a rebel. In my autobiographical essays I reported that my convictions had not drawn much from revolutionary books and journals, although I may have absorbed enormous quantities thereof, but from physical, sartorial, and fraternal (not to say spiritual) contact, in the frequenting of living-environments of the proletarian class. I learned and discovered much more from such-and-such bicycle dealer, with his cliental of hooligans, in such dirty boxing or open conflict of the Ménilmontant district. I exchanged more free and enriching words in the smoky back shop of such-and-such little working-class restaurant, populated with such hardened

bachelors, than in the richly furnished apartments of some former fellow students that I was forced to continue to frequent.

I found homosexual fantasies close to those that had



**READ MY LIPS**



been my own in the crisis of revolt of Max Stirner, when very much later *The Unique One and his Property* came into my hands.

So as to omit nothing of my travels throughout my entire life, it should be noted that never at any moment, nor in any way, did the intensity, the multiplicity, the frenzy of my homosexual love affairs prevail over my intense militant activity in view of changing the world, or occult my revolutionary determination or persistence therein. I say this not to boast, but because it is the strict truth. Moreover, that concentration on what was essential for me did not, of course, prevent me from drinking greedily from other streams, from getting drunk on music, poetry, visual arts, countries and voyages, all ben-

eficial diversions that ease the spirit and thus make it more capable, more disposed towards pursuing militant struggle.

Finally, so as to set straight those malicious persons who would call my revolutionary sincerity into question – by the sole fact that the attire of young workers fascinates me – I must add that other young men, no less attractive, have not at all influenced my social orientation. Thus the charms of young soldiers did not make me militaristic but, completely on the contrary, antimilitarist. Equally, the virility and get-up of young Nazis, to which, of course, I am not impervious, have not turned me into a fascist, but rather into a completely intractable antifascist.

The effect produced on me by young workers was not simply desire, but that they had exposed me to the limitless perspective of class struggle.

It is not only contact with the working youth that made me a rebel. As homosexual, I had been the object of indelible humiliations and outrages. Some examples: an eminent professor of philosophy, great friend of the brilliant bisexual that was Gérard Philippe, was brought before the correctional tribunal of Aix-en-Provence. Indignant, I wrote to the prosecutor of the Republic that the truly guilty persons in the matter were those who enacted antisexual laws. The accused received two years of imprisonment. He wrote me sadly that my letter, read to the audience, had served to increase the sentence.

I found myself by chance not far from the entrance of the naval building sites of La Ciotat<sup>5</sup> when I was suddenly witness to a police charge against demonstrators, who had come with their kids in order to protest the layoffs they had received as punishment for syndicalist activity. Commanded to evacuate the roadway, I was shoved by the cops, which I called “*garde-chiourmes*”<sup>6</sup> For the use of that word I was brought before the correctional tribunal of Marseille, and one of the *argousins*<sup>7</sup>, sent specially by the Ciotaden police superintendent, made the magistrates take a piece of paper wherein I was accused of driving “little children” to the site; which I had done, but in all innocence. That “offense” cost me a steep fine.

Another time, my secretary and I were summoned

to the home of the mayor of Ciotat. I was wanted there to advise the members of the agricultural union, of which I was then a part, to go as a delegation to the mayor to complain about unkept promises concerning farmers’ water supplies. The mayor expressed himself, in front of my assistant, in these terms: “Mr. Guérin, that you have made love with a sailor, a paratrooper, a Legionnaire, well, the municipality doesn’t give a damn; but that you pester us with stories of water, that, no!” My poor secretary was uncomfortable. Whereas I, I clenched my fists in rage.

The mother of a sailor to whom I had addressed a letter of fraternal sympathy believed it necessary to telephone my assistant: “Tell Mr. Guérin that we don’t go in for that sort of thing”.

The churlishness of homophobes knows no bounds. Yes, it generates revolt.

Revolt is the elementary school of the Revolution.

### Endnotes:

1. Spanish for ‘fury’
2. University of Paris
3. Literally the delights of Capoue, this is a French proverb describing when one allows oneself to be softened by easy living instead of preparing for a struggle. Capua is a town in southern Italy that was known in ancient times for the richness and sweetness of life experienced by its inhabitants, and this is also thought to be the reason for Hannibal’s victory in 215 BC, when his army managed to take Capua.
4. This was the publication of the group Arcadie, created by André Baudry in 1954. Baudry’s aim was to promote homophilia by gaining respectability and thus eventually social tolerance. Arcadie was the only homosexual journal in France during the 1960s, but it eventually became irrelevant to the movement and disappeared in 1982.
5. A city in south-eastern France
6. Pejorative term for police officer, meaning: 1. a strict disciplinarian, esp. a military one. 2. someone who stubbornly adheres to methods and rules.
7. Pejorative term for police officer, as well as an old term for a prison guard in charge of convict surveillance.

# Dear Straight Anarchists.

## WTF?

### A Radical Queer Complaint from Queens of Trailer Trash.

On September 24th some of the most militant politicized street protests the States have seen in nearly a decade countered the G20 summit in Pittsburgh. Anarchist Queers and Trannies were on the frontlines of this struggle; bringing the numbers, the flare, and the wrecking crews. Radical Queers fought police and did everything they could, with what they had, not to back down. A days worth of tear gas, rubber bullet attacks, and fending off straight-idiot-liberals, set the tone for what would be a night of ravenous Queer revenge. A single march of 200+ Queers, Trannies, Womyn, POC, and some allies bashed the fuck back; causing the most property destruction contained to a single neighborhood in Pittsburgh during the protests. So other Anarchists, why the fuck are you ignoring us?

#### What Happened in Oakland on Thursday Night?

A week prior to the G20 protests Bash Back! Pittsburgh, a radical Trans and Queer Liberation group, called for a Queer Cabaret to be followed by a march through Oakland. Oakland has long been a neighborhood unfriendly to anyone not fitting into the straight-white-male category. By 10pm on the 24th nearly 200 people gathered outside of the Queer Cabaret. The mood was set. There were no illusions. Everyone knew what was about to happen. It seemed that people were unified in their goal to terrorize straighty. Windows were smashed, dumpsters flipped and ignited, a frat boy homophobe and his friends were dealt with properly, and the vast majority of participants left feeling empowered and energized.

However, despite the fact that this march was called for by a local radical queer/trans group, took place immediately following a Queer Cabaret, was executed largely by radical Trans/Queer people and was lead by a banner reading, "Bash Back!"; most of the reportbacks describing the march include NONE of these important details. In all fairness Crimethink did state that the march had been, "Bash Back!" themed. Whatever that means. In the documen-

tary, "Democracy 101: Pittsburgh G20 Protests and the Police Occupation of Pitt University," produced by Pittsburgh Indymedia, Chicago Indymedia, Twin Cities Indymedia, and the Glassbead Collective footage of the Radical Queer black bloc was preceded by the sentence, "The protestors dispersed in the late afternoon, but they reconvened later in the evening." This makes it seem as if the Radical Queer black bloc later in the night was merely an extension of the People's Uprising March that took place across town earlier in the day. It was not. We found it even more frustrating that not even a brief mention of the radical Queer/Trans organization that went into the march was included in the documentary. A person from Pittsburgh even went as far as to say that the march was not queer. Does this mean that in order for militant actions to be recognized by the broader Anarchist community as Queer all of the participants have to be laced in sequins and throwing glitter?

This is not an isolated incident!

Radical Queers made up a large number of people putting hours of work into creating a militant show-down at the Republican National Convention in St. Paul. People with Bash Back! held multiple consults in the Midwest and on the East Coast to carve out a radical Queer space in countering the Convention. Bash Back! sent queers to Minneapolis well over a month before the Convention to help with the organizing effort. However, in spokescouncils and personal conversations the Bash Back! action was more often than not labeled as one of the "fluffy" actions, while actions with similar tones were never labeled soft or fluffy. "Terrorizing Dissent," a documentary created by Twin Cities Indymedia about the RNC completely ignored the Bash Back! action, which was the first publicly announced blockade in the lead up to the RNC. Footage of the radical Queer blockade never made the final cut. In fact, the action was not discussed or even referenced. However, footage of the Funk the War bloc, a roving dance party called for by Students for a Democratic Society was featured in a nauseatingly long segment. Let us remind you that Radical Queers put over a year into organizing our event and Bash Back! is the ONLY national network that has maintained itself since the failure of the RNC protests.

Another incident that comes to mind is a recent incident involving the arrest of Ariel Attack. Ariel is a Trans/Queer person who has been involved in radical organizing for sometime. Earlier in the year Ariel was picked up by Denver Police and accused of smashing 11 windows out of the Colorado Democratic Party Headquarters. Rather than write their own article, AnarchistNews.org reposted an article from an extremely right-wing blog riddled with anti-Trans rhetoric. Although there were literally thousands of other news articles about the sabotage Anarchist News chose to run the disgustingly anti-Trans right wing one. Even after being asked and eventually threatened the mysterious people behind Anarchist-News.org refused to replace the article with a better one. They cited Freedom of Speech in defense of their actions. To this all we can say is...Really? Other non-trans radicals went on to question the timing and message of the action. Would anyone of you Cisgendered white dudes be questioning the timing and message of the action if the person arrested for allegedly smashing the windows was a white male Earth First!er? Our conclusion is: probably not.

So What the Fuck?

First we were Maoists. Then we were fluffy. Then we were not living up to our militant rhetoric. Now, at best you are ignoring our actions and the massive risks we are taking to carry them out. At worst you are co-opting what we do and rewriting history to claim our struggles as your own.

Are you neglecting to mention

what we have done so you can maintain that our actions are Manarchist? It is clearly absurd to call militancy carried out by Womyn, Transfolk, People of Color, and Queers "Manarchist." Instead, you will just pretend that these actions were taken by straight white dudes.

-OR-

Are you refusing to give Radical Queers credit because you couldn't give a fuck? Maybe you just don't care that radical Trans people and Queers are finally, after more than a decade on hiatus, building a culture centered around fighting back.

-OR-

Are you living in a delusion? You are so far from reality that you still hold on to the idea that Queers, Trannies, POC and Womyn are at too high of risk to ever be taking these actions. So you pretend that you, the white-straight person, did the legwork and threw down.

-AND/OR-

You feel, as our self-appointed protector, you must act as if Trannies/Queers haven't taken these actions in an effort to avoid the state coming down on us.

-OR-

Are you not mentioning our actions because you feel ignorant as fuck when, the actual radicals and actual queers, prove you wrong time and time again? You might feel a bit put off that we are doing more to resist than you ever have and our actions are insanely

more effective, fabulous, and daring than yall's could ever be.

-OR-

When it comes down to it, do you think that we are just a bunch of fags too concerned with identity politics to ever contribute to a broad social upheaval? Even though, as pointed out before, in the last two years Radical Queers have taken the lead in the push for a more direct action oriented resistance.

In Conclusion

It really is a shame that a band of radical Queers, involved with a variety of Anarchist organizing projects for many years, has had to use a public forum to call you all out. But nevertheless we feel we have to. It has become apparent to us that while many of you are our friends you still hold yourself on a higher pedestal because you are straight and we are not. You have mocked us, written us off and criticized us, when frankly you are in no place to do so. We are not trying to create divisions on tactical grounds, excluding our struggle to root out Anarcho-Liberals. Instead we are calling you out on your shit so we can all continue on this path toward insurrection and most importantly liberation. To those of you who will ignore these concerns we impolitely order you to stop breeding like goddamn rabbits and find the nearest cliff to jump from.

# ‘Hell Hath No Fury’: A Chronology of Genderfuck Insurrection



The chronology below requires little introduction; the actions of all these rioters speak for themselves. Suffice to say that this chronology is a small attempt to address a fallacy in popular conceptions of insurrection—that insurrection is ‘macho,’ masculine, or that it reinforces gender norms. It should also address another fallacy in the commonly understood chronology of queer and trans resistance—the one that says “Stonewall was first.”

A note on language. Any terms we apply anachronistically will fail to reflect the ways these individuals and collectives identified. Moreover, we have first-hand accounts from none of these rioters, except some Stonewall and Compton’s participants. Since any language we choose for such a broad span of time, place and culture will be historically inaccurate, we just say genderfuck insurrection. It has the nicest ring to our ears.

Genderfuck is an active term; it speaks of a force that acts upon gender normality. This is more interesting to us than other terms that are passive and speak of identity, which attempt to freeze and quarantine gender transgression into special individuals.

Our tour begins in Greece, the cradle of democracy and the location of the most recent massive insurrection against the false hope of democracy...

***Hell hath no  
fury like a  
drag queen  
scorned.  
-Sylvia Rivera***

**390** – Thessalonica, Greece. Butheric, the commander of the militia, arrested a popular circus performer under a new law that punished “male effeminacy.” The people of Thessalonica, who loved the performer, rose up in rebellion and killed Burtheric. In response to the insurrection, authorities rounded up and massacred three thousand people.

**1250** – Southern France. A small crowd of cross-dressed males pranced into the home of a wealthy landowner. They sang “We take one and give back a hundred,” and ignored the protestations of the lady of the house as they looted the estate of every possession.

**1450-51** – Cade’s Rebellion in Kent & Essex, England. Led by the



“servants of the Queen of the Fairies,” the peasants broke into the Duke of Buckingham’s land and took his bucks and does.

**1530** – ‘New Spain.’ During his campaign of conquest against communities of resistance in western portions of “New Spain,” Spanish conquistador Nuño de Guzmán wrote of a battle. The very last indigenous warrior taken prisoner after the battle was, in the conquistador’s words, “a man in the habit of a woman” who had “fought most courageously.”

16th century – Europe. Urban carnivals throughout Europe integrated cross-dressing and masks as key elements. The festivals were organized by societies of unmarried ‘men’ with trans personalities. They were called the Abbeyes of Misrule, Abbots of Unreason, ‘Mére Folle and her children,’ and others. During festival, they would ‘hold court’ with mock marriages and issue coins to the crowds. They made fun of the government, critiqued the clergy, and protested war and the high cost of bread.

**1629** – Essex, England. Grain riot led by ‘Captain’ Alice, who was trans.

**1630** – Dijon, France. Mére Folle and her Infante-

rie went beyond throwing carnivals and mocking elites. They led an uprising against royal tax officers. As a result, a furious royal edict abolished the Abbey of Misrule.

**1631** – England. Riots again enclosure led by ‘Lady Skimmington’ drag mob.

**1645** – Montpellier, France. Tax revolt led by La Branlaire, who was called by a term for masculine women.

**1720** – The Caribbean Sea. Untold numbers of trans pirates sailed across the open seas in the Golden Age of Piracy. It was not altogether uncommon at the time for “women” to “pass as men” while sailing in the navy, on mercantile ships, and as pirates. The two most well-known trans pirates of the era are Read and Bonn. They sailed together with Captain John Rackham, and their stories are known from when they were put on trial for piracy. They were said to be the most fierce and courageous fighters in their crew. Like most pirates, they were faggots.

**1725** – Covent Garden Molly House Rebellion, London, England. Since 1707, the Societies for the Reformation of Manners carried out systematic attacks on London’s queer underground. More than 20 “molly houses” were raided by police in London and many “mollies” (mtfs) publicly dragged and hung for cross-dressing. But on one day in 1725, the police attempted a raid of a Covent Garden molly house, and the crowd of mollies, many in drag, fiercely and violently fought back.

**1728-1749** – Toll Gate Riots in England. “To cite but four examples, toll gates were demolished by bands of armed men dressed in women’s clothing and wigs in Somerset in 1731 and 1749, in Gloucester in 1728 and in Herefordshire in 1735.”

**1736** – Edinburgh, Scotland, “the Porteous Riots, which were sparked by a hated English officer and oppressive custom laws and expressed resistance to the union of Scotland and England, were carried out by men disguised as women and with a leader known as Madge Wildfire.”

**1760s** – White Boy commons restoration movement in Ireland. The ‘White Boys,’ a peasant guerilla group who called themselves ‘fairies’ and did mischief at night, were a central feature of the rural class war. They destroyed enclosures, sent threatening letters to elites, reclaimed properties seized by landlords, and freed bound apprentices. They were finally put down by armed force. Their spirit inspired the formation of the ‘Lady Rocks’ and ‘Lady Clares’ in the 1820s and 1830s, and the later Ribbon Societies and Molly Maguires—all were involved in Ireland’s anti-enclosure and anti-colonial struggles and all cross-dressed.

**1770s** – Beaujolais, France. ‘Male’ peasants dressed as women attacked surveyors assessing their lands for a new landlord.

**1812** – ‘General Ludd’s wives’ loom riot, Stockton, England. One of the early Luddite Rebellions against the Industrial Revolution was led by “General Ludd’s wives,” two cross-dressed workers. The mob of hundreds broke windows, stoned the house of Joseph Goodair, a factory owner, and later set fire to his house. They destroyed the products in the steam loom factory, smashed the looms and burned

the factory to the ground. The rioting went on for four days until it was stopped by the military at Stockport, and then broke out again at Oldham.

**1820s** – Ireland. The ‘Lady Rocks’ militant Irish resistance group active; inspired by the White Boys, they wore bonnets and veils.

**1829** – The War of the Demoiselles in the Pyrenees. A peasant uprising against restrictive forest code in which the peasants cross-dressed.

**1830s** – Ireland. The ‘Lady Clares’ militant Irish resistance group active; inspired by the White Boys, their ‘official’ costume was cross-dressing.

**1839-1844** – Welsh Toll-gate Riots, carried out by ‘Rebecca and her daughters.’ One well-documented instance was on May 13, 1839. At dusk, a call of horns, drums and gunfire are heard across the western Welsh countryside. Armed male peasants, dressed as women, thunder up on horseback, waving pitchforks, axes, scythes, and guns. As they storm the toll gate their leader roars: “Hurrah for free laws! Toll gates free to coal pits and lime kilns!” These demands are punctuated by a cacophony of music, shouts, and shotgun blasts. The rebel troops smash the toll barriers and ride away victorious. They call themselves “Rebecca and her daughters.” The Rebeccas are active for four years in Wales, leading thousands of cross-dressed “daughters” in the destruction of turnpike toll barriers. They receive widespread popular support.

**1843** – Militant resistance group the ‘Molly Maguires’ active in Ireland. Inspired by the White Boys, the word “Molly” was the vernacular equivalent of what we might call “queen” today.

**1959** – Cooper’s Donuts Riot, LA Los Angeles, May 1959. Police attempted a raid on Cooper’s Doughnuts, a late-night hangout for drag queens, butch hustlers, street queens and johns. The cops demanded IDs. The queers fought back. Doughnuts and coffee cups become projectiles. Fighting spilled out onto the street. The cops, taken by storm, called for backup. Rioters were arrested and the street was closed off for a day.

**1966** – Compton’s Cafeteria Riot, San Francisco, Au-

gust 1966. Compton's Cafeteria, an all-night hang-out for drag queens, and hustlers in the Tenderloin neighborhood. The restaurant management called the police on a group of young queens who were being rowdy. A police officer who was used to roughing up Compton's regulars grabbed a queen. She threw her coffee in his face. A fight broke out. Plates, trays, cups, and furniture were thrown. The plate-glass windows of the restaurant were smashed. Police called for backup as the riot took the street. The windows of a cop car were smashed and a newspaper stand went up in flames.

**1969** – Stonewall Riot, New York City, June 28. The police conduct a 'routine' raid of the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village. They began to round up trans people, drag

queens and kings to be arrested for cross-dressing, which was illegal. Hostility grew and grew until an officer shoved a queen, who responded by hitting him on the head with her purse. The crowd became fierce. Cops were pelted, first with coins and then with bottles and stones. When a bull-dyke resisting arrest called to the crowd for support, the situation exploded. The crowd tried to topple the paddy wagon while the police vehicles got their tires slashed. The crowd, already throwing beer bottles, discovered a cache of bricks at a construction site. Cops

were forced to barricade themselves inside the Inn. Garbage cans, garbage, bottles, rocks, and bricks were hurled at the building, breaking the windows. Rioters ripped up a parking meter and used it as a battering ram. The mob lit garbage on fire and sent it through the broken windows; squirted lighter fluid inside and lit it. Riot police arrived on the scene, but were unable to regain control of the situation. Drag queens danced a conga line and sang songs amidst the street fighting to mock the inability of the police to re-

establish order. The rioting continued until dawn, and for the next four days. Crowds filled the streets and smashed more cop cars, set more fires, and looted stores.

**1970** – New York City. Marsha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera,

veterans of the Stonewall riots, formed the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR). Marsha and Sylvia opened the STAR house for homeless drag queens and runaway queer youth to stay in. The house mothers hustled to pay rent so their kids wouldn't have to. The youth, in turn, stole food to bring home. STAR linked up with the Young Lords, a revolutionary Puerto Rican group, and with the Black Panther Party.

<http://gendermutiny.wordpress.com/>



# Destruction, Not Separation:

## Some Thoughts On The Church and The State

By Phil

The same-sex marriage debate, for the political mainstream, has essentially split into two camps: the Right, which is against it, and the Left, which is for it. These, of course, only represent the mainstream discourse and marginalize other positions. Anarchists and other radicals, for example, have been historically opposed to the institution of marriage in general, and more recently have specifically come out against same-sex marriage because of its assimilationist nature. Another position that has been gaining popularity in recent years is a libertarian argument that the state has no business in the institution of marriage, and that marriage should be stripped of legal status and instead be simply a matter for churches.

At first glance, this argument seems to fit with the anarchist critique. It essentially promotes a non-state solution to the question of marriage, taking government and state regulation out of the equation. However, this is a false alternative precisely because it is a non-state solution. What is needed is an anti-state solution.

There are two main parts to the libertarian argument: an economic side, and a social side. The economic argument asserts that the tax breaks and other financial benefits to marriage amount to a subsidy for those who marry. Essentially, those of us who do not marry are paying for those who do. The social argument claims that government should not have any say in who marries who, as consenting adults should be allowed to enter into a marriage without state intervention. Both of these arguments are persuasive, but the problem is not in the arguments themselves. Rather, the problem lies in the assumptions that they rest upon, and by extension the issues they do not address.

Perhaps the biggest difference between an anarchist and a libertarian perspective is the role of the state. As mentioned above, the contrast is between anti-statism and non-statism. The difference may appear to be simply a matter of terminology, but this is not the case. Rather, the divide between the two positions is stark; because the entire libertarian argument is based on a critique of government intervention into people's private lives, rather than a critique of gov-

ernment itself. The libertarian-economic argument, for instance, implicitly asserts that equal protection under law is a virtue that is currently not being achieved, because of the subsidies available to those who choose to marry. Similarly, the libertarian-social argument rests on the assumption that government should not determine who can and cannot marry, as that is an intrusion on people's liberty.

What both of these arguments do not address is the idea that government itself is the problem. Instead, the problem is framed as a matter of too much government; as if a mere reduction in government meddling is enough to solve the problem of same-sex marriage. Furthermore, an argument that is premised on finding an appropriate role for the state in our lives carries with it an acceptance of whatever this appropriate role may be as subjects of the state. That is, if we are to petition for a better government, we are arguing as citizens, as people with a stake in governed society.

Another failing of the libertarian perspective is that it fails to critique civil society, and all of

its connections to the state. As anarchists, we are not simply concerned with the abolition of government, but also with the abolition of all hierarchy and domination. Making marriage simply a religious commitment does nothing to address the patriarchal nature of marriage, nor does it attack the widespread heterosexism that finds a base of support in the church.

If we want the abolition of hierarchy and authority, the destruction of oppression and domination, then our targets must include all institutions that support, promote, or rely on these things. A stronger separation of church and state does nothing for this, and thus the non-state solution for same-sex marriage is useless at best. It only solves the political question of rights, of proper government, and of equal protection. These are of little interest to those of us who seek queer liberation.

We do not appeal to government as its subjects, seeking the equality that it has long promised but never delivered. We do not seek

to adjust the role of government in our lives to a proper level. We do not seek to make marriage a strictly religious institution. These are all political solutions to the political question of same-sex marriage.

The modern marriage equality movement has its roots in the queer liberation movement of the 1960s. This movement was a response to the structural heterosexism that continues to function as a pillar of American society. However, when the movement turned to political activism as a vehicle for change, it adopted the logic of the political system. The political system has definite rules and structures that limit both the ways in which demands are framed, and the solutions to these demands. These demands, because they have to adhere to an abstracted system of rules, become abstracted because they must be defined in the terms of the political system. Thus, same-sex marriage becomes a political demand, necessitating a political solution. These political solutions must also adhere to the rules of

the system, meaning that it cannot subvert the political process (the rule of law).

The political system and political process thus preclude solutions outside of its rules and limits. The libertarian solution to the demand of same-sex marriage falls within these limits, and does nothing to challenge them. It does not issue a challenge to the political system, or the larger social system. It solves the demand without the state, but only in a way that leaves the political process untouched.

To move towards an anti-state solution, we must first argue for a new understanding of the question of same-sex marriage. As noted above, the momentum that has manifested itself in political activism for marriage equality has its roots in a struggle for liberation. This struggle, through its politicization, was reduced to a series of demands on the state. We must reject and fight against the politicization of struggle, the transformation of our lives into a political question.

**FUCK THE CHURCH  
FUCK THE STATE**

# Identity, Politics, and Anti-Politics: A Critical Perspective

By Phil  
Introduction

I am a \_\_\_\_\_ who seeks the destruction of class society. That blank can be filled with a variety of words, from worker to queer to individual to mixed-race person to anarchist. What each of these terms has in common is that they each signify a certain identity. While identity politics have gained traction in both anarchist/radical scenes and society more generally, the very idea of identity politics is a problem. Identity politics, as a political force, seeks inclusion into the ruling classes, rather than acting as a revolutionary force for the destruction of class society. However, this does not mean we should dismiss identity or identity-based organizing and action. The institutions that create and enforce class society (capital, work, the state, police) rely on identities in their strategy of control, by attacking some identities and not others, or by pitting various identities at odds to compete for access to the privilege of acceptance by the dominant classes. In their use of repression based on identities, those in power also create affinity among the dominated. Let this be made clear: I do not contend that every person who identifies with or is identified by a particular social identity has a common experience. Similarly, I do not argue that these identities are anything other than socially constructed. However, I do argue that people who share an identity can find stronger affinity with others who share that identity. This is due to the ways that capitalism and the state enforce identities. While these identities are socially constructed, this does not lessen their importance or their reality. Indeed,

it is critical in the struggle for total liberation to understand the ways identities are constructed to subjugate people.

The academics have been speaking for years of “the Other” as the most abstract identity, defined in opposition to the dominant forces. While this abstraction works in the most general comparisons of various identities, it is in the specificities of distinct identities that affinities are built. A discussion of every socially-enforced identity would be impossible; instead, I will focus on an analysis of queer identity. Specifically, I will attempt to articulate an anti-assimilationist and anarchist/communist perspective on queer identity, with implications for other identities as well. This is a perspective critical of identity politics as well as a false unity under any one identity (citizen, human race, proletariat). It is critical of assimilationist politics and practice, and perhaps most importantly, it is explicitly anti-state and anti-capitalist.

1: Social construction and social facts

To understand identity in the context of the present social order, one must understand the concept of social construction. This concept, in short, refers to the ways in which social institutions establish, regulate, and enforce various identities. One especially telling example is the way in which those labeled “insane” are then forced into institutions which serve only to reaffirm a supposed insanity. Homosexuality was once considered a mental disorder, after all.

The term socially constructed car-

ries an unfortunate connotation, however. It is assumed that if an identity is socially constructed, then it differs in some way from a more authentic, natural identity. This assumption resembles religious dogma in that we are asked to accept an unchanging human nature as defined by someone else. In reality, to say identity is a social construction means that identities are defined and enforced by social institutions such as governments and businesses. Thus, identity becomes social fact in the sense that it materially affects people. From queer-bashing to abortion bans, certain identities carry with them material disadvantages. From property rights to Jim Crow, certain identities carry with them material advantages. These identities are socially constructed, and thus become social facts. These inequalities are not expressions of some pre-existing natural order. Instead, the cause of these material inequalities can be traced to the socio-economic context in which they existed. This context is determined by the dominant social order, which continues to be that of capitalism and state power.

Not every act of discrimination or oppression, however, can be considered a direct act of the state or capital. This is particularly true when one considers specific manifestations of patriarchy. Sexual



assault and domestic violence are often considered interpersonal disputes, rather than having a larger meaning in the context of a deeply patriarchal social order. However, even if there is not an agent of the state or an agent of capital directly involved, one cannot ignore the social framework which normalizes such behavior. One must only consider the fact that the institution of marriage was originally a property relationship, and even until recent decades rape was acceptable, as long as it was in the context of marriage. This is not to say that perpetrators have any excuse. They still enforce the social system of patriarchy, despite (usually) not acting in an official capacity on behalf of the state or capital.

We can thus trace identity-based

oppression to either the official business of state power and capitalism, or else to the power of the statist, capitalist social order. The distinction, however, becomes academic. The problem clearly lies in this society, in the social order and the institutions that create, maintain, and enforce it. Much as identity is social, so is the oppression around it: it is a result of human interactions, not any sort of higher power.

The term social construction means also that identity is not fixed, but rather changes according to a variety of factors.

Particularly, there exists a tension between those who benefit from inequality, and those who are oppressed by inequality. In the United States, this tension is demonstrated by the range of identity-liberation movements that have been active in the United States. With a few notable exceptions (women's suffrage being one), identity-movements rose to prominence in the 1960s, as chants of black power, gay is good, and sisterhood is powerful became fixtures at demonstrations and protests. These demonstrations and conflicts were sites of struggle over what was meant when the terms black, gay, or woman were used. To be assigned any of these terms meant that one was not fully human, that there was a defect that nobody could

correct. The Black Power, Queer Liberation, and Women's Liberation movements contested the idea that people were to be defined by these identities and thus undeserving of equality. These contestations (as each movement was, to a large degree, focused only on one specific identity) meant that not only could political inequality be challenged, but also the very definitions of identity. In other words, people began to actively and consciously construct their identities and explore identity in relationship to the larger social structure.

The initial exploration of identity proved useful, providing a greater understanding of the ways in which domination and its specific manifestations (racism, sexism, homophobia) are connected to the state and capitalism. The 1960s were also years of resistance and uprising more generally. These events did not happen separately; instead, they were a part of a larger discontent with society as a whole. However, much as the energy of the 1960s was dissipated into the traditional, rigid forms of activism and managed dissent, so was the revolutionary potential of exploring identity.

Over time, these movements have left us with organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Human Rights Campaign (HRC), and National Organization for Women (NOW) as the self-proclaimed leaders in the struggle for equality under the law. However, what is interesting to note is that these organizations serve as explicitly political organizations, seeking political equality through political processes. These groups can thus be understood to engage in identity politics.

## 2: Identity Politics and Anti-Identity Politics

Given the political effectiveness of these organizations, their model has been emulated by others seeking to reform the current socio-economic order. This has led to identity politics becoming a central part of the contemporary United States political order. This is especially true in the liberal reformist movement, where organizations such as the NAACP, HRC, and NOW are prominent. With their successes in political reform, they (and many other identity-politics organizations) have become embedded in the dominant political discourse. It is

here that we encounter one of the main problems of identity politics: the groups which sought to challenge identity-based oppression have instead merely entered into a partnership with those who benefit from oppression. This partnership concerns the ability to define the political agenda for a certain identity. This is clearly demonstrated in the queer community by the HRC, with their push for hate crime laws, marriage, and military service. These demands show that the HRC has accepted the logic of and requested partnership in the government and the marketplace. Essentially, the HRC is fighting for assimilation into, rather than the destruction of, a system that creates and enforces the very oppression they are allegedly struggling against.

However, even identity politics does not have unfettered power in the political mainstream. Even the appearance of altering power relations in this society is, to some, a threat. These reactionaries claim that identity politics seeks special rights for certain groups. This flawed logic rests on the idea that, since people are guaranteed equality under the Constitution, then the problem of legal inequality is non-existent. Even if one accepts the logic of the state, the discrepancy between legal/political equality and social equality is telling.

Another reaction to the Left's adoption of identity politics is the rise of hard-Right identity politics. This leads to absurdities such as men's rights movements, white rights movements, and groups dedicated to preserving Christian culture and identity. One can see a connection between these two reactionary positions, despite their apparent contradictions. Each position represents a different tactic towards the same goal: maintaining a class-based society along with the homophobic, white-supremacist, and patriarchal structures that uphold it. This stands in contrast to identity politics, which seeks to mildly reform class society and its institutions.

In short, there today exists a tension between progressive identity politics and reactionary anti-identity politics. The failure of both rests in their reliance on the state and capitalism as basis for their vision of society. Both seek to better manage the present order. It is clear: there exists a subset of people in this society that benefit from the current social order. These people include queer people, people of

color, women, and every identity. Politicians, police, prison guards, landlords, and bosses: these are our enemies. They come in all forms.

It is equally clear that queer-bashers, rapists, and racists are similarly enemies of liberation. While in some cases these are not people with access to and the backing of institutional power, the violence they inflict is no less real or important. Indeed, their tactics are taken directly from the state, and uphold systems of control even after the formal powers officially abandon them.

Identity is meaningful in that it marginalizes us in different ways, and the affinity that comes from similar or shared experiences is powerful. However, it must always be remembered that such affinity is rendered useless when it is integrated in a system of domination and control. Such affinity ought to be encouraged, as it strengthens our bonds to one another and promotes conflict with the social order, be it bombing police cars or expelling rapists from one's community.

### 3: Identity Anti-Politics: One mixed-race queer's perspective

A specific sort of affinity is generated between people who are faced with similar oppression based on socially constructed identities. However, problems arise when this affinity is expanded to mean something else, such as an idea of racial unity or gender unity. Affinity cannot be reduced to mere identity: for example, simply because I am mixed-race does not mean I have affinity with all people of color. While we are likely to share similar experiences, merely having such experiences does not constitute affinity. The question of "what constitutes af-

finity?" is a large one, and well beyond the scope of this work. What is clear, however, is the problem of identity politics to those of us who seek total liberation.

By working within the political arena, identity-politicians work within accepted notions of power, change, and struggle. They become another lobby, another special interest that some politicians are beholden to while others rail against them. The people that constitute these identities are lost in all of this, become a voting bloc to be traded around rather than people.

This model fails us. Our lives are not political questions, positions to be taken, or votes to be won. We cannot be reduced into discrete categories of identity, each with its own set of lobbyists to win over the bourgeois politicians. This is the dead-end of assimilationism. This is the dead-end of politics. Rather than more politics, more money for lobbyist, and more ad campaigns, we need an end to the political process.

It is, after all, the politicians who had us criminalized or killed. It is the capitalists who make us work to survive, or sometimes keep us out of work. Why do we petition those who marginalize us for an end to our marginalization? They are interested in expanding their power over us, or at the least maintaining it. It is true that they occasionally allow moderate concessions, but these concessions should not pacify us. These concessions are not liberation, and sometimes they're not even liberating. The expansion of marriage rights? Being allowed to fight in the military? These goals are useless because they are simply political goals; they seek to alter the way the political system functions.

**Identity politics, as a political force, seeks inclusion into the ruling classes, rather than acting as a revolutionary force for the destruction of class society.**

The point is not to achieve equality by the political process. The point is to destroy the political process, and with it the apparatus that props up class society. This requires an anti-political outlook. Identity must be treated not as a political concept, but as a facet of our everyday lives. My experiences have convinced me that the current socio-economic order has to be destroyed. I find stronger affinity with other queer people because of my understanding of homophobia, but I will not vote for gay marriage. I find stronger affinity with other mixed-race people

because of my understanding of racism, but I will not vote for harsher hate crime laws.

It is clear that, because identities shape our experiences, we cannot write off identity as unimportant. However, it is equally clear that we cannot afford to maintain the identities imposed upon us. Thus, an apparent contradiction arises between the necessity of recognizing socially constructed identity while simultaneously trying to destroy the class society that enforces those identities. This contradiction proves difficult, with a range of responses from a disregard for the destruction of class society to a disregard for identity, and many other arguments somewhere between these two positions. The problem is that there is no contradiction. Indeed, the former necessitates the latter. In order to destroy class society, an analysis of how it functions is critical. In short, we must know our enemy. However, it is important to avoid the pitfall of essentialism; it must always be understood that these identities are constructed by the larger socio-economic structure. The oppression that affects people with various identities is enforced by state power and the power of capital. Understanding this is generates a prem-

ise for solidarity, as those marginalized find affinity within their communities with those who face similar struggles. Additionally, the understanding of connections between one's experience with identity and one's experience with the larger socio-economic order allows for a solidarity that goes beyond any specific identity.

The importance of identity lies not in identity politics, but rather in the fact that identity is socially constructed by the dominant system in order to maintain capitalism and state power. In turn, the oppression that follows is an integral part of the social order as a whole, whether the violence is on an interpersonal, institutional, or structural level. Oppression also helps build affinity, through shared experiences or through shared struggle. Recognizing identity and identity-based oppression as social facts allows for stronger affinity, and the connections between one's experiences and the larger social order similarly allows for a solidarity between people who want to abolish the state, abolish capitalism, and abolish the domination that both maintain over our lives. This abolition requires not political negotiation, but anti-political organizing and action.





### **Radical Queers:**

Bash Back! News: [bashbacknews.wordpress.com](http://bashbacknews.wordpress.com)  
Black and Pink: [blackandpink.org](http://blackandpink.org)  
Gender Mutiny: [gendermutiny.wordpress.com](http://gendermutiny.wordpress.com)  
Queer Zine Archive Project: [qzap.org](http://qzap.org)  
Bash Back! Legal Defense Fund: [bashbacklegal.weebly.com](http://bashbacklegal.weebly.com)

### **Anarchy!:**

Anarchist News: [anarchistnews.org](http://anarchistnews.org)  
Infoshop: [infoshop.org](http://infoshop.org)  
Indymedia: [indymedia.org](http://indymedia.org)  
Fire to the Prisons: [firetotheprisons.com](http://firetotheprisons.com)  
Modesto Anarcho: [modestonanarcho.org](http://modestonanarcho.org)  
Little Black Cart: [littleblackcart.com](http://littleblackcart.com)  
Zine Library: [zinelibrary.info](http://zinelibrary.info)  
Libcom: [libcom.org](http://libcom.org)  
Letters Journal: [lettersjournal.org](http://lettersjournal.org)

### **Pink and Black Distro Titles:**

Pink and Black Attack 1: [zinelibrary.info/pink-and-black-attack-1](http://zinelibrary.info/pink-and-black-attack-1)  
Pink and Black Attack 2: [zinelibrary.info/pink-and-black-attack-2](http://zinelibrary.info/pink-and-black-attack-2)  
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