

# TO DESTROY SEXUALITY

GUY HOCQUENGHEM



UNTORELLI PRESS



*UNTORELLI PRESS is a literature production group focusing on critical insurrectional approaches to anarchy.*

[untorellipress.noblogs.org](http://untorellipress.noblogs.org)  
[untorelli\[at\]riseup\[dot\]net](mailto:untorelli@riseup.net)



## TO PUT

ALTHOUGH THE CAPITALIST ORDER APPEARS to be tolerant, it in fact has always controlled life through its expressive, sexual, emotional, and affective aspects, constraining it to the dictates of its totalitarian organization based on exploitation, private property, male dominance, profit, and profitability. It exercises this control under all of its various guises: the family, schools, the workplace, the army, rules, discourse. It unfailingly pursues its abject mission of castrating, oppressing, torturing, and mangling the body; all the better to inscribe its laws upon our flesh, to rivet into our unconscious its mechanisms for propagating slavery.

The capitalist state uses retention, stasis, scarification, and neurosis to impose its norms and models, imprint its characters, assign its roles, promulgate its programs... it permeates our bodies, forcing its roots of death deep into our smallest crevices. It takes over our organs, robs us of our vital functions, mutilates our pleasures, harnesses all of our "life" productivity under its own paralyzing administration. It turns each of us into a cripple cut off from his own body, a stranger to his own desires.

## AN END

THE FORCES OF CAPITALIST OCCUPATION continually refine their system of aggression, provocation, extortion so as to use it along with a massive reinforcement of social terror (individual guilt) to repress, exclude, and neutralize all those practices of our will that don't reproduce these forms of domination. And so this thousand-year-old reign of

unhappy gratification, sacrifice, resignation, codified masochism, and death perpetuates itself. Here reigns castration, reducing the “subject” to a guilt-ridden, neurotic, industrious being, little more than a manual laborer. This old order, reeking of rotting bodies, is indeed horrifying, but it has forced us to direct the revolutionary struggle against capitalist oppression there where it is most deeply rooted – in the living flesh of our own body.

## TO THE

WE WANT TO FREE THE SPACE – the context, the locus – of the body and its own specific desires from this “foreign” grip. It is along this “path” that we propose to “work” towards the liberation of social space. There is no separation between the two: I oppress myself because this “I” is the product of a system of oppression operating across all forms of experience.

A “revolutionary consciousness” is nothing but a chimera as long as it remains outside of a “revolutionary body,” a body which generates its own freedom.

Here we find women, revolting against the male power that has been inseminated in their bodies for centuries; homosexuals, revolting against the terrorizing fascism of normality; adolescents, revolting against the pathological authority of adults. They have begun, collectively, to open up the body’s space to subversion and to open up the space of subversion to the “immediate needs of the body.”

Here we find people beginning to question and investigate the various modes by which desire is produced. The links between jouissance – the height of cognitive and sexual fulfillment – and power, between the body and the subject as consciousness, as they exist everywhere throughout capitalist society, even among radical groups.

## SLAUGHTER OF

HERE WE FIND PEOPLE WHO HAVE short-circuited the hackneyed separation between “politics” and lived experience, a separation bringing

consciousness. We have begun with the body, with the revolutionary body, the productive space of “subversive” strength and the affective space of all oppression. Consequently, we have reunited “political” practice with the reality of the body and its functions by collectively investigating all the various modes of liberation. This is our only chance to fight against the oppressive capitalist state where it works directly. This is the only approach that can truly strengthen us against a system of domination that continually expands its powers of “weakening” and “molding” the individual to its axioms, affiliating him to its order of dogs.

for the sheer pleasure of shaking ourselves. We want to rediscover the pleasures of vibrating, humming, speaking, walking, moving, expressing ourselves, raving, singing – finding pleasure in our body in all ways possible. We want to rediscover the pleasure in producing pleasure and in creating-pleasure that has been ruthlessly straightjacketed by the educational system in charge of producing obedient worker-consumers.

## TO LIBERATE ENERGIES

WE SEEK TO OPEN OUR BODY to other bodies, to another body; to transmit vibrations, to circulate energies, to arrange desires so that each is free to play out its fantasies and ecstasies, so that we might live without guilt and without inhibiting all the sensual intra- and interpersonal practices we need so our day-to-day reality won't turn into the slow agony that capitalism and bureaucracy project as a model existence. We seek to rip out of ourselves the festering rumor of guilt that for thousands of years has been at the root of all oppression.

Of course, we realize how many obstacles we have to overcome to make our aspirations into something more than the dreams of a small and marginal minority. We are keenly aware that liberating the body for sensual, sexual, affective, and ecstatic relationships is inseparably linked to liberating women and destroying male dominance and role models – especially sexual role models. It is likewise linked to destroying all forms of oppression and “normality.”

We want to be rid of all roles and identities based on the phallus.

We want to be rid of sexual segregation. We want to be rid of the categories of man and woman, gay and straight, possessor and possessed, greater and lesser, master and slave. We want instead to be transsexual, autonomous, mobile, and multiple human beings with varying differences who can interchange desires, gratifications, ecstasies, and tender emotions without referring back to tables of surplus value or power structures that aren't already in the rules of the game.

We have begun and shall continue to produce a new societal reality in which the greatest ecstasy combines with the greatest

generous returns to the managers of our bourgeois society as well as to those who pretend to represent the masses and to speak in their name.

## THE BODY

WE CAN NO LONGER STAND BY IDLY while we are robbed of our mouths, our anuses, our sexual members, our guts, our veins... just so they can turn them into parts for their ignominious machine which produces capital, exploitation, and the family.

We can no longer stand by idly while they control, regulate, and occupy our mucous membranes, the pores of our skin, the entire sentient surface of our body.

We can no longer stand by idly while they use our nervous system as a relay in the system of capitalist, federal, patriarchal exploitation, nor while they use our brain as a means of punishment programmed by ambient power.

We can no longer not “come” or hold back our shit, our saliva, our energy according to their laws with their minor, tolerated infractions. We want to explode the frigid, inhibited, mortified body that capitalism wants so desperately to make out of our living body.

## TO ESCAPE FROM THE SEDENTARY

WANTING THE FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOM to enter into these revolutionary practices entails our escaping from the limits of our own “self.” We must turn the “subject” within ourselves upside-down; escape from the sedentary, from the “civilized state,” and cross the spaces of a limitless body; live in the willful mobility beyond sexuality, beyond the territory and repertory of normality. This is how some of us have come to feel the vital need to free ourselves “together” from the grip of the forces that oppress and repress our desires.

We strive to take our personal, intimate life experiences and confront them, explore them, live them collectively. We strive to break down the concrete wall that serves the dominant social order by separating being from appearance, spoken from unspoken, private from social.

We strive to elucidate in common the mechanism behind attraction, repulsion, resistance, orgasm; to make clear the universe of our representations, fetishes, obsessions, phobias. The “unmentionable” has become our preoccupation, our message, our political time-bomb since in the realm of social interaction politics exhibits a fundamental wish to be “alive.”

We have decided to explode the unbearable secret that power uses against everyone whose lives include any sensual, sexual, or affective involvement whatsoever – the same kind of control it exercises over any real social action that produces or reproduces forms of oppression.

## TO DESTROY SEXUALITY

IN ORDER TO EXPLORE MUTUALLY our individual histories, we undertook to determine how our lives as reflected through our desires were entirely controlled by the basic laws of our bureaucratic, bourgeois, and Judeo-Christian society, and how they were subsumed under its rules of maximum profitability, surplus value, and reproducibility. We confronted our individual “experiences” by recognizing that, however “free” they may have appeared to us, we continually conform to the stereotypes of an official sexuality that controls every sexual experience from the conjugal bed to the bordello, to say nothing of public toilets, discos, factories, confessionals, sex shops, prisons, schools, subways, etc.

We’re not concerned with simply breaking down this official sexuality as one would break down the condition of one’s imprisonment within any structure; we want to destroy it, to get rid of it because in the final analysis it functions as an infinitely repeating castration machine designed to reproduce everywhere and in everyone the unquestioning obedience of a slave.

“Sexuality” is just as monstrous in what it “permits” as in what it

restricts; clearly, “liberalized” sexual mores and the extension of “eroticism” through advertising to all social life structured and controlled by the managers of “advanced” capitalism do nothing more than increase the efficiency of the “reproductive” function of the “official” libido. Rather than reduce sexual discontent, these practices in fact extend the realm of frustration and “lack” that facilitates the transformation of desire into a compulsive consumerism and guarantees “the creation of demand,” the driving power behind capitalism’s apologies. There is no fundamental difference between the “immaculate conception” and the publicity-minded prostitute, between conjugal duty and the “enlightened” promiscuity of the bourgeoisie: the progression is unbroken. The same restrictions apply. The same fragmentation of the body as source of desire continues unabated. Only the strategy changes.

What we want, what we desire, is to kick in the façade over sexuality and its representations so that we might discover just what our living body is.

## TO GET RID OF PROGRAMMED TRAINING

WE WANT TO FREE, release, unfetter, and relieve this living body so as to free all of its energies, desires, passions crushed by our constrictive and programmed social system.

We want to be able to exercise each of our vital functions, experiencing their full complement of pleasure.

We want to rediscover sensations as basic as the pleasure in breathing that has been smothered by the forces of oppression and pollution; or the pleasure in eating and digesting that has been interrupted by the rhythm of profitability and the ersatz food it produces; or the pleasure in shitting and pederasty that has been systematically assaulted by the capitalist establishment’s opinion of the sphincter. It inscribes directly upon the flesh its fundamental principles: the power lines of exploitation, the neurosis of accumulation, the mystique of property and propriety, etc. We want to rediscover the pleasure in shaking ourselves joyously, without shame, not because of need or compensation, but just