Abridged

BASH BACK!

Anthology

Fray Baroque

Tegan Eanelli

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Queer Ultraviolence
An Abridged Bash Back! Anthology

Edited by Fray Baroque and Tegan Eanelli

Ardent Press, Berkeley, CA
First edition 2012
Second edition 2013

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More information at: ardentpress.org

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A Note on the Second Edition

Quite a bit has happened in the year and a half since the first edition of *Queer Ultraviolence* was published: waves of global unrest have peaked and waned, the state has revealed new campaigns of repression of anarchists in the US, queer and anarchist fighters in the social war have been taken from their loved ones by the prison apparatus, and of course the horrifying reality of normal life continues to unfold around us. Against all this the project of survival, rebellion and joy has continued as well. Though invariant in its spirit, this projectuality is constantly adopting new methods to meet the varied forms of misery entailed by civilized life. At times it has meant clandestinity, fiery attacks, street fighting, squatting, theft, sabotage, and consistent support for imprisoned friends. At others it has been marked by criminal measures of care, violent reprisals, precarious nights spent with lovers, and the embrace of friends ravaged by loss and terror. Our enemy plods ceaselessly in a straight line; our path is instead one of escapes, hidden places and explosions. Though non-linear, our project remains. For this reason the proposals and problems within this book feel all the more relevant, and hence we are publishing a second edition.

As the first edition goes out of print, it is worth acknowledging the successes of this endeavor. *Queer Ultraviolence* has been discussed in several tours through the US and internationally. Through the Spring of 2012 the editors toured the Midwest as well as the East and West coasts of the US. Later in the year, translations of selections from the book were presented and debated in anarchist and autonomous spaces as far away as Greece, Colombia, Spain, France, Mexico, the UK and Chile. Hundreds of copies of the book traded hands in the course of these tours alone, and hundreds more have circulated through anarchist bookfairs, social centers, and mail distribution (such

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as Little Black Cart in the US and Active Distribution in the UK).

Beyond these quantifiable measures of its success, the impact of the book on the ideas and characters of the anarchist space should also be noted. On the one hand, it succeeded in filling a void in the broader anarchist discourse, pointing to insurrectionary queer ideas and practices that were entirely absent in the world of radical publishing. On the other, it highlighted the irrelevance and banality of the anarchist and queer Left, provoking vitriolic responses from academics, professional activists and the politicians of queer identity. As these careerists continue to publish ever-more boring anthologies and thesis papers, a whole new generation of queer anarchists has engaged with the inseparable perspectives of queerness and insurrection, following through to attack. These perspectives only matter if they are living and breathing perspectives, giving way to — while also being nourished by — action. We are inspired by the vitality of these words. If we were not, we would simply allow the book to go out of print.

There have been a few significant changes made to this edition of *Queer Ultraviolence*. Firstly, it is abridged. Rather than focusing on an exhaustive documentation of the fullness of the Bash Back! tendency, we have chosen to include only the best texts and those which contribute to the tendency in a significant way. We have also changed the design of the book; while we love the aesthetics of the first, this edition will be much easier to get into prisons (sadly, an increasingly important consideration). A welcomed consequence of the shorter edition and the new design is that it will be cheaper to produce and thus more accessible to broke queers who weren't able to steal a copy of the first edition. Most significantly, the texts have been re-organized so as to be chronological, rather than categorical as they were in the first edition. This will hopefully be an interesting experiment in how the narrative is read. This means that the introductions to various categories in Fray's introduction may be confusing, but they remain

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worthwhile introductions to *themes* still present within the new edition.

Whereas the first edition was intended as an archive, we hope that the changes made to this edition will prove to make it a weapon.

Thanks to Addie, Ariel, Liam, LBC, the notorious TDB squatters, all the spaces that have hosted presentations of the book, the anonymous authors of each communique and attack, and of course our haters.

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Introduction

to the First Edition

for Anthony DiGeronimo
anarchist, witch, satanist,
queer, cop possessor, and killer

With this anthology we intend to tell an accurate and holistic story of Bash Back! In doing so, we continue our struggle to construct *the queer commune*. The profits from this book will be distributed to trans and otherwise queer anarchists in prison as well as those facing legal cases and criminal charges. Subsequent speaking tours will provide financial support to sustain pre-existing projects and create new transqueer models of resistance.

Through collections of essays, communiqués, narratives, images, and interviews, this anthology hopes to account for what Bash Back! was and what happened to it. We have included a number of actions, theories, and other essays that were not explicitly or implicitly related to Bash Back! as a name. In this context, if we do not recognize the actions of related tendencies and publications, then we fail to tell the complete history of Bash Back! as a network and as a tendency.

The term *queer* in this book is used both loosely and inclusively. We view queer as the blurring of sexual and gender identities. *Queer* is the refusal of fixed identities. It is a war on all identity. In line with the Bash Back! tendency, for the uses of this anthology *queer* is *trans* because the gender binary is inherently oppressive. More often than not, our use of the term *queer* is interchangeable with our use of *trans*, though that is not necessarily true of the way in which *trans*-whatever is used. We acknowledge that society ensures *Queer* is an oppressed identity. Anti-Queer oppression is the systematic violence encountered by people who fall outside of traditional sexual

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We, anti-capitalist queers, dedicated to dismantling oppression, refuse to recognize any copyright of this book. While we encourage individuals to purchase this anthology as a donation to anarchist and queer prisoners and projects, we understand that many cannot afford to spare what little money they have. We give permission to any and all interested queers to reproduce, and freely distribute this publication. With this in mind and in order to fend off would-be profiteers, we use the Creative Commons License. Fuck intellectual property.

Bash Back! originated as a haven for queers already involved in anarchist struggles, and it intended to carve a space for those often disenfranchised from direct action-oriented straight anarchist space. Bash Back! arose in a context in which patriarchy ran rampant in anarchist circles. While comfortable, white college kids dominated the so-called radical queer scene, political correctness was an epidemic illness among the potluckgoing, craft-obsessed queer "radicals." It was this frustration with the straight anarchists and queer so called radicals that gave way to the unique anti-identity politics form of separatism that became rooted in Bash Back!

Bash Back! was not just a group or organization, but a militant tendency on the part of queer individuals. While Bash Back! was occasionally public and campy, bashing back was more of an everyday evolutionary occurrence than any sort of activist entity. Most of what can be attributed to the Bash Back! period never made it onto the internet or into newspapers. Bashing back meant bar fights, outrunning lynch mobs, glamdalization, attacking the homes of heterosexist murderers, outright chaos, alleged lootings, theory discussions, self-defense tips, social gatherings, beat downs, the acquisition of large quantities of pepper spray, and attempts at sexual

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liberation. It was a temporary counter culture amongst friend groups and peers that called for nothing short of direct confrontation with the (mostly) straight, (mostly) white and always normative society: the ultimate queer propaganda by queer deed.

We chose to divide this anthology into two parts, Communiqués and Essays. However to view Bash Back! as either theorists or actors is a false dichotomy. There were few, if any, boundaries between those who acted and those who wrote. Complicating the division within this book even more, is that much of the theoretical content of Bash Back! came out of action. Communiqués that followed militant actions were a regular mode of communicating theory.

The essays part of this anthology is indicative of the many theories that both birthed *Bash Back!* and ones ultimately shat from its corpse. The writings speak for themselves. They represent hard-line separatists and negation-obsessed whores. Some of the essays are accurate of what most of *Bash Back!* collectively understood. Others illuminate the divides between comrades as a way to overcome our differences and push for a new queer disorder. For better or worse, there are writings that intentionally draw lines within the tendency and post-*Bash Back!* sects. To grasp *Bash Back!* in its totality, it is imperative to comprehend all of these ideas.

The communiqués provide a healthy portion of what Bash Back! conveyed to the world and to each other, via actions or ideas and were distributed online.

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Understandably, we needed a reason to get excited. We needed a chance to position ourselves as a force. We needed to feel strong. Above all else, we needed to find one another as individuals who wanted this world's head on a platter — we needed folks to dance with atop the rubble.

- Act Up! Bash Back!
An Analysis of the Radical Queer Organizing
Surrounding the 2008 Republican and
Democratic National Conventions

At the "October Rebellion" march against the World Bank in Washington, DC, radical queers and feminists were disgusted by the behavior of straight, white participants. Many straight-passing individuals deliberately put queer and trans people in danger in an attempt to save themselves from the police. Cowards co-opted the Anarcha-Feminist identity by creating a "non-violent bloc" that worked with the police, which effectively thwarted the efforts of the larger black bloc (see internet appendix ardentpress.com/bashback). The culmination of these two outrageously inappropriate scenes infuriated many transfolk, queers, womyn, and people of color at the march. The Georgetown march was certainly not the first or last time "anarcho-liberal" straights moved into queer space in an attempt to water down queen militancy. Nor was it the first or last time that so-called anarchist men sought to control the bodies of oppressed people.

The Republican National Convention (RNC) in St. Paul, Minnesota was set to take place eleven months after the anti-World Bank actions. Radical queers and transfolk in the Midwest frequently networked to share ideas about the planned disruption of the 2008 RNC. It was not until a radical planning consulta in Milwaukee though, that an explicitly

UNCONVENTIONAL QUEERS

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trans and queer blockade was proposed. The idea immediately caught fire.

Word spread around the United States that the newly formed Bash Back! Chicago would host a Radical Queer Convergence the following April to continue planning queer resistance to the Republican and Democratic National Conventions. Over two hundred people attended the convergence. The weekend of organizing culminated in a march of hundreds against assimilation, the first large radical queer action in Chicago in three years. The 2008 Convergence lead to the creation of Bash Back! Memphis, Bash Back! Lansing and the Queer Action Network out of Milwaukee taking on the name Bash Back! Milwaukee. It was not long before Bash Back! Denver was born (by announcing radical Queer actions to counter the 2008 Democratic National Convention). A number of other groups and individuals from around the country began to informally associate themselves with the growing Bash Back! network.

The texts compiled under the heading 'Unconventional Queers' is noteworthy because the events in it mark a shift in queer radicalism. The strategy of Bash Back! when it started to organize against the conventions was not to apply militant tactics to so-called queer issues but rather to develop new queer spaces within militant anarchist milieus. It maintained an uncompromising queer attitude while insisting that, like our militant anarchist comrades, we too are against everything. This strategy triggered everything that would represent Bash Back! and everything to come out of it. It also solidified the Midwest as a hotbed of queer-anarchist activity.

We want to destroy everything, in diamond encrusted high heels. The violence of our desire tastes unlike any other bodily fluid; it is a poisonous venom that only the most masochistic of bodies can encounter and crawl towards for a second helping. We invite men in, waiting for the degradation that will warrant vengeance and until then we just shove their cocks in our mouths and swallow. What-ever.

- Whore Theory

From its beginning, Bash Back! was closely aligned with the insurrectionary anarchist milieu in the United States, Moreover, historically and currently, some of the most influential voices within insurrectionary anarchism happen to be queer. The earliest and fiercest defenders of queer liberation were militant, mostly individualist, anarchists (see internet appendix www.ardentpress.com/bashback). It is not surprising then, given its close affiliation with insurrectionary anarchism, that the Bash Back! tendency was rooted in a politics of vengeance and that Bash Back! served to further articulate this vengeful praxis.

The Bash Back! tendency manifested itself by building a culture of attack. Time and again non-violent detractors have raised questions regarding the validity of tactics rooted in anger. These dogmatic agents of control cannot grasp why the queer proletariat would be motivated to adopt a position of attack at any time and without hesitation. At various points more academic or liberalminded individuals or groups would attempt to change and in certain ways pacify the tendency. These agents of control, although proficient in disruption, were rarely successful.

The systemic and individual oppression of queer people is rooted in the violence of capitalism. Our oppressors use this violence in the most unimaginable and ruthless ways. Their actions are meant to beat us into submission. Vengeance is our

FORGING A PRAXIS OF VENGEANCE

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The Bash Back! tendency manifested itself by building a culture of attack. Time and again non-violent detractors have raised questions regarding the validity of tactics rooted in anger. These dogmatic agents of control cannot grasp why the queer proletariat would be motivated to adopt a position of attack at any time and without hesitation. At various points more academic or liberalminded individuals or groups would attempt to change and in certain ways pacify the tendency. These agents of control, although proficient in disruption, were rarely successful.

The systemic and individual oppression of queer people is rooted in the violence of capitalism. Our oppressors use this violence in the most unimaginable and ruthless ways. Their actions are meant to beat us into submission. Vengeance is our

reaction to that violence. It is the queer way of beating back those who commit violence against us. It may or may not spur Social Change™, but that is neither here nor there. Vengeance, as a motivation for liberatory action, allows us to overcome the fear their violence has instilled in us. Vengeance is the refusal of submission.

Vengeance-motivated crimes associated with Bash Back! or the Bash Back! tendency usually meant direct conflict with street-level oppression, and were mostly unreported, either by the Media or through communiqué. The communiqués in 'Forging a Praxis of Vengeance,' display the violent confrontations with discriminatory businesses, transphobes in bathrooms, nazis in the streets, murderous police, and rapists. Queers fought misogynist gay bartenders. Wealthy straight and gay neighborhoods were subject to nightly vandalism. Religious people were accosted at their places of worship. An anti-trans murderer had his house attacked with rocks and fire. Democratic offices had their windows broken all over the country. Bash Back! was a culture of attack, one that surfaced every single day.

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> *"There is a class of people who, if they do not believe, must at least make a semblance of believing. This class comprising all the tormentors, all the oppressors, and all the exploiters of humanity; priests, monarchs, statesmen, soldiers, public and private financiers, officials of all sorts, policemen, gendarmes, jailers and executioners, monopolists, capitalists, tax-leeches, contractors and landlords, lawyers, economists, politicians of all shades, down to the smallest vendor of sweetmeats, all will repeat in unison those words of Voltaire: 'If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him. For, you understand, 'the people must have a religion;' That is the safety-valve."*
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> - Bakunin, *God and the State*

Capitalists, seeking to privatize the Commons of medieval Europe (typically utilized by women to organize anti-authoritarian attacks on feudal-lords), manipulated the language of religious texts to unleash a wave of violence against queers and women. Medieval criminalization and enclosure, enacted by the Church and motivated by greed, is the root of patriarchal religion and its development into what we now call capitalism. Capitalist Christianity can only exist if it maintains control of the Commons by enacting systematic violence against queers and women.

In recent times a large majority of monotheistic religions have continued their war on all that is queer. Christians in the North, Central, and South Americas have enacted legislation and created a broad heterosexist culture to ensure the survival of the nuclear family. In Africa, it was the imperialist armies of Catholic or Angelic nations that created the culture which has led to the appalling violence against women and queers used to maintain a patriarchal capitalist rule. Prior to, and in many places since, the Arab Spring, authoritarian religion protects

DISPATCHES FROM THE WAR AGAINST GOD

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capital at the expense of women and queers in the Middle East. The same is true for much of Asia, although one cannot discount State Communism's behavior, for example the disgusting use of reeducation camps to uphold the nuclear family to create legions of so-called liberated workers. The nuclear family ensures the type of procreation that creates workers and slaves for the capitalist and state communist machines. If an absolute queer or feminist analysis were to go unchecked, as was the case prior to the destruction of the Commons, capitalism and much of the Church would be unable to function.

Few queers can escape the effect religion has had on their lives. When bullies harass and beat young queer people it is in the name of God. When preachers at the pulpit advocate the criminalization of queer acts it is in the name of God. When missionaries tell people at high risk of contracting HIV that the use of condoms will result in eternity in hell, it is in the name of God. When thousands of transwomen and effeminate gay men turn up in ditches in Sadr City, Iraq, it is in the name of God. When queers take their own lives it is because of those who act in the name of God. When trans and queer people in Honduras take a forefront position in their country's fight against neo-liberal capitalism they are disappeared and murdered in the name of God. When queers are brainwashed into the belief that marriage or military service is a step toward egalitarianism it is in the name of God and Country. Rape, murder, silence, erasure, imprisonment, torture, assimilation. God, God, God, God, God, God, God.

With this in mind, it is logical for any anti-capitalist queer — whose ultimate goal is to destroy capitalism — to conclude that a war on God must also be waged. Unless a theoretical and material war on the historical and contemporary notion of God is won there can never be queer liberation. A disavowal of all religion is common amongst radical queers, and Bash Back! was no different. The reason that many queers have embraced radical politics is because of our disillusionment and eventual hatred of God. Once we realized that God must go,

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it became clear that all of the institutions that administer His will must burn as well. First the Church, then capitalism, and finally the State.

Many young queers are forced to attend evangelical mega churches, which have the sole purposes of creating divisions amongst the poor and profiting off the proletariat's naivety. The Church must have scapegoats to uphold divisions amongst the oppressed who ensure its survival. Mount Hope Church was disrupted because of the real trauma people within Bash Back! live with, as a result of its specific anti-queer indoctrinated self-hatred. Though this particular offensive of the war began in the Midwest, it was the autonomous cells located the Pacific Northwest of the United States that engaged in the most confrontational anti-God actions.

We determined that communiques about disruptions and sabotage that specifically targeted churches should comprise its own section. With this section we are not interested in disproving the existence of God. We are not saying that God does not exist. In fact, God is made real through the actions of his servants. God lives and breathes through his supporters and as such he cannot be simply disproven. Rather he must be destroyed.

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REJUVENATING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ASSIMILATION

> *… Queer means struggling against the racists, the patriarchs, the rich. Queer is questioning the role of white Queers in the displacement of poor people of color. It is stealing from the wealthy, redistributing the stolen booty, and laughing all the way. All of that said, it is undeniable that some Queers uphold the very system that keeps all of us down. Let it be known that we reject the notion that ruling class Queers are queer at all. In fact, we reject their humanity entirely. Queer is solidarity with marginalized people in the war for total liberation. To be Queer is to attack capitalism, utilizing any and all means necessary.*
>
> - from an anonymous flier distributed at the Occupy Oakland Queer March.

Assimilation has created housewives out of militant field-keeping women. It has turned fags into "Presidential Advisors." It has made white Christians out of entire races, cultures, and religions. Assimilation, spurred by capitalism, guaranteed rich and straight-acting gay men were the ones to survive the early AIDS crisis, while poor queers were left to rot. With so many anti-capitalist fags dead, *The Advocate* was able to get what it finally wanted — the "we are just like straights" narrative. Today gay men are assimilated into nothingness. The vast majority of lesbians who witnessed the early years of AIDS have become social justice dictators, turned insular, gained power, become liberalized and/or assimilated. With the assimilation of lesbians and gays, there is no more dominant queer counter-culture. There is no more love and no more queer common space.

Assimilation is the master tool for the liberal ruling class. Assimilation is typically initiated by the discourse of *rights*. The gay cowards grovel. They kiss the clean toes of the straights and beg for their scraps of normalcy. As rights have been

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secured, the money pie is sliced and served to the gay elite. The capitalist establishment, though shy one slice of pie, can again run its course. Liberals then pat themselves on the back, having adopted yet another community into their war on the poor. Although she may be the radio princess of liberal leftism, Amy Goodman would gladly shake the hand of any gay bomb-dropping President.

Bash Back! saw physical, anti-queer violence and the violence of assimilation as one and the same. There was no separation of struggles against the Church, fascism, and capitalism. To attack the assimilation of our supposed kin into a system that destroys *queerness* by disrupting a corporate Pride™ parade was seen in the same light as smashing a military recruitment window or a Nazi's face. In Milwaukee, Chicago, Buffalo, and Modesto anti-corporate Pride™ demonstrations turned into physical altercations with hetero-supremacists. The largest assimilationist Gay and Lesbian organization, the Human Rights Campaign, was attacked in Washington D.C. and San Francisco. In Minneapolis a Military Recruitment Center was vandalized on at least two occasions in the name of anti-assimilation. The Bash Back! tendency maintained that to destroy assimilation radical queers must build a queer counter-culture rooted in militant direct action.

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THE 2009 BASH BACK! CONVERGENCE AND SUBSEQUENT DRAMA

> *Issues of privilege and identity are incredibly important to us and we wholeheartedly agree that they should be talked about. But as it stands now, identities like "person of color" and "woman" are being invoked in order to mask reactionary politics, and furthermore, are being employed in ways that contribute to the erasure of our identities as active participants in militant struggle.*
>
> - "Pushed by the Violence of Our Desires"

A year and a half of explosive growth, action, and culture set the stage for the 2009 Bash Back — or Radical Queer — Convergence in Chicago. By the time the 2009 convergence rolled around, there were Bash Back! chapters in Chicago, Milwaukee, Lansing, Memphis, Philadelphia, Olympia, Seattle, Portland, the Twin Cities, the East Bay of California, Washington D.C., South Florida, and Southern California. These chapters do not include the autonomous individuals or groups that took action in the name of Bash Back! and of queer anarchy all over North America and the world. All that said, few people would view the 2009 Bash Back! Convergence as a success. The lackluster organizing by some BB!ers in Chicago, the willful ignorance of some attendees, and the handful of disrupters guaranteed the 2009 convergence would end in flames — but only figuratively.

Like most organized groups, there were certainly problems and divisions within the convergence organizing committee. Some of the organizers committed to taking on important tasks but rarely followed through. Others were simply overloaded with the stresses of organizing a large gathering of people. At the convergence, disruptions of workshops to address "more pressing issues" happened on at least one occasion. Though it was incomplete, to say that the organizing for the convergence

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was a failure would be inaccurate. Prior to the convergence, a multiple page communiqué entitled “Creating Safer Spaces at the 2009 Bash Back! Convergence” was widely distributed. The Safer Spaces statement issued guidelines for all attendees and encouraged feedback in order to open a space to express concerns with the statement. At the convergence itself, space was made for a number of caucuses to meet, discuss issues of oppression within Bash Back!, and organize around shared identities. Huge parties and sex gatherings contributed to the counter-culture being built. The convergence space, though located in a yuppie neighborhood, was completely accessible to all bodies.

The defining moment of the 2009 Convergence came as a result of conflict regarding a rather uneventful spontaneous march on Boystown, Chicago’s gay neighborhood. Despite months of propaganda describing the convergence as a space for militant and insurrectionary queers to meet, party, and organize, some who attended were put off by the inflammatory nature of the convergence. It is important to note that the majority of these splits did not happen within Bash Back! but between those who were not deeply involved in Bash Back! and those who were.

To this day, forever and always, there is debate regarding the 2009 Convergence. The 2009 Bash Back! Convergence and subsequent drama were probably the most influential events during Bash Back!’s short life. The convergence resulted in the implosion of Bash Back! Chicago, yet chased away who-knows-how-many left-leaning anarchists. It opened the door for a diffuse, militant queer nihilism that dovetailed with Bash Back! between 2009 and its demise.

We believe that, as a result of all of this, the 2009 convergence is more historically important than the 2008 convergence, when Bash Back! made its official debut as a national phenomenon, or the 2010 convergence, when Bash Back! officially killed itself.

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- "My Preferred Gender Pronoun Is Negation"

To be queer is to defy the laws placed on our bodies by the State, the Church, and all authority. In breaking these laws we demonstrate that our bodies are our own and belong to nothing or no one else. This criminality marvelously extends itself to the queer riot. The intentions of the queer riot are to collectively destroy the property of those who use authority against the oppressed, and to become empowered in the process. It can be of the few, or it can be of the masses. In either instance, the queer riot is a beautiful painting of the reality that our bodies, especially in riot, are indeed uncontrollable.

It is true that a riot is not accessible to all bodies, but within Bash Back! there were attempts to create space for all people, despite societal marginalization, to express their rage in such riotous manners. A conscious effort was made by fellow queers to assist those who took larger risks at the queer riot. In the streets comrades were pushed along in wheel chairs; those with the ability to hear made sure queers who were hard of hearing had clear lines of communication; rioters did not judge those who were unable to participate in the physical manifestation of the riot. This is not to say that the queer riots were not flawed or that the Bash Back! riots were completely inclusive. Rather we acknowledge that the separation that the State and Leftists recommend in regards to the types of people who can

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COMMUNIQUES FROM VARIOUS G20 RIOTS

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"safely" participate in militant struggle is irrelevant to the Bash Back! queer riots. The practice of the tendency is that people who are oppressed due to race, gender identity, body type, immigration status, occupation, or most other prescribed or chosen marginalized identities or conditions have the strongest desires to see this society fall and therefore are quicker to take confrontational roles to eliminate capitalism.

Those who engaged with the Bash Back! tendencies were witness to, and in some cases took part in, riotous events. When BART cop Johannes Mehserle gunned down Oscar Grant in cold blood, radical queers were in the streets of Oakland raising hell. In reference to the rowdy protest of the RNC in St. Paul, the *Bash Back!* contingent at Chicago's Matthew Shepard March chanted, "We'll smash your windows, just like in St. Paul."

Bash Back! — the tendency, the whatever, and the organization — formed just prior to the latest global economic crises. As the wealth of nations disappeared, the Group of 8, comprised of the eight most wealthy nations, was overshadowed by the Group of 20, made up of the twenty most wealthy nations. Anti-capitalist radicals began to place more focus on G20 summits and the crisis of capitalism. Some of the largest actions taken by Bash Back! — with its hard anti-capitalist stance — centered around resistance to global capitalism and specifically the G20 summits.

As part of the anti-capitalist demonstrations against the G20 summit in Pittsburgh, Bash Back! led a violent riot in a notoriously racist, misogynist, and anti-queer college neighborhood. The neighborhood, called Oakland by Pittsburgh residents, is home to every fraternity in the city and has the city's highest rate of reported sexual assaults. Racial slurs have been thrown at radicals and activists in the neighborhood for years and are commonplace in Oakland. The Garage Door Saloon, owned by a white supremacist and located in this disgusting neighborhood, once came under fire by anti-fascists for hosting a weekly party with discounted tacos and Coronas.

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The weekly party was titled, “Wetback Wednesdays.” In the Oakland neighborhood of Pittsburgh, anti-Queer attacks are relentless. Calls of “Fag!” and “Dyke!” are trite. Nearly every fast food chain and many corporate clothing retail stores have storefronts in the neighborhood. Each branch of the United States Military has a recruitment office in Oakland. Carnegie Melon University, located in the same neighborhood, has received billions of dollars in “defense” contracts, and designs artificial intelligence to be used by the US military and domestic law enforcement agencies. Animal vivisections, weapons research, and general tackiness all have a special place in the heart of Oakland, Pittsburgh. There is even a “Lesbian-Owned” diner that lovingly welcomes Obama, the corporate lap dog, during each of his visits. In other words, Oakland, Pittsburgh is a festering ground for imperialist capitalism.

The Bash Back! riot at the G20 summit in Pittsburgh obliterated attempts to liberalize the organization. Gone were the days of crying over overturned newspaper boxes. The only controversy that erupted from the Pittsburgh riot came when straight anarchists staged a revisionist coup. The straights claimed that the riot was simply “an anti-capitalist march” or “Bash Back! themed,” or refused to mention it all together. A communiqué circulated entitled “Dear Straight Anarchists WTF?! A Radical Queer Complaint from Queens of the Trailer-Trash.” The communiqué lays out the frustrations of queer anarchists with the erasure perpetrated by straight anarchists in their rewrite of the queer narrative at the G20 riots. “Dear Straight Anarchists…” sparked a long-running debate within anarchist circles about identity, negation, and riot.Amidst all of this glory, one should remember that the Bash Back! riot manifested itself on only a few special occasions and was not without controversy. Though lacking in quantity, these events were particularly spectacular. The large assemblies of violent queers drew the necessary lines in the sand between those who talk about queer radicalism and those who are willing to act for queer anarchy. Pictures of the queer riots were spread via

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social networking sites, video sharing sites, and the corporate media**.** The images of queer anarchists committing crimes of mob passion illuminated a new world for disempowered and isolated queers. This new and sexy face of queer militancy drew back the curtains of rage and proved to disenfranchised queers that many of us are willing to unapologetically act according to our violent desires. As such, it is incredibly important for us to highlight the queer riots that took place during the Bash Back! years.

TOWARD A CRIMINAL QUEER CULTURE

> *...as soon as you begin to act in harmony with nature the Law garrotes and strangles you — so don't play the blessed liberal middle-class martyr — accept the fact that you are a criminal and be prepared to act like one.*
>
> - Hakim Bey

Crime has been the core of queer since queer came into existence. The Church and State criminalize our bodies and sex. We, in turn, embrace this criminalization as a means of survival in the capitalist economy. Ed Meade and Bo Brown robbed banks to fund the George Jackson Brigade, an anti-racist and queer guerrilla cell. Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR) turned tricks and mugged straights. They distributed the wealth so younger trans people would not have to resort to the same measures. The list of crimes perpetrated by queers in resistance to capitalism goes on and on. Bash Back! chose not to confuse criminality of capitalism with the supposed criminality of survival of queer people within capitalism.

At many points in time queer challenged the nuclear family and threatened the capitalist work force. Bash Back! sought to create a strong queer counter-culture, which could again challenge capitalism. Resistance was to be made sexier than Abercrombie ad campaigns and corporate standards of beauty.

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If we were to foster a deep and criminal counter culture, we could ultimately destroy assimilation. Everything Bash Back! touched was soon overtaken by sex, criminality, violence, and genderfuckery.

It is difficult to separate the criminal queer culture from vengeance and assimilation. In Chicago, Bash Back! "GlamourQueer Sextravaganza" parties attracted hundreds. After Chicago police broke up one 'Sextravaganza,' a cop cruiser had its fuel tank punctured. In Seattle, three criminal queer dance parties to counter corporate pride resulted in smashed windows and one in a long stand off with the police. Guelph has seen more than one 'Queeriot Fest.' Queers in Baltimore dressed in drag and wheat-pasted images of fisting onto bank windows. With these intersections in mind, we found criminality to be so crucial to our queerness, these selections had to comprise a sizeable part of the anthology.

Death to straighty.

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The fight to destroy tomorrow has just begun. Our biggest enemies are the State, the Church, the basher, and capitalism. However, our most heartbreaking enemies are those who subscribe to the purist liberal and academic notions of what it is to be a radical queer, those who spread lies, made wild assumptions and fought tooth and nail to bring down Bash Back! The speculation as to why is endless. Some believe more established radicals and academics were uneasy with the attention Bash Back! received. If Bash Back! continued to hog the spotlight it would potentially take attention away from the radical queer establishment's own self-serving projects meant to catapult them into fame through radical academia. Some think it is because many of those engaging with the new tendency did not want to fuck those entrenched in the radical queer establishment, and made this clear on *several* occasions. Still some believe their hatred of Bash Back! came from discomfort with the new tendency to turn 'queer' into a negative army to destroy everything, including the academic and non-profit governance of 'queer.' Either way, these wannabe queer rulers see no room for our revolt, and will stop at nothing to destroy the new queer tendency.

Many believe Bash Back! went too far in alienating progressive allies in the struggle for liberation. In reality Bash Back! did not go far enough. The 'better world' liberals and radical academics speak of is impossible for queer and trans people. The progressive, liberal, and academic establishments are religious capitalists. They profit off our oppression and our resistance to oppression. Progressives and reformists closed the bathhouses, gentrified our neighborhoods and welcomed straights into our strongholds. Radical academics make tens of thousands of dollars a year yet claim to speak for the queer proletariat while simultaneously labeling the queer proletariat as oppressive. It becomes clear when viewing civilization and society through this lens that everything 'better' is actually

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in one way or another a hetero-social construct aimed at annihilating trans and queer criminal counter-cultures. As long as academia, the Church, the State, capitalism and civilization exist there can be no truly better world. To that end, everything must be destroyed.

Bash Back! and the tendency it spawned did not have the numbers to wage a vengeful war that so many long for. It was barely a significant battle in a war yet to come. A war against progress, regress, and tomorrow. We, the neutralized generation, must lay the groundwork for radical queers who will come after us. Capitalism is collapsing and we must be ready to pull the final nail. If we create the conditions and provide the resources there will be a massive anti-capitalist, trans feminist revolt. Do not disengage with struggle. *Queer* cannot fall victim to genocide or plague. Our revolt is unstoppable. Trannies and queers, you are warriors, whether you like it or not.

Actualize queer commune-jism.

With love and arms we will be liberated,

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TRANSFOLKS AND QUEERS TO BLOCKADE THE RNC

13 NOV 2007

November 9th through the 11th, Milwaukee hosted the Midwest Anti-RNC Planning consulta. During the Sunday break-out strategizing session, a group met to discuss the possibilities of militant Trans and Queer action against Republican National Convention in 2008. Those involved in the discussion expressed their desire for a Trans and Queer bloc to play an integral and aggressive role in the strategy to shut down the RNC. It was proposed that such a bloc could hold one of the key intersections surrounding the convention center or could crash the parties of especially grievous religious fundamentalists. The strategy of creating 15-20 blockades in downtown St. Paul on the first day of the convention is one that allows almost infinite possibilities. Behind the barricades, we will have the opportunity to create the world we wish to see; a world without restraint.

To pursue the goal of gender-fucking the RNC, it has also been proposed that a convergence should take place in Chicago the weekend of April 5th. Radical Queers, Transfolk, Anarcha-feminists, and allies from all over the Americas are invited to come to Chicago to ensure the end of the old world, and the beginning of ours. More information will be announced when the details of this convergence have been worked-out. We are looking forward to seeing all of you in Chicago in April, and the Twin Cities in September.

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BASH BACK! POINTS OF UNITY

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MEMBERS OF BASH BACK! MUST AGREE TO:

1. Fight for liberation. Nothing more, nothing less. State recognition in the form of oppressive institutions such as marriage and militarism are not steps toward liberation but rather towards heteronormative assimilation.

2. A rejection of Capitalism, Imperialism, and all forms of State power.

3. Actively oppose oppression both in and out of the "movement." Racism, Patriarchy, Heterosexism, Sexism, Transphobia, and all oppressive behavior is not to be tolerated.

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ONE DIRECTION,
TRANS AND QUEER INSURRECTION
A REPORTBACK FROM THE BASH BACK! CONVERGENCE

10 APR 2008

THE CONVERGENCE

The weekend of April 4th-6th, radical transfolk, queers, and anarcha-feminists, from all over the country converged in Chicago for the *BashBack!* anti-DNC/RNC convergence. In attendance were folks from Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Virginia, Tennessee, New York, Georgia, Missouri, Colorado, California and elsewhere. Groups including *BashBack!*, Queer Action Network, the Revolting Queers, Unconventional Denver, The RNC Welcoming Committee, Anarchist People of Color, Roadblock Earth First!, the Pomegranate Health Collective, and Code Pink were represented. The convergence succeeded in creating a safe space for queer, trans, gendervariant and womyn anarchists to meet and articulate our plans to crash the conventions.

WORKSHOPS

Friday night, representatives of Roadblock Earth First! shared information about the current situation in Indiana, where activists are working to stop the construction of the "NAFTA Superhighway", Interstate-69. On Saturday, transgendered activist Midge Potts spoke about her experiences with creative activism and as the first transperson to run for a federal office. Later, Eric Stanley discussed the relationship of queer and trans people to the prison industrial complex followed by a screening of his film Homotopia and the short By Any Means Necessary. Later that day, several people attended a DIY sex toy workshop. On Sunday, representatives of the RNC Welcoming Committee and Unconventional Denver discussed the proposed strategies for the Republican National Convention (Sept. 1-4 in St. Paul)

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and the Democratic National Convention (Aug. 25-28 in Denver).

CAUCUSES

At the convergence, space was created for a people of color caucus, a transgender caucus, and a womyn's caucus. The POC caucus discussed the need for a future anti-gentrification conference to discuss strategies to oppose gentrification. In their reportback, the POC caucus also asked that anyone distributing the zine Go Light and three anti-RNC stickers featuring a white hunter and dead elephants, indigenous people, and ninjas stop doing so immediately. During the POC caucus, a white auxiliary caucus met to discuss strategies to confront white privilege and white supremacy. The trans caucus discussed several issues and challenges that needed to be addressed at the strategizing session to ensure the safety of transpeople during the conventions. Simultaneously a cisgendered caucus met to discuss what it meant to be a trans-ally. While the womyn's caucus met, a caucus for male privileged folks and a caucus for those who didn't feel comfortable in either met.

"DNC, WE'LL FUCK YOU UP!"

During the Sunday strategizing session, two proposals were consensed upon for the Democratic National Convention. Unconventional Denver has proposed themes for the actions each day of the convention. It was thus determined that trans and queer action at the DNC should fit within those themes. After the immigrants rights march on "No Borders Day," it was agreed that there should be a "no gender borders" action targeted at assimilationist and transphobic elements of the convention such as the Stonewall Democrats. It was also decided that during the "Free Political Prisoners Day" there will be an action focused on freeing the New Jersey 4.

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"REPUBLICANS, DON'T FUCK WITH US!"

The strategizing session then shifted towards addressing proposals for action at the RNC. *BashBack! Chicago* proposed a reclaim the streets style dance party blockade to fit within the three-tiered strategy. More specifically, a dance party coupled with hard defenses. The declared intention is to create a situation wherein it is possible to have liberating and festive action, an empowering situation that we can defend and maintain. This will be an action for the first day strategy of the convention. The idea was also proposed that the Log Cabin Republicans be targeted by actions. The session also endorsed an idea proposed by the Revolting Queers of Minneapolis. They described an underwear bike ride action. This will be a more relaxing action to happen later in the convention.

TRANS INCLUSION AND SOLIDARITY

Coming out of the trans caucus, it was very clear that transfolk (and womyn and queers) all face increased dangers in participating in direct action. While being arrested is a miserable situation for anyone, it can be especially horrific for trans and gendervariant folks. Thus we are determined to creating safe infrastructure for supporting transfolk at the conventions and within our movement. First, getting transfolk out of jail will be the first priority of jail solidarity. Secondly, in mass arrest situations, we will refuse to be separated by gender and will give gender neutral aliases such as "Jesse Doe" as opposed to John or Jane. It should be noted that this is not only a tactic that will be practiced by those involved with the trans and queer bloc, but should be endorsed by all groups participating in direct action. *BashBack!* will work to educate other groups on this tactic leading up to the conventions. Thirdly, we will work very closely with local DNC and RNC organizers to ensure that legal, medical and housing infrastructure all take into account the specific needs of transfolk.

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"WAKE UP, BASH BACK, TRANS AND QUEER, PINK AND BLACK!"

Saturday night, over 100 convergence attendees took to the streets of Chicago. The action was a response to the one trans and/or queer person murdered every eight days in this country. We are being systematically murdered, and we set out to show that we are done with the violence and invisibility forced on our bodies. Starting in the Lincoln Park neighborhood, we took the road and marched all the way through and into Boystown. Along the way, we first stopped to confront the Republican party headquarters of Chicago. There, we broke into a dancing and chanting. "We're here! We're queer! Republicans, don't fuck with us! We're here! We're queer! And we don't fuck republicans!"

The procession then marched to the district police station. Despite the cops' rhetoric about being "LGBT friendly," the reality is that those very cops are complicit in violence against queer and trans people. Thus, we marched to the police station and confronted the perpetrators of anti-queer and anti-trans violence. After obstructing the movement of traffic (including a Hummer limousine), for ten minutes, we marched to the LGBT center. There, we confronted the center for its trans-exclusion, its erasure of sex workers in the queer community, and its involvement with AIDS profiteers and vivisectors. After we had marched through the roads for approximately two miles, police forced the march to stop. We then broke out into a dance party near Wrigley Field. After continuing right in the face of the police for quite some time, the dance party disbanded and everyone got home without a single arrest.

This action was extremely empowering. It was the largest radical trans and queer action in Chicago since 2004. Beyond that, it was a march that was uncompromisingly confrontational, yet extremely fun. We took our rage and grief to the doorsteps of those responsible — cops, republicans, assimilationists and AIDS profiteers — and we danced in their faces.

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BREAK-OUT GROUPS AND MOVING FORWARD

After the strategizing session, three break-out groups met: communications, legal and logistics. The people involved with the communications group bottom-lined report backs, calls to action, regional call-outs and working on a website and listserv. Those in the logistics group talked about the specific medical and housing needs of queer and trans folks. The legal group further discussed the jail solidarity tactics, and the need for know your rights workshops and to raise legal funds.

We now have a little less than five months to the conventions, and we have a lot of work to do until that point. In May, we'll be meeting in the twin cities for the pReNC 5.3. In June, during the weekend of Milwaukee's Pridefest, *BashBack! Milwaukee* will host a gathering to further articulate the strategy for September. Thus, we must put out a call for transfolk and queers on the west coast, in the mountains, and in the sweaty south to host convergences and consultas. We've laid out the strategy: now we all need to find out how to plug in, work out the details, and shut this shit down.

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BREAK-OUT GROUPS AND MOVING FORWARD

After the strategizing session, three break-out groups met: communications, legal and logistics. The people involved with the communications group bottom-lined report backs, calls to action, regional call-outs and working on a website and listserv. Those in the logistics group talked about the specific medical and housing needs of queer and trans folks. The legal group further discussed the jail solidarity tactics, and the need for know your rights workshops and to raise legal funds.

We now have a little less than five months to the conventions, and we have a lot of work to do until that point. In May, we'll be meeting in the twin cities for the pReNC 5.3. In June, during the weekend of Milwaukee's Pridefest, *BashBack! Milwaukee* will host a gathering to further articulate the strategy for September. Thus, we must put out a call for transfolk and queers on the west coast, in the mountains, and in the sweaty south to host convergences and consultas. We've laid out the strategy: now we all need to find out how to plug in, work out the details, and shut this shit down.

MILWAUKEE: BASH BACK!
STATEMENT ON CONFRONTING NAZI SCUM

6 JUN 2008

> n the afternoon of Saturday, June 7th. *BashBack!* and other anti-fascists confronted the neo-Nazi group, the National Socialist Movement, who had come to protest Milwaukee's Pridefest. The leaders of the LGBT Community asked that people simply ignore the Nazi threat to our communities. These same leaders ensured that police would be in full force to defend the NSM and to arrest and assault those who came to oppose the Nazis.

In short, the organizers of Pridefest and the "leaders" of the LGBT community sold out all of us. Neo-Nazis are not a group of passive Christians who want only to condemn our abstract souls to hell. These people want us dead. If given the chance, they will kill us. Nazis (uniformed and otherwise) have murdered thousands upon thousands of trans and queer people, and millions of others. We haven't forgotten their intentions. We haven't forgotten of what they are capable. We will never allow their tyranny again. We will never accept any threat to our bodies and our community.

The same people who ask us to ignore these thugs demand our composure and complacency when our friends and lovers are murdered. The "leaders" of this community have shown they will never stand with those they claim to serve. They would rather see well-protected neo-Nazis than a well-defended queer and trans community. Nobody will protect us if not ourselves.

In the last year, reported violence against us had risen by 25%. One queer or trans person is murdered every eight days in this country. Nazis move freely into our neighborhoods to terrorize us on the streets. Police brutalize queer and trans people on a regular basis. Yet still, the supposed leaders and politicians of the LGBT community do nothing and ask us to do the same. When will we bash back?

9 JUN 2008

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BASH BACK!
PAINTING SECTOR 5 PINK AND BLUE!

25 JUN 2008

At the most recent *BashBack!* meet up in Milwaukee, Queermos came together to hammer out details about what we want our street party blockade to look like.

HISTORY

In recent years, large groups of protesters wearing festive, bright, and outrageous costumes have been able to hold it down longer than the 100 conspicuous people wearing all black with sticks (that was not a slam on the black bloc). Radical Cheerleaders, the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army, Reclaim the Streets Parties, Marching Bands, and similar tactics have been pushing the boundaries of confused police for quite some time. Take for example the World Bank/IMF protests in Prague 2000. Three marches consisting of the blue bloc (similar to the black bloc), Ya Basta (padded bloc) and the Pink/Silver bloc (fabulous motherfuckers) were determined to surround the convention center and shut the meetings down. Not only was the Pink and Silver bloc the only march to make it to the convention center but video footage confirms that entire groups of terrified riot police ran at the sight of the march. Never underestimate the power of hundreds of pissed off pink and silver wand waving faeries.

After reviewing this and other historical evidence the *BashBack! Milwaukee Consulta* is calling for our Street Party Blockade to adopt the colors Pink and Blue.

WHY PINK AND BLUE?

Light Pinks and Blues are calming colors that can bring out a passive nature in people. When being confronted by angry cops wielding tasers and batons, this can come in handy.

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Pink and Blue have been assigned to "male" and "female" sexes for quite some time now. Although it wasn't until recently that Blue was associated with "boys" and Pink with "girls. Before this, Pink was actually seen as a very "strong/masculine" color and Blue was a "weak/feminine" color. In keeping with our "No Gender Borders," theme we will use society's bizarre color standards to challenge, alter, reinvent and/or destroy their idea of gender and sexuality. This does not mean y'all should leave the pink/purple and black flags at home. Fly those fuckers high!

Also remember to keep safety in mind when preparing your costumes. As much as we may want to look fabulous, or fabulously butch, we must be ready for possible chemical warfare attacks by the terrorists aka various law enforcement agencies. We suggest bringing along shatter-resistant goggles, soaked bandannas/masks, a hat, waterproof outerwear, your typical mass demo attire. One may incorporate these measures into one's costume OR bring along a light/handy backpack allowing one to pull them out at a moments notice.

SECTOR 5

BashBack! attendees of the Milwaukee Consulta were approached by organizers from the Midwest Region about claiming Sector 5 along with the Midwest Cluster(s).

We came to the conclusion that we would join onto Sector 5 while still maintaining our decision-making independence. We are NOT a part of the Midwestern Cluster(s) but rather we will be jointly staking claim to sector 5. While many people from all corners of the country will be joining the *BashBack!* blockade, at this point in time it seems the majority will be from the Midwest. As there will be a large number of Midwestern Trannies and Queers, we can effectively serve as a middle ground of trust between Midwest Blockades in our sector

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and Trannies/Queers from other regions in Spokescouncil situations.

Keeping it Fierce,
Bash Back!
Free the New Jersey 4!
Free all Prisoners!

1
JUL
2008

BASH BACK! CHICAGO MAKES SPLASH AT DYKE MARCH AND CORPORATE PRIDE

DYKE MARCH

Nearly fifty people joined the *BashBack!* contingent at the Dyke March on Saturday June 26th. Behind a banner that read, "Bash Back! Against Gentrification" the radicals chanted slogans against the prison industrial complex, assimilation, and the HRC. Radical Cheerleaders Chicago and *BashBack!* brought a much needed message of militant resistance to Homonormativity to the crowd of over one thousand people.

GAY PRIDE

BashBack! had a blast at Gay Pride on Sunday showing pride-goers that being queer is more than floats with men in skimpy outfits. We assembled on Halsted shortly after 11 in our designated space, bringing with us our contribution to the parade: a cage containing everyone's favorite mayor, Richard M. Daley. Like his father before him, Dick has presided over some of the worst police brutality in the country, including the Jon Burge case during his tenure as State's Attorney. In light of Chicago's Olympics bid, Amnesty International even came out with a report that cited queerbashing cops as a primary

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reason that Chicago should not hold the Olympics in 2016. In addition to that, our wonderful mayor's record of cutting AIDS funding, funding for the Rape Crisis Hotline, and support for the rapid gentrification of Chicago neighborhoods prompted *BashBack!* to bring Daley's crimes to the forefront and insist that he be locked up as soon as possible. We also distributed barf bags to parade-goers just in case the blatant corporate nature of pride didn't sit well in their stomachs. Toward the end of the march, we joined the GLN (Gay Liberation Network) in confronting some of the jesus-fascists behind a well-stacked line of police officers.

Although the Chicago Police roughed up some of our members (shocking, i know), we still managed to have a dance party in front of the fascists and beat our bucket drums till you could barely hear the cries of "You're going to hell, homonazis!" and "Your hero Heath Ledger sent me a message from hell! Repent!" from the christian bear with the bible and the megaphone. Overall a fun time was had by all and an important action in the face of the dual threat of the growth of hetero-supremacist bigotry and of assimilationist trends in the LG movement.

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GLAMOUR-QUEER SEXTRAVA-GANZA FROM BASH BACK! CHICAGO

A formal invitation to all queers, transfolk, sex radicals, bi-sexuals, womyn, people of color, perverts, dykes, faeries, bois, sexworkers, queens, radical cheerleaders, fags, gender outlaws, daddies, gays, lesbians, bearded ladies, tranarchists, bears, cubs, pansexuals, men who have sex with men, polyamorous folks, riot grrls, genderqueers, ftms, mtfs, allies, drag royalty, and any other freaks we forgot to a fabulous queerspace dance extravaganza!

ATTIRE: devastatingly, haphazardly, and genderfuckingly glamorous. We love you looking cheap, looking not for sale, or just covered in glitter. Cum sleazy.

WHAT: DJ's, kissing booths, massage parlors, sweaty queermos dancing, DIY sex toy workshops, TWISTER (in your undies?), radical cheerleaders, body shots, gloryholes, vegan burritos, BEER, rad feminist porn, vegan cookies, candy, and lots of fucking shiny shit.

WHY: for *BashBack! Chicago* and radical queer resistance! To fuck up republocrats! To bring the binary to its knees!

This space will be consent-oriented. This space is to be safe for womyn, queer and transfolks. If you fuck with us, we'll kick you out.

19
AUG
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4 DETAINED, 1 ARRESTED AT BASH BACK! DEMO AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

26 AUG 2008

Tonight, August 26, at around 7pm, four members of *BashBack!* were detained with one arrested while demonstrating against a Human Rights Campaign party.

According to one witness, the four were approaching the demonstration in a group and police called them over and began to question them. Approximately 10 police in full riot gear surrounded the four and then searched them, took their names, and held them for about 30 minutes at the intersection of E. Colfax Ave. and Clarkson St. Police ran their names through their computer and found an outstanding warrant against one demonstrator. The person was arrested at the scene. Members of I-Witness Video and Indymedia gave the arrestee the legal number (303-830-0277) and were able to record the detention and arrest. The other three were released.

According to their flyer, *BashBack!* was demonstrating against HRC because, "Instead of supporting a united queer community, the Human Rights Campaign dumped transgender people from the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, a bill banning discrimination based on sexual orientation but not gender identity."

The flyer continues, "HRC's betrayal of trans people is just the tip of an oil-slicked iceberg. Since HRC receives funding from Shell, BP and Citibank, you can bet their vision won't stray far from corporate agendas. And that includes the Iraq War. Rather than saving the lives of queers here and in Iraq, HRC fights to stockpile the military with queer fodder for Bush's Crusade."

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14

COMMUNIQUÉ: THE QUEERS ARE CUMMING

At 4:00pm today a clandestine troupe of crusty radical Queers dropped a banner over I-94 in the Seward neighborhood of Minneapolis.

The Queers Are Cumming 9-1-08 (A)
Let this be a warning to all anti-sex, heter/
homo-normative fucks.
On September 1st, every intersection
of Downtown St. Paul will be filled with
AssFucking, CuntLicking FREAKS!

"ACT UP, BASH BACK!"
AN ANALYSIS OF THE RADICAL QUEER ORGANIZING SURROUNDING THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

Since November of 2007, a gang of trannies, queers and miscreants had made clear their intentions: they were going to fuck up the conventions. From as early as discussions at NCOR in March, the criticism was made that organizing around the conventions was somewhat irrelevant to queer anarchist struggle.

True. Struggles for queers have largely, and rightfully so, been rooted in the desires and needs of queer bodies. From Stonewall, to the White Night Riots, to STAR, to the battles with AIDS, the struggles of radical trannies and queers have always involved matters of empowerment and immediate survival. In that context, it is understandable why many queers would not be quick to put a year of work into the RNC or DNC. After all, our bodies would still be in prison and we'd

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still be killed on the street without regard for the events of four days in St. Paul and Denver.

We get that. But we don't live in 1969. Queers aren't engaged in four-day-long street-battles with police anymore. We haven't burnt cop cars or attacked capitols lately. We aren't occupying federal buildings, and public sex in enormous squatted buildings is sadly a matter of envious nostalgia for our generation. Rather, we have the banal regurgitation of heterosexuality and patriarchy in the form of campaigns for marriage and military service.

Understandably, we needed a reason to get excited. We needed a chance to position ourselves as a force. We needed to feel strong. Above all else, we needed to find one another as individuals who wanted this world's head on a platter — we needed folks to dance with atop the rubble.

The author of this tragically incomplete analysis cannot attest to anything that happened in Denver, but really hopes someone else will.

While fun, and a worthwhile experience, what happened with the *BashBack!* blockade in the streets of St. Paul was neither outstanding, nor as wild as it could have been.

A lot of shit was put in the roads; shit in the roads got broke, one persyn was arrested, another got fucked up by a horse. The blockade created a situation that kept buses from entering the Excel on Kellogg for about 40 minutes. Later, folks got into a few scuffles with the Westboro Baptist Church. Oh, and a terrified and bewildered corporate journalist got a great story about a "funnel cloud" of tire slashing, cop terrorizing, genderfuckers.

From the perspective of this participant, more could have happened. The conflict could have been escalated, and the ante could have been upped. I can say, though, that standing down a charging line of horse cops, linked arm-in-arm with friends and lovers in their sexiest attire has left me with a certain taste for conflict — a taste not easily satisfied.

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For this reason, the conventions were an enormous success for *BashBack!* and for radical queers. *BashBack!* as a network, was born entirely out of anti-convention organizing. This organizing made possible the outrageously successful Radical Queer Convergence in April, and the formation of a slew of new queer anarchist groups throughout the country. There are now *BashBack!* groups in at least six cities or areas (Chicago, Denver, Memphis, Michigan, Milwaukee and Upstate New York), as well as crews of radical trannies and queers in several other towns.

To be clear, the relationships and networks we've built are here to stay. We've fucked one another, we've slept on each others' floors, we've sat for hours in lovely parks applying glitter to our costumes. That doesn't go away after four days. The only place we're going is forward.

The work we've done to create a network of queer and trans anarchists has been amazing. Now the next few months and year will truly tell how well we've done. We have a lot of momentum and a lot of passion. With that, we have an opportunity to invigorate and embolden queer organizing in this country.

We don't intend to let that opportunity pass.

We know what we want, and in the flurries of kicking horses and streams of pepper spray, we've found others who want it just as bad. We have only one direction: the queerest of insurrections.

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BASH BACK!
LIVENS UP THE MATTHEW SHEPARD MARCH

29
SEP
2008

THE RALLY

Last night, a couple hundred people held a rally and march in Chicago to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the murder of Matthew Shepard. Much to the dismay of some of the more mainstream elements in the crowd, Radical Cheerleaders Chicago performed on stage at the the rally in front of a large banner that read, “We’re Here, We’re Queer, We’re Anarchists, We’ll Fuck You Up!” However, a large portion of the young people up front and other march organizers enjoyed the fabulous display of resistance.

THE MARCH

Thirty radical Transfolk, Queers and allies marched behind a sparkling silver banner that read “Bash Back!” We banged on pans, blew whistles, screamed, moaned, and chanted. As to be expected, some liberals in the crowd were infuriated when people began chanting, “We’re Here, We’re Queer, Fuck the police!” and “When the Police Attack, We Bash Back!”

One person even asked us why we were bashing the police, after all they are here “to protect us.” As this person is clearly ass-backwards some felt like it was not worth answering the person’s question. Others quickly took up the chance, “Did you see the presentation at the rally of the cops murdering that queer kid?!” “I work with sex workers in this neighborhood. Trans and Queer sex workers are raped, beaten and arrested in this city on a regular basis. Get the fuck out of your bubble!” another person yelled.

As the march went on and began to be heckled by drunk, Yuppie, baseball fans a chant arose, “Die Yuppie Scum! We’ll fuck you in the bum!” At one point the crowd even began

BASH BACK!
LIVENS UP THE MATTHEW SHEPARD MARCH

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THE RALLY

Last night, a couple hundred people held a rally and march in Chicago to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the murder of Matthew Shepard. Much to the dismay of some of the more mainstream elements in the crowd, Radical Cheerleaders Chicago performed on stage at the the rally in front of a large banner that read, “We’re Here, We’re Queer, We’re Anarchists, We’ll Fuck You Up!” However, a large portion of the young people up front and other march organizers enjoyed the fabulous display of resistance.

THE MARCH

Thirty radical Transfolk, Queers and allies marched behind a sparkling silver banner that read “Bash Back!” We banged on pans, blew whistles, screamed, moaned, and chanted. As to be expected, some liberals in the crowd were infuriated when people began chanting, “We’re Here, We’re Queer, Fuck the police!” and “When the Police Attack, We Bash Back!”

One person even asked us why we were bashing the police, after all they are here “to protect us.” As this person is clearly ass-backwards some felt like it was not worth answering the person’s question. Others quickly took up the chance, “Did you see the presentation at the rally of the cops murdering that queer kid?!” “I work with sex workers in this neighborhood. Trans and Queer sex workers are raped, beaten and arrested in this city on a regular basis. Get the fuck out of your bubble!” another person yelled.

As the march went on and began to be heckled by drunk, Yuppie, baseball fans a chant arose, “Die Yuppie Scum! We’ll fuck you in the bum!” At one point the crowd even began

yelling such fun slogans as: “Make Total Destroy!” and “We’ll smash your windows, just like in St. Paul!” (clearly parody).

Overall the evening was quite a success. A number of people were exposed to *BashBack!* and seemed quite interested in our messaging. Others were outed as nothing less than assimilationist trying to co-opt true resistance into the Obama campaign.

One thing many Midwestern radical Transfolk and Queers have learned in the passed year of organizing, is cops have absolutely no idea how to respond to a large crowd of pissed off Trans and Queer people. Lets keep it up. Remember, our beloved sluts, do not hesitate! Fight on our terms.

To Fucking on the Corpses
of Corporate Whores,

BASH BACK!

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CHICAGO: FOR KIRSTEN: BASH BACK!
CHICAGO REALLY REALLY FREE MARKET

Having lost Kirsten Brydum, Bash Back wants to start a long over-due Really Really Free Market.

We recently lost an amazing activist. Close friends report that the body of San Francisco activist Kirsten Brydum was found two weeks ago in New Orleans, where Kirsten had traveled as part of a popular education tour. Kirsten was known locally as an organizer of the Really Really Free Market in Dolores Park, a monthly gathering to freely exchange goods and services with no money, trade or barter.

In memoriam Bash Back would like to put on a
Chicago Really Really Free Market!
October 26 from noon to 5 PM

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BASH BACK! RAISES HELL AT ANTI-QUEER MEGACHURCH

10 NOV 2008

The Mount Hope Church is a deplorable, anti-queer megachurch in Lansing, Michigan. The church works to institutionalize transphobia and homophobia through several repulsive projects including organized "ex-gay" conferences and so-called "hell houses", which depict queers, trannies and womyn who seek abortions as the horrors. Mt. Hope is complicit in the repression of queers in Michigan and beyond.

BashBack! ain't down with that. And so on Sunday November 9th, about thirty radical queers from Lansing, Chicago, Memphis and Milwaukee disrupted the church's most well-attended sermon.

At noon, a small group of folks dressed in pink and black, equipped with a megaphone, black flags, picket signs, and an upside-down pink cross began demonstrating outside the church. The group was extremely loud and wildly offensive.

The demonstration drew a majority of Mount Hope's security staff outside to watch them.

Meanwhile, with the guards preoccupied by the distraction, over a dozen queers had put on their Sunday best and infiltrated the church's congregation. At the signal that the guards had been lured outside, the infiltrators sprang into action.

A group stood up, declared themselves fags, and began screaming loudly. Upon hearing the loud interruption, other affinity groups went into action. A team that had been hiding under the pews in the closed-off balcony dropped a banner and pulled back the curtains to reveal "IT'S OKAY TO BE GAY! BASH BACK!" Another group threw over a thousand fliers to the entirety of the congregation. The fire alarm was pulled. Queers began making out in front of the pastor. And within a matter of minutes, everyone had evaded the guards and made their escapes.

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BashBack! operatives, still hidden among the congregation, observed a person screaming that Satan had come to Mount Hope, that the end was here, that the queers were everywhere. She then began speaking in tongues. The dumbfounded pastor, after regaining his composure, went on to speak of the decadent, depraved wolves that menace his flock of sheep.

Let it be known: so long as bigots kill us in the streets, this pack of wolves will continue to BASH BACK!

We are everywhere.

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BASH BACK! OLYMPIA TRASHES MORMON CHURCH

> ast night, under the veil of fog, we visited the Church of Latter Day Saints. We left their locks glued with anarchist messages scrawled in spray paint over their boring veneer.

We did this to show our solidarity with all who are resisting heterosexism everywhere, hopefully to spur them into action; and also because we are angry at the amount of money and propaganda that the Mormon church pumped into the homophobic Proposition 8 campaign. From their disgusting commercials to their despicable sermons to those gross lawn signs, we are sick of this parade of bigotry. The Church has to pay.

We as anarchists are opposed to marriage but we see this blatantly anti-gay act as a threat to all us gay, lesbian, transgendered and queer folk. The Proposition 8 campaign was used as a medium to instill homophobic fear into the population of California so as to squash queer culture; it is dangerous to let these actions go unchecked and not confronted.

Liberating our sexual fantasies and desires is dangerous to this rigid system, because free people enjoying themselves in a plethora of ways sexually will eventually want to enjoy

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The Mormon church (just like most churches) is a cesspool of filth. It is a breeding ground for oppression of all sorts and needs to be confronted, attacked, subverted and destroyed. The church reinforces sexism, transphobia, homophobia, racism, capitalism, and leaves its members emotionally wounded and unable to engage in critical thinking. The Mormon church teaches us to hate our bodies, not to trust ourselves or our desires. This ends up deforming us as healthy sexual and communal beings. This is unacceptable.

These are a few reasons why an affinity group of the Olympia, Washington Chapter of *BashBack!* decided to attack their church with glue and paint. Let this be a warning to the Mormon church: dissolve completely or be destroyed. The choice is yours...

BashBack! Olympia

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BASH BACK! NEWS RESPONDS TO DEATH THREATS

To those who have threatened to kill us in the past week:

- You have put us in camps.
- You have imprisoned us otherwise.
- You bombed our bars and clinics.
- You helped pass anti-Gay legislation.
- You have killed us in the streets and beat us in your schools.
- And that one time when we were 13 you let us jerk you off in your tree fort.

So get the fuck over it!

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So get the fuck over it!

Trans and Queer Folk face threats of violence on a daily basis. We have dealt with this shit our entire lives. As a result, we find your rhetoric to be unoriginal and frankly a bit stale. Furthermore, your yelps of legal repercussions, hell, and even murder do not deter us. They just fuel our fire, baby.

BashBack! is devoted to exposing, confronting, challenging, and smashing our oppressors to itsy bitsy pieces. We're fixing to tear this world of heteronormative control to shreds. We are everywhere and will meet you at every opportunity. There are now *BB!* chapters in Milwaukee, Chicago, Colorado, Memphis, Upstate New York, Lansing, DC, Philly, and Olympia. It won't be long before we come for you.

(Shout out to the non-*BB!* radical Queermo groups in NYC, Maine, SF, and other places!)

We know that you call us terrorists because our very existence terrorizes you. This makes us proud, but you ain't seen nothing yet. Nevertheless, we must remind ourselves that your bizarre delusions are not enough to liberate us from patriarchy. One day, soon enough, the secret Tranny sleeper operatives posing as your spouses will wake, and oh what a day that will be!

So you want a real social war? Bring it! We can fuck you up while we're fucking each other. We pack heat in our bedrooms and on the streets. Bet you can't do that, KKK.

BashBack! News

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BB! LANSING: WHY MOUNT HOPE?

A MEMBER OF BB! LANSING EXPLAINS WHY MOUNT HOPE CHURCH WAS THE TARGET

WHAT WAS THAT NOISE!?

BASH BACK! RESPONDS TO THE BACKLASH

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> n the past weeks there has been an unprecedented amount of controversy and reaction to the *BashBack!* action at Mount Hope Church, in Lansing Michigan. Thanks to the media (who have failed to cover this with any amount of effort or concern for the truth), as well as incessant bloging, many important pieces of information have been lost, and at times, changed completely. We would like to set some things … "straight"!

WHY MOUNT HOPE CHURCH?

The first issue we would like to address is the nationally wide-spread question of, "Why Mount Hope Church?" (MHC) Good question. The first thing to realize is we did not just randomly pick a place, nor did we pick the biggest place. A lot of issues went into our decision; I will discuss the major ones: First, MHC's stance on queer identities. In their recent press release, Dave Williams (or D-Willy as we affectionately refer to him) states that they simply see being gay as a sin equal to any other, such as, lying or stealing. This is a sneaky way of getting off the hook. You can see for yourself that they take it much more seriously.

According to one of MHC nearly all forms of sexual expression (and specifically homosexuality) are considered "sexual addiction". Openly lumping homo's in with such sinners as peeping-Toms, flashers and even rapists!!! These "addictions" they work to "cure" through strict "support groups" such as Dunamai. And at times they even send men to live in brainwashing camps such as Pure Life Ministries. They also organize with other ex-gay organizations such as Love in

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Action, Homosexuals Anonymous, and L.I.F.E. Ministries. It is clear that MHC takes an active approach to repressing queer identity and all forms of sexual expression outside of the Christian, straight, married and husband-controlled structure. This ruins people's whole lives and families by making them repress their desires so completely that they grow to hate themselves and/or act out against or ignore their spouses and families. This church is nothing short of a disease in the community, and in the minds of those who attend.

"D-Willy", Pastor of Mount Hope, (and personal enemy of *BashBack!*) stated that he did not "choose to identify MHC as anti-choice." However, every Halloween the Church puts on the heavily protested "Hell House", an extremely offensive and yes radical approach to shock people into their right wing belief structure. One of the rooms within this Hell House completely inaccurately depicts a womyn receiving an abortion. In the act, the doctor uses dirty tools, and horrible machine sounds play over loud speakers. With the presence of demons, and her screams of pain, one leaves feeling like they just witnessed a most violent atrocity. How is this not actively anti-choice?

Another important reason that MHC was chosen, was the deep personal tie many organizers have to the church. Some members of *BashBack!* have been members of MHC. Others were raised in evangelical churches very similar in message and method. For them, this was a liberating step. A personal confrontation with those who had made the journey to adulthood and personal identity a struggle wrought with self-hate, repression, guilt and loneliness. All of which eventually evolved into healthy anger, strength, free sexual expression, and activism. This has helped to build a strong community within *BashBack!* And we support their choice to confront those that would choose to put them back in that dark place of self-hate!

From here I could go into all the other reasons MHC should be confronted. For example, the undeniable fact that megachurches are really just big business. This can be seen in the way they pressure their congregation (or audience) to buy

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their books and DVDs and other products. Or the incredible amount of money grossed by that church in a year. Another reason is the international church plantings. MHC has no regard for indigenous culture. There are dozens of reasons we chose Mount Hope Church.

"Our culture is permeated with sexual imagery. Magazine racks offer pictures of girls in teensy bikinis. Prime time situation comedies almost continually revolve around sexual storylines involving teenage promiscuity, extra-marital affairs, homosexuality and worse."

"At times, a pastor or counselor may very well find himself helping men who frequent adult bookstores, strip clubs, massage parlors and prostitutes. On occasion, he may also be compelled to minister to men involved with peeking in windows, exposing themselves to women, making obscene telephone calls, sexually assaulting others, or even having sex with animals. He will most certainly deal with promiscuity — among teenagers and adults. More than likely he will minister to homosexuals — both male and female."

WHAT DID BASH BACK! HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH? WHY THESE SHOCKING TACTICS?

There were a few main points and goals of this action:

To confront the oppressors that run the church and show them some of us are unafraid and will resist them. Calling them out in front of their congregation was an important part of that. Showing that we are angry with their destructive behavior was also an important part of the message.

To provide a space for those who had been mentally tortured by MHC and other places similar to confront their "demons" and fight back! Their emotional health was a very real concern of this action.

To show the youth we are not alone! With an action of great energy and helpful fliers we wanted to send a message of acceptance and understanding. We realize that thinking

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LANSING QUEERS BASH BACK AGAINST TRANS-PHOBE IN BATHROOM!

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IMPORTANT NOTE: *Trans-people deal with an unbelievable amount of bullshit every day from trans-phobes. So many spaces (that most everyone else takes for granted) are directly dangerous for trans-people. Bathrooms are one of the most dangerous and uncomfortable of these spaces...*

On Wednesday November 19th a group of Lansing queers went out to the local gay club to dance and get their drink on. The night was full of cheap beer, sexxxy strippers, and a super gay beat. It seemed as though the night would end as nicely as it had began. At bar close, everyone decided to hit the bathrooms before heading out the door. Two of the kids in the Lansing group were trans-guys. One decided to use the "women's" bathroom and the other chose to risk the "men's" (we'll call him Dru). Sure enough, just as he was leaving the "men's" bathroom, a large man blocked the door way.

"Excuse me," said the Lansing queer.

The man leaned down and forward and said, "I know you're a bitch"!

This lead to an inevitable argument, which quickly escalated. Eventually a womyn appeared in the doorway and pleaded that the trans-phobe was just drunk, so therefore excusable. She then pulled the man into the "women's" restroom, where Dru chased after. Here, the other Lansing queers still happened to be. :-) As the argument was going on between Dru and the man's friend, the man turned to look himself in the mirror and say to his reflection, "ok, so you are about to fight a bitch." At this point, Dru flew around the womyn grabbing the phobe, slamming him up against the wall. At the same time the other Lansing kids came out from the stalls. A struggle ensued where both Dru and the tranny-basher exchanged a slew of punches.

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The man eventually ended up pinned to the floor of a stall with Dru on top of him bashing back! and another queer stomping him between his legs!

One hilarious statement from a friend who assisted in the brawl was, "At one point after [the tranny-phobe] was losing the fight, he yelled 'OK OK, IM SORRY! CAN WE BE FRIENDS!?' Dru replied with 'FUCK NO!', and hit him again." The fight lasted some 2-3 long minutes with the man sustaining serious facial injury and ball crushing! Bouncers eventually removed Dru, but agreed it was instigated by the queer-basher. It is believed the tranny-hater came out of the fight with a broken nose and multiple other injuries, as well as possible "popped" testicles and a majorly broken ego. Dru sustained a black eye and bruised knuckles. No one else was injured.

LET IT BE KNOWN, we are not backing down, we will not retreat! If you threaten us we will BASH BACK! If you fuck with us in the bathroom, we will make it a place where YOU no longer feel safe! Time for a taste of your own fucking medicine! Your time of power is over! We are the menace now, give us our space or we will fucking take it by ANY means necessary.

BB! Lansing supports this action of defense, and hopes it inspires all oppressed people to resist the norm and BASH BACK!

The man eventually ended up pinned to the floor of a stall with Dru on top of him bashing back! and another queer stomping him between his legs!

One hilarious statement from a friend who assisted in the brawl was, "At one point after [the tranny-phobe] was losing the fight, he yelled 'OK OK, IM SORRY! CAN WE BE FRIENDS!?' Dru replied with 'FUCK NO!', and hit him again." The fight lasted some 2-3 long minutes with the man sustaining serious facial injury and ball crushing! Bouncers eventually removed Dru, but agreed it was instigated by the queer-basher. It is believed the tranny-hater came out of the fight with a broken nose and multiple other injuries, as well as possible "popped" testicles and a majorly broken ego. Dru sustained a black eye and bruised knuckles. No one else was injured.

LET IT BE KNOWN, we are not backing down, we will not retreat! If you threaten us we will BASH BACK! If you fuck with us in the bathroom, we will make it a place where YOU no longer feel safe! Time for a taste of your own fucking medicine! Your time of power is over! We are the menace now, give us our space or we will fucking take it by ANY means necessary.

BB! Lansing supports this action of defense, and hopes it inspires all oppressed people to resist the norm and BASH BACK!

URGENT: TRANS WOMAN OF COLOR MURDERED BY MEMPHIS POLICE!

On February 12, 2008, Duanna Johnson was brutally beaten by a Memphis police officer after she refused to respond when the fucker called her "he-she" and "faggot." That night, Johnson became yet another of the countless trans women of color to be targeted and severely beaten by police in this country. The media coverage of the incident was enormous, after Duanna's mother went to MSNBC with the attack. To seem as though they gave a fuck in front of the media, the department fired two officers, although neither was prosecuted.

This past Sunday, Duanna Johnson, a close friend and comrade was found murdered on the streets of Memphis. Already, there is speculation that one of the officers is behind the murder, as countless evidence has simply vanished.

BashBack! Memphis will be holding a meeting Thursday November 20th, at a location TBA to decide how the Memphis radical queer and trans community will address this situation.

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MILWAUKEE BASH BACK! DROPS BANNER IN MEMORY OF DUANNA JOHNSON

> n the frigid night of November 20th, a cadre of *BashBack!* miscreants in Milwaukee dropped a banner from a bridge that read "R.I.P. Duanna" in memory of Duanna Johnson, a transwoman murdered by police in Memphis. The 20th was National Transgender Day of Remembrance and we couldn't let the atrocity of Duanna's murder go unrecognized. Let it be known to all racist, transphobic thugs: "your days are numbered." Act up! Bash Back!

21 NOV 2008 • 23 NOV 2008

BASH BACK! MEMPHIS KICKS OFF AVENGE DUANA CAMPAIGN

> n the evening hours of Saturday, November 22nd, anonymous *BB! Memphis* operatives called in to request that a hearse, a casket, and a dozen pink daisies be delivered to Officer Bridges McRae, Duanna Johnson's attacker, as he dressed for church on Sunday.

A note attached to the flowers read:

"See you soon... - Duanna BB!"

Officer Bridges McRae is responsible for beating Duanna Johnson with handuffs and fists just months prior to her "mysterious" death. It is clear that McRae and others in the notoriously anti-trans/queer Memphis Police Department had it out for Duanna. *BashBack! News*, clandestine queers, and above ground activists know that the MPD murdered Duanna. Anyone who denies this fact is living in the bubble that *BashBack!* is dedicated to bursting.

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PHILLY: BASH BACK! DISRUPTS TRAFFIC IN RESPONSE TO TRANS KILLINGS

25 NOV 2008

> n response to the recent murder of of Duanna Johnson, Philly's incompetence in trying Erika Keels' murderer, and to show our love to all the Trans Folks who lost their lives to hate, Bash Back Philly took to the streets in our first action to mark the beginning of our existence.

As people left the hollow towers that cover our world in shadows to go home to another day of gray, we here at Bash Back Philly had a different plan for them. Slowly, block by block, we reclaimed the streets, blocking traffic to leave the pink body outline of our murdered family member and the words "Stop Trans Murder", passing out flyers to raise awareness to the most recent of our people's murders and the lack of respect our city shows for us. As the snow and rain beat down on our backs we continued our Reclaim The Streets avoiding potential arrests and angry cars trying to run us down. The people out in the streets were with us though, which was inspiration enough to continue our action

Passersby, wage slaves, and of course upper class gays were all learning that our queerstory is not all about San Francisco. That we are everywhere and we will not lose our lives and family without a fight.

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Bash Back! Philly
(the city that cracked the Liberty Bell)

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UNDERGROUND CELL OF BASH BACK! TRASHES MORMON CHURCH... AGAIN

We had a great last night sneaking about in snow covered Olympia.

We paid another visit to the bigots over at the Mormon Church. We covered their building with messages in spray paint, such things as “there is no sin in your desire”, “love who you want to love and love how you please”, “sex is fun! It’s not shameful”, “queer and trans insurrection” and many, many, many, many others. We also left them a surprise, it’s a pretty big one, we think they’ll notice it within a few days.

The Mormons are an atrocious bunch and, well, it just felt amazing to fuck up their holy place, especially on an early Sunday morning with the snowflakes glistening in the street lamps. They have been so active in suppressing their flocks sexual urges through instilling bankrupt ideas of morality and shame, we hope that a few people read that and went home to commit loving acts of sodomy.

We’re also pretty fucking fed up with the way those Mormons have been giving us queer and trans people so much shit, they treat us like we’re some sort of plague that they need to quarantine before it spreads. When actually this plague is something innate in us as humans, you can’t quarantine us, cause we already exist inside of everyone. We are desire, we are freedom, we are acting on urges and possibilities, we are passion, we are a break from the routine, from the expected, from the drudgery, we are the nibble on your earlobe, the sex in the forest or the kiss under the stars. We are sexy, sexy, anarchists.

Around the world people are breaking away from their dreary slumber, rejecting the tediousness of their boring lives and finding meaning in attacking systems of misery. Let this be a call out for more actions, bigger ones, and bigger still. We want nothing from their world to stand, we want to create our

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own world, where everything is possible and everything is permitted.

We did this in solidarity with those sexy Greek rioters we've been hearing so much about. Damn, those kids really know how to turn us on, they get us all warm inside on these cold winter nights. We wish we could grab a few of those Greeks by the balaclava and just… well you know…

More attacks to cum.

An underground cell of Bash Back!

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S.I.N. CONFRONTS WESTBORO BAPTIST CHURCH

After a week of waiting, on December 13th, members of the Sodomite Insurgent Network finally got the opportunity to have a reunion of sorts with members of the Westboro Baptist Church (God Hates Fags). Unable to hide any longer, this scum first emerged at the busy North Loop intersection of Wacker and Michigan. About ten sodomites immediately disrupted their proselytizing, marching into the intersection in the height of militant queer fashion, behind the beautiful "Fags Hate God" banner to the tune of "Rise and shine and give Satan glory!" After recognizing us rowdy queer fuckers were not willing to tolerate their presence, the WBC members left after only fifteen minutes. Members of the Christian Cult JPUSA were present, "holding signs" about how God loves everyone, but no one fucking cared (peaceful protest doesn't get the job done). With our appetite for fresh Christian fear still unsatisfied, we pursued the scum to their next stop, the Queer Youth Center in Chicago's Boystown neighborhood.

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At Halsted and Waveland, about 100 members of Chicago's gaystream were already waiting for the WBC members, and goodness gracious, these liberal queers were pissed because, after all, who would dare challenge their right to assimilate! They did, however (by no small miracle), manage to prove useful today. Shortly upon arriving, with S.I.N. operatives already dispersed throughout the crowd, the WBC members felt so threatened they had to take shelter in the pig station! They barely even lasted ten minutes.

To the WBC scum, this is only the beginning.
Because militant pink and black is so fucking sexy,

The Sodomite Insurgent Network

BASH BACK! COMMUNIQUÉ #666

Greetings ass-pirates and carpet-munchers,

As we're sure you've already been made aware, the newly elected president of the United States has committed to repealing the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy, and will allow queers to serve openly in the military. In the past, we at *BashBack!*, have been extremely critical of queer military service. We've been known to refer to DADT activists as "racist, assimilationist fucks" or "imperialist tools" or simply "what fucking idiots." Those familiar with our past position on the issue will be surprised to learn that we have had a change of heart.

We are now completely in favor of queer military service! We have come to several realizations and applaud the repeal of DADT for the following reasons:

» The military has *big* weapons. In our efforts to arm queers, *BB!* crews have been working insidiously to obtain amounts

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of pepper spray and other self-defense weapons. However, if our operatives can infiltrate the military, we will have access to bigger and better toys (not to mention the training that goes with them). We're already fierce as fuck; imagine us with military training.

» After doing some research on the issue, we've discovered that right-wing christians, politicians, and military officials are in consensus on the fact that queers in the military will completely compromise unit cohesion, battle readiness, and the overall strength of the armed forces. Being that *BashBack!* opposes militarism, imperialism and ALL forms of state power, we are ecstatic about the opportunity to destroy the military from the inside!

» We've been watching a lot of military porn and reading a healthy amount of barracks-themed erotica lately. Needless to say, we've developed a bit of a collective military fetish. Our walls are already covered in pre-cum at the very possibility of the orgies we can instigate once we're bunking up with a bunch of sex-deprived sailors.

In short, thank you, Barack Obama and the assimilationist gay establishment!

Truly yours,
the birds of a cumming storm,

Bash Back!

P.S. DADT activists are still racist tools of empire.

P.P.S. Come to the radical queer convergence in May!

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OLYMPIA: CATHOLIC CHURCH ATTACKED

ate last night I paid a visit to the Catholic Church. I super-glued every single one of their locks and smashed up a few windows. I'm sure everyone who's ever committed an act of sabotage knows how amazing that feeling is. If you don't, you should really just try it for yourself.

I am just fed up with the atrocities committed by the Church and it's time to make them suffer for all the misery they have imposed on the world: the witch killings, the genocide of the indigenous, the negation of the body, slavery, the wars of conquest, the destruction of the wild, their complicity in the Nazi holocaust, and everything else they've ever done. I'm sick of it and I'm not going to take it anymore.

Now they've called for a peace after Oscar Grant's murder in Oakland, saying he was in a better place now (away from his girlfriend and child) and then had the nerve to denounce the following riots. The Church are murderers, they killed every single culture whose path they've crossed and now they're calling for peace? Fuck that, I want war.

Christianity needs to be burnt at the stake.

All this action took was stolen super-glue, a bicycle, a face mask, some gloves and a hammer. I approached the building at night through the side entrance, left my bike near the road by some trees and then put a tooth pick into a lock and then squirted in the glue (so as to help the glue stick better) and repeated this five more times. Then I got out the hammer and smashed a few windows, ran to my bike and rode back home. On the ride home I threw away the super-glue containers in a dumpster.

This action is in solidarity to the rioters in Oakland and Greece, *BashBack!*, native warriors still resisting the church and the 2010 Olympic Games, and to whoever burned down Sarah Palin's church.

Smash Things Up in the Night!

A Renegade Angel

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Toward the Queerest Insurrection

by the mary nardini gang

I

Some will read "queer" as synonymous with "gay and lesbian" or "LGBT". This reading falls short. While those who would fit within the constructions of "L", "G", "B" or "T" could fall within the discursive limits of queer, queer is not a stable area to inhabit. Queer is not merely another identity that can be tacked onto a list of neat social categories, nor the quantitative sum of our identities. Rather, it is the qualitative position of opposition to presentations of stability — an identity that problematizes the manageable limits of identity. Queer is a territory of tension, defined against the dominant narrative of white-hetero-monogamous-patriarchy, but also by an affinity with all who are marginalized, otherized and oppressed. Queer is the abnormal, the strange, the dangerous. Queer involves our sexuality and our gender, but so much more. It is our desire and fantasies and more still. Queer is the cohesion of everything in conflict with the heterosexual capitalist world. Queer is a total rejection of the regime of the Normal.

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II

As queers we understand Normalcy. Normal, is the tyranny of our condition; reproduced in all of our relationships. Normalcy is violently reiterated in every minute of every day. We understand this Normalcy as the Totality. The Totality being the interconnection and overlapping of all oppression and misery. The Totality is the state. It is capitalism. It is civilization and empire. The totality is fence-post crucifixion. It is rape and murder at the hands of police. It is "Str8 Acting" and "No Fatties or Femmes". It is Queer Eye for the Straight Guy. It

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is the brutal lessons taught to those who can't achieve Normal. It is every way we've limited ourselves or learned to hate our bodies. We understand Normalcy all too well.

III

When we speak of social war, we do so because purist class analysis is not enough for us. What does a marxist economic worldview mean to a survivor of bashing? To a sex worker? To a homeless, teenage runaway? How can class analysis, alone as paradigm for a revolution, promise liberation to those of us journeying beyond our assigned genders and sexualities? The Proletariat as revolutionary subject marginalizes all whose lives don't fit in the model of heterosexual-worker.

Lenin and Marx have never fucked the ways we have.

We need something a bit more thorough — something equipped to come with teeth-gnashing to all the intricacies of our misery. Simply put, we want to make ruins of domination in all of its varied and interlacing forms. This struggle inhabiting every social relationship is what we know as social war. It is both the process and the condition of a conflict with this totality.

IV

In the discourse of queer, we are talking about a space of struggle against this totality — against normalcy. By "queer", we mean "social war". And when we speak of queer as a conflict with all domination, we mean it.

V

See, we've always been the other, the alien, the criminal. The story of queers in this civilization has always been the narrative of the sexual deviant, the constitutional psychopathic inferior, the traitor, the freak, the moral imbecile. We've been excluded

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at the border, from labor, from familial ties. We've been forced into concentration camps, into sex slavery, into prisons.

The normal, the straight, the american family has always constructed itself in opposition to the queer. Straight is not queer. White is not of color. Healthy does not have HIV. Man is not woman. The discourses of heterosexuality, whiteness, and capitalism reproduce themselves into a model of power. For the rest of us, there is death.

In his work, Jean Genet asserts that the life of a queer is one of exile — that all of the totality of this world is constructed to marginalize and exploit us. He posits the queer as the criminal. He glorifies homosexuality and criminality as the most beautiful and lovely forms of conflict with the bourgeois world. He writes of the secret worlds of rebellion and joy inhabited by criminals and queers.

Quoth Genet,

> Excluded by my birth and tastes from the social order, I was not aware of its diversity. Nothing in the world was irrelevant: the stars on a general's sleeve, the stock-market quotations, the olive harvest, the style of the judiciary, the wheat exchange, flower-beds. Nothing. This order, fearful and feared, whose details were all inter-related, had a meaning: my exile.

VI

A fag is bashed because his gender presentation is far too femme. A poor transman can't afford his life-saving hormones. A sex worker is murdered by their client. A genderqueer persyn is raped because ze just needed to be "fucked straight". Four black lesbians are sent to prison for daring to defend themselves against a straight-male attacker. Cops beat us on the streets and our bodies are being destroyed by pharmaceutical companies because we can't give them a dime.

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A fag is bashed because his gender presentation is far too femme. A poor transman can't afford his life-saving hormones. A sex worker is murdered by their client. A genderqueer persyn is raped because ze just needed to be "fucked straight". Four black lesbians are sent to prison for daring to defend themselves against a straight-male attacker. Cops beat us on the streets and our bodies are being destroyed by pharmaceutical companies because we can't give them a dime.

Queers experience, directly with our bodies, the violence and domination of this world. Class, Race, Gender, Sexuality, Ability; while often these interrelated and overlapping categories of oppression are lost to abstraction, queers are forced to physically understand each. We've had our bodies and desires stolen from us, mutilated and sold back to us as a model of living we can never embody.

Foucault says that

> power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; as the processes which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies.

We experience the complexity of domination and social control amplified through heterosexuality. When police kill us, we want them dead in turn. When prisons entrap our bodies and rape us because our genders aren't similarly contained, of course we want fire to them all. When borders are erected to construct a national identity absent of people of color and queers, we see only one solution: every nation and border reduced to rubble.

VII

The perspective of queers within the heteronormative world is a lens through which we can critique and attack the apparatus

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The perspective of queers within the heteronormative world is a lens through which we can critique and attack the apparatus

of capitalism. We can analyze the ways in which Medicine, the Prison System, the Church, the State, Marriage, the Media, Borders, the Military and Police are used to control and destroy us. More importantly, we can use these cases to articulate a cohesive criticism of every way that we are alienated and dominated.

Queer is a position from which to attack the normative — more, a position from which to understand and attack the ways in which normal is reproduced and reiterated. In destabilizing and problematizing normalcy, we can destabilize and become a problem for the Totality.

The history of organized queers was borne out of this position. The most marginalized — transfolk, people of color, sex workers — have always been the catalysts for riotous explosions of queer resistance. These explosions have been coupled with a radical analysis wholeheartedly asserting that the liberation for queer people is intrinsically tied to the annihilation of capitalism and the state. It is no wonder, then, that the first people to publicly speak of sexual liberation in this country were anarchists, or that those in the last century who struggled for queer liberation also simultaneously struggled against capitalism, racism, patriarchy, and empire. This is our history.

VIII

If history proves anything, it is that capitalism has a treacherous recuperative tendency to pacify radical social movements. It works rather simply, actually. A group gains privilege and power within a movement, and shortly thereafter sells their comrades out. Within a couple years of stonewall, affluent-gay-white-males had thoroughly marginalized everyone who had made their movement possible, and abandoned their revolution with them.

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It was once that to be queer was to be in direct conflict with the forces of control and domination. Now, we are faced

with a condition of utter stagnation and sterility. As always, Capital recuperated brick-throwing street queens into suited politicians and activists. There are log-cabin-Republicans and "stonewall" refers to gay Democrats. There are gay energy drinks and a "queer" television station that wages war on the minds, bodies, and esteem of impressionable youth. The "LGBT" political establishment has become a force of assimilation, gentrification, capital, and state power. Gay identity has become both a marketable commodity and a device of withdrawal from struggle against domination.

Now they don't critique marriage, military, or the state. Rather we have campaigns for queer assimilation into each. Their politics is advocacy for such grievous institutions, rather than the annihilation of them all. "Gays can kill poor people around the world as well as straight people!" "Gays can hold the reigns of the state and capital as well straight people!" "We are just like you".

Assimilationists want nothing less than to construct the homosexual as normal — white, monogamous, wealthy, 2.5 children, SUVs with a white picket fence. This construction, of course, reproduces the stability of heterosexuality, whiteness, patriarchy, the gender binary, and capitalism itself.

If we genuinely want to make ruins of this totality, we need to make a break. We don't need inclusion into marriage, the military and the state. We need to end them. No more gay politicians, CEOs, and cops. We need to swiftly and immediately articulate a wide gulf between the politics of assimilation and the struggle for liberation.

We need to rediscover our riotous inheritance as queer anarchists. We need to destroy constructions of normalcy, and create instead a position based in our alienation from this normalcy, and one capable of dismantling it. We must use these positions to instigate breaks, not just from the assimilationist mainstream, but from capitalism itself. These positions can become tools of a social force ready to create a complete rupture with this world.

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Our bodies have been born into conflict with this social order. We need to deepen that conflict and make it spread.

IX

Susan Stryker writes that the State acts to

> regulate bodies, in ways both great and small, by enmeshing them within norms and expectations that determine what kinds of lives are deemed livable or useful and by shutting down the space of possibility and imaginative transformation where peoples' lives begin to exceed and escape the state's use for them.

We must create space wherein it is possible for desire to flourish. This space, of course, requires conflict with this social order. To desire, in a world structured to confine desire, is a tension we live daily. We must understand this tension so that we can become powerful through it — we must understand it so that it can tear our confinement apart.

This terrain, born in rupture, must challenge oppression in its entirety. This of course, means total negation of this world. We must become bodies in revolt. We need to delve into and indulge in power. We can learn the strength of our bodies in struggle for space for our desires. In desire we'll find the power to destroy not only what destroys us, but also those who aspire to turn us into a gay mimicry of that which destroys us. We must be in conflict with regimes of the normal. This means to be at war with everything.

If we desire a world without restraint, we must tear this one to the ground. We must live beyond measure and love and desire in ways most devastating. We must come to understand the feeling of social war. We can learn to be a threat, we can become the queerest of insurrections.

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X

To be clear:

We've despaired that we could never be as well-dressed or cultured as the Fab Five. We found nothing in Brokeback Mountain. We've spent far too long shuffling through hallways with heads-hung-low. We don't give a shit about marriage or the military. But oh we've had the hottest sex — everywhere — in all the ways we aren't supposed to and the other boys at school definitely can't know about it.

And when I was sixteen a would-be-bully pushed me and called me a faggot. I hit him in the mouth. The intercourse of my fist and his face was far sexier and more liberating than anything MTV ever offered our generation. With the pre-cum of desire on my lips I knew from then on that I was an anarchist.

In short, this world has never been enough for us. We say to it, "we want everything, motherfucker, try to stop us!"

FILTH IS OUR POLITICS!
FILTH IS OUR LIFE!

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» Cooper's Donuts was an all night donut shop on a seedy stretch of Main Street in Los Angeles. It was a regular hangout for street queens and queer hustlers at all hours of the night. Police harassment was a regular fixture of the Cooper's, but one May night in 1959, the queers fought back. What started with customers throwing donuts at the police escalated into full-on street fighting. In the ensuing chaos, all of the donut-wielding rebels escaped into the night.

One weekend in August of 1966, Compton's — a twenty-four-hour cafeteria in San Francisco's Tenderloin neighborhood — was buzzing with its usual late-night crowd of drag queens, hustlers, slummers, cruisers, runaway teens and neighborhood regulars. The restaurant's management became annoyed by a noisy young crowd of queens at one table who seemed to be spending a lot of time without spending a lot of money, and it called the police to roust them. A surly police officer, accustomed to manhandling Compton's clientele with impunity, grabbed the arm of one of the queens and tried to drag her away. She unexpectedly threw her coffee in his face, however, and a melee erupted: Plates, trays, cups, and silverware flew through the air at the startled police who ran outside and called for backup. The customers turned over the tables, smashed the plate-glass windows, and poured onto the streets. When the police reinforcements arrived, street fighting broke out all throughout the Compton's vicinity. Drag queens beat the police with their heavy purses and kicked them with their high-heeled shoes. A police car was vandalized, a newspaper box was burnt to the ground, and general havoc was raised all throughout the Tenderloin.

» What began as an early morning raid on June 28th, 1969, at New York's Stonewall Inn, escalated to four days of rioting

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APPENDIX ONE: RELEVANT QUEER MYTHOLOGY

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throughout Greenwich Village. Police conducted the raid as usual; targeting people of color, transpeople, and gender variants for harassment and violence. It all changed, though, when a bull-dyke resisted her arrest and several street queens began throwing bottles and rocks at the police. The police began beating folks, but soon people from all over the neighborhood rushed to the scene, swelling the rioters' numbers to over 2,000. The vastly outnumbered police barricaded themselves inside the bar, while an uprooted parking meter was used as a battering ram by the crowd. Molotov cocktails were thrown at the bar. Riot police arrived on 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, only to be picked up again at nightfall of the subsequent days.

» On the night of May 21st 1979, in what has come to be known as the White Night Riots, the queer community of San Francisco was outraged and wanted justice for the murder of Harvey Milk. The outraged queers went to city hall where they smashed the windows and glass door of the building. The riotous crowd took to the streets, disrupting traffic, smashing storefronts and car windows, disabling buses, and setting twelve San Francisco Police cruisers on fire. The rioting spread throughout the city as others joined in on the fun!

» In 1970, Stonewall veterans, Marsha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera founded STAR — Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries. They opened the STAR house, a radical version of the "house" culture of black and latina queer communities. The house provided a safe and free place for queer and trans street kids to stay. Marsha and Sylvia as the "House Mothers" hustled to pay rent so that the kids would not be forced to. Their "children" scavenged and stole food

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so that everyone in the house could eat. That's what we call mutual aid!

» In the time between the Stonewall Riots and the outbreak of HIV, the queer community of New York saw the rise of a culture of public sex. Queers had orgies in squatted buildings, in abandoned semi-trucks, on the piers and in bars and clubs all along Christopher street. This is our idea of voluntary association of free individuals! Many mark this as the most sexually liberated time this country has ever seen. Though the authors of this essay wholeheartedly believe we can outdo them.

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GLAMOUR-QUEER SEXTRAVA-GANZA 2

We're gonna party like it's 1999 — and hella fucking queer.

Attention all queers, radicals, transfolk, riot grrls, dykes, bois, faggots, people of color, trannyfags, queens, femmes, bisexual folks, sex workers, genderqueers, perverts, butches, ladyboys, twinks, gays, lesbians, sluts, gender fuckers, bears, cubs, radical cheerleaders, drag kings, polyamorous folks, pansexual people, feminists, tranarchists, transvestites, whores, allies, tops, bottoms, leather daddies, street queens, shemales, bearded ladies, and anyone else in between: get ready for the sleaziest night of your life... again.

Glamourqueer Sextravaganza is a sex positive, consent-driven, safer sex, body positive dance party.

There will be glitter, booze for sale, radical porn, a picture booth, awesome DJ's, champagne, lube wrastlin', consensual spin-the-bottle, a safe space to hook up (also consensually of course), a dressing room, vegan baked goods, cage dancing, and plenty of hot queermos.

This is a fundraiser for *BashBack! Chicago* and F.I.S.T.

CHICAGO: FAGGOT ANARCHISTS FUCK UP PIG CRUISER

Early Sunday morning, Chicago police broke up Glamourqueer, a massive fundraising dance party. It is rumored that as crowds poured into the street, the gas tank of one of the six police cruisers was punctured, rendering it inoperable.

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BB! STATEMENT OF SUPPORT TO THOSE WHO EVICTED THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY

15 MAR 2009

Yesterday, March 14th, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) was forcibly evicted from the San Francisco Anarchist Book Fair. Surprisingly some "Anarchists" have criticized the move and have even defended the Maoists' right to free speech. These Anarcho-Liberals have gone so far as to suggest that throwing water on the RCP's literature is violence. Soon after the incident, the RCP started a petition denouncing their eviction. Dozens of so-called "Anarchists" signed the petition.

These *BashBack!ers* think the petition is a fantastic idea, and we want to thank those who signed the petition of a historically heterosexist organization. Now we know whose side you all are really on.

Until 2003 the Revolutionary Communist Party held the position that Homosexuality was a product of Capitalism. Lesbians, they claimed, were a reaction to the sexist society that Capitalism created. Gay men were a reflection of patriarchy and the dominant bourgeois culture. After the Revolution queers would be eradicated.

The RCP and other state communists are not allies of Queer people or Anarchists. While we do admit there are bigger and better battles to fight, any space that is safe for the RCP is not safe for Queer people. Respect should not be shown to bigots masquerading as revolutionaries. They are our enemies, and should be treated as such.

Freedom of speech is a liberal construct. Oppressors already have their stage. The oppressed must steal it from them.

We want to thank those who evicted the RCP and destroyed their literature. We also want to give a big Fuck You to everyone who signed that stupid fucking petition.

Some Pissed Off Members of Multiple Bash Back! Chapters

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MILWAUKEE: SOLIDARITY WITH ALL COP KILLERS

On March 21st, Lovelle Mixon shot five police officers, killing four before dying in the gunfire. In Oakland we see the fabric of capitalist normalcy being ripped to shreds. Daily instances of racist police violence are transformed into rupture and thrown back in the faces of our oppressors. In January, days of rioting followed the police murder of Oscar Grant. This week, people danced in the streets as cops were shot. At the hospital, others snuck into the emergency room to chant that the shooting was vengeance made actual upon the police. People rallied to honor the memory of Oakland's newest folk hero. Oakland, reterritorialized as a terrain of war against the social order.

In 1959, we fought the street battles with the police as they harassed queers at a donut shop in Los Angeles. In 1966, police brutality against street queens in the Tenderloin mutated into queens beating cops with their purses. In 1969, a seemingly-ordinary police raid on a queer bar in New York erupted into four days of sustained rioting. In 1979 we burnt cop cars in the streets of San Francisco. We meet queerbashers with bricks, mace and batons.

To bash back is to reverse the flows of power and violence; to explode the hyper-normal into situations of previously-unthinkable revolt. We thus find the deepest affinity with all who fight back against the affective poverty and oppression of this world.

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As the police and media work to defame and slander Lovelle Mixon, we express our total solidarity.

Until every queerbasher is beaten to a pulp
and police are but a memory.
Yours for the social war,

An Unknowable Cell of Bash Back!

On March 26th, *BashBack!* operatives dropped a banner from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Union. The banner read only: "We (heart) Lovelle Mixon".

R.I.P. Lovelle Mixon

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Yours for the social war,

An Unknowable Cell of Bash Back!

On March 26th, *BashBack!* operatives dropped a banner from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Union. The banner read only: "We (heart) Lovelle Mixon".

R.I.P. Lovelle Mixon

Criminal Intimacy

by a gang of criminal queers

Because the night belongs to lovers. Because the night belongs to us.
- Patti Smith

ON DEADNESS

APR
2009

TO LIVE IN THIS CULTURE IS TO BE DEAD, BARE. Deadness is the affect and the aspiration of dominant social membership. It is the social relationship wherein life is reduced to exchange and capital. It is everywhere; in those walking the streets without ever meeting the eyes of another, in the exchanges of service work, in the aisles of a department stores and the pews of church. In capital, in heteronormativity, in law, in morality — everywhere it is the logic of death.

The unthinkability of our desires is reiterated over and again. Power and control are written on our bodies. What is passion? Desire? Adventure? Play? What, but such catchy slogans for adverts. Our love and our appetites and our very bodies are inscribed with this culture. Capital is written on our bodies. We dare not dream. How could we conceivably want more than this?

And the agents and exertions of biopower — the boots of queerbashers, the panoptical ever-present surveillance cameras with the flashing blue lights, the sirens and guns of the police, the campaigns for gay marriage and military service, the lingering pains of monogamy, and such shapely mannequins, ad nauseum — stand everywhere erected as checkpoints guaranteeing the impossibility of anything else. Life, stripped bare, is nothing more than raw survival — banal, cold, numbing. Could it be more clear? Hetero-capitalism, this culture, this totality: It is out to destroy us.

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TAKING AND SHARING:
ON GETTING WHAT'S OURS

The machinery of control has rendered our very existence illegal. We've endured the criminalization and crucifixion of our bodies, our sex, our unruly genders. Raids, witch-hunts, burnings at the stake. We've occupied the space of deviants, of whores, of perverts, and abominations. This culture has rendered us criminal, and of course, in turn, we've committed our lives to crime. In the criminalization of our pleasures, we've found the pleasure to be had in crime! In being outlawed for who we are, we've discovered that we are indeed fucking outlaws!

Many blame queers for the decline of this society — we take pride in this. Some believe that we intend to shred-to-bits this civilization and its moral fabric — they couldn't be more accurate. We're often described as depraved, decadent, and revolting — but oh, they ain't seen nothing yet.

Let's be explicit: We are criminal queer anarchists and this world is not and can never be enough for us. We want to annihilate bourgeois morality and make ruins of this world. We're here to destroy what is destroying us.

Let's be speaking of revolt. We are tracing the lineage of our queer criminality and charting the demise of the social order. And oh the nectar from which we drink: lesbian pirates raging the seas, queer rioters setting cop cars ablaze, sex parties amidst the decay of industrialism, bank robbers wearing pink triangles, mutual aid networks among sex workers and thieves, gangs of trannyfags bashing-the-fuck-back. We've been assured that each day could be our last. As such we've chosen to live as if every day is. In turn, we promise that the existent's days are numbered.

In our revolt, we are developing a form of play. These are our experiments with autonomy, power, and force. We haven't paid for anything we're wearing and we rarely pay for food. We steal from our jobs and turn tricks to get by. We fuck in public and

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have never come harder. We swap tips and scams amid gossip and foreplay. We've looted the shit out of places and delight in sharing the booty. We wreck things at night and hold hands and skip all the way home. We are ever growing our informal support structures and we'll always have each other's backs. In our orgies, riots, and heists, we are articulating the collectivity of, and deepening, these ruptures.

ON CRIMINAL INTIMACY, WORLDMAKING, AND BECOMING WHATEVER

The ecstasy and electricity of crime is undeniable. We've felt the sweetest adrenaline rushes as we've dashed from security and blown each other on the bus. And nothing offers up the feeling of being alive more than the weight of a hammer through the facade of capital. Crime helps me get out of bed every morning.

We queers and other insurgents have developed what good folks might call a criminal intimacy. We are exploring the material and affective solidarity fostered between outlaws and rebels. In our obstruction of law, we've illegally discovered the beauty in one another. In revealing our desire to our partners in crime, we've come to know each other more intimately than legality could ever allow. In desire, we produce conflict. And in conflict with capital, we may have found an escape route from the deadening of our lives. Our gang's discourse is conflict.

The real power expressed in our crimes isn't in the damage caused to our enemies or even in the various improvements of our material conditions (though we take pleasure in both). The power we express is in the empowerments and relationships we're creating. In our sex and our attack — when we pull down our masks and share our cache of bricks — we are expanding the possibilities of our affinity. In our crime, we create dynamic new relationships of criminal intimacies. In these possibilities, we are learning how we might, together, reduce this world to rubble.

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We must make ourselves bodies without organs. Within each of us is contained a virtual pool of everything we are capable of becoming — our desires, affects, power, ways of acting, and infinite possibilities. To embody and activate these possibilities we must experiment with the ways our bodies act in conjunction with others. We commit crime together so we can unveil our criminal becoming.

We do not offer 'criminal' or 'queer' as identities, nor as categories. Criminality. Queerness. These are tools for revolt against identity and category. These are our lines of flight out of all restraint. We are in conflict with all that restricts every and each desire. We are becoming whatever. Our sole commonality is our hatred for everything that exists. Held in common, such a revolt of desire can never be assimilated into the state-form.

Right-wing talking-heads invoke the imagery of a 'culture war', waged between civil society on one side and queers on the other. We reject this model of war. Our war is a social war. The nexus of domination and class society is everywhere. Yet everywhere, too, are ruptures and points of conflict. In these fissures we exist in rebellion — we queers, criminals, whatever.

Our dirty talk and our nighttime whispers comprise a secret language. Our language of thieves and lovers is foreign to this social order, yet carries the sweetest notes in the ears of rebels. This language reveals our potential for world making. Our conflict is space for our possible other-selves to blossom. By organizing our secret universe of shared plenty and collective-explosive possibility, we are building a new world of riot, orgy, and decadence.

> Convicts' garb is striped pink and white. Though it was at my heart's bidding that I chose the universe wherein I delight, I at least have the power of finding therein the many meanings I wish to find: there is a close relationship between flowers and convicts. The fragility and delicacy of the former are of the same nature as the brutal insensitivity of the latter. Should I have to

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portray a convict — or a criminal — I shall bedeck them with flowers that, as they disappear beneath them, they will themselves become a flower, a gigantic and new one. Toward what is known as evil, I lovingly pursued an adventure which led me to prison. Those doomed to evil, of their own volition, or owing to an accident which has been chosen for them, they plunge lucidly and without complaining into a reproachful, ignominious element, lie that into which love, if it is profound, hurls human beings. Erotic play discloses a nameless world which is revealed by the nocturnal language of lovers. Such language is not written down. It is whispered into the ear at night in a hoarse voice. At dawn it is forgotten. Repudiating the virtues of your world, criminals hopelessly agree to organize a forbidden universe. They agree to live in it. The air there is nauseating; they can breath it. But — criminals are remote from you — as in love, they turn away and turn me away from the world and its laws. Theirs smells of sweat, sperm, and blood. In short, to my body and my thirsty soul it offers devotion. It was because their world contains these erotic conditions that I was bent on evil. I do not want to conceal in this journal the other reasons which made me a thief. With fanatical care, "jealous care," I prepared for my adventure as one arranges a couch or a room for love; I was hot for crime.

- Jean Genet in "The Thief's Journal"

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SEATTLE: BASH BACK! TRASHES ANTI-QUEER CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

20 APR 2009

To Everyone:

> ast night the Bash Back Unwelcoming Committee greeted the Worldview Apologetics Conference attendees. The conference is being held today through Saturday at Crossroads Bible Church in Bellevue, Washington.

When we first read of the conference we were excited. We thought the Christian Right was finally going to apologize for all the shit we've been put through lately, from the imprisonment of the New Jersey 4 to the execution style murder of trans woman Duanna Johnson, to the death this past week of eleven-year-old Carl Walker-Hoover who committed suicide after consistent unchecked homophobic bullying at school… But alas, appearances are deceiving. We looked up the Apologetics and that's not what it means.

We looked further into the host church more and found out that Pastor Ken Hutcherson, is a known supporter and colleague of Watchmen on the Wall, whose members who are responsible for the death of Satendar Singh in 2007.

As we write these three effigies, we remember the countless others that have been murdered as a result of the sick bigotry spewing from Ken Hutcherson's pulpit. He may not have tied the noose, pulled the trigger or thrown his fist, but his words have encouraged others to do so.

The Worldview Apologetics Conference was another opportunity for well-known queer haters to spread their bullshit. With titles like, "The Difference Between Boys and Girls; Exposing the Lies of Feminism and It's Cost to Society" and "It's Not Like Being Black; Why Homosexual Marriage is

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Not a Civil Rights Issue" these workshops promised a slanted view from a sick few.

To Queer Haters Everywhere:

Starting with last night's action, we're re-writing the "playbook". "Smear the Queer" may be your favorite pastime, but honey let me tell you, we fucking reclaimed the word Queer 15-fucking-years ago and we've got a diversity of tactics. When we wrote "Up Anarchist Queers", "Watchmen Are Killers", "We Are Beauty" and glued all the doors shut, we threw open our own doors and tattooed those words on hour hearts. Welcome to our world shitheads. We may have written on your walls, but you've written anti-queer rhetoric into law.

We hope your homophobic and transphobic hearts continue to sink as you are met with more resistance. Ours continue to beat, stead and strong as we dance in the streets and continue to make our liberation movement irresistible. We don't need permission from the government to build our families. WE build communities where gender self-determination, healthy bodies and open sexuality are loved. We walk with confidence and know our inherent self-worth. Our queer brilliance and fabulousness will always outshine the stink of shit you throw our way.

We would never settle for equality with you, we want liberation and nothing less. Queers around the world take note, the bigger the church, the bigger your canvas. We are here, among you, we are queer, every-fucking-where and we didn't start this war but we are BASHING BACK!

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MEMPHIS: TWO DAYS, TWO ACTIONS FOR DUANNA

On Saturday, a memorial was cemented into a wall along Cooper Street in honor of fallen trans warrior Duanna Johnson by an autonomous cell of *BB! Memphis*. Located just two blocks from the Gay and Lesbian "Community Center" and around a number of gay bars and yuppie hang outs, the site was chosen over the site of her murder. This was in protest of the gentrification of Cooper-Young — once the major hub of all queer sex workers and their clients — by rich white gays, and their subsequent economic and forced removal of trans people, people of color, and sex workers. Further, we contend that these gay gentrifiers and their co-conspirators, the police, are responsible for destroying the centralized trans sex worker community of Cooper/Madison — making them at least *partly* responsible for her murder.

On Sunday, at 9:10AM, another action was undertaken by another autonomous *BashBack!* operative, a self-proclaimed "Satanic tranny", while Bridges McRae and his wife attended Sunday church services at Calvary Chapel in Brandon, MS. The operative pulled out a knife and accidentally sliced all four tires of McRae's SUV as well as one tire of a Sheriff cruiser parked in the church parking lot, escaping into the countryside.

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A RESPONSE TO THE ANARCHO-LIBERAL TAKEOVER OF BASH BACK!

In the days following the 2009 convergence two gender variant people of color involved with Bash Back! wrote, "A Response To..." The communiqué was a public calling out of the mostly white people with liberal tendencies who have caused major divisions at the Bash Back! Convergence during and after the impromptu Saturday night march.

This a response to dynamics and altercations that occurred after what certain individuals are referring to as an "action" Saturday night of the convergence. This response was written by an autonomous cell of the Chicago *BashBack!* chapter, and though it by no means represents the group as a whole, it addresses it as one, including ourselves and others who consider themselves to be members and organizers of *BashBack!*.

First and foremost, *BashBack!* is not an organization. *BashBack!* is a non-hierarchical group of autonomous individuals under the guise of a common purpose. The only thing that really ties us together are the Points Of Unity, which is to say that there is no membership, no dues, no agenda, and no 501(c)(3) status. Those who want to come to consensus before taking action, who would rather undermine the autonomous nature of individuals bashing back should consider another group, or form their own. We are not the only radical queer group in existence, and we don't want to be.

To elaborate on what the nature of bashing back is, and what it means, we should start here. To "bash back" is to protect oneself and our community both in the moment, and preemptively, by any means necessary. To "bash back" is to stand in solidarity with those who are oppressed — in real solidarity, not attempting to make decisions for them along the lines of what you consider to be acceptable behavior. To "bash

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back" is to take accountability for our own lives, to not be led, and not to lead. To "bash back" is to destroy what destroys us.

Sometimes privileged viewpoints can cloud the idea of what "bashing back" means. Playing into the activist mentality of constant mediation, watered-down emotions, consensus, and equality often leaves room for those with the most privilege to invalidate others' reactions to oppressions and strides for liberation. We are not writing this to those who took the night into their own hands, or those who sat beside phones to make sure people they don't even know were safe, or those who slept outside the jail and cheered for not only the four radical queers as they were released, but for everyone who was able to walk out of the concrete and steel cages that morning. We are writing this to those who claim that there was no consensus process, to those who pulled newspaper boxes back onto the sidewalk, and to those who stood by idly watching. You are not in solidarity with us, our struggles, or our identities.

Because of your privilege, you may have never had to fight. The actions of certain individuals made it seem as it they were waiting to be led, or told what to do. If bashing back scares you, you are free to leave. If the way autonomous individuals decided to vocalize long-standing oppressions they've felt scares you, you are free to leave. You are autonomous. This was not an action. It wasn't a planned march, it wasn't a coordinated along a political agenda. Claiming that *BashBack!* takes a stance of non-violence, or that this so-called action was a peaceful protest is not only untrue, but infuriating. This was a spontaneous eruption of anger, joy, vengeance, and desire, more aptly referred to as "doing being totally out of control."

While we're speaking to commonly used radical phrases, another one comes to mind. Our Points of Unity include "Respect a diversity of tactics in the struggle for liberation. Do not solely condemn an action on the grounds that the State deems it to be illegal." This does not only address your reactions to these tactics afterward, while reading and writing communiqués. This addresses your interactions and

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reactions in everyday life, when confronted with situations where you can either choose to act or to stand in solidarity. Undermining struggles and necessary conflict, especially when the authorities are involved, is aiding them and tantamount to snitching. It is treacherous. It is breaking the Points of Unity. Being that the Points of Unity is the only thing that ties our group of radical autonomous individuals together, breaking them means you're *not BashBack!*, you're *not* "bashing back", and you're *not* supporting our struggles.

Assuming you know what's best for a group is privileged and oppressive in and of itself. Assuming you know what's best for anyone else is not radical; it's authoritarian and fucked up. Of course you know what's best for yourself, and that's the point. Perhaps the actions of individuals that night should have reflected autonomy, not the idea that consensus in this situation could be reached, or that it should have been. Making claims about who participates in anything without concrete knowledge erases identities and experiences. It also shows a very obvious ignorance of the history of insurrection in oppressed communities, including those you claim to be speaking for. Basing your decision on whether something is acceptable or not on identities or assumed identities of those around or involved is the same as any fucked up -ism we claim to be against. Speaking for people with identities other than your own in a way that is used to push your political or moral agenda is the same as any fucked up -ism we claim to be against.

The picture at the top of this news site does not consist of props. It is not an iconic image. It is very real. It is not something to be appropriated and transformed into a liberal agenda for the future bureaucrats of America. In the future, if you don't agree to our Points of Unity, don't come to our convergences, don't start a fucking chapter, and don't clog up our meetings or inboxes. We might operate in the realm of semi-above ground activism, but we are not activists. We are people, and we are striving to break free from the chains of oppression — all

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oppression. This is very real. These are our lives, and we're taking them back. We're BASHING BACK!

MEMPHIS: MARSHA P. JOHNSON COLLECTIVE OPENED

In the blazing Memphis heat Saturday, several clandestine queers liberated a house from a notoriously homophobic real estate speculator in the heart of Memphis' gayborhood.

Our hopes for this space is to house runaways, trans and queer youth, sex workers, travelers, and provide a trans- and POC-friendly alternative to the transphobic/racist Memphis Gay and Lesbian Community Center two blocks north!

15 JUN 2009

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CHICAGO POLICE ATTACK QUEERS AT BASH BACK!

On Saturday night, May 30th, a group of approximately one hundred queers disembarked the Red Line train at the Belmont stop into Chicago's Boystown area. Intending to march around a bit, the crowd found themselves too large to fit on the sidewalk (especially in an area where bars are frequent and patrons and tables spill out the front doors). Most of the crowd moved into the street, walking around cars and allowing cars to pass in the middle.

A few blocks down, the crowd took a left turn, and the police showed up from behind. In attempting to get their cars around the crowd, they repeatedly ran into people's legs, in some cases knocking the victim onto the hood of the car, then slamming on their brakes to cause the person to fall to the ground.

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During this time a few queers at the back of the crowd moved one newspaper box and one trash can (without spilling the trash) into the road in front of cop cars. A few other queers, yelling things like "No!" and "This is nonviolent!" moved the items back to the sidewalk (see sibling article, "What Happened at Bash Back?" for more details on this incident).

Kristin's note: In my opinion this was fucked up and endangered people in the street by providing a clearer path for the cops to attack and target people from behind, which is what happened. Discomfort with certain tactics is totally okay, but in these situations please disengage and direct your *energies to something you feel more comfortable with, separate from the other action!!!* Damn.

A few cop cars got to the front of the crowd. The first car in the line stopped and the cop jumped out and ran at the crowd, which parted down a residential side street. The cop stopped, shook his baton at the crowd, then went back to his car. The first few cars followed the crowd onto the side street. More cops parked and began running into the crowd, grabbing queers seemingly at random (although they did catch a high percentage of non-gender-conforming folks) and proceeding to beat them with batons and extendable asps. At this time, there was a scream from the middle of the crowd, and then people shouting, "he just ran her foot over!" The patient was helped out of the fray and a medic took over her evacuation.

During this time, at least eight cops were involved in the beating of at least ten queers in the crowd. They dragged queers into the street and proceeded to hit them with batons, the queers falling to the ground in attempts to protect their heads. Reports tell of at least five successful unarrests as queers watched each other's backs. One queer, after very nearly escaping a very determined cop, was cornered against a building. The cop, waving his baton in the queer's face, kept repeating, "It's over, do you understand? It's over. Take your mask off." The queer, obviously feeling like it was not over,

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took advantage of a lapse of attention from the cop and took off again, successfully escaping into the crowd.

It appears that the most-targeted individuals were those who conform less to binary systems of gender. This was evidenced in the continued targeting of one of the eventual arrestees, when a cisgendered person put herself between the cop and his target and, instead of being hit, was told, “Move it!”

A summary of the injuries suffered by people in the crowd (not just the arrestees): a broken big toe, bruised ribs (three people, one of which developed into pneumonia), bruised kidney, sprained fingers with accompanying infection, separated ligaments in the shoulder, soft tissue damage to the elbow, and uncountable bruises, cuts and scrapes.

In the end, four people were arrested, and spent the remainder of the night being harassed and tormented in the jail. At the holding facility, still in Boystown, the queers were mocked for their choices of hairstyle, questioned without being Mirandized, and threatened with rape (”you won’t like it when we leave you in a cell with Tyrone. He’ll sure like you though.”)

Each of the arrestees, now called the Fabulous Four, is facing a misdemeanor charge of Aggravated Assault of a Police Officer with Hands/Minimal Damage. Three of them are also facing combinations of Obstructing Justice, Evading a Police Officer, Refusal to Obey an Officer, and Resisting Arrest. All of their charges can be summed up in layperson’s terms as: Refusing to Allow Self to be Arrested for No Reason. For that, we must stand behind the Fabulous Four and support them throughout their court process. It could have been any one of us that was there that night, but certain people, even in a crowd of queers, were targeted based on their appearance, and we need to unite behind them.

The first appearance (arraignment) of the Fabulous Four will be on August 7th in Chicago. More information about how to best support them will come in the future. At this point we are not sure who will need travel fees, or if the charges will

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just be dropped altogether, opening the way for a quick civil case. In the meantime, take this month of the anniversary of Stonewall to think about what liberation of queers means, and at what cost to our community it comes, and look for things you can do, either as a queer or as an ally, to support us in our quest.

GANG OF QUEERS BEAT DOWN NAZI AT ALBANY PRIDE MARCH

16 JUN 2009

We found 41 year old "Spanish Blue Blood," a self proclaimed "stormtrooper" of the National Socialist Movement and senior moderator of the NSM's official party forum, sitting on a bus bench waiting for a crew that never showed. The second he saw us he split for the street but didn't get far til we caught up with him and gave him what he deserved.

"Spanish Blue Blood," who lives in the Colonie area of Albany, had been trying for weeks to draw up enough people to stage a counter protest of Albany's Capital Pride march but apparently he couldn't even get a single person out. He recently celebrated his 41st birthday on June 9th so we delivered some belated gifts — in the form of tightly balled fists. The gang beat him until the cops showed and we made our way back into the park with no arrests.

A motley crew of queers, anti-fascists, and anarchists

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WHAT HAPPENED AT BASH BACK!?

"What Happened At Bash Back!?" is an anonymous reportback sent to Bash Back! News on June 16, 2009. It was described as "a political analysis of the events causing in-fighting following the Bash Back national convergence in Chicago, written/collaborated on by people who were there and personally affected by the choices made by others."

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Even with the stories running around and the press releases having just gone out, it seems folks don't have a clear picture of what went down at the Bash Back convergence in Chicago last week. Many have developed opinions without knowing the full story, or understanding the implications of the side(s) they have chosen. Check out the press release "Chicago PD attacks Queers in Boystown" for a more neutral description of the event.

This article makes no attempt to pretend to be neutral. This article is just a more in-depth look at some of the places where solidarity was missing, where we turned on each other instead of on the police state, and where we damaged instead of strengthened future relationships. Hopefully folks can read this, think about it, and learn from it, which will allow our communities to move forward without repeating the same mistakes.

During the march, folks at the back pulled a newspaper stand and a garbage can into the street to slow down the advancing police cars. Others in the crowd ran out, yelling "no!" and "this is a nonviolent protest!" They then moved the objects back to the sidewalk. Moments later, the police cars began ramming those walking in the road, and a few minutes after that, someone's foot was run over by a police car.

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Points to consider about this seemingly simple action:

» Telling anyone no is inappropriate during an action happening under the guise of supporting a diversity of tactics. No is an ending and doesn't open up a dialogue or leave room for other people's opinions.

» The debate about whether property destruction is violence hasn't been solved even through numerous books, countless zines, and thousands of hours of discussion. But even before trying to make a decision on that topic, one should ask about this case: does the moving of mobile boxes even count as property destruction?

» This *wasn't* a nonviolent action. No matter what one's opinion on property destruction/violence is, this action was part of *BashBack!* What part of *BashBack!* sounds "nonviolent"? This isn't to say anything done in connection with *BashBack!* must use force or be violent, but the possibility is included in the name. Bashing back is about taking what's ours, working for liberation, and refusing assimilation. The Points of Unity do not include "nonviolence" and in fact include the phrase "a diversity of tactics."

Moving things back out of the road? Really? What difference is there between that and watering down the cement used in the hard barricade? Reread the "diversity of tactics" section. You can disagree with what some people do, but to actually, physically undo what they've done…

On the flip side, some have claimed "those who moved the blockades out of the roads allowed the police to catch up and hurt people with their cars." It's important that we remember what side we are all on. It is *not* the fault of any of the queers on the street that night (those arrested, those "leading" the march, the organizers of the weekend, or the folks who moved the blockades) that the police chose to be police and bash and arrest us. It is the fault of the police state for existing, and as

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long as we remember that, we have the most important Point of Unity there is: the realization that we are all on the same side, fighting against the same thing.

Another situation that night was the jail support — or more accurately, the lack thereof. Five people went down to the police station in Boystown in the wee hours of the morning where the four arrestees were being held. We didn't even know who all of them were. When they were moved to a paddy wagon, we had to shout across the road to them, "What are your names?"

After they were moved to the jail, three of us sat out front and watched the sun come up while the other two went to bring more folks down to the jail. These other folks, however, weren't very into the idea of supporting their comrades in jail. The folks who had gone to get them were persistent and got a few carloads to come, but most people brushed them off and went back to sleep. Their presence still mattered, though, as did the absence of those who were able to take such easy comfort in their own relative safety and turn off any emotion for the folks in jail.

We had been told when our four arrived there at 6 AM that it would be "most of the day" before they were released. They would have to be fingerprinted, and the fingerprints had to be run, and then Central Station had to do the paperwork to get them out because it was a Sunday. "Most of the day." When queers started showing up by the carload at 6:30 AM, an officer asked those inside, "Who are those people? Are they your friends?" The four didn't answer, but took comfort in hearing that they had friends massing outside. The first of our

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We understand that folks were tired and stressed after the events of the night before. But the four people in jail were tired and stressed, too. We weren't even asking much of folks. Wake up, get in car. No worrying about the location of the jail or how to take the train there. No worrying about what to bring. Just yourself. We had coffee, food, water, blankets and pillows at jail. Some folks who came down just curled back up and went to sleep. Their presence still mattered, though, as did the absence of those who were able to take such easy comfort in their own relative safety and turn off any emotion for the folks in jail.

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comrades was released at 7:30 AM, and by 8 AM, all four were released into our waiting arms. All day, huh?

Anyone who thinks jail support doesn't matter, even after having arrestees run out and leap into the arms of their comrades, crying with the joy of finding such a party outside, should remember this as a time when jail support mattered to those who run things, and caused the expedited release of our friends.

Something to take away from the weekend is the realization that we are stronger together. We may have slightly different opinions on how an action should go down (or on what an action even is) or different priorities when it comes to self-care, but we are closer to each other than we are to the police state, and we would do well to remember which side we're all on in the future.

21
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BASH BACK! INVADES MEMPHIS PRIDE

On Saturday, June 20th, Nike hosted a pride event to shame all others. Complete with HRC floats, "progressive" politicians, overpriced concessions, corporate advertising, army recruiters, police, and speakers calling to send even more folks into the prison industrial complex with hate crime legislation, Memphis Pride provided us with a glimpse of the dreadfully dull world we would live in if the mainstream gay and lesbian "movement" had its way.

Luckily, *BB! Memphis* was there to remind folks that a queer community exists that isn't funded by Budweiser, that doesn't settle for politicians' empty promises, and doesn't treat the BTQ in LGBTQ as an afterthought.

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FRIDAY JUNE 19TH

BashBack! lines Cooper Street with anti-police and anti-Nike fliers, even flyering around the Cooper-Young police substation.

SATURDAY JUNE 20TH

BB! drops a banner near the assembly point for parade goers and the Nike float, which reads "Labor, Just Exploit It" in response to this year's theme *"OUR RIGHTS ARE CIVIL RIGHTS"* and the choice to allow Nike to become the major sponsor. Some folks cheer while others look on, confused what racism and sweatshops have to do with rich white gay civil rights.

BB! files in behind MAGY (Memphis Area Gay Youth) and the Human Rights Campaign, and eventually form a breakaway group. Carrying a banner that reads "FABULOUSLY FIERCE", a boom box, and signs commemorating murdered transwomen, they begin militantly chanting, which riles up the crowd.

When the *BB!* marchers approach the Cooper-Young railroad trestle, a giant banner is dropped over the trestle by *BB!* operatives which reads "THE MPD KILLED DUANNA JOHNSON! END RACISM & TRANSPHOBIA, BASH BACK!"

When the banner is dropped *BB!* marchers play "Fuck the Police" on the boom box and a dance party under the railroad trestle ensues. The march stops, police look bewildered, and other folks start cheering and joining in.

BB! reunites at Peabody Park where the festival is being held and begins passing out queer counter-recruitment literature (thanks *BB! Denver*!) in front of the Repeal Don't Ask, Don't Tell folks.

BB! confronts Michigan Womyn's Festival who is tabling at Memphis Pride and call them out on their transphobia.

A *BB!* operative interrupts Congressman Steve Cohen while he is on stage saying he supported ENDA, calling him "Transphobic Liberal Scum," Some folks cheer on the protester, some transphobic folks boo them.

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SEATTLE: COPS BUST MASSIVE ANTI-CORPORATE PRIDE, CRIMINAL DANCE PARTY

These kids wanted to put the "punk" back in "punctuality" so they promptly began at 11:55 PM. The first song was by Michael Jackson; the crowd of more than 250 people went crazy. They were kicking up dust and yelling. They had been enduring a costly, corporate 21+ pride for two whole nights; this was their moment, their time to shine.

Someone climbed to the top of the hill and asked the DJ to stop. "It's midnight motherfuckers! Stonewall was a queer and trans riot and it happened 40 years ago as of right now! Maybe you didn't know Pride is supposed to be celebrating that moment in our history! Budweiser doesn't include that on the banners they have all over the place. Fuck 21+ venues, fuck covers, fuck corporate Pride. This moment is yours, its ours!"

Dolly Parton blasted and everyone cheered. We did it, we really did it.

At the other end of the parking lot two drivers had called the cops because of a minor wreck. The cop who was taking that report had been watching the goings-on and called for backup. The parking lot where a queer bar called Pony used to be suddenly got the swine flu as more and more cop cars showed up and began shining their lights on the crowd. The queers were not phased; they danced harder, used to the things they value being threatened by the systems that are supposed to protect them.

After five songs and much "you need to leave the parking lot" talk, the cops approached the speaker where the music was coming from. The DJ calmly unplugged his music player and walked away has he had been instructed. One person grabbed the cords connecting the device and disappeared into the crowd. The queer in charge of the power source flew into action and had everything in his bag in a matter of seconds. The kid who needed to take one part of the sound system ran with

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it clutched to their chest, riding away in car. All of this took seconds to happen. These well prepared folx had their shit on lock and the cops were too slow to stop them.

The woman in charge of getting the speaker that was providing sound was carrying it away. The cops grabbed her by the hair and pulled her back. She screamed. Witnesses saw the cop's hand come down hard on the woman's back. Another cop was shaking a man by his jacket, screaming, "I've worked for twelve hours and don't have to deal with this shit!" The cops had pushed the large crowd out of the parking lot by now. Cops yelled hilarious things like, "There's still time to drink, go back to the bars!" Some of the crowd had disappeared leaving only 150 people to chant things like "give us back our speaker!", "up the punks!", "fuck corporate pride!", "out of the bars and into the streets!"

One man was arrested, a cop claiming he had keyed his car. The man's room mate was with him the entire night: "he was standing with me, he didn't key anything. He was standing there and then he was gone." People quickly formed a group around supporting the man until he got out on bail.

Last night's guerrilla dance party showed two things: that queers know how to throw a fucking party and that we're only allowed to celebrate Pride if a large company profits from our gatherings. But the cops came too late, we had proved to ourselves and others that queers don't need to be backed by a corporate sponsor in order to commemorate the queer and trans folx who came before us and made the shit we do daily possible. The folx at Stonewall would have been proud of us and recognized what we were doing because they did it themselves. Last night we made the world we wanted to see.

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INTERVIEW WITH THE MARY NARDINI GANG FROM VENGEANCE 3

VENGEANCE: Does being a proletarian change for you being a militant queer?

MARY NARDINI: Being queer complicates the way we experience our role within capitalism. Queer bodies are often forced to sell their labor in ways that would be excluded from traditional marxist narratives of what it means to be a worker. This includes service workers and sex workers. These forms of exploitation problematize the often heteronormative and patriarchal ideas surrounding what is or isn't labor. Ultimately, the positions of queers and proles intertwine — we are the class that has no control over our bodies. This means different things in various situations. But the bosses that manage our time and the queer bashers that manage our gender are clearly all class-enemies.

V: Why does both the Spectacle and also the mainstream gay and lesbian movement seem to only identify with the middle and upper classes, and never with working and poor people? Who benefits from such a narrative?

MN: It is abundantly obvious that the politicians who lead the "lgbt community" are only interested in preserving power for the ruling class. Political campaigns for gay marriage, gays in the military, and hate crime legislation, only reproduce the capitalist institutions of marriage, military, and the prison industrial complex.

And it goes much deeper than that. Representations of queers portray and capitalize on images of wealthy, affluent, white, able-bodied gays and lesbians. You only need to look as

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far as Will and Grace or a copy of any LGBT magazine to see the way that queer bodies and desires are shaped by capital.

V: Within anarchism, there seems to be a coming clash (or a current clash) between activists and hooligans. Why do you think this is? What are the tensions that have given rise to this division?

MN: To be cheesy and quote *The Coming Insurrection:* "Everyone finds herself forced to take sides; to choose between anarchy and the fear of anarchy." The divide that is happening in the broader anarchist milieu is also happening among radical queers. I think that a lot of the tension is rooted in that a lot of people have confused radical queer struggle as a safe haven for the worst form of identity politics. They're really sorely mistaken. This isn't about sustaining identities, it is about destroying them.

V: Can you speak about the actions that occurred around the time of the Bash Back Conference and your disappointment with some of the people who responded to those actions?

MN: At the *BashBack!* Convergence, a dance-party train occupation. The temporary occupation was an absurd mix of dancing, making-out, and a cacophony of ridiculous chants and singing. This created a situation where people caused a lot of havok, vandalizing the train and reclaiming it as a queered space. A spontaneous street march then erupted from the train. The march attacked luxury cars and pulled shit into the streets.

Someone within the march began pulling newspaper boxes out of the streets and back onto the sidewalk while yelling "this is a peaceful protest." After the newsboxes were removed, a police cruiser literally ran over someone's foot and officers began beating people with their telescoping batons. Four people were arrested.

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The next day, all of the liberal, activist types went on a tirade to denounce the previous nights events.

A telling anecdote: Three white people stand up in a row, and denounce the occupation as racist, because there were people of color on the train. "There were people of color who actually live in Chicago on that train! They are actually part of the community! That's racist! People were being rude!" Then, two female-bodied people of color who live in Chicago respond, saying that they find everyone disgusting. "*BashBack!* isn't about being polite, or nice. *BashBack!* means challenging and destroying normalcy. This is going to be rude. It's going to be messy! If you aren't into this, then you're in the wrong place." Everyone is silent for a moment. Then the stack continues. They are ignored and more white activists continue to talk about how the action was racist and alienating to people of color. It continued as folks talked about all the "white dudes with passing privilege" who instigated the situation.

I'm really disgusted by people's actions and sentiments that day, because of their complicity with the police and their silencing of all the bodies that weren't white, cisgendered, and male.

V: Where would you like to see Bash Back! go in the next several years, if the network is going to continue?

MN: I would like to see groups of queer anarchists working to build autonomous power and get more conflictual. I'm really excited about the squat that *BB! Memphis* just opened for homeless queer/trans youth. I'm really excited about groups distributing free pepper-spray and teaching people to fight. I'm excited about queers kicking the shit out of queer bashers, and always about fighting in the streets. Whether people continue to organize under the name "*BashBack!*" or not, I think that the network of wild-ass queers who hate everything is going to keep growing and building autonomous power.

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Public Sex and Social War

anonymous

Piers trace the edge of the metropolis, penetrating the harbor. Drawing near, it becomes apparent that dozens of bodies are melting into one another, creating circuitry of pleasure upon the since-abandoned conduits of capital. Each night and everywhere, exoskeletons of post-industry are ripped open; buildings are squatted for nights of precarious orgy. An entire lot of parked semi-trucks becomes a labyrinth of caverns — within each pitch-black-truck erupting a cacophony of anonymous touch, thrust, and come. Derelict spaces as zones of play for bodies-in-becoming. Making-eyes in a park or on a subway train as arrangement for a lunchtime fuck in an alley or stairwell. Potential meeting gesture.

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Some have named this period of public sex, between the stonewall riots and the onslaught of AIDS, as *the most sexually liberated period in history.* We read this instead as *a moment of resistance to social control* or *an unleashing of power* sandwiched at either end by specters of biopower. More importantly, we see this as a sweat-stained lineage of subversion which we've oh-so-rightfully inherited.

We mark the public as the realm of the metropolis — the space wherein social control is the most amplified and thorough. Biopower is the name we give to the force that governs not simply our bodies, but the space between our bodies. The logic of publics is that of alienation. A disjunctive synthesis that traces atoms through the flows of capital. Millions of organs producing an abysmal cohesion, yet the forty people in the light rail car wouldn't dream of making eye contact. The most banal-ass rhythm dictates the public. This shit is the factory.

"I don't care what those faggots do so long as I don't have to see it." The public is desexualized — a desert of sterile bodies.

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"What one does in the privacy of their own bedroom is their own business."

The conclusion being that our public selves are the business of the agents of biopower.

Public sex, then, is a biopolitical strike — an attack of desiring bodies against this world and the shit we live in. In fucking wherever we please, we act to sabotage the mechanisms of social control. We refuse our relationship to the factory, and cease to work — rather we choose to act only in the capacities that bring us the most explosive and dangerous joys. In making orgy of the public we create zones of indeterminacy, wherein unheard-of forms-of-life are coupled with wild affects and liberated desires.

The pubic orgy as an autonomous zone — as the erotic ungovernability of biopower's bastard children.

A sexual counterpublic becomes that of an expansive, inclusive synthesis. Buildings lose their ascribed meaning — instead becoming the spots for tonight's sordid affairs. Parks, bridges and piers are re-inscribed with meaning as limitless playgrounds for desire. Beautiful singularities ride together on a train, imbued with other-worldly potential as co-conspirators in insurrection against the sterility and horror of postmodern capitalism. The metropolis is seen from the perspective of its potential — the ways it can make us come. The streets no longer direct the flows of empire. Rather they become points-of-departure for bodies finding one another in ecstatic revolt. Craigslist is rendered irrelevant as the flows of decadence are reterritorialized. To declare "occupation" of anything less, means little-to-nothing.

We're fixin' to materialize an indistinction between *modes of pleasure* and *the rest of our miserable lives*. That is to say, collapse the categories of "sex" and "daily life" into a seminal breakdown of normalcy. To chart a line-of-flight into yet impossible pleasurability and criminal orgasm.

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Such lines-of-flight, if joined by others, can lead to crisis as entire populations are sensitized to the singularities of their

participants, combining potentials and creating new ones. If meaning is a *meeting of forces*, and a thing can have as many meanings as there are forces capable of seizing it, then the force of your your lips on my neck and the weight of your hips against mine creates a region of clarity, coming meaning upon the walls. We might call it an infusion of life.

We call this becoming — an accelerating dance of genesis and annihilation; carnal invention, as they say. As we orgasm in conjunction, we extract from one another immense virtual affects: ways which bodies connect with themselves and the world. We combine and actualize them in flesh. Becoming-monstrosity.

Becoming, beginning as desire beyond bodily limitation, creates an unhinging of habit; a widening of a gap and the gap being filling — over and over — with potential. Re-becoming undomesticated. Re-eroticizing publics. In orgy, we can rip wide the fabric of social control, creating wider and wider zones of autonomy populated by more and hotter singularities, each containing a virtual-sexual geography unknown to this world.

We're seventeen and fucking in the public museum. I'm on my knees with your cock in my mouth, surrounded by mayan art and tiger statues. Our hushed whispers and frenzied breathing becomes a secret language of power. And us, becoming monstrous, eating-whole restraint and apology. The world ruptures as we come, but it isn't enough. We want it all, of course — to expropriate the public as a wild zone of becoming-orgy, and to destroy what stands in our way.

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SMACK A WHITE BOY, ROUND 3: 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 US 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, madAPOC got into position and…

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

Copies of a communiqué 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.
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> 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.

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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

Smack 'em all, let's spread the Madness.
WE'LL SEE YOU IN MILWAUKEE!

20 SEP 2009

MODESTO PRIDE 2009 REPORTBACK
WHEN WE RIDE ON OUR ENEMIES

We are hanging out together. Talking. Reading. Eating. Watching a movie. The door slams open. "Hey, I just drove by the Pride festival and there's a bunch of anti-gay Christian protesters out there with signs." "Let's ride," one of us replies. We do. We're off. In a couple separate cars we drive to the festival. We get there and look around. The stage is being taken down. People are trickling out. Christian fascists stand around with signs screaming about sin and proclaiming that we are going to hell, reinforcing capitalist modes of sexual reproduction and patriarchal society. People stand around, just looking. Some of us yell at them. Security

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tells us to be quiet. One of them approaches and tells us in a hushed voice, "Just ignore them and they'll get the message." One of us looks at them and replies, "That's what Hitler said. The only way he said that his enemies could have stopped him is if they would have fought them in the streets. Which is what we aren't doing right now." The security guard looks down at the ground.

We are in the car again, driving. We arrive at our house. Our hands reach out for a blank banner, some spray paint, and video camera equipment. A text message is sent out to friends that reads, "Christian fascists at the park. Throw down. Tell friends." Quickly a message upon the banner is written that reads: "Reclaim Pride – Bash Back!" We arrive again at the park. We approach our enemies and start chanting for them to get out. A buzz is spreading throughout the crowd. People shake hands, meet old friends, and rush in from elsewhere. The police look worried; more people are coming to meet the zealots head on.

"Why did they shut down Pride? Where's the party at? Get out of the park! Whose Park? Our Park!" The chants change, but the message remains the same: leave now, or we'll confront you. The police inform us that we are on the verge of starting a riot and to not confront the protesters. Others tell us we're as bad as the fascists. We smile and laugh. We've heard this before. No. Actually, we're worse, because we are prepared to stand and fight. The crowd continues to grow. The protesters look at each other nervously as they attempt to preach to us despite the fact that we're yelling so loud no one can hear what they're saying at all. The police stand around the zealots and protect them and the social peace that hides the everyday social war. The protesters look at each other. They pack up. They leave. We've won.

People smile and slap each other on the back. We've had a victory. We later learn from talking to friends who had already been at Pride that when the protesters first showed up, the event organizers responded by shutting the event down. We also heard rumors that before we arrived, people threw

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bottles and confronted those attacking them… but thanks to the organizers of the event, so much for Pride. “This is where your liberal leaders lead you,” declares one rebel, as some of us make our rounds of the park after the fascists have left. Over fifty people participated in the confrontation. For these people, for a few moments they felt what it is like to come together as a group and push back not only against the police and our oppressors, but also experience something so much more than just listening to boring speakers and staring at the booths of non-profits and food vendors. They felt what it was like to win. To push back against what class society forces against us.

This is what it means to intervene. To stand up for ourselves. At work. In the streets. In our neighborhoods. Everywhere. To all the haters who are tripping off of everyday people bringing da ruckus — you’re the ones that are just as bad. We see you, hi hater. We have begun, where you at? This is Modesto muthafucka. 209. Holla.

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‘Hell Hath No Fury’

A Chronology of Genderfuck Insurrection

by gender mutiny

“Hell hath no fury like a drag queen scorned.”
- Silvia Rivera

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 of the participants from Stonewall and Compton’s. 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…

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This was the decade of the White Boy commons restoration movement in Ireland. The White Boys, a peasant guerrilla 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 of whom cross-dressed, and were involved in Ireland's anti-enclosure and anti-colonial struggles.

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Marsha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera, veterans of the Stonewall riots, formed the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR) in New York City. 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.

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BASH BACKERS ARRESTED IN TWIN CITIES ANTIFASCIST CONFRONTATION

Twin Cities and Austin anti-racists joined forces Saturday afternoon in this southern Minnesota town of 25,000 to confront the same four neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement members who tried to protest a Minneapolis "Confronting White Supremacy" workshop last month. The crowd of about 50 at the Mower County Veteran's Memorial — on the lawn of the local law enforcement center — boisterously drowned out the Nazis with their chants, and a few rotten vegetables and glitter bombs were hurled in their direction. Several Austin veterans passing by the demonstration heckled the Nazis with cries of "bald-headed assholes."

Soon, however — seemingly with-out direct provocation — Austin city police and Mower County Sheriff's deputies sprayed mace and charged the crowd, arresting three of the anti-racist protesters. Moments earlier, the police had done nothing when one of the Nazis broke a demonstrator's phone by swatting it to the ground.

About half an hour later, police suggested to the Nazis that they leave, then escorted them inside the law enforcement center, presumably to be accompanied to their car at a later time. All three of the arrestees — two from the *BashBack!* Twin Cities and one from Austin — were quickly released; at least two were charged with unlawful assembly and obstruction of property, both misdemeanors.

Despite their claims of neutrality, police officers' actions led many to the conclusion they sided with the neo-Nazis. Also stirring controversy was the presence of the Minnesota Peace Team, an organization which sends members to act as self-proclaimed peacekeepers but which some demonstrators felt escalated the conflict.

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MEMPHIS: MARSHA P. JOHNSON COLLECTIVE RAIDED!

> n the late hours of Saturday, October 3, while most Bash Backers were out running errands or partying the night away, a fleet of five or so cop cars made their way toward the Marsha P. Johnson Queer Collective (known to many as simply the BB! Memphis Squat) on Bruce Street.

Upon arrival, without any announcement to vacate or any eviction notice in tow, two of the cops promptly approached a side window, using their steel flashlights to break through. With guns drawn, several cops entered the community room adjacent to the broken window, where two queer youth who had been staying at the collective were making love. They immediately ordered the partially-dressed duo outside, dragging them through the broken window pane.

By this time, several supportive neighbors had began to rally across the street in their defense, screaming things at the cops like "Leave our neighborhood, pigs" and "Leave those kids alone!" At one point, one neighbor, an older person of color, was told that if he did not settle down and leave he would be arrested also. Our next-door neighbors, however, who collaborated with the police in the sting, began screaming homophobic and racist obscenities and were never asked to "settle down."

The youth were questioned but refused to give the location of any other house members.

As of today the two youth were released to the custody of their parents without formal charges, while patrol cars have been seen cruising Bruce Street non-stop. The house has not been boarded up yet, and both the locks and our goals remain the same.

Fuck the cops,

BB! Memphis.

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The youth were questioned but refused to give the location of any other house members.

As of today the two youth were released to the custody of their parents without formal charges, while patrol cars have been seen cruising Bruce Street non-stop. The house has not been boarded up yet, and both the locks and our goals remain the same.

Fuck the cops,

BB! Memphis.

WASHINGTON, DC:
COMMUNIQUÉ FROM THE FORGOTTEN,
HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN HQ GLAMDALIZED

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 a tag now reads, "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 forty-eight corporations including giants Lockheed Martin, Microsoft, and Wachovia Bank. At $250 dollars a plate, the HRC served

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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, such as prisons, marriage, and the military. We need to escalate our struggle, or it will collapse.

Love and Solidarity

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NEW YORK QUEERS
BASH BACK! AGAINST NYPD

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, *BashBack!* Lansing, New Jersey 4 and countless other fabulous queers and trannies bound by the prison-industrial complex — with no

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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,

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Press Secretary of Homoexplosion, Aries,
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BASHING BACK IN THE NORTH STAR STATE: A BB! 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 Duanna Johnson, Leeneshia Edwards, Tiffany Berry, and 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 whiny 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 *BashBack!* Twin Cities, was fed up with the ridiculous state-lovin' of the HRC lobby and its distance 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:

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> 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 also to coincide with National Coming Out Day.

BashBack! 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 equal 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.

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On Saturday, October 17th, *BashBack! 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 Nazis' loudspeaker while the crowd was trying to move forward. The second was a *BashBack!* member who police allege threw a glitter bomb at Eric. The third was a *BashBack!* 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: "Get back, ma'am".

The two *BashBack!* 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 bashbacklegal.weebly.com.

Love and Rage,

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Twin Cities Bash Back
...Again And Again And Again

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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 *BashBack!* TC history as "Halloqueen" — 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/Barack Obama-worshipping liberal lesbi-ans, 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'Donnell's children's 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 megacorporations, consumers, assimilationists, tourists, and 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

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> 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.
>
> 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 a hold 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…

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On Sunday Nov. 15th, *BashBack! 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 question 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 conducive 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, and trannys"; 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", and "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.

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The police were blaring their sirens at us and told the marshals that we could only take one lane. *BashBack!* 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!" 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 *BashBack!* 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 *BashBack!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

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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…

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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 *BashBack! Twin Cities* along with other individuals representing various groups then marched in the 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.

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". *BashBack! 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 bloc (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.

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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 *BashBack!* was arrested. *BashBack!* 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. Nine of the eleven folks arrested were released that night were charged with misdemeanor unlawful assembly and released on bail. The other two were released the following day. Aside from having their cuffs on too tight, 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,

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Questions to Be Addressed Before Denver

anonymous

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 possible 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.

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. *BashBack!* 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 "*BashBack!*" 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!"

SOME QUESTIONS TO BE ADDRESSED BEFORE THE 2010 BASH BACK! CONVERGENCE IN DENVER

WHAT IS BASHBACK!? Is BashBack! 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?

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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 each other's backs? 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?

IS OUR VIOLENCE 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

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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, *BashBack!* 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.

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 it's 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

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> 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.

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.

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 stay home. If you want to destroy capitalism, we'll see you in Denver!

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Identity, Politics and Anti-Politics

A Critical Perspective

from *Pink and Black Attack* 4

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 against each other, 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

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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.

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" carries 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

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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

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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

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serve as explicitly political organizations, seeking political equality through political processes. These groups can thus be understood to engage in identity politics.

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

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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 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 other 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 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 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

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promotes conflict with the social order, be it bombing police cars or expelling rapists from one's community.

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 affinity?" 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

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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.

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 generates a

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premise 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.

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Destruction Not Separation:

Some Thoughts on the Church and State

from *Pink And Black Attack* 4

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

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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 government 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.

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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.

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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

THREE QUEER/TRANS FOLKS ARRESTED OUTSIDE OF DRAG SHOW FOR ALLEGEDLY ASSAULTING AN OFFICER

11 MAR 2010

Three members of the Fierce and Fabulous Collective based out of Guelph, ON, Canada were arrested on Friday, March, 6th, 2010 with charges of allegedly assaulting a peace officer (campus cop) outside of a drag show at the University of Guelph on Friday night. They were held over night at the Guelph police station. All were released with conditions. Two have curfews of 11PM and one has a curfew of 9PM. All three of the kidnapped queer/trans folk have conditions to not associate with each other. One of the folks arrested who is trans identified is also charged with a breach of probation. The specifics of the arrests are not being talked about due to legal reasons.

The folks arrested were brutally fucked up by the cops. One person was slammed into the ground, had their head smashed onto the cruiser multiple times, and was kept in tight handcuffs to the point of having cuts and bruising on their wrists.

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These violent actions towards our people will NOT be tolerated, nor will the choices of the university security (The Brass Taps) who called them. The cops hope to serve their role by instilling fear into us and repressing us. Together we need to stay strong and make sure that not only their repression backfires, but that we also gather strength from these experiences.

Although Fierce and Fabulous can't say a whole lot about the context of the arrests, the real reasons for these arrests and the police violence are very clearly not because of the alleged charges of "assaulting a peace officer." It wasn't a coincidence that the arrests happened outside of a drag show or that they were harassed by a private security company beforehand. These arrests are yet another ridiculously obvious attack on queers/transfolk. The war against us all becomes even more apparent, and makes seeing through the state's and the university's "queer positive" (but only if yer assimilationist and straight) bullshit facade even more transparent.

Up The Queers, Up The Trannies!
In Love And Even More Rage,

The Fierce and Fabulous Krew

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PORTLAND QUEERS TAKE TO THE STREETS AGAINST THE POLICE

Dirty anarchists queers of Portland, OR, alongside other anarchists, have spent the last two nights in the streets exploring the rupture caused by the second murder by the Portland Police in as many months. We have been engaged in direct confrontation with the force of the police state while sharing our rage at our social conditions and the organized campaign of violence enacted upon our city by the armed enforcers of the Totality.

These murderous agents of the Totality have been impotent to silence or contain our rage. Through our rage, we strike out against Normalcy. Through shattering Normalcy, even if only in the moments of rupture, we become humyn. Through expressing our rage we learn to become social war.

We identify the police as a linchpin that maintains systems of domination. While we act from our own positionalities, and we recognize that those who are queer, those who are trans, those who are people of color, those who are poor, those who are houseless, and/or those who are labeled as mentally ill are the favorite targets of these state-sponsored murderers, all but a very privileged few are vulnerable to the not-so-tender attentions of the thugs with badges and guns.

In Portland, we express our rage at the murders of the houseless man gunned down on Monday, Aaron Campbell, and Kendra James. We express our rage at the daily targeting of queers by the Portland Police and the queerbashers they enable. We express our rage at the murder of Oscar Grant of Oakland, and the murder of Alexandros Grigoropoulos of Athens. We express our rage at all murders committed everywhere by police, we express our rage at the very existence of police.

We dirty queers of Portland express our solidarity with all those engaged in resistance against police everywhere, and request the solidarity of all dirty queers, everywhere. We request that all queers everywhere engage in resistance today

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and every day against the police and the whole of the Totality. Every exploration of rupture, every act of solidarity inflames the rage in our hearts and gives us strength in struggle.

Solidarity means attack!

MODESTO: BEE BOXES SABOTAGED

She takes a loss cos she don't wanna see her child lose
So respect her, and pay up for the time used
- lil wayne

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Sex workers, like all workers, sell their labor for wages. As women in a patriarchal society, they face attacks from customers and often from police. The same system which seeks to criminalize them is the same force that shut down production at the Modesto Bee building itself, and threatens people across the Central Valley. The police, the protectors of the rich. The media, their mouth piece. Fuck you all.

With super glue, we gave you a likkle sumthing, knowing that hopefully not being able to collect money from people that buy your horrible publication will be a thorn in your

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and every day against the police and the whole of the Totality. Every exploration of rupture, every act of solidarity inflames the rage in our hearts and gives us strength in struggle.

Solidarity means attack!

MODESTO: BEE BOXES SABOTAGED

She takes a loss cos she don't wanna see her child lose
So respect her, and pay up for the time used
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side. In total, 10 newspaper boxes were sabotaged last week. These actions are easy. They are simple to reproduce. Fuck the Modesto Bee, from its ongoing layoffs and horrible wages, to its boss and cop loving content. We up in yo honey pot, what?!

Against patriarchy and its police!
Destroy capitalism!

Bee Killaz'

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OUR LADY OF THE FLOWERS
AN EXPERIMENTAL OPERA
TRIBUTE TO JEAN GENET

Jean Genet consistently maintained a strong fidelity to outcasts and the socially marginal, stemming from his early life as a queer drifter and his investment in criminal subcultures and interest in the formation of dissident identities. None of his works best defines this solidarity and recapitulates the multiple identities one must possess, and also transcend, throughout a lifetime than Our Lady of The Flowers. Described as Genet's "epic of masturbation," the characters are not only amalgamations of Genet but also his metaphysical idols of self-pleasure, leading him on an orgasmic odyssey not only to mentally forgo his torment as a prisoner but also to stage a minitheater of self-realization and revelry of both his queer identity and sexual self.

With: blood-letting performance art, hip hop dance troupes, noise musicians, angry queer gogo terrorists, real witches, power witches, magic witches, avant-garde video art, meta-conceptual set designers, ritualistic sculptural fashion designers, theoretical philosophers, oh so many anarchists, drag kings queens and everything in between, and of course, opera singers.

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PITTSBURGH: EVANGELICAL CHURCH AND DONUT SHOP VANDALIZED

An Evangelical church has opened its doors in the Mt. Washington area of Pittsburgh. The church is part of The Evangelical Free Church of America whose "policies" on homosexuality refer to queers as perversions of God's plan for human sexuality and as people who need to be cured as well as bars anyone who so much as accepts queers from involvement in the church. While we love perversion, and have no interest in involvement with the church, a cure is the last thing we need. As a result, within days of the church opening behind a storefront in a Mt. Washington business strip, filling their windows with posters about Jesus, "Queer Haters Not Welcome" was painted across their windows on the front of their building.

A Donut Shop in Pittsburgh called Peace, Love, and Little Donuts makes a living by masquerading behind a facade of Peace and Love despite being run by a homophobic and misogynistic right wing evangelical named Ron Razette. The Donut Shop was host to a Queer Explosion Dance Party back in January where queers occupied and made out in his shop to some fun tunes. Nonetheless, Razette's business continues to expand and he is due to open two more locations in the city, hiding behind a message of love while being run by those who spew hate.

In April of 2010, queers visited Razette's shop and glued his locks. They then painted "BIGOT" in large red letters under the rainbow sign that lovingly declares "peace, love, and little donuts." Of course, Ron was eventually able to continue business as usual after taking care of these things. But recently, he stirred things up again.

In the May issue of *Cue Magazine* — a local mainstream GLBT magazine — a favorable article was printed about PLLD and Razete's business. The author of the magazine apologized profusely when contacted and said he had no idea about the

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In response, queers revisited his shop in May 2010. His locks were glued and "QUEERS BASH BACK (A)" was painted in large letters covering the front of his shop. Businesses run by queer bashers will continue to be exposed in our city, especially when they use queer communities here to further their capitalist agenda.

Gluing locks is an easy, relatively safe, and effective action that anyone can do with super glue that can be used on metal. Insurance rarely covers things like locksmiths and it can really put a damper on the morning opening process of any business. Painting along with this can help make your message more clear.

The purpose of both these actions was to create visibility, expose these places for what they are, to disrupt their operations, and of course, to have a little fun.

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Whore Theory

anonymous

For the whore, it is of extreme importance to be at all times stunning, both in appearance and intellect. As faithful deviants of femininity, we have a certain responsibility to display a well-versed hatred towards everything pristine and bland. Little boys and girls need more examples of filth in their life; crazy beautiful cunts to admire. They must learn what it is to want, to be whores incapable of holding in and repressing their emotions.

Becoming-whore does not mean anything, so put your fucking notebook down. We are strutting contradictions and we do not care. If you cross us, we will annihilate you and everything you love. If you fuck us, we will break your heart or maybe fall in love and hate you forever. We are addicted to the disgust of society, corrupted Jeune-Filles that know no restraint.

We want to destroy everything, in diamond encrusted high heels. The violence of our desire tastes unlike any other bodily fluid; it is a poisonous venom that only the most masochistic of bodies can encounter and crawl towards for a second helping. We invite men in, waiting for the degradation that will warrant vengeance and until then we just shove their cocks in our mouths and swallow. What-ever.

We gaze at our body's image in every reflection we find and can't help but fuck ourselves all day long, because we are so incredibly beautiful. Our insecurities are displayed like sparkling gold crowns on top of our pretty heads; we couldn't be more proud (or ashamed) of our many imperfections. We are horribly vain, and every whore knows that only another whore can satisfy her needs.

Whore is not a sexuality, such a thing does not exist. Our orgasms are inseparable from our hatred, from our fashion and fears; nothing makes us cum that doesn't also revolt us in

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some way or another. We experience this world as an ugly little playground for our fantasies, and these dirty thoughts cannot possibly be contained within any designated arena of "sex". Sex for us is turning heads, scraping knees, and pissing anywhere but in a toilet.

If you see a whore swinging her hips down a busy street, you may notice a furrowed brow while she mutters angrily under her breath. This is because you annoy her with your presence. Every insignificant body that brushes past her is at risk for her hatred. Hatred makes her erect. She wastes no time in forming assumptions about you based on what you're wearing — your shoes are not fierce enough, your walk is not sexy enough, your eyes are not burdened enough. You are nothing compared to the beautiful people that hide in the alleyway, waiting to mug you.

Politics does not interest the whore, it is the whore. Seduced by the incessant pain of living and dying and aching, she is simultaneously afraid of every little thing and fueled with the exhilaration of having nothing to lose. She thinks that to speak logically of this world is pure delusion: rationality is an unnecessary indulgence typical of mumbling pricks. Attempting to define her context or articulate her existence is utterly futile; absolutely nothing about her makes sense. The whore critically engages only with astrology, preferring the opinion of our sky's constellations over the utterance of some dying old white man.

Brilliantly bitter, the whore holds onto grief and anger like precious gems wrapping around her heart; her traumas lovingly swim and pulsate through her veins like tiny shards of glass. A part of her longs for the sadness and disappointment she knows as truth; she is full of emptiness and boredom in its absence. For her, seeing the world through sorrow is seeing in full color, feeling the sensation of life tingle through each nerve ending on her body. Without it, joy eludes her as well.

The whore is utterly exposed — a raw wound dripping sweet, deadly excrement onto each thing, each person she

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The whore is utterly exposed — a raw wound dripping sweet, deadly excrement onto each thing, each person she

comes into contact with. She is naked, forever tucking what is sacred into the crevice between her legs for no one else to see. If you look too close, be prepared to lose a limb, a lip, a piece of your fucking heart because what is precious to her is untouchable to you. You worthless shit of a human race.

A proper whore knows, deep down inside of her, why this world pretends to detest her. All her life she has had an irresistible charm that, when coupled with an unbecoming volatility, has the power to reveal to those around her their most unwanted desires. Her ass makes married gentlemen (and their bored wives) fidget incessantly, and her vulgar wit causes dry academics to wet their lips with excitement. Upon her exit, entire rooms breathe a heavy sigh of relief that they are no longer forced to face their quivering perversities. Alone in their modern bedrooms they shamefully jerk off to her image, quietly hating themselves and their crass routine of living.

She is as quick to laugh as she is to cry. When Mercury is in retrograde, she knows that getting out of bed means catastrophe. But even the fucked up alignment of the planets, working hand in hand with this mundane and despicable society, cannot stop her lunacy from being cast onto her surroundings and those around her. The circumstances which make her and fellow whores weep also create potent hysterics, and islands once isolated in insanity come together for a good laugh, and maybe a little revenge.

The whore is a slut, yes, but she is also a bum and a young delinquent; she is a faggot, a queen, an angry dyke, an insurrectional manarchist in heels, a tyrannical tranny. She is everything and nothing, everyone and no one. Glamorous in her many disguises and transparent in her filthy desires. She overflows with love for those spilling over with hatred, forever enchanted with the beauty hidden beneath this sterile economy of bodies. She enjoys nothing more than spitting on the face of humanity, laughing as her stinking spittle drips down pointed chins to make a satisfying splat on the dirty pavement beneath her feet.

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BASH BACK! IS DEAD... LET'S KEEP IT THAT WAY

In case anyone missed it, the plug of any remnants of an organization known as *BashBack!* was finally pulled in Denver (Woohoo Death Driveeeeee!). As such, please stop emailing *BB! News* if trying to contact any type of activist organization which lives only in your minds. Instead, get yr crews together and do some bashing back of your own. *BB! News* will continue to exist as a place for the latest reports of queer insurrection and social war, so keep sending yr news in, but BASH BACK! IS DEAD, and we'd like to keep it like that way.

Towards the destruction of all activist organizations, vanguards, nonprofits, recuperators of struggle, and all other forms of domination,

BB! News

14 JUN 2010 ● 27 JUN 2010

SEATTLE: NOTHING IS THE ONLY THING WORTH KEEPING OF THIS WORLD THAT WANTS US DEAD

We are not interested in the choices of coffins the current system offers and we will not play along with Pride as it celebrates what kills us: the designated spaces of back-patting assimilationists, appeasing cops, being choked and asking for permission to breathe... We bring war through the designation of an infinite dance floor.

We killed Pride in an orgy of destruction because anything else would be giving in to asphyxiation. Pride is a funeral calling itself a parade; it wants us to be pallbearers of its corpse. We know better than to carry its dead weight. We want total liberation from every crushing part of this society. Hundreds

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of us gathered on the anniversary of the Stonewall riot of 1969 recognizing the emptiness of the sponsored Pride celebrations. The streets of Capitol Hill, the gay district of Seattle, vibrated with anticipation. We met at the stroke of midnight, conspiring on a dream to annihilate order. We poured into the street as the dull but persistent roar of Pride was drowned by our screams and moans. We do not want to be recognized as homosexuals in the sense of what that means to the LGBTIQ alphabet "community" colonized by heterosexual imperialism. We become, instead, parasites of this society, dripping with sweat, fleeing this world of death.

As 300 of us passed police, we roared with laughter. The pigs looked defeated, the couldn't fucking touch us; they threatened, but no one listened. They were afraid and they should be afraid. When they quiver, we laugh!

After an hour which flashed ecstatically, we vanished back into the night. We disappeared as quickly as we emerged, at the climax, hurled into darkness, still out of control, leaving a trail of destruction. In the crash of our bodies, the air singing its way out of the tires of luxury cars, the echoing crash of blows to banks, we left everything shattered, glittering and engorged because some things are only beautiful when breaking.

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"LET THE TRANS WOMEN SPEAK!"
A RESPONSE TO CAMP TRANS 2010
BY SOME TOTALLY ARTIFICIAL BITCHES

During Camp Trans 2010, trans people were harassed threatened with violence by a local mechanic outside the gates of the notorious transphobic days-long concert, the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival. The night after Michfest organizers defended the attacker and took him into the festival to protect him from angry queers, fairies in the night destroyed the main-stage sound system of the festival, vandalized the collective kitchen and the area where the male children are kept away from the women's festival, and the slashed the tires of organizers. This text emerges after Camp Trans organizers denounced the retaliatory attack and threatened to snitch about who they thought was responsible to Fest organizers...

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We bitches have frayed nerves. Over the past week, everything, or almost everything, has wounded us, and what didn't was at the very least irritating. What follows is a brief analysis of the events of this year's Camp Trans, and a resulting dialogue on the moments of hostility which have been brought into openness due to these events. We're not shy of conflict, and this is our attempt at elaborating the civil war that underlies the fracturing of Camp Trans:

While the story could likely begin many years ago, it perhaps suffices to say that Michigan Womyn's Music Festival, with its "womyn-born-womyn" attendance policy, was born of a feminist desire to police the bodies to ensure that they were adequately Woman enough to build a positive "sisterhood" away from patriarchy, the political power of which apparently cums from the barrel of a penis. Camp Trans began as a "community" based in its support of trans women's inclusion into the virulently transphobic festival under the banner "Room

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for all Kinds of Womyn." It is these legacies that bring us to last week. Conflict begins at the annual vigil at MichFest gates: after being approached to turn his engine off while a history of Camp was being recounted, a tow truck driver threatens two trans people's lives, aggressively misgenders a trans woman, and ultimately wields a large tow chain threatening to kill all of the trans people who had surfaced to protect their friends. MichFest workers act as barriers between Camp-goers and the driver all while commending him for his valor. All of this, in many ways, is a regular occurrence for those who unthinkably defy the gendered violence of society every day. The basis of conflict lies not in this confrontation, but rather the response of the larger "Camp Trans community" in response to the bashing. Community meetings began with calls to process how those enraged at the bashing were "triggering" to people because of the "aggressive yelling" and "violent energy" of those directly involved in defending their friends against patriarchal violence, a group made up of mostly trans-female identified and genderqueer people. While those threatened with their lives sought to immediately respond, the community consensus meeting pushed off the question of responding until finally refusing to take up a response because "trans women feel uncomfortable about the situation." This culminated in a "trans women's caucus" which stated their intention to assimilate into MichFest and build their own camp there, despite the fact that they had visibly seen trans women almost killed with no response from MichFest. When other trans female campers spoke to voice their indignation about complicity in this violence, another camper yelled, "Let the trans women speak!" This silencing is the context in which we write. While The Voice of the Trans Women has spoken, we, some of the abjected and artificial trans females, remain discursively erased from the conversation in sacrifice to the politics of identity. But we are not shutting the fuck up any longer.

Ultimately, we see the events of this year's Camp Trans as yet another failure of identity politics and its correlative form,

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Ultimately, we see the events of this year's Camp Trans as yet another failure of identity politics and its correlative form,

the Community. In the events of this year's Camp Trans, we once again see community used as an apparatus to recuperate the potentiality of radical struggle. We watched as the most reactionary and assimilationist trans female voices were said to "speak for most of the trans women at Camp" in wanting to ignore getting bashed and to join the festivities of MichFest. Some went as far as saying in the caucus that they "want to pass as women and women are not violent."

Consequently, rumors circulated that those trans female folks espousing a non-pacifist response to being almost bashed to death were secretly "cis men appropriating women's experiences to justify their violent attitudes." For us, in the words of an obscure journal from Europe, violence is what has been taken from us, and today we need to take it back, from tow truck drivers and transphobic music festivals and all those who seek to use our bodies as political capital to advance liberal politics.

The stakes of continuing on the line-of-flight of liberal activism seems clear to us now. Trans activism has not moved us toward the destruction of gender terror. We have moved from woman-as-womb to woman-as-estrogen-levels and woman-as-peaceful-loving-responses-to-oppression. In this way, Camp Trans represents the new cutting edge of patriarchy, one in which citizens of the Community replace the Patriarch or men-as-a-class as police to quash resistance outside of legal processes and make sure that there is only one resounding Voice of the Trans Women through gender-policing. We remain committed to the struggle to unleash our power on those who would enforce on us the worst forms of gendered violence, be they on the hallowed Land of MichFest or in our own "community." From now on, the only force that stands a chance at ruining the forces which ruin our lives is one built on friendship, affinity, and shared desires to end domination. Fuck gender essentialism, recuperative consensus meetings, privileged feminist pacifism, and those apparatuses or people who seek to speak for any of us on behalf of women or trans

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people or anything. We will demolish it all. We're mean bitches, we have our own voices and from now on we will only be speaking our own power or nothing at all. Get with us or get the fuck out of the way.

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Preliminary Notes on Modes of Reproduction

by gender mutiny

You had me at necrophilia...
- Q---

CREATIONISM

we believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ,
the only Son of God,
eternally begotten of the Father,
God from God, Light from Light,
true God from true God,
begotten, not made,
of one substance with the Father.
Through Him all things were made.
- The Nicene Creed

NO LOGIC IS MORE COMPLETE than that of monism, though none is more often protested. As long as all Creation is derived from God and His written Word, no assault can breach the walls of its castle. In Truth the logic of monism contains everything, and it can have no enemy. The cries of atheists and non-believers cannot reach the ears of its inhabitant, because heresy is logically not possible.

God's reproduction adds nothing to His perfect self. God can only reproduce Himself — man in His image, Son in His image — copies, not offspring.[1] God's Creation is made by Him only, it cannot surpass Him nor exist beyond Him.

1 That these copies deteriorated over time and became an imperfect image of God is one theory given to explain the fall of monism into dualism. The myth of Lucifer suggests another theory. God reproduced Himself perfectly,

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When God masturbates, He reproduces. Wherever His jism is spilled, life bursts forth.

> In a flash, it's as if you were born, flung into dark. Restless space, utterly foreign to the Last Times. No idea where you are naturally, you are shipwrecked, you have only the word shipwreck as lantern and explanation, for the rest you are in the dark. All is lost. This lostness — a state you knew nothing about. You are adult and biped, but the species is unknown. You know nothing about being. We don't remember this world at all.

In monism, there is only one gender, that of man. Man who was made in God's image and, like God, reproduces by spilling his seed onto the fallow earth. The earth — what we would call woman — does not constitute a distinct gender to herself, rather, she is without singularity or soul, an empty material form like the earth itself.

To speak of woman in the ideology of monism is an impossibility — that is, unless one speaks of a nothingness, an absence, a ghost. Not being a man, woman cannot exist in God's Creation because that which is not One, that is not God, is not. The void is woman's ontological origin. She emerges from nothingness because her existence is not only impossible but quite impermissible in monist logic.

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but His most identical creation was that which would challenge Him. It was the likeness to God of the archangel Lucifer — his almighty power and strong ego — that compelled him to challenge and attempt to usurp His power. Lucifer's banishment locates him not in the dualistic system of procreationism (after all, in that scientific and material world, some still cling to belief in God, but they are overshadowed by a dominant mode of thought that is atheistic, or at least agnostic), but as banished to the Void that surrounds God's castle and against which its stalwarts are constructed. Here Lucifer will corrupt the void-dwelling figure of woman, and seduce her into introducing the first cracks in the monist castle.

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If a woman did exist (which, of course, she could not), she would have to be a nothingness. And so it was only by continuously asserting her very nonexistence that she was able to exist. She could not, in monist Truth, be, and so she was a ghost when she lived in the garden, and it was a void that suffered the pain of childbirth, and a specter that passed through the halls of the king to leave behind traces of desire on his body.[2]

PROCREATIONISM

> *When girls and boys reach puberty, their bodies start to change and become more mature. From this time, if a male and a female have sexual intercourse (often called 'making love', or 'sleeping with someone'), it is possible that the girl could get pregnant, i.e. a baby could start to grow.*
>
> *- How Babies Are Made*

From the moment we begin to speak of woman as such, we are not speaking of God and His world, but rather the world of opposition. Once woman existed as even a thought, in fact in any form exceeding nonexistence, monism's ontological center could not hold. It must be said that in this crisis lay an intimate potential for the utter annihilation of the existent — would woman, as yet nonexistent herself, a being of the void, who came from nothing and returned all to nothingness, could she negate the existent that was her own negation? But so fierce was woman's affirmation of her own existence that her force would not cause monism to stagger and collapse under the

2 "The king" because, while monism is the realm of God, it is equally the realm of the monarch. The king is the worldly image of God; he sits on the earthly throne and God sits on the heavenly one; the coming of the messiah would place God in the king's throne, and thus restore monism to its pure state.

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weight of the impossibility of something truly outside itself, but rather would balance and harmonize Man.

All that separates modernity from what existed before it is the radical shift from a monolithic existent to a dichotomous one.

> We don't stop killing ourselves. We die one another here and there my beloved and it's an obsession, it's an exorcism, it's a feign what we are feigning. I have no idea is it a sin a maneuver a vaccination the taming of a python the fixing-up a cage, it's an inclination, we don't stop rubbing up against our towers touching our lips to them... eroticism to the nth degree lips on the sacred scroll, the innocent handle of the book, the saint, the simpleton, we know all about it, we always thought it, we'd also always feared for our towers, such striking clarity, and naked, but what terror when the real planes really crashed into them, a black terror that bit into our hearts, so this in reality can happen, in reality there was a tomb on one of our bodies, this was a fact and no waking, we'd awakened assassinated...

The Promethean feat was accomplished. The act of creation stolen from God and spread before mere mortals for their defilement. They engage in carnal desire and, when small, wet, stunted humans emerge from their loins, they marvel at their godlike power to create life.

The image of the one God, the Father, the Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth no longer prevails. His Creation has forsaken Him, and now they genuflect before false idols.

God still lingers here. With His masturbatory acts of Creation derided, He puts auto-eroticism aside and panders to the heresy of His flock. He constructs His procreative Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit — father, mother, and Child. This divine mimicry of the people's profane procreative acts is too queer. He has not admitted the existence of woman, of dualism,

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of the Other; and in the binary regime, heterosexuality is sacrosanct.

While before the Creator had been the object of adoration, procreationism displaces the focus to that which is created. The act of sex is banal enough that only the conservative thinkers, attached still to the old ways of praising God, could envision it as a divine act. The parent is imbued with no shroud of mystery or the unknown. But the Child — who can remember his childhood? — the Child is an image that could stand for the sacred mystery of reproduction.

The image is singular but its source is binary. Now the myth that subjectivities come from God is pushed aside by the idea that one exists simply because one's parents fucked at some point and didn't use birth control. Religious faith in an event one didn't experience now shattered, only a scientific and historically rigorous explanation will suffice. One still does not remember one's conception or birth, but the scientific method confirms that other babies are made this way, and so "I was too."

The procreative myth (not a religious myth, but a scientific fact-myth) structures and gives meaning to the binary opposition of the sexes. The categories of male and female have meaning and power because their stability and duality is generative. Like God's potency to make life spring from Himself, the male and the female, in their opposition and union, have the power to create life. No longer "God made me, therefore I am," but now "my mother and father made me, therefore I am."

The family constitutes the procreative apparatus, distinguished from the creative apparatus by a binary opposition inherent in the inclusion of woman into the realm of existence — while from God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost were begotten, not made, and remained of one substance with the Father, it is only through the union of opposite sexes that babies are made, and made as a unified substance of their parents. A monist world could self-reproduce in perfect singularity and sameness, but once woman had posited herself

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in her difference, the force of her Otherness in relation to Man was harnessed as a procreative drive. And so it would be with the reproduction of the future, of the political order, and of capitalism.

The apple that Eve ate from the Tree of Knowledge may have initiated the fall from monist grace to dualist profanity in religious mythology; in history it was the apple that fell on Newton's head which ushered in dualistic thought. Newton's theory identifies the forces which hold and harmonize the dualistic world in the void against threat of collapse (much as the high walls of God's castle held the monist world together). Namely, for each force there is a reaction of equal force and opposite in direction. A simple example in the system of Newtonian physics explains how two heavenly bodies of sufficient velocity can orbit each other in harmony through the dynamic of their relative forces of gravity without collapsing into each other and spreading their dust into the void. So does dualist thought function to balance and harmonize the world of procreationism in its reproductive, political, economic and philosophical spheres.

Modernity, Newtonian physics, dialectics, liberalism, binary reproduction, capitalism: each is an aspect of the self-same logic of dualism. The triumph of the logic of two over the logic of one defines the world that we have inherited (though even now this world is evolving into the world of plurality).

From the image of the Child comes the image of the Future, our hopes and dreams, our investment in a better world for future generations. Towards the image of the Future the political project is always aimed. The Child carries the Future, and just as the Family produces the Child, the political apparatus produces its burden.

The political order of modernity is liberalism. Monarchy ruled the monist world, and the binary world requires something more balanced. With a single gesture the sovereignty of the state is balanced against the rights of the people and the state opposes itself against itself in a balancing act of political

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parties and governmental branches. The liberal system of government, quite simply, is the state-form wrapped in the logic of dichotomy. Each and every political ideology that exerts itself in the effort to combat another political tendency or to assert the power of the people in resistance or opposition to that of the government participates in the discourse of liberal politics.

The world of opposition is the world of dialectics. Just as the opposition of the sexes produces the Child and together these constitute the Family, so does capitalism reproduce itself through the opposition of the classes.

In dialectics, the existent contains its own contradiction — the proletariat. The proletariat is the negative force that could destroy capitalism; rather than excluding its enemy, as woman was excluded by monism, capital locks its negative force in struggle with itself and thereby exploits its labor for production, manages its reproduction as the source of more labor, and reproduces capitalism through class struggle.

In the dialectical form, the proletariat's negation of capitalism entails the destruction of the proletariat-as-such. The negative force is no longer a nothingness locked outside the realm of the existent; it is instead integrated as a necessary factor in production and reproduction. The proletariat is validated, reproduced, and fed by the same order that exploits it. In the end, the desire of the proletariat for liberation and autonomy from the control of the bourgeoisie, like woman's desire to assert her existential being in the realm of man, would overpower its desire to abolish the present state of things and would usher in a new mode of reproduction.

Each and every stage of class struggle gave birth to another stage of capitalism, and every new manifestation was more perfect than the last. The latest high point in class struggle — May 1968 — with its radical demands to sever the workers' movement from the management of union bureaucrats and liberate labor from bosses' control was the most significant

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of these, and it birthed the postmodern era along with a mode of reproduction surpassing that of dialectical opposition.

The Tower of Babel had fallen long ago; now it was the Twin Towers' turn.

RE-CREATIONISM

Discover the new you...
It's your world...
A phone that gets you...
It's so you...

You can hear it on the street and in the workplace, in the college classroom and the executive boardroom, at the latest radical convergence and at the beach, at dance parties and in underground venues: the logic of duality is *so* last millennium.

We are living in a postmodern world, and you are a postmodern girl. Which is to say, you are not really a *girl* as such.

Postmodernism posits a social order that takes place as social disorder; it is the form of the destabilization of formerly stable forms. Destabilization could be said to begin by attacking binary structure but it immediately, incessantly and necessarily goes on to destabilize whatever structure; postmodernity is thus characterized by its destabilizing force and not by whatever modernist strictures linger about. The traces of modernity are merely modern, which is to say, *old-fashioned*; the paradoxical need to go beyond the modern is what characterizes the frenzy of postmodern activity. The form of structure today is a post-structural modality akin to the Situationist dream of fluid architecture — a modal and mobile form of structure whose engine is a strong distaste for anything static.

Primary in postmodernity's de-/re-structuring is a shift in sexual differentiation — the very structure which constituted the means by which life was understood to be created. The destabilization of binary oppositional sexes constitutes a crisis

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RE-CREATIONISM

Discover the new you...
It's your world...
A phone that gets you...
It's so you...

You can hear it on the street and in the workplace, in the college classroom and the executive boardroom, at the latest radical convergence and at the beach, at dance parties and in underground venues: the logic of duality is *so* last millennium.

We are living in a postmodern world, and you are a postmodern girl. Which is to say, you are not really a *girl* as such.

Postmodernism posits a social order that takes place as social disorder; it is the form of the destabilization of formerly stable forms. Destabilization could be said to begin by attacking binary structure but it immediately, incessantly and necessarily goes on to destabilize whatever structure; postmodernity is thus characterized by its destabilizing force and not by whatever modernist strictures linger about. The traces of modernity are merely modern, which is to say, *old-fashioned*; the paradoxical need to go beyond the modern is what characterizes the frenzy of postmodern activity. The form of structure today is a post-structural modality akin to the Situationist dream of fluid architecture — a modal and mobile form of structure whose engine is a strong distaste for anything static.

Primary in postmodernity's de-/re-structuring is a shift in sexual differentiation — the very structure which constituted the means by which life was understood to be created. The destabilization of binary oppositional sexes constitutes a crisis

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in the family and in the reproduction of life, but this crisis is not one that must spell the end of reproduction. A whole assemblage of techniques of biotechnology, cyberproduction, and social work are being deployed to enable, among other things, "queer" reproductive possibilities as well as overcome the limits of the human womb which too easily ceases to function, especially under the stress of postmodern life.

This analysis falls short, however, of recognizing the way that the central questions of reproduction have been displaced from the act of baby-making to the construction of the self, just as the centering of baby-making in procreationist thought usurped the former importance of the question of cosmic creation.

The primary mode of reproduction in a post-dialectic world is the reproduction of the individual. We call this mode of reproduction 're-creationism.'

The postmodern singularity is not created by God or its parents, but constructed through a pluralistic process that is increasingly "artificial," "social," and, paradoxically, self-realized. This process is the process of identification.[3]

3 Identification is the process of realizing oneself. Re-creationist reproduction entails not self-recognition but self-realization. This is because identifications are positioned against the logic of procreationism, in which the subject is made and goes on to recognize this inborn self throughout his life (i.e. the logic of being). Identifications instead make and remake subjectivities in one's own image through continual processes of self-realization (i.e. the logics of becoming). A certain temporal shift thus underlies postmodernism's consideration of subjectivity as being in a process of becoming rather than a static state of being. To re-creationists, the popular term 'self-identification' is thus a redundancy. Identities in the era of (positive) queer theory are always self-realized identities; they arise in opposition to, ammendment of, or spectacular 'reclamation' of 'socially-imposed' identities ('socially-imposed,' 'assigned,' or 'socially-constructed' are employed pejoratively by the re-creationist because self-realization is always understood as a process of becoming, not construction, even though the re-creationist identity is only created through or by extending the limits

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The pluralistic reproductive process could not suffer limits. Each time it reproduces itself exists on an ontological scale. There is no need to speak of the modes of reproduction constituted by three, four, or fifty-four towers because, once there are three, the towers reproduce not themselves and not the relation between themselves, but more and more towers, not twin but unique and individuated, marching across the landscape at an ever-increasing rate. The World Trade Center has fallen but today there stand more skyscrapers than ever before.

> Since their death, all their suffering... our store of poisons entrusted to the Towers, counting of course on the jumbo apparatus of the American passions, in some the whole anxious and malificent game — of our lives, our primitive beliefs, our frissions, the deadly Greek and Bible-inspired phantasms, all that ghastly archivery we'd intuitively conserved in our Towers — hence unconsciously used as the colossal envelopes of all ideas of catastrophe, coffins costumed as the temples of our death wishes.

The social value of diversity is imbued by both evolutionary science and postmodern philosophizing about *becoming*.

The postmodern work is the self-made and self-managed worker. Stable, long-term employment — unionized, salaried career opportunities, with their attendant job security, benefits and pensions — is disappearing while part-time, short-term, piecemeal, casual, waged, and self-employed work takes its place. The proletarian must take on a certain *flexibility*; he must continually 'upgrade himself' through continual education and training. Meanwhile, labor becomes more efficient and the market becomes less prone to rewarding non-work.

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Re-creationism is thus both an economic imperative acting upon labor and an imperative — a drive — in the interests of the economy.

Meanwhile, re-creationism provides the only market expansion opportunities that late-capitalism has available to itself. No longer able to reach new geographic, demographic markets through traditional expansion, capitalism today must create new markets out of nothing or else expand into extra-dimensionality. New markets now require new subcultural forms and identity forms. The tendency of market expansion in late capitalism is toward there being a market for each individual and ever-new markets as individuals recreate their identities, bodies and desires. Static forms can only impede this expansion; thus, a certain self-hatred must be made to drive old forms into undesireability, and a taste for the new, hip and abnormal must be cultured.

Identities must be produced — produced *as commodities* and *for commodities*. Identification, that is, the process of re-creationism, is what produces these identities. Inherent in this production is a certain form of anti-identification that opposes itself to stable, essential, static and, ultimately, *old-fashioned* identity-forms in order to compell the production and marketing of new ones.

Each new identity is a new tower to which consumers can flock to escape the *passé* nature of the old ones. Eventually — that is, soon and very soon — there will have to be a tower for each person *("You know, there could be as many genders as there are people...")*, in fact many more, and the scale of such production far surpasses the limits of the old workplaces. The Fordist production line can make multiple, identical products, but today each new identity must have the air of the unique and the 'creative' labor of identity production is thus displaced from the old workplaces. By social imperative and desire, the individual is put to work, unpaid, to create new identities 'for himself.' (Reproductive work — baby-making, class struggle, Facebook — is always unpaid.)

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The postmodern Spectacle is a collection of images that must increasingly be produced uniquely by and for each individual (the ghost of reproduction must not linger on the screen), but it must also enable a certain form of 'social interaction.' An apparatus of Spectacle-production that is socially-networked affords its producer/consumer a profile and newsfeed unique to him but also the ability to 'connect' with his 'real' friends. Reality, in the end, is the product.

Political struggle is no longer epitomized by a war of one party or class against another, nor the people against the state, rather it becomes the battlefield of social war fought between many identities or forms-of-life against one another. These terms are not interchangeable, however. Just as the war between parties within the government served to mask class struggle, today the war over identities masks the war of forms-of-life.

In the war over the towers, identity is the basis for political struggle as well as the product of political struggle. Struggles fought over destabilization, restructuring and creation of identities are no more a threat to what exists than struggles over childbirth are; on the contrary, these reproduce everyday existence.

The war between forms-of-life is not a war between identities, though it may often manifest as if it were. In today's war of all against all, the negative party is the queer, the abnormal. Queer constitutes the negative force that is centrally involved in the proliferation of identity through its struggle to assert itself positively outside of the realm of the normal. (Each positive queer act yields yet another position within normality.) Yet only for the queer is the overcoming of its limits in struggle capable of demolishing all the towers. In this way, queer negativity threatens to destroy the mechanism of reproduction that it inhabits and asserts — the mechanism of *difference*, of *abormality*, of *queerness* — and so to abolish itself.

Let us be clear: the queer revolt will always be the *avant-garde* of capitalism: not only because the queer has been subsumed under the norm for the purposes of queering normality, but

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also because queer revolt, as the *avant-garde* of queer itself, pushes the margins of queerness into new territories which become the raw material of tomorrow's trends. The negative queer potentiality does not distinguish itself from the queer revolt by its violence and destruction alone (an assault on existing identities is inherent in the production of new ones) but by its gestures of abortion and its rendering of impotence, which is to say, its utter lack (of position, of possibility, of reproductivity, of existence &c.). Pure negativity does not and cannot exist nor come into existence.

The fact that we are writing (and rewriting) these notes at all is evidence enough that the *purely negative* tendency has not destroyed everything.[4] Our work is simply a critique of everything as it is, and of everything as it is becoming.

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Aneantir le neant.
Annihilate the void.

Up till now, every critique of the social order has more or less successfully described what needs to be destroyed,

4 However — and this is crucial — neither can it. Re-creationism claims that not only is another world possible, but many other worlds are possible (not the singular Future of procreationism, but an array of possible futures). Hearing this, everyone sets to work realizing all futures at once. All the better for marketing expansion, especially since a curious metaphysical phenomenon has allowed all these worlds to fit into one (not long ago, the idea was a slogan of the radical Zapatistas). A world that, like Mary Poppins' magic satchel can fit everyone's own world, would once have been mere fantasy. Today, postmodern theory can rigorously explain the phenomenon of subjective world-making, with theoretical physics not far behind; meanwhile, huge virtual worlds become less separable from reality and take up negligible chunks of server space. The negation of the re-creationist existent(s) must come up against all possible worlds for the purpose of ending them. All this means that the project to end all possibilities is itself an impossibility.

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while every prescription for revolution has only resulted in a reconfiguration of misery. The existent is readily described by the discourse it contains, but the pure negativity is truly unspeakable. There is no reason to believe that the discursive elaboration of the purely negative project is at all possible; indeed, the negative project is itself necessarily impossible. Everything that can be said about it is deeply contradictory, because it is itself the bottomless deepening of contradictions.

The common essence of monist, binary, and pluralist ontology is the elevation of the subject to a (singular or multiple) substance — the failure to grasp the nothingness that defines subjectivity. The question of "why am I?" silently answers itself. Without a subject to pose the question, the question could not be posed. No reproductive apparatus is necessary to create or explain subjectivity. The origin and definition of subjectivity is the abyss; all else consists of substance that is constructed around the void and mistaken as the self. When we say that the self consists of a nothingness, this is the same as the assertion that *there is no self*.

The *avant-garde* of capitalism has been misconstrued as its enemy. Although the queer could be called the negative party of the re-creationist order, this is inseparable from the recognition that the queer is central to the reproduction of the future.[5] In opposition to the world of binary gender, procreationism, the family, politics, modernism, structuralism, dialectics, &c., the "queer revolt" posits pluralist gender, re-creationism, the identity group, identification, postmodernism, post-

5 The very definition of queer speaks to not only its marginal, periferal, abnormal position, but also its built-in drive toward the reproduction of the abnormality of its position. This is called the anti-assimilationist element of the queer. Queer today is fully incorporated such that "the outside has turned in," so the queer's drive to 'stay queer' is only ever one step away from the normal's drive to 'get hip.' Thus, the always-marginal element (the queer) is also the always-central element because the queer creates new territories toward which the normal is able to expand.

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In a crucial point of emergence long ago, woman established herself as existent rather than plunge the monist world of Man into the void from which she came. In another, the proletariat struggled to secure its autonomous liberation from the bourgeoisie, failing to destroy the bourgeoisie and itself entirely. On the stage set by the present order, the queer force is making itself busy with the proliferation of identities and failing to effect the total negation of identity.

In the re-creationist order, life is experienced as void and death as the only escape. Such is not far from the truth. For those singularities which are born or incorporated into the reproductive order of identification — today, all are included, the woman, the queer, &c. — the void is no longer experienced as dwelling outside the castle, but as dwelling *within*.

Like the negative project of the proletariat, the negative queer project entails the total negation of the existent, of the existent's reproductive apparatuses, and of itself. What's more, the latter's self-abolition must take place not only as death, but also as the murder of a certain kind of death. This is because even suicide, or self-abolition, has been subsumed under the process of re-creationism. Death is necessary in self-creation because in the act of becoming, one must kill the old version of himself. In order to destroy the reproductive process of re-creation, the queer must destroy the latter's false version of suicide. The queer death-drive is an urge for *pure* suicide, which is also *pure murder*.

It is no coincidence that those who theorise on themes of pluralist gender identity, postmodernism, and intersectionality, also discourage suicide and instead offer the killing of *a part of oneself in order to reinvent oneself anew*.

Man's fall from grace and the collapse of the Twin Towers pale in comparison to the purely negative project, so awful are its manifestations. These are necessarily unspeakable, but if we could imagine the entire world rendered as an aborted

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fetus, the plunging of the universe into an abyss that opened in the space-time continuum, or the people of the world digging corpses out of their graves and fucking them endlessly, we would catch a glimpse of the death it seeks to unleash. To those who love this world, human strike will appear as no thing of beauty, but to those who hate it there is nothing as beautiful.

Pure suicide is not the suicide of the individual motivated by hopelessness, though it *is* antithetical to hope. It is not the suicide that comes from a moment of despair, but from an entire *world* of despair. It is not decided in the turn of an instant, but takes place out-of-time. For in its self-destruction, the purely negative singularity destroys the world, renders impotent its apparatuses of reproduction, and brings the Future to an end.

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Reflections on the Demise of Bash Back!

from *Pink And Black Attack* 6

Bash back! was started in 2007 as a network of queer anarchists, in order to have a specifically queer presence at the Democratic National Convention and Republican National Convention protests in the summer of 2008 noticing this absence at past mobilizations. *BashBack!* quickly expanded, with chapters across the United States. One of the main themes of the 2010 *BashBack!* convergence was the assertion "Bash Back! is dead." I would like to offer some thoughts on this assertion and its implications.

on the network

BashBack! formed as a network with a specific goal in mind: the DNC/RNC convention protests. At the time of *BB!'s* formation, there were no national organizations/networks specifically for queer anarchists. While long-standing queer anarchist groups have existed in specific cities and regions for years, these groups have a local focus. *BashBack!* formed to fill a need for a national network of queer anarchists, which was demonstrated by its rapid growth and popularity. The establishment of a national network was deemed useful at the time for its ability to gather a large number of anarchist queers in the resistance of the previously mentioned conventions/summits. This also demonstrates the desire for a large number of people to rally specifically around this identity.

Points of unity were adopted and more chapters popped up across the country. The only requirement for membership was adopting the points of unity, which led to the creation of a decentralized, very informal network of chapters (with some international presence). The structure of the network

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also facilitated quick expansion, because it did not operate on traditional, formal principles of organization and instead focused on building a network between autonomous local chapters. Emphasis was placed upon taking action. Ideological and tactical unity was not prioritized beyond the points of unity. Even these points offered only a basic framework of broadly defined anti-oppression, anti-assimilation, liberation, and diversity of tactics. *BashBack!*, as a network rather than a formal organization (such as a federation), did not make any formal attempts to define its political analysis.

The local chapters that comprised *BashBack!* were far from homogeneous. Chapters were linked only by a name and perhaps some social connections, with each chapter being unique in how they formed, how they operated, and what they did. For this reason, it is difficult to speak of *BashBack!* members as a distinct group, since there was no ideological unity implied by membership in *BashBack!*, nor was membership controlled or tracked in any way. Some chapters were more active than others, with the Midwest having a high concentration of especially active chapters.

While there was no central organization for *BashBack!*, there have still been national convergences after the founding convergence. These are different from conventions or conferences, as participation was not limited to members of the organization, and no decisions about the network itself were made. Rather, the convergences focused on the strengthening of the network in an informal sense.

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ON TENSION AND THE DEATH OF BASH BACK!

> *"Is our violence one of substance or of image?"*
> *- Questions to be Addressed Before the Bash Back! Convergence in Denver*

Once *BB!* began its rapid expansion (after the summer of 2008), questions of political unity began to arise, culminating in conflict at the 2009 convergence. One reason is that, with the growth of *BashBack!* across the continent, the personal connections that had been established due to the relative proximity of the first chapters were no longer in place. While there has been no formal political position for the organization, informally it seemed that the first chapters had strong affinity with the others, especially tactically. At the 2009 convergence, strong disagreements (both political and tactical) arose between participants in an action. In the absence of strong personal connections, these conflicts were intensified.

By the time of the 2009 convergence, *BashBack!* actions that involved multiple chapters had also become less frequent. Actions were taken by individual chapters, rather than the multiple chapters that had been involved in the DNC/RNC protests, the Mt. Hope Church action, and the Avenge Duanna campaign. While it is impossible to pinpoint a reason for this decline, it is likely that the decrease in multichapter actions contributed to the declining tactical unity.

The formation of personal connections from taking action together declined as *BB!* grew. This is not necessarily a bad thing, as it could indicate a shift of focus to working locally or to clandestine activity. In any case, it points to a weakening of the inter-chapter bonds that had characterized *Bash Back!'s* origins.

Political and tactical differences, unable to be resolved by any organizational process within *BashBack!*, grew into competing visions of the organization. At the 2010 convergence, this

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culminated in a discussion regarding the future of *BB!* The competing visions of *BashBack!* centered on the organizational form of the group. Some people advocated an organizational form more akin to a federation, with formalized relations between chapters and a stronger emphasis on political/theoretical unity. Others claimed that *BashBack!* was dead/ought to die as an organization.

Many points would come into question later: the question of organization versus anti-organizationalism, affirming queer identity versus negating identity, the nonviolent versus those calling for a diversity of tactics, autonomy versus revolt, building an autonomous queer liberation that displaces state/heterosexual power versus destroying the existent. It is necessary here to make clear the role of identity in creating these tensions. Those who felt that self-identification was the necessary basis for entering into struggle clashed with those who saw understandability and identification as necessarily the recuperation of struggle.

BashBack! was declared by some people to be dead immediately before the 2010 convergence in Denver. While the veracity of the statement is still a point of contention, the idea of *BashBack!* being dead provides an excellent starting point for a discussion of the role of *BashBack!*

As an informal network, *BB!* was never focused on the tasks of formal organizations, such as signing up members, conducting political education, or defining campaigns or strategic directions. These tasks, if they were to be done, were left up to each chapter. Thus it is difficult to speak of *BB!* as a whole, because it did not have explicit organizational positions or policies.

Indeed, the chapters across the country varied in size, activity, and organization. Some chapters openly recruited while others were established from preexisting networks of friends and comrades. The wide differences between chapters makes discussing *BB!* problematic, because what constituted *BB!* was never clearly defined beyond an agreement with the

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ON ORGANIZATION

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The extremely decentralized organizational form that *BashBack!* adopted at its inception brought with it limits and trade-offs. These limits, coupled with the identity-based nature of *BB!*, can provide some theoretical insight into the rise and fall of *BashBack!*

Political and theoretical unity was not a priority for *BashBack!*, with action and networking as the main impetus and expression. While this position is not inherently problematic, the internal contradictions of queer identity resulted in complications in the attempt to build a network of queer anarchists. Because queer is widely understood to be an explicitly social identity rather than an explicitly political identity, the actual political views of the people who constituted *BashBack!* varied tremendously. This occurred despite the anarchist principles of *BB!*; "anarchist" was used in a sense of a passive political identity, rather than asserting any specific political unity. The lack of political affinity became problematic when membership was based on a social identity. This limited the options that *BashBack!* had for organizational form, as any shift towards formalized structure such as a federation model would be hampered by the lack of ideological unity amongst the loosely-defined members. *Bash Back!'s* organizational form also had implications for the longevity of the group. Lacking strongly defined membership, delegated responsibilities, and specified strategy and goals, *BB!* had no processes by which to

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sustain itself in any official sense. As stated earlier, the group was founded with an emphasis on networking for a specific set of actions (the DNC/RNC protests), that is, to fulfill a specific need. Rather than focusing on organizational permanence for its own sake, *BashBack!* relied on the minimum amount of structure needed to achieve its goal of building a network of queer anarchists.

Organization in response to a specific need makes organizational permanence unimportant once the need has been satisfied. If organizational permanence becomes a secondary concern, then the demise of an organization is not undesirable. Indeed, dissolution is a preferable alternative to continuing an organization for its own sake. The product of a shift from a highly decentralized network to a more formal organization would irrevocably change the character of the organization. The desire to attempt such a radical restructuring of an existing organization indicates that a premium has been placed on the name and legacy of the organization, instead of the actions that created its reputation. If an organization is not meeting people's needs because of structural limits, it seems more reasonable to discard it.

THE END

> *"Fuck, Just Fuck"*
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BashBack!, at its inception, was an attempt to fill a void — the lack of a queer anarchist network. *BashBack!* was constituted by the affinity of its participants, and this affinity was expressed through action, and new chapters emerged as a result of a certain resonance carried by *BashBack!* actions. While the origins of *BashBack!* as a tendency based on resonance fostered its growth, it also allowed for different chapters to re-envision *BashBack!* from their particular political desires

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and local situations of struggle. *BashBack!'s* status as a network imposed certain limits; limits that could not be broken without fundamentally shifting from the model that allowed for its initial success.

To speak of the death of an organization generally connotes a negative event, but this relies on the assumption that organizational permanence is a good thing. Moving past this assumption, the question becomes: have we accomplished our goals with this organization, this means, this tool? If the answer is affirmative, if the organization has been pushed to its limits, perhaps its death is deserved. If *BashBack!* is dead, the resurgence in anarchist queer activity and networking remains. Relationships now exist that would not have existed had *BashBack!* never formed. When our projects reach the end of their usefulness, letting them go is no cause for concern.

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CHURCH ON FIRE VANDALIZED

A Fort Wayne church's van and garage were vandalized Saturday.

Pastor Joe Gutierrez said the head trustee of the Church on Fire, at 9019 Stellhorn Road, discovered it around 7AM when he saw the front garage door partially open and the back door completely open.

Several tools, including air tools, framing and finishing nailers and hand tools were missing from the garage and the vandals poured oil all over the ground, on the push mower and on boxes filled with library books.

The words "Bash Back, 6-6-6" and an upside down cross were spray painted on the inside of the garage door. The van was also graffitied.

Gutierrez explained that 'Bash Back' refers to pushing for rights of same-sex marriage and homosexuality through the constitution. Same-sex marriage and homosexuality are two topics the Church on Fire does not support.

"We are a very conservative church, Pentecostal church, where we believe same-sex marriage is an abomination of God and one that clearly states it's wrong in the eyes of God. We do teach against that and we do admonish people in our church to refrain from homosexuality," said Gutierrez.

Pastor Gutierrez thinks the vandals could either just be kids or someone taking an issue with the church's beliefs.

"It lets me know that the individual(s) that have done this have too much free time. They aren't involved in the community and it lets me know one of two things: 1. that just some kids have come through and did it or 2. that they are individuals that actually support this group that want to scare tactic me and so on to try and get us from the viewpoints that we hold that or and (sic) they just don't like anybody that's against it. I really don't know," said Gutierrez.

Pastor Gutierrez not only preaches at the Church on Fire, he is involved in ministry at the county jail. He said he is looking

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Towards an Insurrectionary Transfeminism

by some deceptive trannies

A NOTE ON GENDER *This essay deals with the discursive and material histories of people I refer to as "trans women," which I broadly define as anyone not assigned female at birth who experiences their bodies as female, lives their gender in a way that could be taken as female, and/or identifies as woman/trans-female-spectrum/ transfeminism. I rather begrudgingly use this term with a degree of hesitance as it certainly erases the complexities of my gender experience, but I aim to broadly relate to those who have been coercively assigned a gender category other than Woman but who still inherit much of the legacy of such a category.*

Trans people remain strangers and outcasts within much of the contemporary discourses of insurrectionary feminism. Essays about "male-bodied" perpetrators of sexual assault and "socialized men and women" seem to leave much to be analyzed about the ways in which trans people have historically related the functioning of gender systems and the development of capitalism as a system. It is in this context that we discursively intervene with that which we might term insurrectionary trans-feminism, an analysis which distinctively analyzes the ways in which trans bodies relate to the legacy of capitalism and the possibilities of living communism and spreading anarchy. This is distinctly *not* a plea for inclusion, not is it an articulation of identity politics, but rather an articulation of why we might be invested in insurrection and communization with those who share our desires and perhaps a preliminary set of ideas on how our positionalities might be used in such processes. In

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order to imagine the possibilities of subversion, however, we must first recognize the historical relations of capitalism to the formulation of the trans subject.

The relation between capitalism and the trans subject is a contentious one. While many theorists such as Leslie Feinberg have sought to piece together a universal, ahistorical narrative of trans people throughout history across the world, we see such a task as ultimately failing to take into account the precise economic and social conditions which gave rise to each specific instance of gender variance. Gender nonconformity is not a stable or coherent phenomenon which appears in history due to the same conditions, rather it contextually can have a multiplicity of meanings. While it could certainly be useful to analyze the ways in which capitalism has instituted binary-based gender systems as a means to organize reproductive labor in colonial contexts with different gender systems, for the purposes of this essay we will begin with the notion of the transsexual in context of the early 20th century United States, where the first narratives of transsexuality began to appear. These narratives are intimately tied to the rise of capitalist ventures in experimental medical procedures which gave rise to the the first forms of gender reassignment surgery. By the 1950s, transsexuality had gained public attention in the United States with gender reassignment surgery of Christine Jorgensen. Jorgensen's narrative, as some narratives just twenty years before her, became a model for the transsexual identity narrative, in which the subject feels that she is in the "wrong body" and that surgery has made her feel whole and relieved the immense feeling of body dysphoria by making her a real woman. It is in this narrative that we find the experiences of gender dysphoria taking shape to define a concrete subject position of "trans."

At the same time, as capital has created the ability for trans individuals to modify their bodies in the ways that they see fit, it has also, with biomedical and psychological apparatuses, proliferated the means by which to discipline the

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At the same time, as capital has created the ability for trans individuals to modify their bodies in the ways that they see fit, it has also, with biomedical and psychological apparatuses, proliferated the means by which to discipline the

trans body. Two of the most notable apparatuses to this effect are the Standards of Care, which enforce rigorous standards of femininity and passibility as a necessary first step towards access to medical technologies of transition, as well as the "charm schools" that accompanied many GID clinics which sought to properly resocialize trans women as "proper ladies" with manners, grace, and all of the feminine wiles of "natural women." The trans subject's desires are easily molded into that which can be profitable to capitalism, whether it is countless sessions of laser hair removal sessions, gender reassignment surgeries, or hormone therapy. That is, trans subjectivity is bound to the conditions of capitalism and disciplinary techniques which have given rise to it. We deploy these words carefully, however, as we also recognize the ways in which "radicals" and "feminists" have deployed the very same as a means of constructing trans women as capitalist-created penetrators of vanity and artificial artifacts of femininity. Yet the constructedness of the trans subject and the trans body is no more tied to the history of capitalism and domination than the constructedness of woman as an identity and a body, or the constructedness of racialized identities and bodies.

We do not mean to imply that trans identity is based upon a particular form of body modification or access to medical technology, but rather that these early narratives of trans experience and the disciplinary techniques shaping such identities are foundational in the ways in which trans identity has grown, whether in the broadening terms of constituting a political "trans community" on the basis of sharing a feeling of dysphoria or the emergence of genderqueer as a politicized subjectivity which has become the delight of postmodernism. Transfeminism, then, has emerged as theory dedicated to an articulation of the trans speaking subject. Yet capitalism has an ever-expanding amount of room to incorporate an infinite amount of gendered subjectivities which can be rendered value-creating to capital. In this way, trans theory faces limits similar to feminist theory, which has produced a feminized

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form of capital that is no less brutal in its form. The task, then, is to create an insurrectionary theory which is based on rendering trans bodies without function in the process of value creation, which necessitates their very identity as trans, as woman, as human. As trans people, we feel corporeality forcibly pushed onto us in an attempt to render us intelligible, to use the state of our bodies to comprehend our gender and sell us "more natural-looking" bodies. We feel our bodies outweigh our chosen identities when we interact with others and do not pass. As trans women, as we experience the legacy of trans subjectivity within capitalism, we also feel the weight of the corporeality of women in capitalism crush our existences. We experience the implicit violence in gendered division of labor every time we are raped and beaten and condescended to and treated as a hot she-male sex toy. Yet it is in this experience that we might see the possibilities of human strike for the trans woman.

Trans women experience corporeality in a unique way. While capital hopes to continue to use the female body as proletarian machine to reproduce labor-power, trans women's bodies cannot produce more workers and are constantly already viewed as denaturalized. Perhaps in valorizing this inoperability in reproduction, and willfully extending it to all forms of reproductive labor, we see the potentiality of human strike. Ways of extending this remain to be seen, but in this affront to capitalist-produced nature and matrices of heteronormativity which are crucial to the functioning of capitalism, we see the kinship between the human strike of trans women and the materialization of a non-reproductive, purely negative queer force. It seems that the trans woman too has no future, and thus through the building of this negative force might have a stake in wrecking everything and abolishing herself in the process. In any case, we do not have the answers that will render society inoperable, that will end the social reproduction of this world. Yet as trans women, we know that every strike against capital is a strike against the mechanisms of

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gender oppression, and that every strike against the gendered violence in our lives is a strike against the machinations of capital.

Gender strike is human strike.

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AS WITH CHRIST, BASH BACK! NEWS IS DEAD

BB! News has been hacked for the final time. The new password will be destroyed with this site.

We, the mysterious originators of *BashBack! News,* have risen from the dead and upon returning to our graves this website will accompany us. We will leave the last two years of content online as a reference point for any and all who wish to understand what *BB!* was. The glorious days of *BB!* are over. What this website has become is a clear indication that it, the website, must die.

We, the ghosts of *BB! News*, hope that one day massive decentralized anarchaqueer action will spread like a sexually transmitted infection all over this heteroland. We, the ghosts of *BB! News*, hope that one day a new hub dedicated to the dissemination of information related to transqueer resistance will be birthed from the dripping asshole of this site. When that day comes, the day of reckoning if you will, our corpses will once again be resurrected and the TransQueer Apocalypse will wait on our collective doorsteps.

Death to Christianity.
Death to religion.
Death to all state and corporate infiltrators.
Death to the turncoats.
Death to academics.
Death to rapists.
Death to liberal provocateurs.
Death to the collegiate co-opters of gendervariancy.
Death to the HeteroInsect that preys on the blood of the TransQueer resistance!

BB! and *BB! News* was once something great. Let us remember those days of holy glory and forget the day that this website

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became the playground for those masquerading as something they are not.

Children, do not attempt to be cool.
Strive to become beautiful.
To fucking on the glittery, torched corpses of
the rich, normative, straight, and boring,

The Ghosts of Bash Back! News

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What Is It to Become Beautiful?

anonymous

Editor's Note: Much of the theory released during the rise of insurrectionary queers within North American anarchist milieus contained jabs, humor, and uncontrollable satire. This is one of those pieces. Are you queer enough to determine what is sarcasm and what is truth? Is the author of this piece queer enough to understand what is sarcasm and what is truth? Is it possible that sarcasm and truth can be interchangeable, the distinctions between the two often times muddled even for the theorist?

In June 2010 people in Oakland, CA revolted against the racist police state, even if only for a few hours. This resulted in the trashing and mass looting of a beauty supply store. The owner of the shop was quoted as saying. "There were tons of them! Not just a few. And they went for the most expensive wigs I had!" No Justice, No Peace for the hoarders of beauty.

DESPITE THE KINDERGARTEN NOTION that all people are beautiful, most are not. There are many heinous, despicable, and horrifically ugly people in this world. If society views someone as peaceful, honorable, and gorgeous, a Beauty in Becoming must assume the enshrined subject is exactly the opposite. Those seen positively by the ugly at large are most often trying to rip off your snatch, steal from you, or doom your life to misery (See Ghandi-child rapist/state collaborator, Mother Teresa-that anti-condom bitch was responsible for the rapid spread of HIV, and FDR — a fucker who ordered japanese americans to concentration camps). To become beautiful is to constantly challenge colonialism and oppression internally and in creative ways externally. Should any person not take up these challenges

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then they most certainly are not beautiful. In fact they aren't even average. They are fucking ugly.

For those seeking beauty, accept your mind and sex for what it is, in addition to what you want it to be. The desire to modify one's features to conform to the "beauty" of the public pupil is worthlessness instilled. Beauty is not the fraudulent norm. Conversely the desire to fuck who you please or to swap out that tired cock with a brand new pussy is pricelessness willed. Modify your body to complement your soul. Ravish yourself in brilliance. Beauty is the violent and persistent confrontation between your body and Cosmo. Crave it.

Unfortunately becoming beautiful is more complicated than it may seem. Truth be told a total makeover may not be possible at all. Our exterior beauty has been so rudely taken hostage by patriarchal greed. This Commodification of Beauty may be one of our deadliest enemies. We all feel the need to be fake-pretty. To vomit here, lift weights there, to purchase mascara, or eat practically nothing. Commodified beauty negatively effects every person, anyone who says otherwise is a liar. As long as we chase commodified beauty, and not beauty in actuality, we are cursed to depression, illness, and weakness. No one can pay to become beautiful, only to accentuate their becoming.

Becoming beautiful is the most precious tool in combating liberal extremism. Liberals are ugly, fucking ugly, or fugly. The liberal is terrified of a beauty in becoming. They will lie, cheat, and steal to maintain their dominance over oppressed public relations. Real beauty lies in the truthful. The established liberal fears the truth and the tactics that real change requires. Beauty shits on the hypocritical and foul idea that is the respect for a diversity of tactics. Never respect the tactics of a liberal and do not conflate "liberal" with those actually at higher risk of state repression. Have no patience for those who do.

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Ultimately, the beautiful threaten the established liberal's class, privilege, and racial superiority.

The beautiful are the only true enemies of fascism. Barack Obama could never successfully wage a war against corporate fascism. He is corporate fascism. He is hideous. The right does not fear the "left" In American politics. Scratch the surface of their pale-dry skin and you will find Nancy Pelosi and Ron Paul dry humping in the back rooms of Congress. Beautiful means targeting everything Hetero in nature. Devote your lives to committing Straight Crime after Straight Crime. Understand that Straight does not mean One Man and One Woman, Gays and Lesbians straddle the upmost rungs on the Latter to hetero-superiority. Straightness is the product of Patriarchy and Assimilation. It is the white picket fence in the suburbs, the Gays on television blaming Trannies for their unsuccessful bids at marriage, No Fats No Femmes, rape, and English Only education. Straight Crimes are the beautiful's physical manifestation in our war on Straightness and towards our ultimate goal of creating a dictatorship of the beautiful.

Fucking-Uglies will claim to be allies of the pretty; they are not. Straightness will stop at nothing to thwart a confrontation between the Queer and a fellow Hetero. Straights may even use peace and protection as fog to hide their real intentions, maintaining their status quo. Truth be told the queer does not require (and should not desire) the protection or the peace that the straight offers. The same is true for all other oppressed that comprise the beautiful.

Becoming beautiful means becoming fearless. Do not associate this beautiful fearlessness with the common definition. Accept all emotions as legitimate and powerful. To the beautiful, fearlessness does not mean without fear but fear without the possibility of stagnancy and paralysis induced by possible consequences of revolt. Instead the beautiful would Allow fear to signal caution, thought, and wisdom prior to any altercation with the Ugly. This type of fearlessness will insure a stable and safe route of travel for Beauties in Becoming.

The queer or whore or native or person of color is the sword of those on the road to Beauty. Oppression has given

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a resentment to these particular factions that the pimp-or-whitey-or-straighty will never know. An advantageous position to hold. If the oppressed embraced the rage that only they know, and used it as the most powerful weapon that it is, then nothing ugly could ever truly stop the beautiful. This rage is what ensures survival. It is why, regardless of millennia of colonization, the native, the whore, the person of color, the tranny, and the queer still exist.

The Beautiful know liberation is as fictitious as god in heaven. Liberation w/could only be achieved if time, as understood by the mentally inferior ugly, was rewound. Upon completion of such a strenuous feat, the guns would have to be dispersed evenly amongst the beautiful and the ugly would have all limbs disposed of. Being that time travel, at this point, is unfortunately an impossibility there will never be liberation. A partial and superficial liberation could come from a round up of all the uglies; to be tortured in re-education camps. This hypothetical yet equally unattainable situation might in fact turn beautiful people on and dispose of the ugly. Revenge of this type is still not complete liberation. Complete liberation is a condition only occupy-able by people, animals, or things that have never been subject to commodification. In this terrible world of the ugly ass fascists, everything beautiful has been used as a pawn for too long to ever be absolutely out-of-play. Becoming beautiful means fighting a liberatory struggle without a utopian illusion of liberation.

Revolution is as fictitious as Jesus on the cross. The Ugly has perfected the art of cooptation and recuperation. At this point ugliness is able to connaturalize itself with most emotional or philosophical states. Consequently, the beautiful are left with a non-war but certainly not a peaceful desire. All there is to be embraced by Beauties in Becoming is a debauched nihilism, a collective hedonism; not to be confused with an apathetic debauchery. It is rage that ought to be harnessed, if not gorgeously abused, to ensure survival and happiness.

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Under the thumb of an omnipotent yet hidden in-plain-sight fascism, utmost stealth is something to be considered by Beauties in Becoming. Travel down the yellow brick road of struggling beauty is sometimes only accomplished by donning the master's clothes. This is true for whores of all types, whether assimilationist or counter-cultural, whether corporate or street, whether on the path of fraudulent beauty or pounding the yellow brick. We all sacrifice ourselves to manipulate the enemy. The mirror is a weapon, smash it only after the black flag has burned.

To this end, nothing is more important than keeping goals set high and consciences guarded. Discover your beauty. Keep your beauty close to your heart. Have faith in your beauty. Hold onto your beauty. Feel your beauty. Know your beauty. Caress your beauty. Finger your beauty. Eat your beauty. Fuck your beauty. Beauty is your only secret. Parade it as you must. Become as beautiful as you can. Above all, be your beauty.

Those deserving of beauty know that one day the world will belong to the beautiful. Becoming beautiful is the youth's only hope. Becoming beautiful is an extreme measure, sure, but it is the only path to happiness, love, self fulfillment, and revolt. The war may not be here, it may never come, but the beautiful have almost arrived.

Although sharpening the sword's blade while living in the non-war is essential; Becoming Beauties must dust off time's old layers of illusion. The illusionary layers being: Revolutionary War against ugly people resulting in ultimate liberation of trannies and queers. So, illuminate rage and resentment. These distinct emotional logics are the only weapons accessible to pretty people that can never be incorporated into the army of ugly pricks. Dispel your illusions for the sake of beauty.

Revolutionary War is impossible.
Liberation is unattainable.
QueerUltraViolence is beauty.

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INTERVIEW WITH NOT YR CISTER PRESS

Not whose cister?

Well, not anyone's cister. We are opposed to the feminist thesis that there is a universal sisterhood that unites all women, and the idea that this could possibly be a starting point for revolutionary action. In short, it's a disavowal of identity politics, especially most strands of feminism, as a means to liberation. We can see that the thesis of sisterhood has rapidly decomposed along racialized, gendered, and class lines as feminism has mutated over the decades. "Cister" is specifically referential to the feminist movement's policing of trans bodies, especially trans women's bodies, and it is this kind of normalizing violence that has influenced our understanding of the failing of identity politics as a strategy. We instead aim to produce and/or disseminate writing with the purpose of exposing the violence of gendering processes that maintain the categories of man/woman, cis/trans, and natural/artificial, among other things, and theorizing the ways in which these identities can be destroyed.

What was NYCP's relation to BB! and its demise?

BashBack! was a pretty formative moment in the (anti-?) political development of all those involved in NYCP. Seeing the decay of *BashBack!* and the transformation of a project that began as something completely anti-identity into the same liberal LGBT discourse with some minor ideological twists. The 2nd *BB!* convergence showcased that transformation best, when trans identity was invoked as a way of tactically policing the more insurrectionary-minded currents of *BashBack!* and bolstering the identity politics within the minds of convergence-goers. Since then, we've devoted ourselves to

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exposing moments like this when our identities have been used against us as a form of containment and control.

In what ways was BB! haunted by traditional LGBT politics? In what ways was this development a betrayal of BB!?

Well I suppose most obviously the manifestation of liberalism within *BashBack!* began with the capturing of queer as a form of identity rather than the destruction of it. The rest really followed from there: *BashBack!* then became a kind of stagnant breeding ground for politics that centered themselves around this "queer identity," which really just reproduced this subcultural, lifestylist brand of politics that was about "safe spaces" and orgies and genderfucking as some kind of sublime resistance to the status quo rather than trying to connect those actually attacking at different points of social rupture. When queerness began to mean little more than "pansexual activist", *BashBack!* became a liberal social scene rather than a space from which to attack, which i think had been the whole point of bashing back all along. Actually attacking and bashing back was cast aside to the degree that in Denver there were comments like "Well, I think it's like a metaphor, ya know? Bashing back can be anything, like providing safe spaces or wearing gender nonconforming clothes in public."

What are your influences?

Theoretically speaking, we've been influenced by a variety of philosophical tendencies, including pieces of queer theory, autonomism, critical theory, and anarchism. Susan Stryker's writing on monstrosity and trans identity in "My Words to Victor Frankenstein Above the Village of Chamounix" was the first zine we formatted and is highly influential in our understanding of gender and insurrection, as are the works of Lee Edelman, Silvia Federici, Tiqqun, and other contemporary

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negative feminist projects like Petroleuse Press and Gender Mutiny.

How does insurrectionary transfeminism relate to other insurrectional feminisms?

I think in many ways we see ourselves as some blend of the insurrectional feminisms more influenced by European autonomism and all of the queer negation-influenced theoretical projects around these days. Insurrectionary transfeminism as a set of ideas partially arose from more Marxist-oriented projects touting really gender-essentialist texts like *The SCUM Manifesto* and Luce Irigaray without really deconstructing how this writing was still coming from a place that was a really simplistic and naturalized take on how gender/sex is maintained. A lot of trans folks were totally on board with being a part of this recent upsurge in insurrectional feminism and had a ton of affinity with and respect for those projects and the people involved with them, but were nonetheless rather put off by this uncritical take on publishing some really transmisogynist texts. NYCP began as a way of trying to fill the theoretical void where an anti-essentialist, totally negative insurrectional feminism could take root. Some other writing, like "Dictatorship of the Postfeminist Imagination" by IEF and the communiqué from San Francisco anarcha-feminists, have made a lot of really interesting contributions in this area that I think complement a trans-centric, anti-essentialist take on

negative feminist projects like Petroleuse Press and Gender Mutiny.

How does insurrectionary transfeminism relate to other insurrectional feminisms?

I think in many ways we see ourselves as some blend of the insurrectional feminisms more influenced by European autonomism and all of the queer negation-influenced theoretical projects around these days. Insurrectionary transfeminism as a set of ideas partially arose from more Marxist-oriented projects touting really gender-essentialist texts like *The SCUM Manifesto* and Luce Irigaray without really deconstructing how this writing was still coming from a place that was a really simplistic and naturalized take on how gender/sex is maintained. A lot of trans folks were totally on board with being a part of this recent upsurge in insurrectional feminism and had a ton of affinity with and respect for those projects and the people involved with them, but were nonetheless rather put off by this uncritical take on publishing some really transmisogynist texts. NYCP began as a way of trying to fill the theoretical void where an anti-essentialist, totally negative insurrectional feminism could take root. Some other writing, like "Dictatorship of the Postfeminist Imagination" by IEF and the communiqué from San Francisco anarcha-feminists, have made a lot of really interesting contributions in this area that I think complement a trans-centric, anti-essentialist take on

these ideas, and we can only hope that these ideas continue to grow and become a force to be reckoned with.

Is there an inherent tension in trying to destabilize identity-based feminism through the centering of theory around the identity of Transwomen? Expand on some of these tensions.

Well I suppose that we don't exactly want to center theory around the identity of trans women, but rather expose the violence of identity normalization within the lives of people within that category, as well as others who experience some degree of resonance with the experiences that can come along with being placed in this kind of category. I think the most interesting and important tension is instead the one between wanting theory that can lead to the obliteration of identity and theory that can speak to the material conditions of those who are affected by apparatuses of discipline that are creating people as certain kinds of subjects. We want to expose that the misery that many trans women are exposed to on a daily basis is directly related to the totality of social relations under capitalism, and simultaneously show that in order for trans women to destroy these social relations they must also end up destroying themselves as trans and as women. This isn't a stand-alone theory in any way; rather it is one part of the project, which I think Frère Dupont described rather well in *species being* as "invit[ing] others to reflect upon the truth of their own personal anguish, and thereby recognize their own relation to the world," and consequently "attuning their own feelings of revulsion for this world." We are one small part of such an

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invitation, and hope to expand and maintain connections with others at different nodes of social struggle.

Is ITF a movement for inclusion into these insurrectional feminist discourses (a correction to this project) or is it an altogether different discourse?

I guess we're partially already regret creating this kind of "-ism," because insurrectionary transfeminism is really less about creating this new ideology that everyone should care about or follow or something as a coherent set of ideas, and more about adding thoughts that will expand insurrectionary ideas to a group of people that has every reason to hate the conditions in which they live. I'm hesitant to make it seem like insurrectionary transfeminism needs to be a correction to some totalizing image of one coherent set of insurrectional feminist ideas, but similarly hesitant to make it seem like what we're doing is separate from what Petroleuse Press, the IEF, and others are doing with these discourses. So partially this is about growing the trends of insurrectional feminism (that we're already down with) and negativity and rejecting gender essentialism, but it's also about asserting new philosophical discourse within "radical trans" spaces, which are really mostly plagued by the same kind of liberal queer politics that ended up destroying *BashBack!* I guess maybe that intervention within trans narratives that we're a part of is what separates us from these other discourses.

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NEW JERSEY: THE REJECTION OF THE IDENTITY OF VICTIMIZATION THROUGH CRACKING A NAZI'S SKULL

On Friday, April 15th, 2011 an anti-fascist in Anti-Racist Action learned of the location of the National Socialist Movement's national conference for rank promotion and five-year planning. A group of 30 of us decided to march to where the Nazis were strongest, to bodily and boldly confront them, and we were decidedly victorious. After the dust settled, six Nazis were hospitalized, more were injured, their vehicles and property were damaged, and their conference was ended. On the other side, one anti-fascist required moderate first aid.

Many of us at the melee were people of color, working class, immigrants, women, queer, transgendered, and/or people on parole or probation. The logic of the victim is constantly thrust upon us. We are said to be *at risk* and must be protected and pandered to. It is said that we need others, usually the State, to protect and stand up for us. But, through the action of splitting Nazis' heads open, we rejected the logic of victimization. We will continue to do so; we will be victims no longer. We do not need others to stand up for us; we have each other. When we are attacked, we will find each other and counterattack, so hard and so fierce that we will surprise even ourselves.

If the Nazis call us bitch ass faggots, they might not be that far off the mark. But if they conflate those slurs with weakness, the six hospital visits they faced would prove otherwise.

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WHEN WILL THEY LEARN? NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT EATS IT AGAIN IN MILWAUKEE

So the National Socialist Movement came out — no pun intended — to protest the Milwaukee, WI Pride Fest last weekend, and as usual were met by those who were none too fond of them doing so and were waiting for them to show. This is a small report of what went down.

Back in April, Nazis from the National Socialist Movement held a conference in Pemberton, NJ, but not before a huge melee between them and anti-fascists that involved bats, hammers, pepper spray, and folding chairs left several NSM members gushing blood and sent four to the hospital with one apparently having a shattered cheekbone. Now, months later, a follow-up attack left the Milwaukee unit of the NSM in a fury. Harriet and Paul Paletti and about three other Nazis from the NSM held a demo at the pride parade in downtown Milwaukee. As always the NSM was heavily protected by police but this didn't stop a few anti-fascists from making sure they didn't go home without interruption. Aside from infiltrating the Milwaukee NSM through Harriet Paletti (20225 W. Coffee Road, New Berlin 53146) anti-fascists had been watching the NSMs since early in the morning and had clear descriptions on all cars and attendees. Once it was clear that they were going to hide behind police protection, antifascists decided to go for their cars that were in the parking lot. Their grey astro van was parked directly in front of their smaller red car which had an NSM member inside "guarding" the van. After being confronted at his car he cowardly denied being a Nazi and did nothing to protect the vehicle of his comrades. During the confrontation of this low life scum anti-fascists made sure to pop both of the NSMs' front tires leaving them stuck in the lot and out a few hundred bucks, not including the tow we are sure they needed. Although we realize this was no huge defeat, the reality is, after such a beat down in Pemberton you would think the NSM would tighten their security and

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assure nothing at all happened. Most importantly it should be assumed that this is not the last hit the NSM will face.

This war is not over and so far this years score board says
ANTI-FASCISTS: 2
NSM: 0

SEATTLE: QUEERS VS. COPS

Last night, some queer hooligans had the audacity to take the streets for the third year in a row. It was a smashing time!

Queers Fucking Queers, a free, all-ages street party, erupted on the corner of 12th and Madison at midnight last night. The party quickly breached the confines of what's tame and legal during Pride weekend when somebody smashed the window of a Ferrari dealership near the meeting point. Then the homo hordes charged down Pike, the windows of two cop cars left shattered in their wake. Rainbow flags became weapons as the queers raged on down Broadway, the cops sniffing along after like rabid dogs on the prowl. But these fascist prudes were too slow to protect a Bank of America ATM and American Apparel from this hot mob of style vandals. The hood of a cop car briefly transformed into a dance floor, and queers fought the cops in the streets. One person was hauled off to jail for "pedestrian interference", but others fought off the pigs and escaped their nightsticks with the help of friends.

It's all too clear that those of us who refuse to press our lives into their pretty little boxes quickly end up in the ugly little boxes of the King County Jail.

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The following leaflet was distributed during the event:

NO HOMONATIONALISM,
NO HOMOMILITARISM,
NO ASSIMILATION

We're all being told that marriage equality and the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell is progress, and that the LGBT community is moving towards equality. But is it really progress? And is equality really what we need?

Some of us queers say no. We're not interested in buying into State-sanctioned monogamy. This is nothing less than assimilation into straight society, the same society that enacts violence against queer people every day. This is sold to us as equality, but what does that mean? It means becoming acceptably heteronormative, begging for tolerance from the same people who have criminalized, marginalized, and murdered us throughout history.

We're not interested in enlisting in the military so that we can kill, be killed, or both, for US imperialism. Whether it's queer people dying in the streets (or prisons or the medical system), or queer people dying in combat overseas, it seems that the system loves to see dead queers. Why should queer people fight for a country that brings both structural and interpersonal violence against us? What loyalty do queers have to people who want them dead?

They tell us to celebrate Pride because of how much progress we've made towards equality. We reject the idea that marriage equality or military service is progress, and we reject the goal of equality. We want an end to the system that keeps so many of us in poverty,

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facing violence every day. We will not fight for them; we will not fuck like them. And we certainly don't buy into a sanitized, corporate version of Pride.

Our desires and relationships will never fit into the categories the State recognizes. Our interests will never align with the interests of heteronormative, capitalist society. We will not join the march towards assimilation. We will not see queer history erased to promote whitewashed, upper-class causes. This society seeks to alienate us and control our desires, bodies, and relationships. We stand in conflict with all who maintain this alienation, and especially those who do so waving a rainbow flag.

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CHICAGO: BANNER DROPPED, COP CARS ATTACKED AS VENGEANCE FOR SHELLEY HILLIARD

> n the wee hours of the morning of November 13th, a banner was dropped on a bridge over the I-90/94 in Chicago reading, "Don't Mourn, Attack! Avenge Shelley!" and three police vehicles were disabled in response to the brutal murder of a young trans woman named Shelley "Treasure" Hilliard, whose torso was found next to the same highway (I-94) in Detroit this past week.

It is easy to become lost in the sorrow of the brutal violence of gender that exposes the bodies of trans women to a one-in-twelve chance of violent death at the hands of the partisans defending this wretched society. But our violence is the alchemy that can turn our tears into a potent poison dripping down the throat of the social order. Take action to avenge Shelley's death and to remind us all that in the face of the terror of prisons, police, and queer-bashing, that it is our obligation to bash back against all that would destroy us. We look forward to hearing about more attacks for Shelley and for us all in the coming weeks.

Solidarity to all the trans women and gender rebels surviving and rebelling in the belly of the prison and under the guns of the pigs!
Solidarity to all our comrades in the US, Mexico, Greece, Chile, and many other places that have chosen to attack and now face the violence of the law!
Solidarity with those whose survivals have been made criminal who are reclaiming their ability to struggle!

yours in the gender strike,
Some ticked off trannies with knives.

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FROM TEA LIGHTS TO TORCHES

DELINQUENT ALTERNATIVES TO TRANSGENDER DAY OF REMEMBRANCE AND THE TRANS ATTACKS TO COME

As thousands of people in cities all across the world gathered on November 20th to memorialize the 23 transgender women that were murdered in the past year as named by transgenderdor.org, some of us decided to skip the opportunity of silently listening to the politicians of the "trans community" recite the names of our dead over candlelight, romantic as it sounded. Instead we ventured into the mist and fog of a Northwest autumn night and put up some graffiti as small gestures of antagonism towards the state, the bashers and the leftists who use the blood of trans women to build campaigns of hate crime legislation and reform. We are against hate crime legislation because we are against prisons, against the infuriating portrayal of police as protectors, against rising for their judges in their detestable courtrooms, against (though not surprised in the least by) the way that such legislation is used to defend those in positions of power and because we are, at heart, hate filled criminal enemies of civilized society.

By the end of the night several walls and surfaces had been subject to the vandalism of the trans symbol, circle a's, the largely sprayed proclamation "Too Many Trans Deaths, Not Enough Dead Pigs" and 20 feet of silver letters across a darkly painted business rooftop reading "Vengeance for Shelley Hilliard!!!! (A) Bash Back!"

Shelly Hilliard, also known as Treasure, was a 19 year old trans woman from Detroit who was identified by a tattoo earlier this month after her burned torso was found on the side of the highway. Krissi Bates was found stabbed to death in her Minneapolis apartment in January in a brutal murder that was described as "over-kill." Tyra Trent was strangled to death in

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her Baltimore apartment in February. Miss Nate Nate Eugene Davis was shot and left behind a Houston dumpster in June. Lashai Mclean was shot in the street in Washington, DC in July. Camila Guzman was stabbed to death by a john in New York City in August. Gaurav Gopalan died from trauma to the head in September and Chassity Vickers was shot in Hollywood just four days ago, on November 16th.

These are just a few examples of transsexual homicides in the US alone that made headlines this year. Women whose lives and deaths get summed up by reporter after snake-eyed reporter who can barely manage to contain their contempt for the queer and make no effort whatsoever to disguise their disdain for anyone alleged to have been a criminal or whore. Funeral services become the rushed lowering of mangled corpses into the ground, in anticipation of a grave on which to spit. This was exemplified by the pastor of Lashai Mclean's funeral, who repeatedly referred to her by male pronouns and went as far as to incite a mass walk out of the many trans attendants by claiming that "When you live a certain lifestyle this is the consequence you have to pay."

While we remember our dead, let us not forget about those still struggling, especially those who are facing charges and/or living lives in cages. In June Catherine Carlson was sentenced to ten years in an Idaho prison after being convicted of first degree arson, unlawful possession of a bomb, using a hoax destructive device, and indecent exposure. Before her conviction she had locked herself in her trailer for years and left only when necessary, approximately once every ten days when she needed food and could no longer subsist off of coffee alone. Every time she left her home she was taunted by police. Despite having had her name legally changed for over three decades, she couldn't get her given name removed from her license. She was jailed on four occasions for driving without a license in her stubborn and inspiring refusal to acknowledge the state's attempt at controlling her gender. Eventually this torment led to rupture. Catherine constructed what appeared to be four pipe bombs,

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left them next to a propane tank, set her trailer and her truck on fire, and walked down the highway naked until being stopped and arrested. She is currently being held in the hole of a men's prison despite having had sex reassignment surgery.

On the night of June 5th in Minneapolis, Chrishaun "CeCe" McDonald was harassed outside of a bar for being black and trans and had a glass smashed in her face. A fight broke out and minutes later her attacker, Dean Schmitz, had been fatally stabbed. CeCe was arrested, charged with murder, got bailed out after a month in isolation and is currently awaiting trial.

Three trans women were arrested in connection to a flash mob attack on a New York City Dunkin Donuts that happened on Christopher Street the night of May 16th. Christopher Street has a rich history of queer and trans resistance (including the Stonewall Riots) and an apparent inability to rid itself of the fierce homeless trans youth it is known for despite decades of gentrification and "quality of life" campaigns. During the flash mob, two dozen transgender youth stormed the shop, threw chairs, destroyed expensive coffee machines and looted goods. Those arrested have been charged with assault, criminal mischief, menacing, rioting and criminal possession of a weapon.

In August, off duty officer Kenneth Fur took it upon himself to remind us that police are the absolute enemy. He became angry when three trans women in DC refused complicity in his entitled assumption that his pig salary could buy any trans body he encountered on the street. So angry, in fact, that he climbed onto the roof of their car and shot the passengers inside. One woman was grazed by a bullet, one was shot in the hand and the brother of one of the women was shot in the chest. The cops were kind enough to show up and escort the injured individuals to the hospital… in handcuffs.

A few days ago Brooke Fantelli was repeatedly tased in El Centro, CA by a Bureau of Land Management ranger. Brooke was stopped for public intoxication while taking pictures in the desert. After being ID'ed the ranger told her, "You used to be a

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In August, off duty officer Kenneth Fur took it upon himself to remind us that police are the absolute enemy. He became angry when three trans women in DC refused complicity in his entitled assumption that his pig salary could buy any trans body he encountered on the street. So angry, in fact, that he climbed onto the roof of their car and shot the passengers inside. One woman was grazed by a bullet, one was shot in the hand and the brother of one of the women was shot in the chest. The cops were kind enough to show up and escort the injured individuals to the hospital… in handcuffs.

A few days ago Brooke Fantelli was repeatedly tased in El Centro, CA by a Bureau of Land Management ranger. Brooke was stopped for public intoxication while taking pictures in the desert. After being ID'ed the ranger told her, "You used to be a

guy," and then tased her with her hands up. Once she was on the ground he tased her again, this time in the genitals.

Also this month, Andrea Jones was arrested for indecent exposure, or more accurately, for exposing the legal system as the brutally illogical apparatus of control that it is. Andrea went topless in a Tennessee DMV after they refused to change the gender on her ID to female. As a "male", she said, she had the legal right to take off her shirt. She was jailed for three weeks, lost her job, and will most likely have to register as a sex offender. As usual, cops and COs are free to rape us and expose us to sexual violence meanwhile charging those they take hostage as "sex offenders." Those most vulnerable to this tactic of the state are the gender variant, queer inmates and black men who are demonized in racist smear campaigns by the media as "rapists" every time a cop gets shot.

Finally, we want to mention Amazon, a transsexual lesbian who has been in prison for the past 30 years and is serving life in California. In a letter that was published in a Black and Pink newsletter earlier this year she says "I am from Gender Anarky Collective in the prisons. We are a militant organization fighting for transsexual medicine in the form of female hormones and sex-corrective surgery, and against all forms of hate, genocide and discrimination by cops or prisoners alike, and are also a self defense structure and will fight, have fought, and are fighting for ours on the yards. I am currently in the hole for 'battery on an inmate with a weapon.' Two other girls are here with me, one for three counts of assault on staff who jumped on her. We survive by aggressive self defense." She then proceeds to denounce activism and engagement in politics, describing instead the necessary "post-apocalyptic civil war madness" that the myth of social peace works desperately to keep us from. "Prison is government. No government in the world is going to allow anyone to deconstruct its prisons, come what may. Therefore, to actually abolish prisons, the government must be destroyed, overthrown."

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Here's to the end of the capitalist system that the police imprison us to protect and to freedom for trans women, and freedom for us all. As our hearts burn with the loss of our loved ones, may their cities burn as well.

Dean Schmitz was not the first
and he will not be the last!

VENGEANCE NOT REMEMBRANCE!
WE WILL NOT REST IN PEACE!

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Bash Back! Is Dead;

Bash Back Forever!

Concluding Notes

ON THE PARTY

> *To speak of the death of an organization generally connotes a negative event, but this relies on the assumption that organizational permanence is a good thing. Moving past this assumption, the question becomes: have we accomplished our goals with this organization, this means, this tool? If the answer is affirmative, if the organization has been pushed to its limits, perhaps its death is deserved. If Bash Back! is dead, the resurgence in anarchist queer activity and networking remains. Relationships now exist that would not have existed had Bash Back! never formed. When our projects reach the end of their usefulness, letting them go is no cause for concern.*
>
> - "On the Demise of Bash Back!"

IT IS AWKWARD TO SPEAK OF CONCLUSIONS — to announce the end of a project, to walk away. What's harder is to reflect on our activity, to learn from our mistakes and recognize our achievements. Regardless, this is a skill anarchists need to develop. At a time when the old models of anarchist organizing are decaying, and bizarre permutations of anarchist tactics and ethics are spreading like wildfire, a practice of self-criticism could prove to be a most dangerous weapon. What follows is one participant's attempt at such a balance sheet of the broadly defined Bash Back! tendency, written in the pursuit of a more ferocious queer insurrectionary tendency. If you find my words chaotic, I hope you'll understand this chaos to be a reflection of the queerness and anarchy intrinsic to this project.

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The difficulties of conclusion are exponentially complicated when dealing with a subject as diffuse and evasive as Bash Back! Throughout its existence, there were always a plethora of interpretations of what Bash Back! was. A network of queer anarchists, a gang, a tendency, a gay terrorist organization, a *form-of-life*, a theory group: the answer differs depending on who one asks. Perhaps the correct answer is that Bash Back!, true to queer form, problematizes each of these categories. Any analysis of Bash Back! fails if it doesn't recognize the need to understand each of these possibilities independently and yet all at once.

As a formal network (one that, say, could be named as a defendant in a lawsuit) Bash Back! is certainly dead. As the terrorist-lovely of the christian right and queer left alike, it of course never existed outside of a spectacle. As a theoretical tendency, the core assumptions at the heart of Bash Back! continue to thrive — *queer negation, gender mutiny, not yr cister, baedan, filth and glitter, negation party, outlaw bodies* — so many vessels and masks for an invariant and unrelenting commitment to what is negative and rebellious at the heart of queerness. As a set of gang tactics, Bash Back! undoubtedly lives on. Even as we do the work of anthologizing, our task is endlessly proliferated: more nazis getting their skulls opened by faggots, more queers rioting simply for the joy of it, another church attacked, a bewildered journalist reporting about a particularly violent queer gang in the inner city. Lawyers to pay, re-imprisoned comrades to write to, relationships to heal, friendships to sustain, lovers to embrace — in many ways this eulogy for a name only conceals a zombie-intercourse that is ongoing for many involved with the project. In as many ways as Bash Back! can be declared dead, its essence thrives beyond the grave; haunting the straight world. This is why we say that "*Bash Back! is dead*" and at the same time "*Bash Back Forever!*"

> *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*

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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 stay home. If you want to destroy capitalism, we'll see you in Denver!

- "Questions to be Addressed before Denver"

While the unique and indeterminate form of Bash Back! is largely responsible for its rapid spread and also its unpredictable energy, it surely also carried within it the seeds of its eventual schisms and ultimate disbanding. Other pieces in this anthology do a thorough job of articulating the rise and fall of Bash Back! as a project and are worth reading in their entirety (namely "On the Demise of Bash Back!" and "Questions to be Addressed Before Denver"). Rather than continuing to quote these analyses at length, I've attempted below to draw out and navigate the specific problems and tensions that flourished within Bash Back! and to celebrate the potential within them. Toward this end, in the following pages I articulate a narrative of these conflicts specifically around the issues of Violence and Identity.

It should be noted that perhaps one of the most dangerous indistinctions in Bash Back! was related to the form itself. More noteworthy than any schisms over violence and identity were the oscillations between above ground and clandestine activity. From a security perspective, the attribution of the same name to both potlucks and felonious attacks is probably not very wise. And yet from the perspective of wild experimentation in conflict, it is precisely this indistinction that made Bash Back! so interesting.

In our revolt, we are developing a form of play. These are our experiments with autonomy, power, and force. We haven't paid for anything we're wearing and we rarely pay for food. We steal from our jobs and turn tricks to get by. We fuck in public and have never come harder. We swap tips and scams amid gossip and foreplay. We've looted the shit out of places and delight in sharing the booty. We

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wreck things at night and hold hands and skip all the way home. We are ever growing our informal support structures and we'll always have each other's backs. In our orgies, riots, and heists, we are articulating the collectivity of and deepening these ruptures.

- "Criminal Intimacy"

A way to describe this potential would be through the concept of form-of-life, defined by Giorgio Agamben as a life that can never be separated from its form. "It defines a life — human life — in which the single ways, acts, and processes of living are never simply *facts* but always and above all *possibilities* of life, always and above all power." In following this definition I wish to articulate a non-activist and non-identitarian way of understanding and talking about the subject that was shaped through the Bash Back! project.

In describing those participants in Bash Back! as a *form-of-life* I'm making an effort to discard a whole range of concepts and ways of thinking that should be entirely useless to us moving forward. In particular, I want to totally be done with the notions of identity politics and identity activism. Bash Back! shouldn't be understood as a sequence of activist endeavors, nor as an articulation of a militant identity politic (to the extent that it can be identified that way, it was a failure). Bash Back! was never about queer issues or queer politics. Instead, the project took as its point of departure the lives of its participants. Rather than the motifs of victimization and charity regurgitated ad nauseum in activist circles, the Bash Back! tendency took as its starting point *queer life itself.* Those within the tendency organized a space within which they could genuinely live, and a network by which to defend that space. I experienced Bash Back! as an amalgamation of desires, dispositions, acts, processes, gestures, and complicities. Bash Back! is as much wrapped up in criminal acts as in sexual practice, as much in strategy as in style. The process of Bash Back! and the emergence of its corresponding form-of-life demands to be read less as a *what* or a *who* but instead as a *how.* This *how,* is the *how* of organization, but also of survival, of violence, of love, of life itself. And so, whatever the limitations

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of *what* Bash Back! was, it is the *how* that truly demonstrates the insurrectionary potential that I celebrate.

HOW NON-VIOLENCE PROTECTS THE STRAIGHT

> *A fag is bashed because his gender presentation is far too femme. A poor transman can't afford his life-saving hormones. A sex worker is murdered by their client. A genderqueer persyn is raped because ze "just needed to be fucked straight". Four black lesbians are sent to prison for daring to defend themselves against a straight-male attacker. Cops beat us on the streets and our bodies are being destroyed by pharmaceutical companies because we can't give them a dime.*
>
> - "Towards the Queerest Insurrection"

As I sit to write these concluding notes, a troubling sequence of events is unfolding around the world. A bizarre left-populist movement has emerged, one which appropriates anarchist language ("occupy everything!") and form (consensus, assemblies, etc) and yet has emptied these vessels of any anarchic content. Rather the majority sentiment among the new occupiers appears to be some extremely confused yet dogmatic adherence to "non-violence". In most of the new occupations this has played out as strict almost obsessive obedience to the police; an absurdly a-historical refusal of past resistance struggles, and a vehement (and ironically, violent) denunciation of anyone who dares challenge the pacifist hegemony.

In the context of such sycophantic shit and malaise, it is refreshing to revisit the texts anthologized in this book. *Bash Back!* the name bears within itself everything that is to be said about violence; a violent set of activities that responds to a primary violence. Rather than something to be feared or rejected, Bash Back! takes as its starting point the reality of violence in the context of queer life. This is why we say that within the Bash Back! tendency *there really wasn't a question*

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of violence. Not a moral or political issue, for the participants within the network, violence has been experienced as a lived reality, a set of tactical questions, an ethics of war.

This anthology carries with it an entire discourse on violence that is unique to the milieu it arose from. These voices locate themselves within a reading of the history of queer resistance, a reading that embraces the overflowing of violent moments. Texts such as *Toward the Queerest Insurrection* and *Chronology of Genderfuck Insurrection* explore overlapping and divergent historical tendencies of forgotten queer violence, from genderqueer medieval uprisings in Europe to the Compton's Cafeteria riot and the White Night rebellion in San Francisco. Though such attempts to chronologize this resistance will always suffer from generations of silence and erasure, they succeed in articulating a trans-historic current that streams through the present and washes over the lived experience of the authors and readers. This reading of history could prove to be a valuable tool for queer anarchists as they attempt to navigate and disrupt the sea of shit that is the Pacifist rewriting of resistance blanketing current social struggles.

The daily use of violence by queers for the purposes of survival, self-defense, or vengeance is often hidden or obscured through a whole array of closeting apparatuses. Generations of queer street gangs, armed whore communes, bank-runs to support AIDS victims, brick-hurling queens — these have been forgotten by all, except in the form of heretical mythology passed from lover to lover. More than anything, this collection of communiques should serve to illustrate a new way of communication regarding violence. For Bash Back!, the use of violence as a part of resistance and survival is always something to celebrate. The violence claimed in these communiques spans from the hyper-personal to the overly political: bar fights with assaulters, bats to homophobes and fascists, distribution of pepper spray to queers, queer summit riots. At times, the oscillation from personal to political can make one's head spin: queerbashers attacked within a riot or a police station attacked as atonement for a lifetime of trauma. In sharing these stories, Bash Back! acted to expose the silent yet raging social war that permeates the lived experiences of

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many queers. This communication itself is a radical act, one that seeks to draw lines to connect individual struggles into a constellation of ultra-violence in the service of queer life. Teen suicide, queerbashing, AIDS genocide, exclusion at borders, enslavement in prisons: the violence experienced by queers is multiform and evolving. As such, resistance to that violence must also be fluid and diffuse. This collection doesn't pose a singular answer, but it offers a whole lot of suggestions.

It is also worth noting that Bash Back! didn't solely concern itself with explicitly queer violence. Rather the discourse emphasized a *queering of violence.* This is to say that participants sought to highlight and show solidarity with all who rupture the fabric of hegemonic violence. Starting from the insurrectional maxim that s*olidarity means attack*, Bash Back! cells carried out solidarity actions with a variety of other struggles. They made destroy in solidarity with the December Insurrection in Greece, despite straight people insisting that insurrection had nothing to do with queerness. They celebrated the rebellions in the streets of Oakland and on University of California campuses, even when their struggles were often ignored by anarchist participants in those same struggles. They were the first anarchist groups to issue statements in support of the shooting of five police officers in Oakland, while many others were too timid to do so. All of this is to show that a queer theory of violence must concern itself with the ways that the attack-form can destabilize static identity, and chart paths toward unheard-of channels of communication and solidarity.

> Is our violence 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 photo shoots displaying a glamorous armed struggle (like the red army faction with glitter). We can expect more celebration of riots forty years

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> 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.
>
> - "Questions to be Addressed Before Denver"

While the editors of this anthology, and the pieces we have selected, present a coherent tendency relating to violence (bashing back!), it is important to contextualize this coherence as a result of a very real conflict within Bash Back!, one that was centered primarily around the 2009 convergence in Chicago. Though it was the second such gathering in Chicago, it was the first since Bash Back! had taken center stage in the theater of queer revolt. Consequently there was a remarkable influx of people who hadn't been involved with the initial emergence of Bash Back! in the Midwest. Many of these people came from the coasts. More significantly, they came from a different world of queerness. The initial project of Midwestern and Southern Bash Back! chapters was to carve out queer space within anarchist struggles in primarily straight and heteronormative anarchist space. To the contrary, these coastal newcomers largely came from established "radical queer" social scenes and/or gender studies programs at liberal arts colleges. For many, their backgrounds hopelessly marred their analysis of violence. Rather than strategies of active and autonomous resistance, they emphasized non-violent communication, stifling consensus process, and tame (if perhaps colorful) sidewalk marches and street theater. In Chicago, these worlds collided.

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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.

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The centerpiece of the ensuing shit show was a train dance-party occupation that turned into a spontaneous march

through boystown. As is to be expected, partiers threw shit in the street and got wild. But to the utter horror of the Bash Back! insurgents, participants in the march dragged objects back out of the street and wailed about peaceful protest (not unlike those dogmatic pacifists currently attempting to police an occupation movement that is rapidly spinning out of their control). The result of this exchange was a firestorm of screaming matches and internet tirades that signaled the first major split in Bash Back! Other works in this anthology more thoroughly document this division (specifically A Response to the Anarcho-Liberal Takeover of Bash Back! and Questions to be Addressed before Denver.)

For those who fell on the total-destroy side of things, the conflict was entirely unexpected. We were aware of the existence of tired leftist queers, but we didn't realize that so many of them disguised their pacifism within confrontational aesthetics. As a matter of fact, many of these sheep-in-wolves-clothes had previously been the inspiration for many within Bash Back! (Groups such as Gay Shame in San Francisco and the Naughty North in Maine speak endlessly of histories of queer revolt and make films and texts glorifying violent resistance, and yet denounce those who sought to struggle with them in the here and now. They celebrate revolt that is separated from them by decades or oceans, all while actively sabotaging such efforts where they live.) We were shocked that those who make films about bombings and jailbreaks or wear patches of guns would demonize those who engage in property destruction or violent self-defense. The reality: the hip queers who seek to make their careers as radical queer academics and filmmakers are in fact servants of abstraction. They seek to socially and monetarily capitalize on the image of queer revolt while contributing nothing to its possibility.

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This attitude, the one that silences and forecloses on the possibility of queer violence, is not unique to so-called radical queers. It is equally prevalent among straight people, even our straight anarchist comrades. Notable examples of this trend can

be seen in the behavior of straight-dominated anarchist groups such as the RNC Welcoming Committee and CrimethInc. Prior to the riots at the Republican National Convention in 2008, members of the Welcoming Committee (the aboveground anarchist organizing body for the protests) publicly referred to the planned Bash Back! blockade as "fluffy" compared to the presumed militancy of the hetero-barricades. This was in spite of the fact that all propaganda for the Bash Back! blockade leading up to the convention made explicit reference to historic queer riots, and to the intention of Bash Back! folks to fiercely resist the Republicans and the police. The blockade went on to clash with horse cops and to attack members of the Westboro Baptist Church. The blockade gained but a single mention in an entire issue of *Rolling Thunder* (CrimethInc's magazine) that was dedicated to resistance to the RNC. This was only the an early example of CrimethInc's refusal to acknowledge the possibility that their queer comrades were capable of insurrectionist activity. In their magazine-length coverage of the rioting at the G20 protests in Pittsburgh, they describe the march for queer liberation (which went on to be the wildest and most destructive at the summit) as "bash-back-themed", their only acknowledgment of the riot's queer content. That is to say, queer struggle was a token slogan for rioters, rather than the elan of the riot. While offering endless analysis of the organizing and strategy that went into said street conflict, they ignored the fact that this was the most violent queer riot in America in a generation. The insult was further exacerbated by CrimethInc's article "Say You Want an Insurrection". In their critique of american insurrectionary anarchism, there is not a single mention of Bash Back! or the tremendous sequence of insurrectionary activity by self-declared queer-anarchists. The article went on to absurdly critique the valorization of violence by "insurrectionists" who CrimethInc describes as having never experienced violence — a critique that is only possible to make by totally ignoring the existence of Bash Back! and the experiences of its participants. Some will perhaps point out

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that in the third issue of *Rolling Thunder* CrimethInc published an article about queer riots that happened decades ago. We applaud them for their gesture, but the questions remain: why would an anarchist publication focusing on contemporary anarchist struggles ignore what is one of the largest anarchist networks in the United States? Why is it safe to acknowledge queer insurrectionists of previous generations, but not to show solidarity or report on their struggles in the present? Puzzling.

While we have no interest in offering excuses for this attitude on the part of either "radical queers" or straight anarchists, they are simply pawns in what is a much larger hegemonic discourse surrounding violence. Queers are marked as victims while violence is understood to be only the tool of the masters. The queer anarchist project embodied by Bash Back! is first and foremost a refusal of victimhood and a reclamation of the violence taken from us by progressive ideology and used against us by queerbashers and the State. It was a crucial shift for Bash Back! to break with those who refused to recognize the importance of this reclamation. It served to cohere and solidify the insurrectional queer tendency around the question of violence while foreshadowing the coming splits. From this point, conflicts between tendencies (specifically around the question of identity/politics) were disputes between differing theoretical dispositions wherein a disposition towards violence was assumed.

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> *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.*
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> - "Identity, Politics and Anti-Politics"

As mentioned in the above section, after certain circles within Bash Back! had thoroughly rid themselves of liberal-pacifist tendencies, future conflict would be staged between militants or insurrectionists who differed in regard to the question of identity. Though the above conflicts over violence often played out in ways that were parallel to discussions of identity, I concern myself with those discussions of identity that take violence as a given. This will serve to illuminate a set of questions and conflicts that emerged as unique to Bash Back! A way to view this conflict is to understand the partisans as, on the one hand, Militants of Identity Politics — and on the other, anti-identitarians. One side takes identity as a given and a precondition that must shape our organizing and struggle, the other locates identity as the enemy itself. Positions within this conflict were not stable — individuals and groups within the Bash Back! tendency could embody either of these positions or both at once. I'm going to avoid a lot of the specifics of these conflicts, as many of them need to remain abstract, and others are not mine to tell. Rather I'll focus on the theoretical

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IDENTITY CRISIS

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.
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grounding of this confrontation and will leave space for those who experienced it to locate themselves within this reading.

This problem within Bash Back! is quite fitting insofar as it is a queer problem. Queerness itself is a contested territory, open to endless debate and critique. For a certain camp of people, queerness is a positive project, with it own set of norms and community-forms. For others, queerness can only be conceived of negatively, as that which exceeds or fails to meet a set of norms. In this way Queer comes to be a catachresis, or a name wrongly given to that which cannot be named. A label given to that which cannot be labeled. Positions within Bash Back! took their starting points from any number of positions within this complex theoretical matrix. There is an argument to be made that one's position on the debate was often directly descendent from one's own (anti-political) background. Those who came to Bash Back! from gender studies tended to conduct themselves as the militant shock-troops of whatever doctrine they picked up from their professors. Those enmeshed in insurrectionary anarchist circles tended to have a strong (if at times perhaps too harsh) aversion to identity-based struggle, focusing instead on locating points of conflict within identity. Those who came from established queer scenes brought with them a whole range of expectations in regard to people's behaviors and language — expectations that were often alien to those not familiar with such cliques. What is so queer about the set of conflicts at play within Bash Back! is that each of these positions was permeated with the other, and a wide array of perversions emerged.

I'd like to offer that a certain synthesis emerged out of many of these conflicts that could prove beneficial for anarchists in coming struggles: experience must be the basis of struggle. If we expect to engage in material struggles against the social order, we must begin from the ways in which we experience that order. This means that those who share a set of experiences under capitalism will have a natural head-start in forging alliances against society. This is the kernel of truth at the heart

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of identity. Sadly, this kernel is obscured by layer upon layer of abstraction and mystification produced by identity politics. Any effort to build autonomous power based on one's position within and against society must begin by disillusioning itself of the baggage of Identity Politics.

Here is a quick sketch of certain anti-identity politics positions distilled from Bash Back!.

» Identity Politics are always based on flattening out experience, making the critique of society abstract rather than lived.

» Identity Politics promote cross-class alliances, thus offering those with more power (and thus an interest in the proliferation of class society) to silence the most marginalized within these alliances.

» Identity Politics are rooted in the ideology of victimization, and thus celebrate and comes to enforce norms surrounding what activity people are allowed or able to participate in. This plays out by reinforcing certain mythologies about struggle (i.e. "only cis-white-men participate in black blocs or "oppressed people are incapable of certain strategies of revolt").

» Identity Politics are always based on the fallacy of coherent communities. Some French people once said that "there are greater ethical differences within communities than between them." That is to say that those trapped within certain "communities" or identity confines often have less in common with one another than they do with those who they are purported to be opposed to. This fallacy thrives on abstraction of experience rather than analysis of lived experience itself. A queer in prison has more in common with their straight cellmate than with some scumbag gay senator, and yet the mythology of the "queer community"

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serves to suffocate enemies of society and subjugate them to their self-appointed representatives.

» Identity Politics are fundamentally reformist and seek to find a more favorable relationship between different subject positions rather than to abolish the structures that produce those positions from the beginning. Identity politicians oppose "classism" while being content to leave class society intact. Any resistance to society must foreground the destruction of the subjectifying processes that reproduce society daily, and must destroy the institutions and practices that racialize and engender bodies within the social order.

» Identity Politics are deployed by, inherently refer to, always valorize and *are* in and of themselves the State.

Taking this analysis to heart, Bash Back! can be seen as an attempt to forge a resistance practice of lived experience outside the logic of Identity Politics. Though not authored by participants in Bash Back! we've included a text by anarcha-feminists in San Francisco entitled "Anarcha-Feminists take to the Streets". This piece, published concurrently with the identity crisis of Bash Back! offers an outstanding and unique way to conceptualize patriarchy and resistance to it. To quote:

> Ironically, despite our critiques — and sometimes hatred — of identity politics, we find ourselves coming together around a (somewhat loose) identity: We are some people who no longer want to be victims of gender tyranny and misogyny. Within this grouping we are hoping to circumvent, to a certain extent, our gender and what that means for us when we are living our lives in this Man's World so we might gain some insight as to what it might look like to not have gender dynamics influence every interaction. We come together to fight for a reality where identities such as "man," "woman," and "trans" are logical impossibilities.

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I'll follow the author(s) of the Anarcha-Feminist communique as they understand themselves to be unified in their desires and dispositions, rather than their identities. We are the people who no longer want to be victims of gender tyranny and misogyny. Without reference to a shared or stable subject, the authors of this piece offer a starting point for the construction of an anti-essentialist, anti-identitarian force to combat patriarchy. In the context of the re-emergence of second wave feminism in insurrectionary anarchist/communist circles, this way of thinking is beautiful. It offers a roadmap to how we might build the type of war-machine that can destroy gender. This is why I do not conceive of Bash Back! as being rooted in queer identity. Rather, I understand it to be an experiment in building an offensive constellation of queer positions.

We are the people who aim to destroy the social order from which we've been excluded. We are the people seeking to end our imprisonment. We are the people who hate gendered-capitalism and heteronormativity. Our position is hyper-attuned to our lived experience. Our understanding of ourselves and our position names our enemies!

> In a crucial point of emergence long ago, woman established herself as existent rather than plunging the monist world of Man into the void from which she came. In another, the proletariat struggled to secure its autonomous liberation from the bourgeoisie rather than destroy the bourgeoisie and itself entirely. On the stage set by the present order, the queer force is making itself busy with the proliferation of identities rather than the utter negation of them.
>
> - "Preliminary Notes on Modes of Reproduction"

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While outsider perspectives may only be able to understand Bash Back! through the logic of identity, I understand it as a

series of experiments toward identity's undoing. In the same way that the Oscar Grant Riots in Oakland, CA created unlikely alliances against the racial order, so too did Bash Back! result in a sequence of material attacks against all the subject positions within the hetero-normative identity matrix. Many who began their engagement with the project found themselves seduced by its way of war. Straight people found themselves destroying gender alongside gender-freaks of all stripes. Many found themselves unburdened of their previous subjective attachment to Straightness. Queers and all those assigned-victim-at-birth, engaged in a practice of refusing victimization, and in doing so refused the foundational principle of their role in this gendered society.

Insurrectionary theory tells us that an insurrectionary process is based on attack and experimentation to open up the way to society's undoing. Queer theory tells us that queering is a verb, a process which eternally problematizes and undoes normative roles. I locate Bash Back! at the intersection of these processes and understand them to be the same.

QUEER-ANARCHY AFTER LEFTISM

I celebrate many achievements of Bash Back!, but for me the greatest is the way in which Bash Back! shows the possibility for a queer-anarchy that has no attachment to the dinosaurs of queer leftism. Radical queers will critique reform, the State, and non-profit organizations endlessly. And yet, at the end of the day their politics are still focused on different issues to be reformed, different demands upon the state and the same tired rhetoric and reliance on the non-profit industrial complex. Bash Back! concerned itself with none of this.

In attempting to articulate this form of queer anti-politics, I'll borrow briefly from Selma James in her introduction to Mariarosa Dalla Costa's *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community*. James locates two mainstream trends within the Women's Movement of the '70s. On the one hand, there

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are the Marxist Men who happen to be Women and on the other are the militants of women's issues. Women in the first camp simply reiterate the party line, but without specific reference to the position of women under capitalism. Women in the second focus on this or that issue concerning women, but without indicting capital itself as "a social relation which we struggle to destroy". The position of James, Dalla Costa and other autonomist-feminists is to refuse both of these positions, to seek an analysis of capitalism that is specifically rooted in women's position within it and then from that position to discover its undoing.

While there are strong criticisms to be made of autonomous marxism as well as of essentialist notions of the category of women and their position within capitalism, autonomist methodology is helpful here. In the tradition of Selma James, I'd like to identify two major currents of queer activity. On the one hand, anarchists who happen to be queer; on the other, queer people who are militants of queer issues. To understand Bash Back! the first way would be to reproduce CrimethInc's assertion that such activity is "queer themed" or to just ignore it altogether. To understand Bash Back! within the second current reduces it to the level of Gay Shame's issue-specific, reform-oriented street theater. We refuse both conceptions.

Bash Back! must be understood to be a concrete attempt to critique society from the perspective of queer experience, and then to find methods of attack that stem from that position. In this way, Bash Back! Is the queer answer to autonomist-feminism. The experiments can be categorized into two broad strategies. The first — to open up queer space within conflictual action. The second — to apply insurrectionary strategies to the daily struggle intrinsic to queer life. Examples of the first would be the queer blockade at the RNC, the riots at the G20, solidarity attacks with other struggles and insurrections, etc. The second is exemplified in attacks on queer bashers, arson at the houses of murderers, the dissemination of self defense information, distribution of pepper spray, squatted queer-youth

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centers and queer dance parties that ended in broken police cruisers. The synthesis of these categories is the beginning of a living-and-fighting practice that I call *queer autonomy.*

I want to take a moment to emphasize that this queer-anarchy after leftism must also mean a total break from activist logic. At a time when its former proponents have backed away from so-called 'lifestylism', Bash Back! is a return to hyper-lifestylism! I refuse to see queer life as secondary to queer politics. Rather, I'm interested in documenting, exploring, and articulating an anti-politics that takes life itself as its field of struggle. Toward this end, Bash Back! was successful in locating the crises within the lives of its participants and materially acting to resolve each. Queers needed housing, self-defense, nice things, and pleasure. Consequently they occupied houses, communized weapons and trained together, looted as much as possible, and organized parties and riots and orgies. At this point, any struggle that doesn't immediately implicate the very lives of its participants is doomed to irrelevance.

One can see these developments thriving to this day: queers squats, sex worker self-organization, queer street gangs, transgender prison gangs, queer contingents within militant street marches, marches that leave occupations and auto-reduce the cover as they reach the party. One can imagine ways that these strategies could be deployed as more and more aspects of life under capitalism are thrown into crisis. When funding disappears for AIDS drugs, new forms of expropriation will become appropriate. As the nuclear family is not an option for many — the crisis will force queers to forge new, non-familial modes of communal existence. As reactionary groups begin to assert themselves on the street, queers will strike back with new weapons and self-defense formations. As society falls apart, we will discover ever more decadent ways to push the contradictions and dynamite the ruptures.

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123 – The proletarian revolution is predicated entirely on the requirement that, for the first time, theory as the understanding of human practice be recognized and directly lived by the masses. This revolution demands that workers become dialecticians, and inscribe their thought upon practice; it thus asks much more of its men without qualities than the bourgeois revolution asked of those men with qualifications that it enlisted to run things … It is thus the very evolution of class society into the spectacular organization of non-life that obliges the revolutionary project to become visibly what it always was in essence.

124 – Revolutionary theory is now the sworn enemy of all revolutionary ideology — and it knows it.

- Society of the Spectacle

Those who keep up with academic queer theory will surely be aware of the self-described "anti-social turn" in Queer Theory. It seems that the newest trend within the queer academy is to focus on the queer negativity, to critique society, and to refuse traditional politics. At a time when society itself is falling apart, when unprecedented amounts of human beings are recognizing that they have NO FUTURE and are proceeding accordingly, we must call this academic trend by its name: recuperation.

Some idiot tries basing his thesis on the queer riots at the G20; Judith Butler delivers a speech at a conference at the New School about "queer anarchism"; Jack Halberstam seeks to valorize the negative and trace the anti-social turn; a class at the University of California is called "criminal queer" (yet the instructor denounces the activity of insurrectionaries on that very campus) — one after another queer academics line up to jump on the negativity bandwagon. Each appropriates

THE REAL ANTI-SOCIAL TURN IN QUEER THEORY

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Queer insurrection demands that each of us become a theoretician. More importantly, it demands that the anti-social turn, the turn against society, remains in the streets. Our revolt and our theory must be inseparable from our daily life. Toward this end, Bash Back! can be read as an attempt to expropriate queer theory from the Academy and put it toward the service of queer revolt; to dynamite the distinction between theory and life. For the sake of organizing this book, we split the texts between essays and communiques. To a large extent this is a false dichotomy that doesn't accurately describe the activity of Bash Back!, which never recognized a distinction between its theorists and its combatants. Rather, it sought to queer this distinction and offer a praxis wherein theory is embodied in the very activity of those who theorize. A book that declares NO FUTURE offers only words. A riot that declares the same demonstrates a step toward insurrection.

Death to the Academy!

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