

...for a faggot anti-fascism!

June 2011. The squares are crowded. The people? The people left their couches and took to the streets. Debate. Fermentation. Direct democracy. The people got to acquaint themselves with the real, human face of anarchy rather than with that portrayed in the 8 o'clock news. Those days were a rupture. From there onwards we would “storm into the sky”. The cops spoiled the party. The repressive pigs. With the Israeli tear gas.¹ At that point, then, a bit before storming the skies, an awkward moment was due. It was the first and only time – it is true – that we set foot in Syntagma square. It was when on the 4th June 2011, the gay pride parade run into the 'indignados'. Given that it was summer, the coldness of the encounter had something beautiful. A celebration of homosexual pride was encountering a circus of national moaning and it was logical to expect some discontent on the part of the latter. But this text won't talk about such easy to prove point: the widespread racism of Greek society against non-heteronormatives. We want, instead, to address the field of homophobia within anti-fascism, an immediate concern for us. Not to argue why it is not in our interest to maintain it. Besides, who is 'us'? We would just like to elucidate it and put different foundations in the whole debate, our foundations.

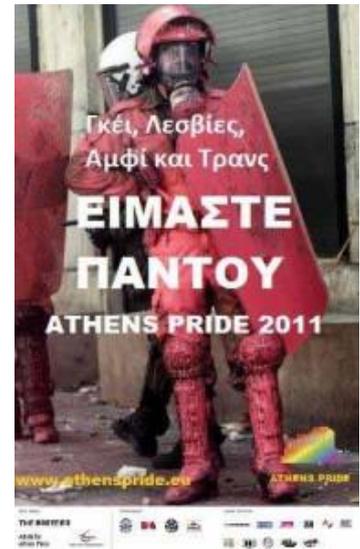
No one would be surprised were we to reiterate the view that many stereotypes, prejudices and hate ideas have survived from the middle ages, and even prior to that, to the late 19th century and down to the 21st century. Hate travels, generally speaking. What is different, however, in how this hate is territorialized today, as opposed to the 19th century, is its wildly increasing nomadism. A prejudice that would stay confined within a certain geographical area, not for other reason than the lack of means for it to spread further, today is uncontrollably disseminated. Even the most remote of villages or towns can stay tuned with what is contemporary in hate fashion, which usually goes hand-in-hand with the dominant forgetfulness. In the market of stereotypes – those hand-in-hand with forgetfulness – we have noticed that the psychologization of fascism (and hence of fascists) has a prominent place, as well, consequently, as the production of racist towards homosexuals views. We refer to *the 'idea' that fascists are possessed by a repressed homosexual desire*. In a second turn, that they are possessed (supposedly) by such desire, has direct relevance to what they do, which characterizes them as 'fascists', that is, the violence they exercise. Can we make this more clear? This is not a marginal idea; by contrast, it constitutes a major 'theory' of subjectification of fascism. It has been spoken about, it has been disseminated, it has been sung:

In the security corps of some official
my gay psyche shall be hidden,
my teacher who hit me, I won't accuse,
as my stick now will be permanently hard

[Policemania, Babylona hip-hop band, 1999]

¹ This is a reference to a conspiracy theory, widespread among greek leftists according to which the greek police buys its tear gas from...Israel.

It has lately been depicted too.



It has been depicted so as to draw on widespread patriarchal and hetero-sexist models of Greek society, align with them, in order – supposedly – to attack fascism. But what anger can one show against the fascists, if, in order to do so, one has to mobilize mechanisms of exclusion/stigmatization of some 'different' in this society, of the 'faggots'? Is it that in order to hate the neonazis we need in our armoury the worse ideas borrowed from marxism and psychoanalysis: namely, that the muscles of fascists is but a façade to hide their repressed sexuality? Yet again, we are confronted with a leftist metaphysics and, crucially, with their racism against non-heteronormatives. Even, if the or some of the fascists are 'faggots', so what? Is this a complementary allegation or one that is tied up to their fascism?

Clearly, we are talking about a (straight) myth that likes to assert itself also from the 'left'. The hypocrisy consists in the following: when the fascist threatens to coerce the homosexual, he is said to be but a 'repressed homosexual', but when he does indeed exert violence against a lesbian representative of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) in the parliament, then it was *her fault* – being member of KKE, being a member of the parliament, or more cynically, “we don't care”.

This 'antifascist' behaviour should be listed among prominent 'antifascist' arguments that criticize neonazis for not being 'consistent' national socialists. One should be able to understand that this is surely *not* antifascism.

When someone approaches national socialism as a body of ideas – rather than a huddle of murder instincts – and criticizes it in terms of consistency or otherwise (some examples: (the fascists) are illiterate, they can't write, they are in the mafia, their leader has dark skin etc.), one is simultaneously making the first step toward relativizing and transacting with the 'murderer': Let's talk about it, boy, but such language skills won't get you far...Such strategy, we should understand – and the faster the better – especially those among us who are potentially preys for the neonazis or such 'antifascists' – that the latter and the arguments they put into use, only coincidentally are on our side, using the etiquette 'antifascism' and hegemonizing it with stigmatizing and racist, of course, views. But because antifascism – at least as organized and collective – means to desire to pass from the position of the potential victim to that of the potential perpetrator against your executioners, we are forced to write these words here not only in order to clarify our position on the matter but also in

order to make clear to those aligned with us, that they have no interest in being part of an antifascism that is not at least proud to be gay (and all other evils). Finding some of these historical-ideological threads of the ideation we discuss here would be useful in order to uncover the historical trajectory of the myth and thus to making it available for critical examination.

More and more we find in the discourse of idiot, *apolitik* bloggers or even – as an innuendo – in radical discourses what was concretely expressed by Babylona, that old hip-hop (low bap) band, in the lyric we cited at the beginning of this text and which talks about the gay mentality of cops. Already the term mentality stinks of biologization and more broadly the generalization the song makes appears to perform an illegitimate comparison between homosexual desire and (fantasies) of power. The said track can often be heard during anarchist or leftist public events or indeed in parties, seeing as it's considered to be one of the most successful anti-cop songs. It is thus that the suspect lyric goes unnoticed, or, better, absolutely legitimated. Besides, the generically straight audience as well as the community of the radical scene doesn't seem to bother all that much.

If the whole controversy was really about a song, the thing would be relatively simple: do you play the song or not, after one has complained? Everyone knows where they stand in the controversy, that is, either with or against hetero-sexism.ⁱ Unfortunately, the controversy exceeds the significance of a single track. The stereotype suggesting that whoever exerts power – mostly fascists and cops – is a homosexual who represses his sexual desire, which, in turn, reverts to an opposite drive and materializes in a desire for domination over others, and perhaps, in a desire for someone else dominating over the self, is fairly disseminated also *within* the radical scene – even if the analytical background of the myth is not denoted with equal clarity. Correlatively, the 'faggot cop' is not only a lyric by terror-x-crew, but also a common understanding and insult addressed to cops [and fascists].ⁱⁱ *Athens Indymedia* itself allows in its electronic chat rooms insults of the sort ('faggots') against Golden Dawn or Michaloliakos himself.ⁱⁱⁱ These attacks against fascists by way of feminizing them, that is, by using classical strategies of hegemonic masculinities when the latter attempt to denigrate, humiliate and isolate other masculinities, making them feel shame(?) or fear(?). What one comes around to here is to attribute to homosexual desire the drive and motive of an invisible fascist. Thus, not only homosexual desire does the work of stigmatization of someone who may as well be as heterosexist as the rest of society, but also desire as stigma is articulated in the equation 'gay'='fascist'. Very convenient, right? So, the heterosexual desire appearing to be dominant and majoritarian (including in leftist, radical spaces) today, we should conclude that it has something to do with the healthy sexuality of the antifascist(?) Again, the heteros as the only 'healthy'.

The revival of these hetero-myths appears to have peaked during the previous decade, after the brief triumphs and deaths of two fascist european leaders who were homosexual: Georg Haider in Austria and openly homosexual, Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands. Immediately, two or ten fascists who happened to be homosexual gave the opportunity to some to identify homosexuality with the fascist persona and to link it with what we mildly call 'totalitarianism'. No thoughts, naturally, about the vast majority of fascist or otherwise parliamentarians who openly identify as hetero- and, indeed, act politically upon their sexual identity...(e.g Berlusconi, Sarkozy, and in our backyard, the 99% of...political men). For instance, suffice to think that this mafia-style berlusconism, recently played out in Italy, is in fact a very consistent straight politics, following dominant straight models, portraying the 'first man' of the country to flirt and develop his relationship to the italian prostitution industry. But these are mere details...

Historical Overview

Even myths, however, have their own ideological sources and ends in radical (including antifascist)

thought: in Freud, Maoism and perhaps in most, if not all, shades of communist parties from that of Che in Cuba to the contemporary, law-abiding communists of KKE.^{iv} Here, we don't have the space to search the sources of this stereotype without having to write a whole intellectual history of the left during the first half of the 20th century and – why not? – part of the 19th century (for instance, Engels' writings on the family).

Beyond the diffuse heterosexist 'mood' that characterized many of these trends and their sources, the stereotype all of whom align with appears to be that fascism, as a social (totalitarian) formation, and homosexuality, as... psychological trait, both constitute signs of the decadence of late modern capitalism.

From the Marxist perspective: whilst fascism is interpreted as the spearhead of capitalism, the last resort of the bourgeois class in order to scare off the working class, and whilst homosexuality comes across as a bourgeois quality of alienation from the human (proletarian) essence, it is not difficult to understand how antifascism was articulated with the hate against homosexuals.

Stalinism or maoism are historical channels that accepted this bundle of myths to run through them. As they did with all those rivers of blood. It could have been other ones. And there were other ones. In capitalist, liberal – otherwise – West. The aim was common. Taking on the homosexuals. And eliminating them. This alignment between capitalism and existing socialism, or even, if you like, between protestants and catholics in Ireland, shows that what was historically sedimented as homophobia, played a social cohesion role even during periods in which the social bodies were divided for a thousand other reasons.

This of course tells us, generally speaking, that the relationship between homosexuality and the bourgeois class is co-extensive to the relationship between homosexuality and fascism. Historically, by contrast, common imaginary trajectories appear to characterize the normalization of the heterosexual scale (and the consequent hate for the 'other', the non-straight, the non-family man) and the blossoming of the capitalist economic system with its various subjects (the 'entrepreneur', the 'worker' etc.) but fascism, as well, in its defence of the 'holy family' (and heterosexual reproduction). In other words, if homosexuality was 'discovered' in the early years of capitalism, this was because during these very years heterosexuality was also discovered. In other eras and societies, the distinction between homosexuality and heterosexuality was not operative, there was no need to come up with those terms. The West is complicit there. The truth is that this text focuses more on those who, being within the West, launch some critique to it. And of course, since the latter – those who see themselves as belonging to the left and antifascism – have created and implemented their own stereotypes. Alas with the homosexuals who didn't/don't want to overthrow capitalism! Alas with the victims of fascism who don't endorse the marxist or any other theology.

Fascists aren't any crypto-fags, they are the lackeys of heterosexuality!^v

Let us be reminded that the nazis began to fill the lagers with German homosexuals and Austrian men since 1933 – and with greater intensity from 1937 onwards – where they had to wear the infamous 'pink triangle' on their uniform. Paradoxically (?), during the same, approximately, period Maxim Gorky was writing, in a re-affirming way: 'if all homosexuals are eliminated, then fascism will be eliminated as well' (1934).^{vi}

Years later and before the so-called 'night of the big knives', it was the SS again who, in the course of an attempted extermination of the SA from the power apparatus, invoked as an allegation the latter's homosexuality. This shows clearly that, in this 'scene', homosexuality as a sin would not be... forgiven. On 30 June 1934, Hitler arrested the leader of the SA (Sturmabteilung) Ernst Röhm. SA

was a para-state/military organization within the national socialist party that played a big role in Hitler's consolidation of his power. That night a wave of executions of SA leaders began, as well as mass arrests of its members throughout Germany. Röhm, finally, was executed on 1 July 1934 after protracted controversies over the role of the SA in the Third Reich on issues relating to the economy and its antagonism with the SS.^{vii} The executions were fed to the public as a result of the SA's conspiracy and homosexuality which 'undermined the healthy German people' (We should add that during national socialism, the "allegation" of homosexuality" was often used in order to justify the elimination of any given enemies):

The worst, however, is that due to a particular common predisposition, there began in SA the formation of a group, which not only constituted a conspiratorial core against the normal understandings about the health of the people but also a core against state security

[Hitler in Reichstag during a speech addressing these executions]

note: The Nazis, as much as the left did, used the term 'predisposition' (German: 'Veranlagung') to characterize homosexuality.

All that not only did it *not* lead the left – which until then was talking about a 'Third Reich of homosexuals' – to change its perspective on homosexuality, but the exact opposite happened! The German left criticized Hitler after the 'Night of the Big Knives', accusing him of 'hypocrisy' for not executing them all. They accused him of inconsistency, that is! To prove it, what's more, they gave Hitler names of homosexual Nazis or those homosexuals who ought to have been executed. Thus, the German left in a moment of affirming consistency proved itself to be more eager for heterosexist action than for antifascist (informed antifascist readers will see how few things have changed since then).

We shall give but a few examples from the plethora of texts by the exiled antifascist left:

Yes, then, should all the homosexuals have been displaced from the leadership of the SA, nothing but the pity-full remainder of a small group of people would remain, and, yes, even though the paragraph § 175 is in effect,^{viii} Minister Hess remains Hitler's vice-president, yes, Baldur von Schirach is up to date the leader of the youth, yes, Mr. Kaufmann is still the commander of Hamburg, Helmut Bruckner is still the highest president in Breslau, Koslo up to date leader of the SA in Liegnitz...Hence, yes, it is generally known that the members of the German theatre, only then could they follow a career in the theatre, that is, only if they have the 'unfortunate predisposition' of the 3rd Reich; yes, within Hitler's youth terrible situations are taking place and thousands of youth groups are but schools of homosexuality.

[in the social democrat newspaper of the exiled German antifascists, *Neue Vorwärts*]

'A fat, female type with analogous preferences', the communist official Heinz Pol was writing about the Nazi Baldur von Schirach.

And when despite publicizing the names no executions took place:

Today some insist, the press abroad has forwarded loud and clear to the German Chancellor, the names of those for whom it holds that they enjoy the same passions today with no hint of shame. All those, however, remain in their posts, proud like never before and full of dignity

[in 'Neue Volks-Zeitung', newspaper of the exiled German antifascists in New York].

Of course with such theoretical foundations of the kind 'homosexuality depicts an enormously strong anchor of the fascist ideology' (Wilhelm Reich), what else could one expect? The aforementioned started to cool down, not when definitively stopped, but when the extermination of thousands of (German and Austrian) homosexuals in the lagers took place. It took, in other words,

thousands of victims for the left to (partly) shut up!

How did those who wanted to change the world speak about homosexuality (just like those who wanted it to remain the same did)?

Like we said in the 'manifesto for an anti-greek antifascism',^{ix} although we do draw on ideology critique (and critical theory) we cannot fully identify with it, because it is insufficient but also because – as a theory that is totalizing – it occasionally ends up being hostile an ideology. Here, we do have a good example of the first steps of critical theory in europe; that is, the attitude that critical theorists (of Frankfurt school) adopted with regard to the dissemination of hetero-myths. The critique against Adorno, Critical Theory and the School, does not aim to prove them to be the 'fathers' of heterosexism, as it is to approach them as another theoretical strand in marxism – a respected and endorsed one – that adopted the heterosexist prejudices that had a lot of currency at the time: in the academia, the marxism of movements and theory, in sociology.^x The scattered comments in the *Dialectics of the Enlightenment* and in *Minima Moralia* are telling in this respect, while Erich Fromm, also a proponent of critical theory, could be severely accused, since in one of his famous texts, following Wilhelm Reich's trajectory, attempted to link homosexuality and fascism.

But if one is to examine the issue, one will understand that heterosexism is one of the bastard children of the marriage between marxism and psychoanalysis, or Marx and Freud: '[man's] love towards the woman breaks the collective bonds of race, national differentiation and class social systems, and, therefore, it produces significant effects as a cultural factor. And it appears that homoerotic love is much more compatible with group bonds, even when it takes the form of uninhibited sexual drives' (Freud, page 123) This however was confirmed by german fascism where the line of division between overt and covert homosexuality, as well as with overt and covert sadism, was much more opaque than in the liberal middle-class', Adorno says, citing the 'father of psychoanalysis'.^{xixii}

The above-mentioned argument is given by Adorno after a specific reference to Freud's theory of projection. The link there is the weakness of the Ego's defence mechanisms to orient themselves towards its repressed elements: 'under the pressure of homosexual aggression, the psychical mechanism forgets its most recent phylogenetic success, self-awareness, and experiences this aggression as the world's enemy that the better Ego must confront' (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1988:202). The authors here interpret homosexuality entirely via Freud, as it happened indeed throughout the '40s. 'The forbidden which transforms into aggression is foremost of homosexual character', they say a while earlier (*Dialectics of Enlightenment*, A& H, 1988: 201). Here, even worse, there is no homosexuality without repressed Oedipal aggression.

In the same book, in the text 'Man and Animal': 'He [man] becomes a woman [weib] that aims at domination [herrschaft]. In the fascist collective, with its groups and labour camps, each and every one since their tender youth is captive in isolation, this is where homosexuality is bred.'^{xixiii}

In the same book, in the text 'Care for the Body' the focus is not on fascism but on the ways in which homosexuality engulfs and transforms the repressions and resentments of the victims.

The 'problem of the heterosexist' continued to survive in the academia and theoretical marxism in particular, with Hans-Jürgen Krahl, Adorno's favourite student. Krahl died in a car accident, a year after Adorno's death, while his doctoral dissertation supervised by 'Teddy' was left unfinished. However, the dissertation was later published unfinished under the title 'Subject Formation and Class Struggle'. The conclusions we'd reach if we read the text could not be limited to theoretical marxism considerations since Krahl was one of the leading figures during the 1968 student

insurrection. In his dissertation Krahl distinguished between the 'good' dialectical thinkers whom he identified with heterosexuality and the 'bad' dialectical thinkers, e.g. Plato, whom he identified with homosexuality.

In the last text, just like the previous ones, we can recognize at least one similarity with Adorno's view on homosexuality as a result of the decadent subjectivity in later capitalism, with the Maoist, European and Asian leftist position, according to which homosexuality was a sign of the declining capitalist society – besides both would draw on the same sources – Reich, Gorky, Engels etc.

Naturally, Adorno himself never did he applaud or endorse violence against individuals, as widely as Maoists and Leninists in Russia or Che Guevara supporters did on the other side of the Atlantic. And among the latter, there were distinctions and differentiations since as we know Che was interning Cuban homosexuals, Maoists were executing them in China during the Cultural Revolution, while in the Soviet Union there is no evidence of mass targeting. Adorno came to differentiate himself from active measures against homosexuality when in the end of the '60s he wrote an article in which he was putting pressure towards abolishing the notorious paragraph § 175, that is, the aforementioned German law penalizing homosexuality – a rather common position however among the leftist and/or progressive intellectuals in Germany at the time. In the final analysis though, even in this text, Adorno succumbed to biologizations and naturalizations of homosexuals seeing them as particularly intelligent neurotics who, as children, had 'identified' with their mothers!^{xiv}

It'd be no news were we to claim that the aforementioned legacy of the Maoist and Marxist heterosexism has been transmitted to and registered by the legal and lawful, Greek antifascist left. Further, if we were to say that the Greek male population is a macho and heterosexist population, again, you wouldn't be surprised. No wonder. In a society, besides, where from birth, whatever different is resolutely 'foreign', the history of racism against non-heteronormatives has yet to be written. The recent developments in this sewer where the neo-Nazis acquired parliamentary voice will have a negative impact on this issue as well – we see more heterosexist stupidities figuring and we bet that most of them will remain unchallenged by the many (the non-Nazis). Let us not forget what we mentioned earlier, namely, that the racism against non-heteronormatives, even in certain regimes and grave social conditions, has perhaps been the only issue bridging the difference between utterly opposite fractions and camps, e.g. during the hot decades of the 20th century in Northern Ireland, where Catholics and Protestants despite spilling blood on the streets were historically in agreement when it came to their attitude towards criminalizing homosexuality.

Thus – having national and heterosexist cohesion in the background – not many will be surprised by the views of *Rizospastis* [KKE official newspaper] on homosexuals in Greece being capitalist by-products, while simultaneously judging the gay movement in the US to be an egoistic movement of 'well-being and personal gratification', of the Egos, that is, that capitalism breeds.^{xv}

Unfortunately, we saw this implicitly and in an autonomous version with a sticker by Antifa Lab (2012) where the aim is to stigmatize the so-called 'individualism', 'idiocy', or, like we've read it before, 'the declining subjectivity in capitalism', with the use of metaphors portraying homosexuality as symptomatic of the above-mentioned. [...]

We heard it a million times in an anarchist version as well: the objections to the gay pride in Athens and the indignant questions: 'Why shouldn't we have a straight pride?', ignoring (?) the fact that every day is a straight pride? No, it is not ignorance. What really annoys with this pride, its gayness, is its carnivalesque outlook. Too much dance, boy. We are reminded of the consumerist well-being and it doesn't match the anarchist bible. Unlike when we 'shop' from brothels, of course.

Antisemitism and Heterosexism

Since we talked about well-being, we need to interject another chapter at this point. As you may know, stereotypes – just like professional killers – they frequent together. Just as they hang out, then, and converse, they ferment with each other, exchange experiences and promote themselves with fresh thrust. Two such views – glued together with the concern about well-being – that are met in company of each other are antisemitism and heterosexism.

Consistent antisemites and heterosexists, upholders of the leftist tradition, are always able to tell what bothers them about homosexuality. The role of the link will be recognized by the experienced reader in the envy of pleasure, or, in other words, in the indictment of hedonism, identified (by the heterosexist as well as the antisemite) with the essence of heterosexuality as well as with that of jewish-ness. Such legacy and instincts of the good old left, of course, are no longer monopolized by it today.

Neither racism, however, escapes this connection. It is said that in early 1990s germany, after invading and burning African refugee encampments, the local national socialists, were *ex post facto* justifying themselves by stating in the media that “these negroes were dancing and raving uninhibited last night”. One would face insurmountable difficulties in interpreting such statements, had one exclusively class analysis as one's antifascist tool. Because here we are clearly talking about psychical benefits from attacking the 'foreigners'. 'They steal our enjoyment', it sounds like the nationalists and racist are screaming out.

But is not an analogous case that of the jews being depicted with big, fat bellies, eating up the dollars of 'their' banks? Is there no correspondence to the critique against gays whose alleged deficiency is their easy life? In any case, can they, those Others, celebrate without permission from the straight, christian majority? Hedonism constitutes a derogation in christianity – this is well-known. More so in a nation (the greek one?) that has learned to live with melancholy and the perception of (any real or imaginary) trauma as a core of its national ideology. Such an ugly link between heterosexism and antisemitism occurred during last year's gay pride in Athens [04/06/2011] when nationalists showed up opposite Klauthmonos square with a banner denouncing the 'global jewish domination'(sic). Where does the banner fit the picture, some would ask. But, naturally, when such hedonistic celebrations spring spontaneously from within segments of the national population, anyone – only by virtue of one belonging to the nation – ought to uprising. What, then, were these folks doing opposite Klauthmonos square? They were enjoying their nation in attempting to cancel a homosexual (and of course jewish, in the sense that jews have brought hedonism about) celebration of pride.

It thus turns out, inversely, that is, that for us a particular aspect of antifascism should be to embrace the right to pleasure. Defending, on the one hand, its natural and intellectual integrity, and on the other, struggling for this inalienable right. We should not be deluded. This struggle acquires representative and pioneering character for any individual, group or scene that wants to enjoy something that is being denied to them, either religions or resurrection '-isms'. In the map of enjoyment, we would like to have a minimal contribution, adding the hunt for fascists, since it procures relief, joy and in the long run, happiness. Other problems such as muscular inertia or arthritis are thereby equally addressed. At this point, we think, there is a happy coincidence of two kinds of pleasure.

Greek, Straight and Leftist (how does he manage?)

We've said that the greek ideology has its particularities. But far from rarely it does draw on the rest

of the european sewer in order to enrich its ugly values. It is recently – basically, during the last five years – and with great intensity especially after the unruly demonstration by muslim immigrants about the *Qu'ran* – that murmurs stemming from the left and right about certain european, they say, values of tolerance and other politically correct stuff started to be violated by Imams and patriarchal muslims. The play was partly successful previously, in the context of the debate on the bill about citizenship: the insightful question posed at the time by modest democratic voices was the following: can muslims become greeks?

During these beautiful moments when hellas was remembering its european past, present and future, muslims were reconstructed so as to justify the whip on their backs by the police, by mafia in Manoladas, and of course, by a big segment of greek society itself. We are not prophets, but it is hardly any difficult to see how this “trump” of culture against islam shall be pulled off in the future too, even lagging behind nearly a decade in comparison to the american-european predicament. Yet again, leftists (and their ideological tails) are expected to give 'culture lessons'. It is possible, indeed, after making sure that muslim migrants are 'homophobic', to integrate homosexuality in their colourful festivals. Good times ahead.

It is worth for the careful antifascist to keep in mind some of these things, some of these ideological developments, to mark their location in the map, to put them down in their diary and to remember when they evolved, how and why. It is equally worthwhile for the careful antifascist to keep in their mind how the new immigrants from Asian and African countries, without having greek heterosexist 'education' and 'culture',^{xvi} the first years of their presence here, would become the targets of heterosexist bashing because they would hold hand in public, in Athens or Salonica, or because they had different outfit (for instance, skirt-like outfit in the place of trousers) and some of them had grown up with different models – which they were making manifest – as to what constitutes a relationship (and friendship) between men.^{xvii} And it is worthwhile writing about and reflecting on these things, even in a suggestive manner, just for the sake of anthropological recording, because you never know what monsters will be bred by the greek crowd and if the immigrants from Asian and African countries will be coerced into changing their non-heteronormative habits. We hope this won't be case. That's because at some point, in the confines of this geographical area, others too shall be able to live: non-greeks, non-leftists, non-straight. We somehow have to survive too; and, thus, Greece will have to die.

'Standing up against the fascist'. The subjective dimension

Our previous discussion about antifascism, and partly the kind of antifascism we have inherited, that is, based on heterosexism and its myths, forces us to debate the possibility of creating or re-enforcing another antifascism. An antifascism whose aggression is not based on machismo but on the equal and collective organization of the many. But also an antifascism whose conscience, and, hence, its subjective dimension, the anger, is not fed by heterosexual fantasies (who fucks whom for instance, or who is more of a ...pussy), but perhaps by a useful resentment, the desire for retribution for the victims of fascism worldwide, taking up the moral duty to not let repeat – since it has already happened – the Shoah, passing, as mentioned previously, from the state of being a victim to that of becoming the perpetrator against our executioners etc.

Regarding the question of organization there is not much to say here. Smaller or larger groups will find a lot of basic work to share; boys and girls, boygirls and what not, in the hunt for fascists. No one, regardless of gender or sexuality, is dispensable. Similar to how no one (macho) is indispensable. The muscles and the violence of one or twenty, besides, are trumped by the strategic thinking and organization of the many (or the few at times). The brochure we published in January 2011 with antifascists from north europe was targeting precisely there: at the exchange of

experiences and views amongst different antifascist groups.

Acting in an antifascist manner, as individuals and in collaborations (more or less in an *ad hoc* basis), we found many who have fought fascism by all means available. And we did take pleasure in that, even though we didn't always begin from the same political starting point. And yet, we find ourselves admitting that the 'views' or the content, as we say, is not simply an *epiphenomenon*, a smokescreen, that will always and necessarily converge at the same practical end, wherever one begins from. We were saying, for instance, in an older text, that in antifascism the autonomy of its identity should be recognized and strived for, that is to say, it has to be seen and fought for regardless of ideological -isms (anarchisms, communisms etc.) which would confine it bound by a totalizing and self-enclosed theory of reality.

We were also saying that the antifascism we endorse is seen as autonomous in practice – besides it being practical antifascism – in the sense that we see it as independent from party stilts and revolutionary visions, and linked more with action and our feelings, an aid to survival. We just don't like fascists, to put it crudely, and this is not bound to change in the course of this brief (in terms of temporality) life.

This content we fill antifascism with is slightly different from what we have observed elsewhere. This is why, from the standpoint we speak, it is equally important to highlight the content of this antifascism, in the sense of the autonomy of our discourse. This is why we go on to put forth such audacious a claim (and 'feminine' from the point of view Greek anarchists and leftists), namely, the recognition of our sentiments as a building block of our actions, as well as the sharpening of our feelings, like the anger we feel, stemming from the valuable memories we carry (here the slogans 'we are the grandchildren of communists/immigrants...' are of relevance). The recognition and material mobilization of these sentiments, our anger, our hate, as well as our empathy for victims, has been the fruit of our own effort...even if we were to fail, we would like at least to have enjoyed and take some pleasure.

Simultaneously, however, we understand that there can be no anger in the absence of some knowledge (from experience or otherwise) of fascist and neofascist crimes. This is the responsibility of each one individually and of groups of which we form part. This is also the point of auto-education and of studying the dark pages of this country's history and of fascism in general.

On the other hand, even when there is plain anger, and even if it can be helpful by itself, we are saying that there is something we can do with collectively, some way in which we can manage it, so that it won't crash us all like individual units experiencing their loneliness in the 'era of pogroms'.

In that sense only do we believe that working through this anger could help when fear becomes overwhelming. In that sense, the anger and the experiences of 'others' could find a common denominator with the anger of a collective antifascism.^{xviii}

The self-evident particularity of this antifascism is thus – as it has been made clear above – that those people who have become the targets of fascists take part in it. That is to say, the diversity of its constituent parts is not determined by us, but by fascists themselves as they have a lot of enemies. What we would only like to determine is that this platform presupposes a single criterion: mutual respect and respect for the difference of its members. For instance, there is no place here for a heterosexist antifascist, nor for a islamophobe gay, nor for an antisemite anarchist etc.

From this vantage point we can recognize our own angry exemplars, not only in the practical effects of a couple of punches landing on fascists' heads, but in the affective origin and collective identification with our own 'saint' antifascists. What do we mean by that? Drawing on the

experience of the revolutionary history is not indeed difficult to come across any brilliant examples of people in the past, who, although they did not submit to the authority of party flags, managed to clean their neighborhoods from fascists during harsh times. It is our duty here to make a brief historical-biographical reference, thus ending this text by talking about such a guy, a hairdresser in fact, not a bodybuilder, nor a builder, because he passed away a few months ago from leukaemia.

The famous entrepreneur Vidal Sassoon was born to jewish parents in Hammersmith, London. His father, Jack Sassoon was from Thessaloniki, and his mother was from a family of jewish migrants from spain. At the age of 17 he was too young to fight in WWII, as he wished, and so he became the youngest member of the *43 Group*, a secret organization of jewish veterans. He fought against antisemitism, also after the war, disrupting fascist events in east london, one of the famous 'capitals' of jewish socialist workers. His favourite weapon in antifascist physical battles was the tool of his work: his scissors. An english newspaper referred to him once as the 'antifascist fighter-hairdresser' whose aim was to prevent the far-right movement of Sir Oswald Mosley in the UK to spread after the war. In 1948, aged 20, he voluntarily joined the israeli army and fought in the war, after the arabs refused to accept the founding of the state of israel, When he built his company, part of his income was stremed towards financing the Vidal Sassoon Institute, devoted to researching antisemitism.^{xix} He died on 9 May 2012, on the 67th anniversary of the USSR occupation of Germany.

At the same time somewhere in the gallic village...

While the lawful greek left is considering the best options for denouncing 'combative antifascism' in the streets, and anarchy in greece is thinking about how to exclude all innuendos of gay pride from their antifascism, a rogue state, where the various Sassoons emerged from and/or ended up, still manages to make a pleasant surprise.^{xx}



We hear already the pathetic denunciations of the 'state-murderer' as well as the cries about the capitalist assimilation of homosexuality. Leaving all this behind – and keeping Cacophonix tied up on the tree – we raise the flag of a faggy antifascism...

Antifa Negative, June 2012

i

We have to admit that the term 'homophobia' constitutes a linguistic convention, just like other terms, such as 'racism' or 'anti-Semitism' for instance, that tries to systematize conceptually a discriminatory hate and the

disposition to exterminate some on the part of others. It is a linguistic convention that attempts to rationalize and debate the human attitude of a murderer on the basis of particular criteria, traceable only in the framework of a universal (objective) validity. This red line has to be crossed by a gay, for instance, to justify to others that he is indeed being oppressed, ticking the boxes of standard stereotypes. What are we saying here? We are saying that beyond those standard and universally valid and acceptable stereotypes, at least in societies where these have been debated and rejected primarily, and verbally-conceptually restricted, the birth of new 'stereotypes' (murderous 'ideas', discriminatory practices etc.) depends on the unceasing creativity (= destructiveness) of human societies. On the other hand, there is no possibility of an overall rationalization and registration of these as in a 'list of stereotypes'. The notion of 'homophobia' however is for us an 'unhappy' linguistic convention for a second reason too: the second constituent of the word, 'phobos' ['fear'] – just like in the case of 'islamophobia' – it appears to leave some space for understanding the perpetrator as he is not hating or act upon hate, but he is simply afraid, a statement however which is absolutely mystifying and apologetic regarding the being of the potential perpetrator and the sewer of his brain. We prefer to use in our text the term 'hetero-sexism', on the one hand, because it was introduced by the movement of homosexuals itself in the '70s and, on the other, because it foregrounds the active position of the perpetrator. Alternatively, we use the more descriptive 'racism against the non-heteronormative'.

ii The domestic underground music production is full of analogous examples. Indicatively, the tracks 'diafygi' by *Speira* and 'faggot cop' by *Apokaedea*.

iii That in the capital of european radicalism, as it sometimes is referred to,... in Exarcheia, a heterosexist assault took place at a bar a couple of years ago cannot be seen in abstraction from the fact that in indymedia nobody cares to censor ex-members of Golden Dawn who accuse Michaloliakos of being a hypocrite or a not consistent enough national socialist...because they say he is homosexual! It goes to show the limits of tolerance of the radical scene towards racism against non-heteronormatives. And could this attitude be seen in separation from the standard position of Athens Indymedia to abstain from reproducing news about the annual gay pride because the latter is seen as 'institutional' and supported by capitalist firms? 'Capitalism' will be a permanent stigma for gays insofar as it is understood in its antisemitic basis, namely, as 'companies' rather than a 'social relation'. See more in this text.

iv Despite their 'progressive' show, the renewal wing has its outbursts of pure racism against non-heteronormatives. First evidence. Georgios Psarianos interview, (then) member of the parliament with Syriza, when he was declaring 'in some work places there is a network of people who are gay and act in a racist way. I don't want to say names, but it exists. And perhaps I've put it roughly, but I did so to protect these people. I said that I ask the gays, who are sensitive, have humour, have suffered humiliation and persecution, hangings and the crematorium, to see that we won't have after a few years crematoria where gays will be burning the straight. Evidence two. After Dora Mpakogianni stated that the memorandum is criticized in an 'ass-banging' [sneakily], mr. Papadimoulis from Syriza replies to the heterosexist diss by saying 'you are accusing us of sexual perversion!'.

v Special tribute, 'Poustia kai Olethros, 3'.

vi Clauss Mann 'Homosexuality and Fascism' 1934/35 in W. Schwabenborn.

vii By the first anniversary of the arrest of the leader of the SA the penalization of homosexuality was upgraded in the third reich, end of June 1935. See *Legislating Homophobia in the Third Reich: the Radicalization of the Prosecution against Homosexuality by the Legal Profession*, Geoffrey J Gilles, SAGE German History 2005: 23, pp. 339. <http://ghj.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/23/3/339>. There we read that the arrests of homosexuals in the pre-Hitler period were estimated at around 800 per year, during 1937-1940, after Himler took full control of the police the arrests peaked at 95.000.

viii §175: the law criminalizing homosexuality in germany which was fully abolished in 1994 (meanwhile two amendments toward relaxing the law took effect)...we say this so that no one could have illusions about liberal societies etc, Simultaneously, in the German Democratic Republic the same law had been abolished since 1955. In german everyday language homosexuals would be referred to as 'a hundred and seventy-fivers'.

ix A manifesto for an anti-greek antifascism! Antifa, Casa Del Campo, <http://acdc.espivblogs.net/2012/05/30>.

x The following text sheds light on the relation between heterosexism-antifascism and the Frankfurt School. *Between Marxism and Psychoanalysis: antifascism and anti-homosexuality in the Frankfurt School*, *Journal of Homosexuality*, 29:4, November 1995, pp. 295-318.

xi Adorno, T., "Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda", <http://solomon.tinyurl.alexanderstreet.com/cgi-bin/philo/soth/getdoc.pl?10023138-D000019>. The excerpt by Freud that Adorno uses is taken from *Mass Psychology and the analysis of the Ego*, and of course it is one of the most

favourite excerpts of (also marxist and Freudian) André Breton and the Surrealist Movement at large – the specific passage was a main source of inspiration for the latter who saw in heterosexual love a social-liberatory dimension. Let us note that the latter – especially Breton – was vehemently declaring himself anti-homosexual which he identified with and named as 'pedophilia'.

xii Adorno & Horkheimer's passage, similar to the later ones from the German edition of the *Dialectics of Enlightenment*, are cited in *What Happens to Countess Geschwitz? Revisiting Homosexuality in Adorno and Horkheimer*, Kevin S. Amidon, *New York Journal of Sociology*, 2008: 1.

xiii *Dialectics of Enlightenment*, Adorno & Horkheimer, from the Greek edition, 1996: 402.

xiv Here he also seems to draw on Freud, a perspective the latter discusses in his book on Leonardo Da Vinci.

xv 'It is self-evident that no one should be led to execution by virtue of one being different. These pertain to the Middle Ages and to fascists. However, the legal rights for everyone that must be established, should not cover up other, equally sensitive dimensions of the issue, such as those pertaining to duties. To aesthetics and dignity. But also to the present and future of human societies at large. The movement of homosexuals in the US, but also elsewhere – including naturally our country – being as it is a movement for well-being and personal gratification, without taking into consideration other aspects, it progressively transformed itself into a bad-taste, egoistic and anti-aesthetic caricature. [...] Caricatures that offend human beings and their comportment. That part of the movement of homosexuals, together with opportunist political and other actors and individuals who indiscriminately support 'movements' which bring about votes and sympathies, raise issues devoid of any logic or value (marriage, adoptions etc.). Issues, in the final instance, that do not correspond to any need'. In 'This time...discourse on homosexuality', Rizospastis newspaper, 15/01/2009. Available online at: <http://www2.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=4900980&publDate=15/01/2009>.

xvi On 'culture', see the text by Café Morgenland 'From führer's culture to dominant culture', http://cafemorgenland.net/archiv/2012/.2012_03_05_kultur_gr.

xvii See 'Globalizing Homophobia' and 'With Islamophobia against Homophobia?', by Georg Klauda; available online at: <http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2010/klauda081210.html>, <http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2007/klauda121107.html>.

xviii See 'Our Silence covers up our anger', Anthellenikes Ordes Ksenon, <http://ordes.squat.gr>.

xix It thus becomes clear once again why antisemites boycott Jewish businesses: they de-conceal them!

xx Photo-revolution for the IDF! They publicly support homosexual soldiers, 11/06/2012, http://www.newsit.gr/default.php?pname=article&art_id=145115&catid=7