

# pink and black attack

*“The ruling classes are the ones who have split and mutilated desire. The bourgeoisie invented the notion of homosexuality and made it into a ghetto. We must not forget this.”*

*- Guy Hocquenghem*



issue 5  
may 2010

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# Editorial Statement

Welcome to the fifth issue of Pink and Black Attack. This issue comes out later than we intended, and for that we apologize. However, we are excited by the contents of this publication. Unfortunately, due to circumstances beyond our control, the second half of the Guérin translation that we published in the previous issue is not yet ready to be published. However, look for it in the next issue, as well as a pamphlet containing the whole text!

In this issue, we feature more action reports from around the country. Additionally, we have information about the comrades who were recently arrested in Guelph, Ontario, and a call to action against the G20 this summer in Toronto. Our other articles range from a piece on a (mostly) new set of evangelical bigots, to some thoughts on providing support in our communities, to a more theoretical discussion of queer theory and anarchism, among other articles and news.

Summer is almost upon us, and summer is always an exciting time of year. This summer we hope to see even more radical queer actions across the globe, against the corporate assimilationist pride marches, against bigots and queerbashers, and against everyone who seeks to maintain the system of domination that we are currently faced with.

There are several interesting events coming up in the next few months, with the Bash Back! convergence in Denver (May 27-30th), Queerriot in Guelph (June 10-13th), and Earth First!'s Trans & Womyn's Action Camp in Oregon (July 7-12th). Also, as we mentioned above, the G20 summit is happening in Toronto (June 25-27th). It's shaping up to be one hell of a busy summer.

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

A disclaimer: We do not necessarily agree with all the material that we print, but we do find it valuable for discussion, and we believe in the importance of spreading anti-assimilationist, anarchist queer thought. We are not affiliated with any organization, and we do not encourage illegal activity in any way.

Our next issue will come out in September, so please send in any submissions by August 15th.

As always, we welcome feedback and constructive criticism. You can contact us at [pinkandblackattack@riseup.net](mailto:pinkandblackattack@riseup.net)

## *Points of Unity:*

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

# OFFICER BRIDGES MCRAE GETS MISTRIAL FOR BEATING DUANNA JOHNSON

*Background: Duanna Johnson was a Memphis trans woman of color who, after being arrested on a prostitution charge in February 2008, was beaten by Memphis Police Department officers James Swain and Bridges McRae. Later, she filed a lawsuit against the MPD. In November of 2008, Duanna was found murdered in North Memphis. This murder led to increased attention to her previous beating, with federal charges being filed against McRae for violating Duanna's civil rights. No suspects have been arrested.*

*The following information is taken from [bashbacknews.wordpress.com](http://bashbacknews.wordpress.com) and some corporate sources.*

April 2010

**Bridges McRae [pictured right] claims "Self-Defense" in Bashing the Fuck Outta Duanna Johnson.**

Former Memphis police officer Bridges McRae took the stand in front of a federal jury on charges he violated the civil rights of trans woman and queer hero Duanna Johnson.

But, McRae claims he, not Duanna, was the victim of assault and the video footage taken in 2008 at 201 Poplar (the Memphis jail) portrayed him "fighting against Duanna in my own self-defense."

His lawyer, Frank Trapp, a known homophobe from Mississippi, later argued, "This man, I mean woman, or whatever, was an aggressive 200 pound person; why would my client risk fighting someone like that without reason?"

Later, he portrayed Duanna as a liar and attempted to discredit the fact that Duanna Johnson was even trans, by having McRae testify that when he arrested her, she said her name was Dwayne Johnson not "Duanna." Of course, if you ask any trans woman of color who deals with police, most will tell you that they rarely use their preferred name when dealing with macho, transphobic police.



McRae testified when he decided he'd cuff Johnson again because he feared she was getting "completely out of control," Johnson grabbed his right arm and jerked him which he alleges suddenly made him "startled,

scared and afraid." He said he operated on instinct to act in self-defense.

In court, he demonstrated how he held the

handcuffs on Johnson, who he says slapped and kicked him in the fingerprinting room (the one room where there are no cameras), causing him bodily harm in the form of cuts and a gash in his head, both of which were mysteriously absent in his mugshot two days later.

McRae concluded Johnson assaulted him as other officers watched the fracas and did nothing to help him. The case should be handed to a jury by Wednesday [April 19th].

April 19th, 2010

### Judge declares mistrial

The evidence favoring Duanna Johnson's claim of police abuse was unprecedented. Had Duanna been white or cisgendered, the case would've been a no-brainer.

But it took the jury 5 days to decide whether Bridges McRae, a former MPD officer, was guilty of brutally beating Duanna Johnson, a transgendered woman of color from Memphis.

In the end, 11 of the 12 jurors couldn't dismiss the overwhelming physical evidence of the attack including video footage and eye witness accounts, and agreed that McRae was a guilty scumfuck.

But one juror—the only white male on the jury—decided he simply could not value the testimony of a Black sex

worker or the MPDs own video footage over “the morals of an officer of the law”. And so the case was declared a mistrial, allowing McRae to continue harassing trans and Black folks on the street.

“I couldn't see why an officer of the law would willfully harass anyone,” he chirped to the media afterward.

It is reported that the prosecution is planning a retrial.

### Action taken in Remembrance of Duanna Johnson

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, 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 9:10 AM another action was undertaken by another autonomous Bash Back! 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 Sherriff cruiser parked in the church parking lot, escaping into the countryside.



# Fort Wayne, Indiana: Church Vandalized

May 2010- taken from corporate press

A Fort Wayne church's van and garage were vandalized Saturday, May 8th.

Pastor Joe Gutierrez said the head trustee of the Church on Fire, at 9019 Stellhorn Road, discovered it around 7:00 a.m. 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

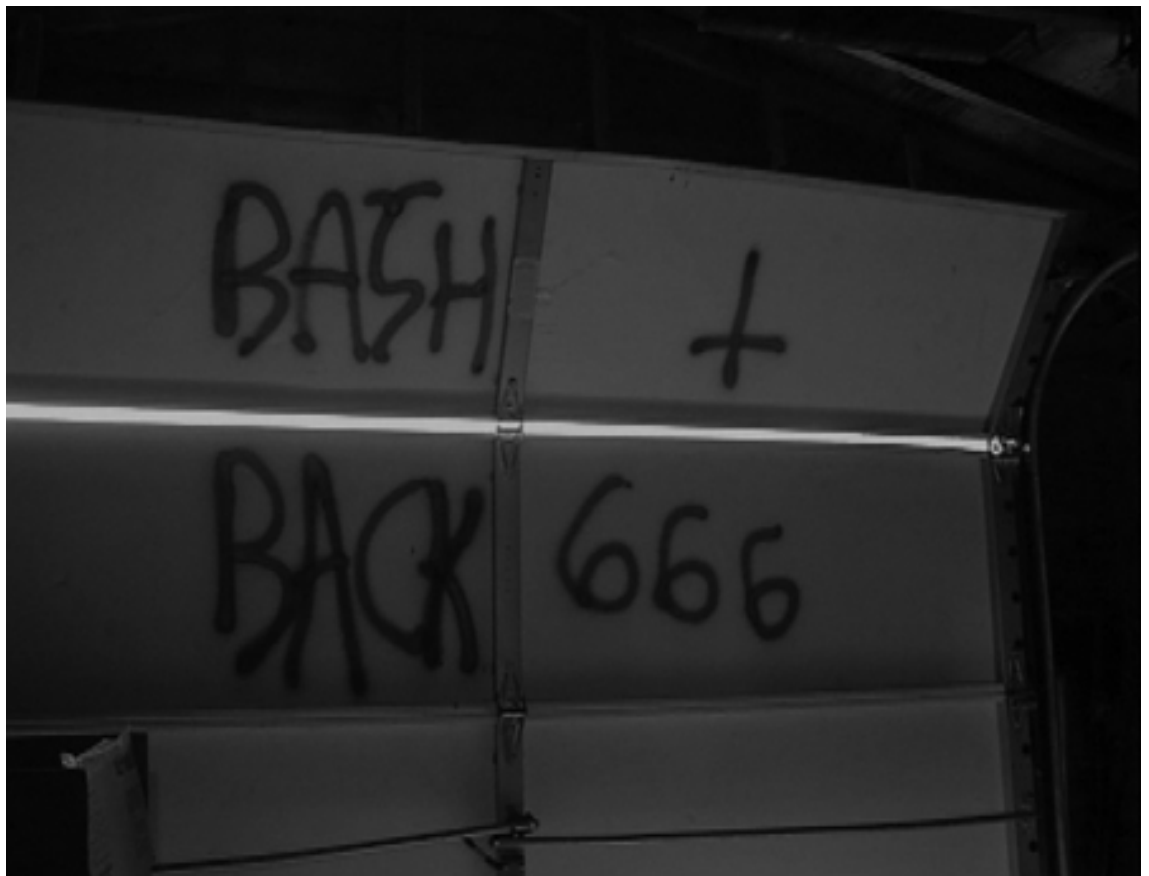
same-sex marriage is an abomination of God and one that clearly states it's wrong in the eyes of God. We do teach against that and we do admonish people in our church to refrain from homosexuality," said Gutierrez.

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 on the bright side if the vandals ever get caught. He said if they go to jail, he'll have an opportunity to teach and study with them.

The damage is estimated at more than \$3,000.



# TWIN CITIES: QUEERS TAKE ACTION AGAINST MILITARISM AND ASSIMILIATION

On the night of February 10th crews of anarcho-queers glamdalized an army reserve complex, an army recruiting center and two navy recruiting centers in the Twin Cities with posters that read “Queers Out of the Military! (We Need You in the Streets.) BASH BACK!” with a picture of Silvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson and a comic of a soldier saying, “What? But I feel so Gay Liberated when I kill people in the third world!”

We carried this out for many reasons.

For one, it was fun.



Secondly, the posters are perty and we wanted to share them with the world.

But most importantly, we are utterly disgusted by assimilationist queers who want to join in the imperialist pillaging and occupation of other peoples' lands and commit atrocities on behalf of the state and gross corporations.

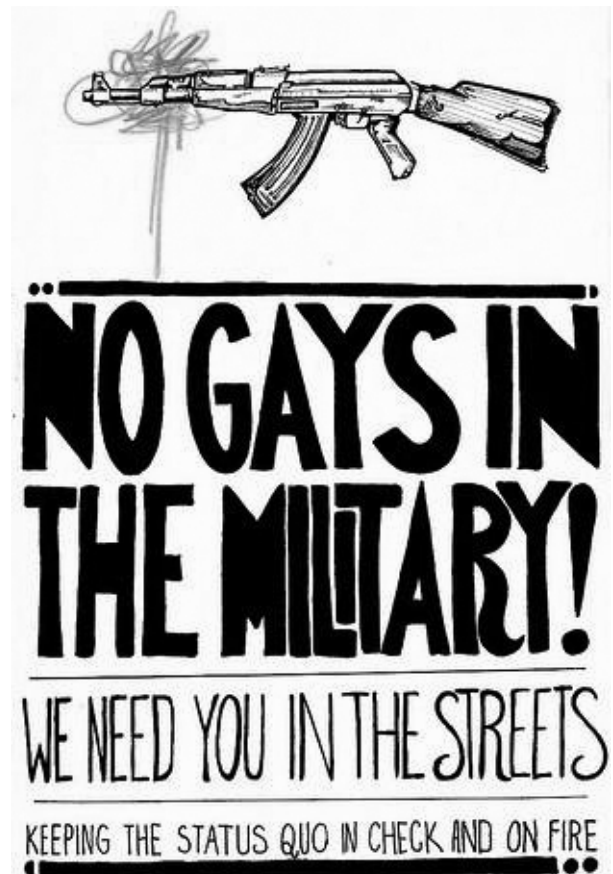
Obama potentially abolishing Don't Ask Don't Tell in the near future and the clamoring of mainstream GLBT groups for that sort of “equality” makes us want to vomit.



Queers (and everyone else!) should be working to smash the state not join in military conquest and occupation.

We also carried out this action in solidarity with the Direct Action to Stop War and Occupation unpermitted march in Minneapolis on Thursday February 11th.

Love and Rage,  
an autonomous cell of Bash Back! Twin Cities



# San Antonio Cop Arrested for Raping Trans Woman Of Color

March 2, 2010

Officer Craig Nash of the SAPD, arrested [name withheld], a trans woman of color outside of downtown San Antonio early Thursday morning (Feb 25?) citing her with "loitering" and "prostitution" (or rather, being trans in public).

Upon arrest, he frisked her and then ordered her to lay down face-first in the back seat of his patrol car. Nash then drove to a nearby alley, uncuffed her, forced her to take off her skirt, and sexually assaulted her.

Afterwards, Nash dropped her off in the parking lot of a nearby middle school.

Later, the victim was able to identify him in a police lineup, and the GPS system in his police car confirmed him to be in the alley at the time of the assault.

Nash has also had a formal complaint filed against him for severely mishandling a domestic violence case in June of 2009.

PS:  
He's out on bail, apparently.

If you want to send hate mail to his house, his address is:



Craig W. Nash  
4330 Summer Sun Ln  
San Antonio, TX  
78217-4340

If you wanna call and "chat" his home number is (210) 646-8879

# Trans Sex Worker Murdered by Bigot in Milwaukee

May 7, 2010

Chanel Larkin (also known on the streets as Dana Larkin), a sex worker from Milwaukee, WI, was murdered in cold blood on May 7th by Andrew Olaciregui.

Apparently, when this fucker learned that Chanel was trans, he pulled out a .375-caliber revolver, and put it to her temple. Chanel, not being one to let some transphobic fuck push her around, knocked the gun away, and they both began struggling to get the gun. Sometime during the altercation, Chanel fell out of the drivers' door, allowing the fucker to get the upper hand.

He kicked her in the face. Hard. Then he grabbed the gun, and shot her three fucking times. Once in the stomach, once in the arm, and once in the head.

Olaciregui was arrested after fleeing the scene, returning later to retrieve his cell phone. He has since been charged with first degree reckless homicide, use of a deadly weapon which carries a potential sentence of 60 years in prison.

Mainstream media coverage has, of course, been transphobic and biased against Larkin because of her status as a sex worker. Below is Olaciregui's mugshot from his arrest.





January 2010

In Pittsburgh's Strip District, a shop ironically named Peace, Love, and Little Donuts is run by a bigoted, right-wing asshole named Ron Razete.

Ron's queer-bashing, misogynistic, and racist rhetoric was once publicly available on his blog which he has since deleted to hide his shameful views. However, thanks to google cache and local bloggers, his words live on. Here are some gems:

Razete called gays and lesbians an "immoral minority."

"This crowd will not rest until Homosexuality is mainstream; until the Second Amendment is done away with; until abortion on demand is as common and accepted as going to the dentist."

"Sadly, McCarthyism (he was right, by the way) was successfully so demonized."

"Everyone doing his or her part to wrestle the future of America away from crazies, kooks and freaks. If not, trust me, Sarah is going to have way more than two Mommies."

When Razete's views came to the attention of Pittsburghers last fall, many people took passive actions like sending emails and writing bad reviews of the place online. Many boycotted, but the place stayed in business just fine and the reviews on the website Urbanspoon were censored and deleted. Though things seemed to die down as winter approached, radical queers would soon take matters into their own hands...

At 11:00 AM on January 16th, around twenty queers and allies occupied the tiny donut shop and the space in front of it. Our pink and black flag waved while our boombox blasted "You Made Me Gay" and other catchy tunes guaranteed to queer even the straightest of passersby.

# **Pittsburgh: Radical Queers Bash Back Against Bigoted Donut Shop Owner Ron Razete**

We danced, sang, chanted, and had a wondrous time creating space for ourselves, all while handing out informative and celebratory flyers, signed with love by "the crazies, kooks, and freaks."

Razete protested, denied the quotes we had taken from his own blog, and claimed he "hated the sin but not the sinner."

With all of the love Ron had for the partiers, he still asked us all to leave, at which point a major queer make-out fest ensued inside his hateful donut shop. Ron's discomfort angered him so that he physically pushed four occupants out into the street and slammed the door.

With a donut shop in distress, it was no surprise when its blue-clad protectors came swiftly to the scene. With queers endangering their donut-dipping freedom, we knew they were gonna come down on us hard. Unfortunately for them, the queers knew more about the law than they did and the po were unable to break up the party.

The group pressed on shouting, "Hate tastes like shit! No queer bashers in the Strip!" as onlookers joined in to dance down the Soul Train or take our amazing flyers. Several potential customers of PLLD turned around to find breakfast elsewhere and others went inside to confront Razete about the quotes. Angry about this, Ron threatened to press charges. The cops' demands to know "Who was inside?" were left unanswered. Nobody talked, everybody walked. After our music CD ended and our flyers were all gone, the group dispersed for the safety of all involved just before Ron could come out and identify anyone.

## **CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS: Beautiful Monstrosities**

*"I have asked the Miltonic questions Shelley poses in the epigraph of her novel: "Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay to mould me man? Did I solicit thee from darkness to promote me?" With one voice, her monster and I answer "no" without debasing ourselves, for we have done the hard work of constituting ourselves on our own terms, against the natural order. Though we forego the privilege of naturalness, we are not deterred, for we ally ourselves instead with the chaos and blackness from which Nature itself spills forth."*

*-Susan Stryker, My Words to Victor Frankenstein Above the Village of Chamounix*

Monstrosity and monsters have often been linked (for better or for worse) to the ideas of the gendered body, sexuality, and an open war against civilization itself. Beautiful Monstrosities is a zine that hopes to further develop the concept of monstrosity as a means of destabilizing notions of nature, normalcy, beauty, gender, scientific progress, and all social domination. We're looking for art, pictures, and writing of any kind focusing on the relationship between monstrosity/monsters and the aforementioned things of shit we hate, along with those things we like including insurrection, communism, and all that fun stuff. We're keeping the parameters of this quite loose, so take it in whatever direction suits you.

Submissions are due June 25th, and you can send them to [beautifulmonstrosities@gmail.com](mailto:beautifulmonstrosities@gmail.com).

Look forward to reading yr shit!

## **UPCOMING EVENTS:**

### **International Bash Back!**

#### **Convergence 2010**

**May 27-30th**

**Denver, CO**

**[bashback2010.org](http://bashback2010.org)**

**[bashbackdenver@gmail.com](mailto:bashbackdenver@gmail.com)**

#### **Queerriot 2010**

**Presented by Fierce & Fabulous**

**June 10-13th**

**Guelph, Ontario, Canada**

**[queers519.wordpress.com](http://queers519.wordpress.com)**

**[fierce.n.fabulous1969@gmail.com](mailto:fierce.n.fabulous1969@gmail.com)**

### **2010 Cascadia Trans & Womyn's Action Camp**

**July 7-12th**

**Location TBA, Oregon**

**[twac.wordpress.com](http://twac.wordpress.com)**

**[twac@riseup.net](mailto:twac@riseup.net)**

# SUPPORT THE BASH BACK INFINITY

## Queer activists need your help to defend against the Alliance Defense Fund.

On November 9th, 2008 activists from the international queer liberation group, Bash Back! protested the stance and actions of the notoriously anti-queer mega-church, Mount Hope at their headquarters compound in Lansing, Michigan. While some of the group danced, chanted and held signs outside of the building, a small group proceeded into the church to conduct a demonstration by hanging a banner that read "It's OK to be GAY!", and handing out support leaflets targeted toward the queer youth. As the activists had been careful to remain legal, the police made no charges. So in May of 2009 a right-wing legal group, the Alliance Defense Fund filed a federal lawsuit on behalf of Mt. Hope Church under the Freedom of Access to Clinical Entrances Act, naming 13 individuals, as well as Bash Back! as a whole, Bash Back! Lansing, and 20 "John" and "Jane Doe"s (yet to be identified). The suit seeks an injunction that could seriously hinder future activism that resists the institutionalization of religious fundamentalism, as well as an unknown sum of money in supposed "damages" and trial costs. Thankfully, we can count on our community and allies to step up. Tracie Dominic Palmer, an activist attorney with the National Lawyers Guild has been wonderful in supporting the group and has been diligently attempting to negotiate as well as building a defense, pro-bono! But as everyone knows, this is far from free. In the end, even in victory, it will have cost her as well as everyone involved in the defense a great deal emotionally and monetarily. Bottom line: We need your help.

The ADF and Mt. Hope are working double time

now to oppress queer people and crush all those that oppose them. To be clear, the main objective of their efforts is to plant fear and hesitation in confronting bigotry. This is why they also subpoenaed 20 "John" and "Jane Does" (which we have chosen to call Jesse Does to remove the gendering of anyone) in addition to the 13 named defendants. Allowing them to pick anyone they want, whenever they want, and claim affiliation with Bash Back! This is why the defense is called the "Mt. Hope Infinity". Again, it is extremely important to understand that the injunction seeks to set legal precedence that would seriously restrict future activism of this nature. Imagine it being legally impossible to protest anti-choice organizations or "ex-gay" conferences. In fact, as attorney Tracie Palmer has stressed, we may very well be making new law regarding these types of demonstrations. This is a serious concern, not just for the individuals involved, but for all liberation activism.

~With the queerest love and rage.  
Bash Back!

### Ways to Support the BB! Infinity:

GET THE WORD OUT! Pass out a flier, get this website out to everyone you can (facebook! myspace! listserves!), plan to support the Mt. Hope Infinity in person at court dates and fundraisers.

DONATE!: Surprise! the radical christian right has lots and lots of money, and we don't. So, please donate anything you can. OR HOST A FUNDRAISER!!! a party, date auction, or garage sale! Anything is helpful.

You can send checks to:

BB!  
PO box 27201  
Lansing, MI 48909-7201

(if you're uncomfortable with sending a check without a name on it, email us and we'll give you one! [bashbackinfinity@hushmail.com](mailto:bashbackinfinity@hushmail.com))

\*The Mount Hope Infinity's lawyer just had to drop their case! They are in need of a new lawyer! Please contact [bashbackinfinity@hushmail.com](mailto:bashbackinfinity@hushmail.com)

For more info: [bashbackinfinity.wordpress.com](http://bashbackinfinity.wordpress.com)

# Portland: Queers take to the Streets Against Police Brutality

March 2010

Dirty anarchist 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 queer bashers 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 and everyday 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!

# The G20 Is Invading Toronto From June 25th To 27th, 2010. This is a Call-out to Militant Queers Everywhere; Trans People, Dykes, Homos, Faggots, Cocksuckers, and Genderfuckers: Come To ATTACK!

We all know why the G20 needs to be opposed: world leaders getting together secretly to make destructive global capitalist advances from behind closed doors. The G20 represents the interests of the forces which oppress queers on a daily basis, from the state and police as tools of repression to fundamentalist, right-wing Christian agendas, to enabling more corporate power and environmental destruction. FUCK THAT.



We live in a world where queers are treated like absolute shit, where the rich are conducting a colonial and ecological genocide, where racial profiling is still acceptable, and where we are forced to live off the backs of others. We will never be able to fully express our identities or build supportive communities while we continue to live in this system of privilege and domination. And this will continue until we destroy the powers that stand between us and our decisions and dreams.

**Luckily, queers come backed up with a long history of resistance. This will be especially poignant during the G20 because the 41st anniversary of the Stonewall riots falls on June 27!** Our queer forbearers taught themselves how to organize, how to resist, and how to fight the cops on the streets, all the while still living their own brave lives, which in itself is an act of love and revolt.

When the G20 comes to Toronto, we will make it evident that radical queers are powerful, fierce, and a tangible threat. That we are unpredictable, ungovernable, and pissed-off. During the G20 summit, we have a special opportunity to show the powers that

oppress us just how hard we are willing to fight for the world (and parks) we desire (to fuck in)!

So, queers, come to Toronto, bring your affinity groups, your pink-and-black bandannas, your heels, your ceramic dildos, your plans and your flaming raging spirits. Stay tuned for specifically queer actions to come, and know that the G20 resistance will be full of queer anarchist comrades.

Check out this callout from the Southern Ontario Anarchist Resistance:

<http://www.anarchistnews.org/?q=node/10935>

As well as what is being planned by the Toronto Community Mobilization Network at:

<http://g20.torontomobilize.org/>

DISCLAIMER: We are in no way encouraging you to do anything illegal or disruptive, because something like that could actually shift the power balance and change things, and that would be very very naughty of you. Please just sit at home, go to work, and watch your life pass you by.

# GUELPH, ONTARIO:

## 3 Members of Fierce and Fabulous Collective Arrested

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 11:00 pm and one has a curfew of 9:00 pm. 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.

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 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.

Send e-mails of support to:  
fierce.n.fabulous1969@gmail.com

Up The Queers, Up The Trannies!

In Love And Even More Rage,  
The Fierce and Fabulous Krew

**Update from April 19th Court Date:** The three queer/trans folks being charged attended court on April 19th. There were a bunch of people who showed up to express solidarity and support. For 2 of the 3 this was a second appearance and for the third accused this was her first.

All of the three have received their disclosures and their screening forms. A screening form is a document that the crown issues that states 1. how the crown wants to proceed -indictable or summarily- and 2. What the crown is looking for in terms of "punishment."

All three of the accused's screening forms have all stated that the crown wishes to proceed summarily and that they are seeking jail time.

The courts try to use intimidation and fear tactics to try and get what they want out of folks being kicked and shoved through their legal bullshit. It is ridiculous but not surprising that the crown is seeking jail time for all three of the accused. Nevertheless they are still being charged and having to deal (in a very direct way) with the state's violence and oppression that has been directed towards marginalized communities countless/endless times. They would very much appreciate any support/solidarity from folks. You can send e-mails to [fierce.n.fabulous1969@gmail.com](mailto:fierce.n.fabulous1969@gmail.com).

In fucking rage,  
The Fierce & Fabulous Krew

-Fucking Anarchy Up The Ass-

For more information and updates, visit:  
[Queers519.wordpress.com](http://Queers519.wordpress.com)

# FIERCE FABULOUS' STATEMENT OF SOLIDARITY:

(Ashton Waters)

Fierce and Fabulous is a community based collective that opposes all forms of oppression including that of the state. Our collective works together as a group and with other community organizations to provide queer events, workshops and entertainment for queer and trans folk. Fierce and Fabulous aims to supply resources and support to Guelph's queer and trans community.

In regards to the incident that happened outside of the drag show held at Peter Clark Hall at the University of Guelph on March 6th, we feel there was absolutely no reason for the arrests that took place. These arrests should not have happened in the first place and there was certainly no reason for the police to brutalize the folks being arrested. All three of the folks who were arrested on March 6th sustained bruises and cuts on their wrists as a result of the handcuffs being excessively tight; one person suffered contusions to the forehead after repeatedly having their head smashed on the back of the police cruiser, and one person was badly bruised with documentation of these bruises over most of their torso and extremities.

The police have once again used their power and authority in a very heavy handed way as an outlet for their homophobia and transphobia. We see this abuse of authority happening not only with this homophobic/transphobic attack by the police in Guelph, but everywhere.

Just a few weeks ago, in San Antonio, police officer Craig Nash arrested and then raped a trans womyn of colour. There had been previous complaints about his behavior from members of the public and yet this repulsive, disgusting attack had to happen before he faced any type of disciplinary action.

Making the connection between these recent arrests and not only the police brutality in Guelph but the police brutality that happens all the time in so many other places and all of the thousands

of undocumented cases of police brutality against marginalized communities is important. It's important because when we make these connections we are able to see how homophobic/transphobic police violence plays out for the queer/trans folk everywhere. These attacks are part of a larger struggle.

There have been previous reports of campus police brutality at the University of Guelph already. How many instances of police brutality will it take before the Campus Police in our own city are held accountable for their actions? Do we have to wait for it to take something incredibly horrible and traumatic before these people who abuse their positions of power to be held accountable? When we look at the brutality of these arrests, we see them as a warning sign. If the University fails to act now they are consciously choosing to fail to prevent further hate motivated assaults.

Fierce and Fabulous questions how one of the police officers was able to sustain their scratches and injuries on their back from tackling and arresting the three survivors. Of course we'd like to thank them for suggesting that these folks were able to defend themselves and overpower the police for even a moment, but unfortunately this is very untrue. Plus, isn't their fancy uniform gear and bullet-proof vests supposed to prevent these types of minor injuries?

Fierce and Fabulous fully supports the three folks arrested and encourages folks to show their support as well. One small way could be checking out the Anti-Police Brutality Demo on March 20th outside Guelph City Hall at 3:30pm hosted by Sense of Security. Another could be sending emails of support to: [fierce.n.fabulous1969@gmail.com](mailto:fierce.n.fabulous1969@gmail.com) or attending the following court dates: March 22 and April 19 (9:30am @ 36 Wyndham St. South). Or better yet, take action into your own hands.

# One of the Arrested Folks' Statement

I'm here to talk about the ways the police used excessive force during the arrests of me and my two co-accused.

Things started off fairly rough, when two of us were forcibly removed from the drag show at Peter Clark hall by members of the brass taps staff. They grabbed our t-shirts, and pushed and pulled us out the door. This was an illegal use of force. The brass taps aren't legally allowed to forcibly remove anyone by touching them if they haven't refused to comply with the request to leave the venue.

The three of us left the university center on our own accord. As we tried to make our way home, we were confronted with three, large, male campus police officers. They proceeded to tackle the person in our group that had not been kicked out into a rose bush. He sustained cuts from the thorns. As I approached to make sure he was alright, under the cop twice his size, I was thrown to the pavement and screamed at to stay away. Meanwhile, our other friend was forcefully thrown to the ground by another cop. The police officer threatened that he would pepper spray her in the

eyes if she did not stay still, this was before she was given notice that she was under arrest or that she was being charged. The force of that arrest led to extensive bruising on her arms, and torso.

When the first two had been dragged to their feet, and towards the cop cars parked inside the U.C. bus loop, I tried again to make sure that the person who was tackled into a rose bush was o.k, by asking him if he was alright and trying to get close enough to hear his answer.

This is when the third cop threw me to the ground and I was also arrested.

At the squad cars, we were all treated roughly, from verbal threats like "you'd better cooperate because I'm not in the freaking mood" to physical violence. One person had their head smashed off the police car, these are the pictures of those cuts and the cuts he sustained from the handcuffs being extremely tight. We all had bruises from the handcuffs.

At the police station, I was verbally insulted, denied a blanket released to walk home alone at 4:30 in the morning.

I have been informed that the police forced one of the people who was arrested, who identifies as trans, to remove his chest binder while two female police officers watched him. The police explained that he had to remove it because he was only allowed to wear one layer of clothing on his back. He had also asked the two

police officers to leave the room while he took off his binder, they refused. This was a massive invasion of privacy for him. Interestingly enough, no one else who was arrested was forced to abide by this one layer rule. He was also told he was not allowed to have the handcuffs removed or even use a washroom until he was searched.

I think it is also completely inappropriate and disrespectful that in the statement released in the Guelph Mercury by university spokesperson Chuck Cunningham and statement made by the campus police used the pronoun "she" while referring to this person even though they were well aware that he uses the pronoun "he".

The way the police have treated us has been completely disrespectful and unprofessional. They have proven to lack any sort of understanding of how to deal with transgendered individuals. They were violent, and completely out of line. We and many members of the community are outraged.

While we have all been released, we have been given restrictive conditions that affect our lives every day. We have curfews, we are not allowed to associate with one another and we are not allowed to consume any alcohol. For a group of close friends, who, before hand, would socialize and organize together, as well as support each other emotionally, this has been devastating.

*from Queers519.wordpress.com*



# Workshop Facilitation: Some Suggestions for BB! 2010

by: Saffo

Understatement of the century: Last year's convergence was intense. I'm sure this year's will be too. But one thing that we have going for us is an amazing group of beautiful, passionate, intelligent, revolutionary and god-damned sexy queers coming together in one space. Let's make sure to make the most of it. One of the most important parts of a convergence are the workshops and the conversations that happen inside them. Which is why I want to make a call out for people who are planning to facilitate workshops to start now to think critically about what they are going to do in those workshops.

Last year was great, but I found myself getting bored sometimes with the facilitation style of most of the workshops. I myself cofacilitated a guerrilla workshop and, of course, it was hastily put together... and that's the nature of a guerrilla workshop. I want to say it loud and clear, as I was guilty of this myself: THERE IS MORE TO FACILITATING A WORKSHOP THAN JUST TALKING OR HAVING AN UNSTRUCTURED CONVERSATION. With that said, there is definitely a time and place for all of these things. Some workshops might best be done as a lecture or an unstructured conversation. However, that shouldn't be ALL that we are doing. I've been in anarchist gatherings and found myself falling asleep to people lecturing on topics I genuinely cared about and was interested in.

The word "facilitate" comes from the Latin *facilis*, meaning easy. The role of a facilitator is to make the learning process easy for people in the workshop. Your job then is to make this process easier for people. This involves taking charge. Often times in radical and anarchist circles people are afraid to step forward because they are self-conscious of the space they are taking up. "I don't wanna tell people what to do!" But this is the reason why in, for example, a collective meeting, we consent to give someone the position of facilitator in order to make sure the conversation stays on track. The larger the group, the more important it is to have some sort of structure to your conversation— especially if you are intending to reach a consensus decision

or accomplish a certain goal. If you are teaching a class or facilitating a workshop the story is a little different— people consent to be in a space led by you because you have something to offer. That something could be knowledge, skills, or experience that you have from which the rest of us could benefit. Or it could be your skills at bringing a conversation together in order for people to better learn from each other and challenge each other. Whoever you are, whatever your background or experience, you have something to offer the rest of us.

So what to do....?

So let me offer something. If you happen to be in the Denver area, I am planning to teach a Free School class on teaching and workshop facilitation, for anyone who is interested. If not, here are a couple questions and things to consider when planning a workshop. Maybe the goals of your workshop don't work with what I have outlined, but take these ideas as they are and maybe they can help you in planning your workshop. Oh, and another thing, putting on a workshop is hard work, but I don't want to let any of this intimidate anyone away from facilitating one. The best way to learn is by doing.

These are ideas I've learned through student teaching high school, so they are more applicable to workshops that are based on thinking and discussing questions, ideas, problems (so they might not apply as well to a workshop on learning a more physical skill, for example.)

## BEFORE YOUR WORKSHOP:

**PLAN BACKWARDS:** Start with the big picture of what your workshop is about. If your goal is more of a tangible concrete goal in terms of creating something or reaching a decision, think about that and be clear about it. If your goal is in terms of learning, think about what you want everyone to learn from being in your workshop. Basically, justify your workshop in terms of what are participants or the larger Bash Back! community going to have after your workshop that we didn't have before? The

following are things that it might do you well to have written on the board or passed out in some way so that everyone in the room knows why they're there. In order to plan backwards— big picture to small picture— it is best to think about these things in the order that I've listed them.

**ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS:** For learning goals it is best to put these in terms of questions. In teaching, we call these big, overarching questions “essential questions.” So, let's say your workshop is on queers and gentrification. Your essential questions could be “What can radical queers do to combat gentrification?” “How are we complicit in gentrification and what can we do about that?” Etc. Now, for the rest of your planning, think about

how what you do relates to these questions. If your workshop is more based around developing a concrete plan of action, you can think about that.

**OBJECTIVES:** Now's when you think about what you want people or the community to get out of your workshop. Try and be as specific as you can. Try and phrase your objectives in sentences that start with “participants will be able to...” Think about real concrete things that people will get out of spending time in your workshop.

**AGENDA:** NOW is when you start actually planning what you do in your workshop. Think about how much time you will have, the fact that you don't know how many people will show up, are people gonna



be late? Etc. But always have your agenda relate to the objectives and the essential questions or big picture. **GET CREATIVE.** Also always have backup plans. Your awesome activity only works well with twelve or more people and only six showed up? Better have a backup plan. It is always better to overplan than underplan. The thing you thought would take five minutes might take twenty, or vice versa. Think realistically about all the variables that will come up.

Also, since you are thinking about your workshop in terms of things people will get out of being there that they didn't already know, think about how are you going to know what they already know? Think about informal ways of tapping into what people already know.

**PLANNING PLANNING PLANNING!:** Always have a backup plan. Maybe the activity you were going to do isn't going to work out for some reason—have a backup plan. It's always best to overplan than underplan. If you have an hour long block of time, plan activities for two hours. You can always cut things out (and don't be afraid to do so!) but it's much harder to come up with something on the spot if you realize that the conversation you thought would evolve naturally is reaching a dead-end. Come up with questions to talk about, examples of problems in our community, or activities that are relevant to your essential questions. **I CAN'T STRESS ENOUGH HOW IMPORTANT PLANNING IS.**

**THERE ARE A WEALTH OF WORKSHOP ACTIVITY IDEAS OUT THERE...** look into some of them. And think about which ones make sense given the context of the workshop you are facilitating.

### **DURING YOUR WORKSHOP:**

Remember, you are the one who has been consented to take a leading role in this workshop— you have been temporarily delegated a position of responsibility. Don't be afraid to take charge and remember that people wouldn't be here if they didn't think your workshop had something to offer them.

**SPEAK UP:** If you are facilitating a conversation with a large group, you might be overestimating peoples' ability to hear you from all the way across the room. Speak louder than you think you have to. Also, your energy level is contagious. If you are speaking softly or don't seem passionate about what you are talking about, people will feel the same. Organizing a workshop is a form of theater. Play it up!

**BE AWARE OF TIME:** That activity you thought would take five minutes ends up taking up half the workshop— or vice versa! Maybe if you only have forty minutes and there's thirty people in the room it wouldn't be wise to have everyone go around and say their name and pronoun preference and a short piece of their life story that always ends up taking two minutes a person. Also don't be afraid to cut a conversation off and move

on to another activity. Time is always the facilitators' worst enemy. Always be considering, is this thing worth the amount of time we are spending on it? Pros of moving on are, of course, getting to other things that are important. But cutting off a conversation also, well, cuts off a conversation. Be sure to weigh the pros and cons of moving on to something different. All of these considerations are reasons why having a backup plan is important, but it is also important to:

**TAKE THE TEMPERATURE and ALWAYS BE FLEXIBLE:** You should always be taking the temperature of the room. How are people doing? Are they captivated by what you're saying? Or are they falling asleep? Maybe that presentation on the Prison-Industrial Complex that you thought would be so fascinating seems to be making peoples' eyes glaze over. Maybe you should stop and have people break out into groups? Or maybe that wouldn't make sense given the context of the workshop? Having a strong plan is essential to good facilitation, but being flexible once you actually enter the room is just as important. Always be ready and willing to try something different if what you had planned isn't working. Do you get the sense that the discussion topic you were about to propose for the group is going to reach a dead end? Don't be afraid to skip to something else you had planned which might work better. Maybe people are falling asleep— that activity that involved moving around the room which you thought you'd save for the end might work better now than later.

**ACTIVATE PRIOR KNOWLEDGE:** Like I said earlier, it's important to think about your objectives in terms of what people are going to get out of being in your workshop. In order to do this, you have to take the temperature of what people in the group already know. This can be intimidating in a group like Bash Back! where most people know a great deal about these issues and feel very strongly about them. But if someone already knows something about a topic think about how you are going to make sure they come out of your workshop with more than they came in with. Think about leading questions you can ask that will challenge people, or new perspectives that can be taken. You don't have to know everything, but you should always be making yourself aware of what people already know.

**AVOID BAD SPEAKING HABITS:** Be aware of your mannerisms when you speak in public. Do you repeat yourself or end your sentences sounding like a question? Do your thoughts trail off or do you stop saying something when you are done saying it? Do you say "kinda" in contexts when it's completely inappropriate? ("Hitler kinda killed millions of people." There's nothing "kinda" about it!) If you're not used to public speaking, maybe try practicing public speaking beforehand and have someone (lovingly) offer constructive criticism on your speech patterns and body language.

### **AFTER YOUR WORKSHOP:**

Get someone to offer constructive criticism on your workshop facilitation skills and take some time to personally reflect on what went right and what went wrong. No one is born a good facilitator, skills take time to develop! Often times in anarchist circles we don't give ourselves a chance to receive suggestions or constructive criticisms on our facilitation practices. But the best way to learn is by practice! Don't give up on life just because your workshop seemed like a total failure, but also don't get overconfident just because it seems to have gone well. There is always room to improve and there is always more to learn. But in the long run, chances are everybody got something out of being in that room for an hour. If you have a friend who observed your workshop, one tactic that I've used in teaching is to debrief and reflect on the following things in the following

order:

- What you think went well.
- What you think needed improvement.
- What your friend thinks went well.
- What your friend thinks needs improvement.
- What the two of you agree you could work on next time you do a workshop.

And then relax, take a breath, and congratulate yourself!

### **SUMMARY:**

Think about the big picture first. Think what people are going to get out of the workshop that they didn't have already. Plan like fucking crazy. Be aware of time. Don't be afraid to step up. Take the temperature of the room. Be flexible. And critically reflect after it's over. And remember, you learn best by doing!

### **A COUPLE THOUGHTS FOR THE CONVERGENCE:**

I am thinking of organizing a workshop on workshop facilitation, hopefully early in the weekend. One thought that I had was if people who are planning to facilitate workshops, and are interested in working on their facilitation skills, could show up, and maybe we could make some sort of buddy system, to get people to provide constructive criticisms on how each others' workshops went. Maybe we could debrief sometime towards the end of the convergence. I would be open to people's suggestions about the kinds of questions they have about facilitation. And of course I am open to learn about other people's experiences and ideas on facilitation.

Anyway, these are all my suggestions. I know many of them aren't totally applicable depending on the kind of workshop you are planning on doing, and don't make sense in all contexts. But good luck, and go ahead and plan a workshop! Can't wait to see everyone at the convergence!

Solidarity and Sodomy,  
~Saffo

# On Support

by: Kteeo

As radical queers and community members there are many ways that our anti-capitalist struggles materialize. They look as different as we do. They have different values, strategies, and tactics. We all have different lifestyles, and different ways of carrying on our fights. Regardless of our niches and fortes we all are joined by our collective work to make the world a better place. Among this collectivization we share other similarities; one that seems especially pressing to me in this moment is our needs to be supported and our collective need to become better at supporting each other.

Living in an oppressive society in which many of us deal daily with the realities of racism, sexism, classism, transphobia, abilism, and queerphobia. And their symptoms: sexual assault, hate crimes, bashing, economic hardship, and general prejudices. Many of us are left in a place where we need support, in all forms.

As radical queers and community members many of us need to work on becoming better support people, this is not a bad thing. Many of us were socialized in a way that makes it so that giving support does not come naturally,

or that the only way that we know how to support each other reinforces existing structures of oppression. Below are some tips for supporting people, they are by no means perfect, just thoughts

**Remembering** that every person is different. Every person that you will support will need something different. Get to know your community members and what their needs are.



that I came to while supporting members of my community—looking at what has been helpful and what was harmful:

**Asking people** what it is that they need and what they want. It is important to remember the autonomy of the person you are supporting. In their struggle,

what ever it is, their needs need to come before your desires.

**Support comes in many forms.**

Often times when an act of violence is perpetrated against a community member a lot of people will line up to offer to attack the aggressor. This is a valid response, the survivor of the violence may want you to be a part of this response and may be happy to hear that you are willing to do that with them or on behalf of them. **BUT** they may not want that type of response **OR** may not want you to be part of said response. Listen to what the person needs. Offer other types of support with the same **or more frequent regularity:** act as a listener, offer to deal with a persons household chores for them, offer child care, offer monetary support, offer to help a person with their stresses or day to day support<sup>1</sup>.

**Respect people's space.** There will be times when people in our communities going threw hardship want out support. There will be other times when our support is not wanted or needed. When offering support is important to respect people's space. It is hard to figure out how to offer support without violating boundaries. I do not have a suggestion on how to do that. Maybe we can figure it out together.

**Support support people.** There are many people in our communities supporting people. It is important that we support

them. Listen to what they need and offer support.

**Know your own limits.** Doing support work can be draining and triggering. Know your limits and respect your own boundaries.

Thank you for taking the time to read this. The above are by no means rules, just suggestions based on my experience taking and giving support. I hope as you reflect on what you have just read that you remember that all situations are different and complex and no one set of rules is perfect for all situations. Hopefully one day we can create a society where supporting each other can come naturally.

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1. Often times I find that male socialized people are very quick to offer physical support, which can at times can be the survivors need and therefore be very helpful and needed, but are less quick to offer other forms of support i.e. help with housework or day to day duties. It is important to fight gender socialization. If a survivor wants your help in a physical response and if you feel safe with supporting them that way, go for it. But do not make a survivor feel guilty or burdened by your desire to support them in that way. Offer other forms of support and follow threw. Fight patriarchy.

*We all have different lifestyles, and different ways of carrying on our fights. Regardless of our niches and fortes we all are joined by our collective work to make the world a better place. Among this collectivization we share other similarities; one that seems especially pressing to me in this moment is our needs to be supported and our collective need to become better at supporting each other.*

# Profiles in Bigotry: Watchmen on the Walls

In the previous issue of Pink and Black Attack, an article appeared discussing the role of homophobic American evangelicals in inspiring and promoting a horrific anti-gay bill in Uganda. In the time since the last issue appeared, the bill has been criticized by a broad range of groups from around the world. It has not been withdrawn, but is currently awaiting discussion in Parliament. Our article profiled four people specifically: Rick Warren, Caleb Brundige, Scott Lively, and Don Schmeirer. In this issue, we'd like to offer more information about an organization that Scott Lively co-founded called Watchmen on the Walls. This article will offer background information about the organization, a discussion of its theological and political ideologies, an examination of its activities and prominent figures, and some ideas for combating and confronting their bigotry.

## Background

Watchmen on the Walls is an international organization based out of Riga, Latvia. It was founded by a group of American and Latvian evangelicals, including Scott Lively, in late 2006. It has a strong presence in Latvia, with support coming

from Watchmen-affiliated mega-churches. In the United States, its activity is mostly limited to the West Coast. However, the allies it does have are influential people. Watchmen on the Walls has two characteristics that make it particularly troublesome: a propensity for violent attacks on queer people, and growing influence within mainstream politics and society.

One unique feature of Watchmen is that it functions as a truly international organization, as a large portion of its supporters in the United States are Russian-speaking immigrants from the former Soviet Union. These supporters are concentrated on the West Coast, with prominent leaders in the Sacramento, CA and Seattle, WA areas. In Latvia, Watchmen on the Walls is headquartered in Riga. As well as being the capital of Latvia, Riga is also the home of New Generation Church, an evangelical mega-church with over 200 satellite locations around the world. The pastor of New Generation,

Alexey Ledyayev, is a co-founder of Watchmen. Ledyayev is also closely linked to Pat Robertson, who is regrettably still alive.

## Ideology

Theologically, Watchmen on the Walls borrows from Christian Reconstructionism for its inspiration and guiding principles. Reconstructionism argues for the application of a literal, Calvinist interpretation of the Bible to all spheres of life. This includes civil government as well as family and personal life, with the ideal state of affairs being a theonomy (rule of god's law). This differs from theocracy in that while theocracy argues for an absolute sovereign with jurisdiction over all of society, theonomy advocates for a division of powers between the church and state. Reconstructionists argue for a strictly civil state that only has authority over public or social matters, but this civil state would have the explicit purpose of adherence to a literal interpretation of Biblical law. Authority over the individual and the family would be the domain of the church. The church would have no ability to exert punishment for criminal acts or civil damages, and the

civil state would have no jurisdiction over moral affairs. However, the end result of both theocracy and theonomy is a society that is ruled according to a specific religious ideology. Theonomy tends to have more libertarian aspects,

**An anarchist response to the Watchmen then must simultaneously expose them as dangerous bigots committed to enforcing their hate and avoid liberal pitfalls such as reliance on hate crime or immigration laws.**



*Back, from left to right: Vlad Kusakin, Vadim Privedenyuk, and Alexy Ledyayev. Front: Ken Hutcherson*

such as the presumption of a market economy and the limits on authority of both the state and the church.

The political representation of Reconstructionist theology is Dominionism. It is here that the position of Watchmen on the Walls in relation to the broader political system becomes complicated. Dominionism is the political idea that government and society should be explicitly and exclusively Christian. As a political idea, its influence varies, with both moderate and extremist adherents. It is the driving force behind the recent efforts to legislate Christian morality into law, as well as the culture wars that often involve political controversy. Overall, Watchmen on the Walls falls on the more extreme side of the Dominionist movement, and it differs from other groups due to its intense focus on anti-homosexuality. However, it also upholds other socially conservative values, such as opposition to abortion. Given that the United States and Latvia have different historical and sociopolitical

contexts, the Watchmen organizations in each country are different. I will focus mainly on those active in the United States.

### **Activities and Prominent Figures**

One of the more worrisome aspects of the United States section of Watchmen on the Walls is the simultaneous development of a membership base through mega-churches, as well as gaining increased legitimacy from the prominence of its key figures. The organization is focused mostly on the west coast, with strongholds in the Seattle, Washington

and Sacramento, California areas. Its most visible activity was a conference held in Lynnwood, Washington in 2007 that featured many speakers, including several co-founders of the organization. Their public activity in the United States has been limited since then, but its most active members are still affiliated with the group and actively building anti-queer sentiment.

There are five people involved with the organization that I wish to focus on, who represent the most visible and active leaders in the United States for the Watchmen: Ken Hutcherson, Scott Lively, Andrey Shapovalov, Vlad Kusakin, and Joseph Fuiten.

#### **Ken Hutcherson**

Hutcherson was an NFL linebacker in the 1970s, but retired and became a pastor. He is currently the pastor at Antioch Bible Church, located in Kirkland, WA. In the Seattle area, he has become famous as a dedicated opponent of same-sex marriage and anti-discrimination laws. He is a co-founder of Watchmen on the Walls, and has made visits to Latvia to speak at Watchmen events. Furthermore,



he worked to organize the Watchmen conference in Lynnwood, WA in 2007. He is also involved with Exodus International as a frequent speaker. His home address is 1618 NE 264th Ave, Redmond, WA.

Scott Lively (*pictured right*)

Lively, who was profiled in the previous issue of Pink and Black Attack, is a longtime anti-queer activist who has been involved in several organizations, notably the American Family Association. He is also a Holocaust revisionist, as a co-author of *The Pink Swastika*. He has made repeated trips to Latvia, and is also closely connected to the Chalcedon Foundation, which is a Christian Reconstructionist organization in the United States. He is currently based out of the Sacramento area.



As noted above, Watchmen on the Walls has not been as publicly prominent in the United States since their 2007 conference. However, their leaders have continued to figure prominently in the Christian anti-queer movement. Hutcherson has

continued his public activism, and Lively was recently part of a group of evangelicals who spoke at an Ugandan anti-gay conference and inspired an anti-homosexuality bill.

### Combating the Watchmen: Some Thoughts and Suggestions

In the spirit of bashing back, I would like to offer ideas on confronting bigots like those involved with Watchmen on the Walls. The political motivations and demographic makeup of the group present unique challenges for an anarchist analysis of how to confront these people. Specifically, the mainstream appeal of the religious leaders presents an obstacle, as does the fact that much of the U.S. base of Watchmen on the Walls consists of Russian-speaking immigrants.



Andrey Shapovalov (*pictured above*)

Shapovalov is the pastor of an evangelical church in Kent, WA called the Transformation Center. He is a key Seattle-area ally of Hutcherson and has participated in Watchmen events in the Seattle area. His home address is 1218 Palm Drive, Fircrest, WA.

Vlad Kusakin

Also known as Wade Kusak, Kusakin is a co-founder of Watchmen who is currently active in the Sacramento, CA area. He hosts a Russian-language anti-gay radio show and also edits a Russian-language newspaper called *The Speaker*.

Joseph Fuiten (*pictured right*)

Fuiten is a Seattle-area pastor who leads Cedar Park Church in Bothell, WA. He was a speaker at the 2007 Watchmen conference in Lynnwood. His home address is 17410 102nd Ave NE, Bothell, WA.



Watchmen on the Walls is considered a hate group by many, including the Southern Poverty Law Center. However, mainstream discussion of hate groups still falls into a liberal framework

around respecting free speech and especially religious belief. It must be remembered that, in accordance with Reconstructionist/Dominionist ideology, these people seek a government entirely based on Christian values with no tolerance for dissent or conduct viewed as immoral. It is the strategy of the religious bigots to gain state power in order to make their religious convictions law. The Watchmen represent an extremist wing of this movement, and thus should be treated as the danger they are.

The response from some mainstream LGBTQ activists has been to focus on the immigrant status of many Watchmen supporters. This takes the form of calls for deportation, or generally assuming that every Russian-speaking immigrant is a likely bigot. This anti-immigrant approach is often coupled with the predictable assimilationist call for more hate crime laws, or for existing laws to be more strictly enforced. This approach is entirely antithetical to an anarchist response, as our struggle is not only against these bigots but also against the state and its borders and prisons, and all forms of social domination.

An anarchist response to the Watchmen then must simultaneously expose them as dangerous bigots committed to enforcing their hate and avoid liberal pitfalls such as reliance on hate crime or immigration laws. While the merits of various tactical approaches is beyond the scope of this article, I would like to propose a few points for consideration:

1. Rather than seeing this as a competition of ideas, confronting the Watchmen and similar bigots should be viewed as community self-defense. This is especially important considering that at least one founder of the group has been linked to violence against queer people.
2. The Watchmen should not be seen as an independent hate group, but rather as the extreme wing of a larger movement. Reconstructionist and Dominionist ideas have long been central to the project of the Religious Right in the United States. Accordingly, the Watchmen alone are not the problem, but are representative of a political tendency that must be addressed.
3. Finally, the larger project of confronting these bigots should not be viewed as simply a queer issue. While the Watchmen specifically target queer people, they are thinly-veiled theocrats and should be opposed by anarchists because of their desire to enforce their own morality at the cost of others' lives and safety.



# An Interview with Fierce and Fabulous Folks

by **Shailagh Keaney**

**Toronto Media Co-op**

Below is an interview with three people who were targeted by University of Guelph campus police last month. Each have charges arising from the incident. See [Court solidarity for queers in Guelph](#) to learn about their solidarity call-out for April 19.

Answers to the questions below were compiled by a third party.

*Can you tell me about what happened that night at the UofG campus?*

Justin Timberdick:

I was arrested Friday, March, 6th, 2010 outside of the annual drag show organized by Guelph Queer Equality (G.Q.E) I'm being charged with assault a peace officer and breach of probation. What happened was simple. We were targeted by the campus police because we are queer/trans kids, the result of that ended in the pigs using excessive force against us. Excessive force being (for me at least) being chased down and tackled into a thorn bush, having my head slammed against a cop cruiser multiple times while my hands were handcuffed behind my back. The cuffs were so tight that they cut my wrists open as well as caused bruising. The pigs have been using fear, intimidation and violence against queer and trans. folk as a tactic for forever. I don't think that this sort of targeted attack is anything new, and it could have been much worse I'm very sure of that, but I am personally not willing to wait for further violent homophobic/transphobic attacks to happen before we, as queers and trannies, fucking step it up and take action against these queer and trans. hating pigs.

Bikesexual Boy:

First I remember saying, "why are you chasing my friends?," then I was saying, "Get off of my friends!," then I was saying, "Let go of me!," then I was saying

"Am I under arrest?"

*What sorts of things happened when you were in custody?*

C:

In custody, the cops tried to ask me questions I didn't have to answer, about where I grew up, if I was a student. I couldn't get a hold of my lawyer. They refused to give me a blanket to sleep with and it was really cold. every half hour or a male cop would come into the cell block I was in and scream at a woman imprisoned beside me, the whole time I was there I could hear cops using all the tactics in their arsenal of how to effectively break people; denying basic needs, depriving people of sleep, not allowing phone calls, making degrading comments, screaming, name calling, slamming doors, laughing in people's faces or behind their backs. This coupled with the violent nature of our arrests again reminded me of how the institution of the police is inherently violent.

Justin Timberdick:

While I was in custody I was kept in tight handcuffs, sitting with bloody wrists for a long time, maybe a couple hours or so. I was told that I couldn't use the bathroom until I was searched. I had told the police, well two things actually 1. Was that I wanted to be searched by someone who had a dick and a vagina and 2. that I wanted to be searched by someone who was trans. identified. I refused to be searched by anyone else. They didn't seem to know what to do with me and seemed very confused by the fact that I'm a trans guy. That whole situation with the search was pretty hilarious until two female pigs came in to search me. They came into the room I was being held in and patted me down and told me to choose one article of clothing to wear for the top half of my body, which is always the case. I had dressed up super fancy in a suit for the drag show, and so I asked if I could wear my suit jacket since there was no metal

on it. They said fine so I took off my muscle tank and went to put on the suit jacket. I was wearing my binder and at that point the one pig told me I had to either choose to wear that into the cells or I had to take it off and put on my suit jacket, but I couldn't wear both. I told the cop that I wasn't taking it off in front of them, and told them to leave the room while I took it off. They refused to leave the room so I asked if they'd just turn around, and they said no again. We were then stuck in this sort of stand-offish point where I was just standing there in my binder and saying I had to go to the washroom and telling them I wasn't taking off my binder. I eventually turned around took off my binder and put on my suit jacket. I felt fucking violated and was feeling pretty shitty at that point. As much as I felt fucked up about being in the cop shop there was also points where I felt really fucking strong and solid. My friends that I was arrested with are amazing fucking

badass queers who are fierce as fuck and we were yelling things to each other like "I love you" I personally felt so strong because of the support we were all trying to give each other in this fucked up place, and situation. When the pigs weren't letting me piss my friends would scream at the pigs telling them to let me go fucking piss, and when the pigs used female pronouns with me they'd ream those pigs the fuck out!

*What are your current legal conditions and what do you think*

*about them?*

Justin Timberdick:

I have conditions up the ass and not in the way I want things up my ass! I also have probation conditions as well on top of these other bullshit conditions, but my conditions for these charges are 1. To not be on University property, which is not really that big of an inconvenience for me because I am hardly ever there anyways, but either way it's fucked up because I am still being limited to where I can and can't go. 2. Abstain from the purchase/possession/consumption of alcohol. This is just ridiculous and part of their

*I think that the role of queers in the movement against police violence is a huge one because the pigs will always target us, and they targeted us even before they were ever cops. They were the jocks in high school who kicked our asses for being queers, called us faggots and harassed us every day. Fuck them.*

ploy to make it seem like we were super wasted the night of the drag show, when in reality that was not even close to the case. Also, the reason for our arrests had nothing to do with alcohol. This is just another attempt at further restraining our freedom. 3. To not associate with my two co-accused. This is super fucking hard for me and for me the most brutal condition. Not only do I care so much about those folks and spent so much of my time with them, but we also organize a lot together, and so having

the non association condition makes it impossible to continue organizing those things. 4. I have a curfew of 9:00 p.m.-6:00 a.m. That's also really fucking hard because before all of this happened the night was when I would be out doing things, like dancing and yeah...well mostly just dancing and sometimes dumpstering.

Bikeseexual Boy:

The intention of all our conditions is to restrict our freedom such that we feel too isolated and alienated to take any action whatsoever. Fortunately, we all have an incredibly supportive community. Our arrests have actually been the catalyst for a lot of cross-community (campus vs. rest of Guelph) networking, and seems to be making the rad queer community a lot more solid.

*What do you think the role is of queers in the movement against police violence and impunity?*

*What is the role of the anti-police violence movement in the lives of queers?*

*How would you say these issues overlap?*

C:

The intersection of queer resistance with an anti-police violence movement is long established connection; from Stone Wall to the recent, glorious, successes of bash back, it's clear that queers occupy a unique and important space in the movement against police. Queers have always had, and continue to experience

massive violence, especially from the police, who use weapons from guns to rape, to keep gender variants and queers as disempowered as possible, while erasing them, and their contributions, from public life.

Queers fight police violence as well as broader oppression on many fronts, from occupying homophobic churches, to pink and black blocks, to dance parties and queer culture performances,



like the drag show we attended and were arrested outside of. As queers continue to resist assimilation and silencing we are moving towards destroying a society which denies, invalidates, and is disgusted by the very existence of queers; their bodies, lives, and loves.

What I find so inspiring about queer resistance is that it is a daily struggle for free and true lives. We cannot be who we truly are, as long as we are forced into gendered, sexed, feminine or masculine, heteronormative boxes. To me, queers prove that we are beautiful by being ourselves, and prove that we are strong, by finding ways to fight what keeps us afraid (like the police!)

Justin Timberdick:

There is a very long and very intense history of radical queer/trans resistance to police violence. If you look at things like The Compton Cafeteria Riots, or Stonewall there has been a lot of resistance and hatred directed toward the pigs. This sort of resistance is an on-going struggle and will always be because of the very specific systemic violence that we all face. Queers and trannies have been fighting the pigs with high heeled stilettos, molotovs and bricks for a long time. I think that the role of queers

in the movement against police violence is a huge one because the pigs will always target us, and they targeted us even before they were ever cops. They were the jocks in high school who kicked our asses for being queers, called us faggots and harassed us every day. Fuck them. Their role hasn't changed except now they can throw us in jail. Prison is also another very real reality and can be a scary and dangerous threat to queers and trans folk. Things like access to hormones and healthcare for trans identified people is an impossible battle especially if you are trans and either weren't receiving hormones before being locked up or if you were getting hormones from another source than a registered doctor. Most of the time if you are trans identified the prison screws (guards) will choose to keep you in protective custody.

Bikesexual Boy:

I think we need to resist police violence not only as queers, but also as folks who participate in a society where other marginalized communities are harassed and beat. —there is intersection in our identities, as queer and trans-identified folk. We identify as queer for a reason; we don't just use it as an umbrella term for the GBLT (or whatever the fuck that acronym that tries to find specific labels for people's desires/genders). We identify as queer because it's more than a rejection of how the state defines our desires or genders—it is a rejection of the way our society is constructed as a whole. So we need to resist police violence in a way that is representative of our queer identity.

I'm not saying that the oppression that queers face, or even individuals within the queer community, is the same as that of folks who are from other marginalized communities. I'm also not putting a hierarchy on different forms of oppression—they're different—but, for the most part, they all come from the same fucked up capitalist piece of shit state. So yeah, we need to ally along those lines, and resist police violence along those lines.

# Thoughts on Developing Anarchist Queer Theory

by Phil

*“There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender... identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results.”*

- Judith Butler

In the past two decades, queer theory has developed as an academic pursuit and gained considerable acceptance within the realm of higher education. While some of the concepts from this branch of study have trickled into radical queer thought, it has largely remained a strictly academic pursuit. I believe that queer theory can be useful, but it must be expanded to be accessible to those outside of academia. Furthermore, problematic tendencies within queer theory should be addressed, and it is my contention that the development of an explicitly anarchist queer theory would be beneficial. In this essay, I hope to lay out a basic explanation of queer theory, a critique of the current state of queer theory, and propose a basic framework for developing anarchist queer theory. Ultimately, I seek to open up a discussion within the queer anarchist community on building anarchist queer theory. Far from being the last word on the subject, I hope that this piece instead generates discussion and further writing and conversations.

## Queer Theory

Queer theory is one of the latest currents of critical theory to gain widespread academic acceptance. It developed out of the field of Gay and Lesbian Studies, itself a product of the period that saw the birth of interdisciplinary studies programs such as Women’s Studies and Ethnic Studies. However, queer theory takes a radically different approach to identity than other theories about identity. Unlike most other

identity-based studies, and even in contrast to some queer studies, queer theory specifically seeks to question the idea of identity itself.

One concept that is central to the project of queer theory is the essentialism vs. social construction debate. The essentialist perspective relies on the argument that identities are inherent and fixed. For example, an essentialist position would argue that the binary of man/woman is legitimate, that those identities are natural and that the differences between them are likewise natural. Social construction, on the other hand, argues that identity has no basis in nature and is constructed entirely by social forces and discourse. While essentialism takes as its starting point a fixed identity and then analyzes how society as a whole impacts and is impacted by people with that identity, social construction argues against the fixed identity, claiming instead that identity is continually constructed and reconstructed by social forces.

Perhaps the best known queer theorist is Judith Butler, a professor at Berkeley. Her book *Gender Trouble* has achieved some degree of success unusual for an academic text. Due to the popularity of her work, Butler is a large influence on queer theory. One of her major contributions is the idea of gender performativity. For Butler, gender is a collective fiction that consists of the aggregated performances of individuals. People act according to this fiction to perform their

gender. Individuals are punished for acting contrary to this fiction, either by law or by social norms. Butler also counters the traditional understanding of sex as biological and gender as social by arguing that outside of gender, sex has no meaning and is thus equally socially constructed.

various identities. Capitalism represents a force that, by its nature, seeks to commodify human relationships and identities. Capital also plays a central role in the ideology of the family, which has become central to mainstream political debate. Social oppression is abundant, with extralegal

Queer theory can thus be seen as a deconstruction of identity itself, specifically in the case of sex and gender but with broader implications. However, these broader implications are often lost because of the degree to which queer theory is an academic pursuit, with all the disadvantages that come with this status. Notably, the language used by many theorists is very inaccessible, and the works themselves are difficult to find. Queer theory also tends towards elitism, precisely because there is little chance to study or theorize outside specific academic contexts. I do not believe that we ought to discard queer theory, however; instead I hope to see queer theory break out of the academy with its lessons and debates becoming a part of general discourse.

## **Anarchism**

Queer theory brings a critical approach to questions of gender and sexuality, as well as identity in a broader sense. However, as theory it is not explicitly anarchist. Given that my aim is to offer a framework for anarchist queer theory, I wish to make clear the operating principles of anarchism that I will be basing my framework on. What follows is not a final definition of anarchism, nor is it an attempt at one. Instead, I will give a basic explanation of anarchism in order to provide a basis for the rest of this essay.

Anarchism aims for the abolition of hierarchy and authority, placing anarchists against the state, against capitalism, and against social oppression. While all three systems act in different (yet overwhelmingly complementary) ways, queer theory is relevant to anarchist critique of each. State power, for example, regulates and criminalizes

**the LGBT movement seeks to construct a coalition of defined identities in order to participate fully in the political process.**

violence against queer people common, as well as discrimination and general intolerance.

This is admittedly a very basic description of anarchism, and in no way represents the breadth or depth of anarchist analysis. However, a more detailed explanation would require venturing into debates that are well beyond the scope of this essay. Resources are widely available for those desiring more information about anarchist thought and anarchist theory.

## **Identity and Identity Politics**

Queer theory, as mentioned above, is critical of traditional notions of identity, and seeks to deconstruct the processes by which identity is constructed. The conflict of anti-assimilationist queer thought against assimilationist LGBT politics is a shining example of the relevance of queer theory. Assimilationism, in a queer context, is represented by the campaigns of mainstream, reformist organizations. Issues such as gay marriage, ending Don't Ask, Don't Tell, and advocating for hate crime laws are at the top of the LGBT agenda, according to groups such as the Human Rights Campaign (HRC), National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, and Marriage Equality USA. This, along with cultural assimilation in the form of corporate-sponsored Pride parades, demonstrates a commitment to

embracing the statist logic of citizenship and rights, as well as the capitalist commodification of culture. Assimilationism, then, seeks integration into capitalism and state power in exchange for being loyal subjects. The LGBT movement is thus, on the whole, an assimilationist effort.

The anti-assimilationist critique of the LGBT movement begins with the difference in terminology. The term LGBT is fundamentally about establishing a fixed identity for representational purposes. This is evident even in its historical progression from lesbian and gay, then adding bisexuality, and finally adding trans to the acronym. Each of these additions was met with resistance by the gay establishment, demonstrating the exclusionary nature of the term. Queer, on the other hand, is a purposefully ambiguous term that was reclaimed as a positive description instead of the slur that it used to be.

As indicated by the terminology, the LGBT movement seeks to construct a coalition of defined identities in order to participate fully in the political process. This requires identities whose definition can be counted on to remain stable, in order to give rights or take them away. Queer theory consciously rejects the idea of fixed identities, with queer itself being a term that deliberately provides no stable identity. Thus, queer liberation has little to do with the LGBT movement's goal of assimilation and their narrow identity politics.

### **Towards anarchist queer theory**

Queer theory, as an academic pursuit, has followed a different trajectory than other academic studies based on identity (ethnic studies, women's studies, among others) in that queer theory developed in the academy, rather than developing out of mass struggle. Because of this, queer theory has largely remained in the academy instead of spreading into the general population. However, the confinement of queer theory to the ivory tower is not total. Indeed, within anarchist circles certain concepts have become fairly popular. The prime example of this is the notion of genderqueer and the larger critique of the gender binary. Drawing from Butler's

theory of performativity, being genderqueer indicates a refusal of the traditional male/female dichotomy, as gender is constructed according to one's individual desire.

However, there are also aspects of queer theory that deserve a critical examination, and lead to further questions. One such aspect is the individualism of performativity, as it mainly analyzes an individual's gender identity in relation to the collective fiction of gender that is imposed. The question that is then prompted is, if gender is a collective fiction used to control people, then how do we as anarchists abolish this tool of domination? Is an individual-based approach enough, or is collective action required?

Another issue is the essentialism vs. social construction dichotomy, which has become oversimplified. While the philosophical basis of essentialism is clearly problematic, does that mean analysis using fixed categories is equally problematic? Can the state be seen as

**Queer...is a purposefully ambiguous term that was reclaimed as a positive description instead of the slur that it used to be.**

an essentializing force, with queer theory then analyzing the relation of those essentialized to the state and simultaneously seeking to subvert the very process of essentialization?

I hope to see the development of anarchist queer theory to discuss these questions, among others. While there are inherent challenges to this project, given the academic nature of queer theory, such theory has much to offer anarchist theory and practice. Indeed, even in the limited ways that it has already reached anarchist thought, it has proven liberating and useful. I hope that this essay serves as a starting point for further discussion and debate around the topic.



# Building A Full Struggle: Against Capitalism, Against Hierarchy

Capitalism sets up certain groups and what it creates a set of criteria about what it means to look like and be part of different social groups. Based on this, ideas are formed about people and relations stem from this. We need to create different ways of viewing each other and breaking out of these constraining stereotypes. However, while we start and continue to identify and relate to each other differently, all of us need to understand that no matter how our identify ourselves and start to relate to each other differently that we still live under capitalism and we are still treated differently according to how we are viewed by the system. In order to overcome capitalist relations we need to relate across differences but not devalue the oppression people face in capitalism. To fight capitalism and hierarchical oppression we must identify ourselves and start to relate in new ways. Part of the movement to do this focuses on the labels we use and reclaiming them. For

example, folks self identify as queer, dyke and gay. Queer is a political title that allows people to reclaim an identity and form a community around shared values and building toward relations between people that are outside of capitalist thought and not commoditized.

We must transform the way queer communities talk about ourselves and how oppression against our communities is framed by the heterosexual majority. Using Homophobia and Transphobia makes it seem like there is such a thing as a phobia of these groups, which isn't the case. They are oppressed groups under a capitalist and hierarchical society. Both of these ideologies go hand in hand with all other oppressed groups and should be called out as Heterosexism and Cissexism. If we can start to call out Heterosexism and Cissexism as they are it will help towards developing new ways of interacting with each other and develop a language we

can use to work with others in a capitalist system to end these oppressions and the idea that these oppressions are a phobia.

Movements with half-analysis end up harming the very groups they are claiming to help. In this way any queer and womyn's movement that doesn't address the roots of patriarchy is, by default, oppression for certain womyn and queer communities. The whole cycle of capitalism and colonialism needs to be addressed for a queer movement to gain any ground. This is a large project, so each group's form of fighting patriarchal capitalism will be much different. The reconnecting of producing and consuming are vital to the developing of a global understanding of the reality of queer and womyn's lives that stem from these myths of capitalism.

By laying out these ideas I am attempting to prove that if we try to move forward without a full analysis we end up harming ourselves and reinforcing the things that we claim to be fighting.

Without a heterosexism analysis one can't fight sexism, without a gender analysis, one can't fight racism, without a race analysis one can't fight sexism or heterosexism and without all of these one will not be able to fight classism or capitalism.

**I am attempting to prove that if we try to move forward without a full analysis we end up harming ourselves and reinforcing the things that we claim to be fighting.**

## **Radical Queers:**

Bash Back! News: [bashbacknews.wordpress.com](http://bashbacknews.wordpress.com)

Black and Pink: [blackandpink.org](http://blackandpink.org)

Gender Mutiny: [gendermutiny.wordpress.com](http://gendermutiny.wordpress.com)

Queer Zine Archive Project: [qzap.org](http://qzap.org)

BB! Legal Defense Fund: [bashbacklegal.weebly.com](http://bashbacklegal.weebly.com)

Bash Back! Infinity: [bashbackinfinty.wordpress.com](http://bashbackinfinty.wordpress.com)

Fierce and Fabulous Krew: [queers519.wordpress.com](http://queers519.wordpress.com)

## **Anarchy:**

Anarchist News: [anarchistnews.org](http://anarchistnews.org)

Infoshop: [infoshop.org](http://infoshop.org)

Modesto Anarcho: [modestoanarcho.org](http://modestoanarcho.org)

Little Black Cart: [littleblackcart.com](http://littleblackcart.com)

Fire to the Prisons: [firetotheprisons.com](http://firetotheprisons.com)

The Anarchist Library: [theanarchistlibrary.org](http://theanarchistlibrary.org)

Libcom: [libcom.org](http://libcom.org)

Zine library: [zinelibrary.info](http://zinelibrary.info)

Tacoma Anarchist Network: [tan.anarchyplanet.org](http://tan.anarchyplanet.org)

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

Pink and Black Attack #1-4 (available on [zinelibrary.info](http://zinelibrary.info))

Anarchism, Heterosexism, and Secular Religions

Towards a Gay Communism

**PINK AND BLACK DISTRO**  
queer autonomy. queer liberation  
[pinkandblackattack@riseup.net](mailto:pinkandblackattack@riseup.net)