

QUARRREL!



by [unreadable]

QUARRREL!



THE ZINE.

Stories of Survivor Self Determination
Direct Action, Strategies for Safer Spaces
& **Ripping Patriarchy to Shreds**

Thank You

To feminists, freedom fighters, our ancestors, everyone who has supported us, supported our actions for safer spaces, our friends, everyone who had a real conversation with us, everyone who is fighting for a just world without rape, racists, and evil liars. And also our Moms.

Your heart is a muscle the size of your fist. Keep on loving, keep on fisting.

Where you can find us:
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She wanted him to know

that the accountability process

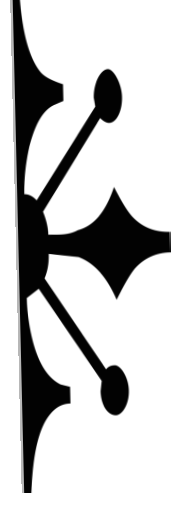
had successfully reached its goal:

to pacify her

so that the scizzors behind her back

would be a big

surprise



Creative Interventions

Creative Interventions is an organization based in Oakland which "seeks to shift education and resources back to families and communities. It places knowledge and power within the spaces where violence occurs, making support and safety accessible." Their number is (510) 452-8595

Therapy

Berkeley Therapy Institute

The Berkeley Therapy Institute is a non-profit community mental health clinic that charges a sliding-scale fee based on financial need. When you call their office they will get back to you within 24-48 hours to do an intake interview and to schedule appointments. Their number is (510) 841-8484.

Feminist Therapy Connection

Feminist Therapy Connection provides psychotherapy consultation and referrals. Sliding Scale. Their number is (510) 841-1261. You can visit their website at feministtherapy.org for more information.

Reading

"Learning Good Consent," a zine from the mind of Cindy Crabb, and it's about what it sounds like. Currently out of print, but she's re-printing it, and you can probably find a copy at a zine library. Two that come to mind are the zines at the Long Haul in Berkeley at 3124 Shattuck Ave, and the zine library at the SF Public Library, in the main branch.

"Undeclared," a zine by "a circle of activists, artists, youth workers and daughters," called Oakland Sister Council. Their zine is free to download at oaklandsistercircle.org. To quote, "We came together initially because of a man who came into some of our lives who used lies, sex, and false intentions as tools to hold power over the women he was dating ... We move forward together because we demand a community without misogyny or patriarchy."

Survivor's Guide To Sex and Healing Sex, both by Staci Haines, are sex-positive guides for women who have survived sexual assault. Check your local bookstore, or the library.

Color of Violence: The Incite! Anthology, and The Revolution Will Not Be Funded are both books edited by Incite! Women of Color Against Violence. Incite! is a national organization of radical feminists of color with two excellent books. To order both of these books directly from South End Press, at southendpress.org.

Hotthead Paisan by Diane DiMassa. She's not your fucking spritz-head girlfriend. She's HOTHEAD PAISAN, HOMICIDAL LESBIAN TERRORIST. Try the library. Her semi-functional website is at hottheadpaisan.com

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Introduction:

Quarrel is a Bay Area affinity group that formed to take names and kick ass with an anti-colonial, queer, feminist boot.

We support the self-determination of survivors and use harm reduction inspired techniques in survivor led actions to transform our communities into safer spaces.

We work toward developing alternatives for addressing harm outside of the misogyny, racism and classism of the police state. We support and value accountability processes, see than as critical to the practice of transformative justice, and believe they can take many forms. In this work we have found the tools of harm reduction useful for addressing people with patterns of abuse who are unwilling to be accountable. We have confronted perpetrators of assault, set boundaries, presented community demands and shared information as an act of self-defense.

We believe the culture of silence surrounding gendered abuse creates harm. We challenge the notion that transformative justice and radical change surrounding harm can only be achieved on the timeline and with the sincere co-operation of the person who has created harm.

We believe that in prioritizing the autonomy of survivors- inordinately high numbers of which are women, people of color and/or poor- we are making strides towards creating a radical community that is less enmeshed in a police state mentality and rape culture.

some resources

Need Help? Here are places that may be able to provide it.

Orgs & Hotlines

SF WAR (San Francisco Women Against Rape)

SF WAR has a 24 hour crisis line, which is free and confidential, at (415) 647-7273. Their website also has a referral guide with over 30 resources for survivors, significant others and service providers. Find their list at sfwar.org/resources.html

CUAV (Community United Against Violence)

CUAV provides resources for LGBTQ survivors of violence, trauma and abuse, and their allies. Their safety line number is (415) 333-4357. Their website also has an extensive list of resources which you can find at cuav.org/resources

San Francisco Suicide Prevention

42 hour crisis line here: (415) 781-0500

Co-Dependents Anonymous

From their website, "a fellowship of men and women whose common purpose is to develop healthy relationships. The only requirement for membership is a desire for healthy and loving relationships." Go to their website, coda.org, to find meeting times.

Al-Anon

In a time when I was looking for places to direct an acquaintance who was in a violent relationship, an extremely helpful person pointed out that Al-anon can be a great place for therapeutic support. When violence includes alcohol abuse, Al-Anon meetings can provide for the non-drinker/survivor with free meetings. Their website has a meeting finder: al-anon.alateen.org/local-meetings

National Domestic Violence Hotline

Their hotline is set up to support survivors, friends, family and professionals. 1-800-799-SAFE (7233)

SEEDS Community Resolution Center

SEEDS provides mediation for individuals and organizations. You can submit a case for mediation at seedsrc.org/start-mediation.php They charge sliding scale amounts per hour.

Sexual Harassment is SO Capitalist!

From a flyer aimed at Manarchists harrasers at Occupy Oakland

Q. Woah, wait a minute- but I'm just trying to compliment someone on looking really good, like really good. How is sexual harassment Capitalist? (cuz I'm totally not a capitalist, you know...)

Answer: Sexual Harassment* reduces our bodies and sexualities into object to be consumed without our consent.

Q: But wait, I totally know that the woman I slept with last nite/my girlfriend/my female friend/etc feels safe here. I think you all are just overreacting. Why are people like you always trying to bring the movement down?

Answer: We are not trying to bring the movement down, we are asking the movement to step up. To take responsibility and be respectful instead of perpetuating forms of sexual violence against women, and folks of all genders.

Q: Okay, I think I understand- sexual harassment is SO totally capitalist! So, what can I do to support?

Answer: Set an example- thanks to those of you who have already begun to do this. Let's hold each other to higher standards, call it out when you see harassment and other forms of violence inside and outside of this space. Ending a culture of sexual violence is within our reach- the success of our movement depends on it!

*Sexual Harassment is part of a culture of sexual violence- it is a form of oppressive domination, and it is harmful to building a strong movement.

"Sleazy Isn't Sexy"

Our Demands:

- *Ask permission before you "compliment" us, always get consent.
- *Don't make remarks about our bodies. It makes us feel bad, and makes you look REALLY bad.
- *Don't ask or expect us to smile. We are not here for your entertainment. We're here to organize, remember?!
- *Don't linger on our bodies with your gaze. We you look us up and down it is an intentional invasion of our space.
- *Don't ask us to sleep in your tent.
- *This is our movement too. If change is not made so that we feel safe here, we will leave to do our own separate organizing. It will be your loss for the potential of this movement cuz we are fierce, strong, committed organizers!

QUARRELING into Infinity : A lil history..

QUARREL IS an epic exploration into the scientific methods that we have used in our journey towards creating safer spaces. We are a direct-action based affinity group that works to address intimate, gendered, and racialized violence within our communities. Quarrel came into being at the point when we realized a startling urgency to intervene on intimate violence in defense of our friends and community, as we have all watched so many attempts to address intimate violence leaving us wanting more.

We have all come into this work with different flavors of wisdom, gained from varying gravitational pulls of struggle, and we offer this zine as a strategy guide to build on the work and the similiar conversations that are happening everywhere, every day. This zine is written with hopes that our experience can be one step forward against reinventing the accountability wheel, one link in the chain towards eradicating interpersonal violence. This work is valuable to us because of the creative self determination that it has helped us push each other to reach.

Space Invaders and The Umbrella of Outrage:

We came together as people who all individually had a history of doing work to address intimate violence, and who were ready to explore new forms of interventions. Quarrel bigbanged into existance when The Proclamation was crafted. This Proclamation was written because there was one such player who needed addressing: the usual story of an activistfamous serial assaulter who has used his notoriety in the punk scene, as a Chicano activist, and in academic worlds to harm the people he had dated and/or had sexual relationships with for a good 20 years.

After the proclamation was constructed, one future-Quarrelor approached ASS- Always A Safe Space- to see if they would support us in presenting The Proclamation. Honored, they accepted the challenge and from there Quarrel bloomed. Although this is the tip of our humble beginnings, so much has happened from there. We offer our process so that we may all add it to our collective memory of triumph and rage, while we collectively knit together our battle stories into the annals that we write as we fight for our lives. This zine is an attempt to demystify our account of this incredibly meaningful work that we did.

In our process, so many questions come up for us as we explored the dynamics of our movements that allows intimate violence to keep quietly happening. What do we do when attempts to address intimate violence have been tried and failed and it is now years, decades later with the trauma and fallout still affecting our selves and our organizing?

Assholes Everywhere

The following account of the confrontation of a pattern assaulter was sent to us from Occupied Wallstreet .

So I went down to occupied wall street in nyc today to support some nyc feminists confront that asshole JERK who is a sexual assaulting, physical assaulting, abusive snitch and get him out of the protest.

The survivor told the occupy wallstreet security team about what happened between her and JERK and they didn't care. The 'revolutionary' security for the occupation totally sided with JERK saying we didn't have enough evidence and they could not force him to leave. So we passed out info about his history of assaulting women with his picture on it. When one of his survivors explained in great detail what happened to security, they told her she should tell the police and that, because she didn't tell the pigs, that she wasn't taking it seriously so it was a lie.

It escalated and one of his friends started joking about rape and calling one of the women "sweetie." but the whole place was surrounded by cops so we couldn't do anything. Then a bystander saw the flyer and told the police about JERK and the assault. The survivors had to intervene and tell the cops that they didn't want them involved all while trying to balance the asshole JERK .

Then security said we should go because we came there to "cause problems" and that the occupy wall street action was an "international issue" while we had small "personal issues."

JERK just stood there smirking so we yelled at him and called him a coward but it was too frustrating to engage further. I hate the movement.

As QUARREL continued to meet, there was trust and momentum built, and this made it possible for us to be able to rise to the occasion as the calls to action continued to presented themselves. We learned what it meant to be an accountability team, and the trust created exploded into other forms of badassness; learning about gun shooting, making music, fashioning a motorcycle gang, datingships were created, and friendships broke apart.

We put out a call through our networks, asking people to come if they were outraged. We did not subscribe to any specific politic. We presented our call as a welcome: if you fall under our umbrella of outrage you are welcome to work with us. Through our call, we learned that the most hesitancy we experienced was from folks with the closest ties to organizing non-profits.

We remain unequivocally opposed to the state, to agents of power trying to bear down on us in the form of street harassment, of institutional and interpersonal racism, of heteropatriarchy within our movements, in the form of leaving the police as the only option for our self defense, in the form of minimizing and manipulating our brilliance. We love hard our muses, our co-conspirators, the fierce and inspiring folks all around us doing magnificent work in efforts to crumble the pillars of patriarchy, homophobia and racism, and doing it all without getting paid.

...Dusk:

Lastly, with this zine Quarrel is sun setting for now, dissipating back into the ionosphere in order to free up our genius to cultivate different forms of organizing for self determination. The epic exploration that is Quarrel has lead us all to intimately better understand and cartographize the seedy network of the Bay Area's love, rage, struggle, hate, and politics. We know that we are always learning. We know that the spirit of Quarrel is forever expanding and when the bat signal goes out we will be there dressed to the nines, with all our brains, adrenalin and endorphins ready to rise to the occasion. We love you all.

With love, guts and triumph,
Quarrel, 2012

Please NOTE: all names have been marked out after much discussion. This is in no way meant to protect perpetrators of harm, but meant to keep the zine focused on our experiences and process. Additionally, we want to keep QUARREL members safe from police enforcement because some of our targets have pursued legal action against us and/or survivors.
Snitches get stitches. xoxo

been exposed to this and made it out alive, but this guy did not. I no longer attend anything the Occupy movement does because I do not feel a sense of safety.

Overall I feel vulnerable and targeted from this situation. I also run into many white people from the Occupy Camp who still look at me with an evil eye. Like they remember me in particular, or have a "watch your back" look at me. It scares me, but I know in my heart I did the right thing. I did what other ancestors did before me, which was: FIGHT BACK!!! I was not trying to be a hero or get fame. I wanted equal rights for all. When faced with danger I knew I could not count on the people who presented themselves as the organizers of the movement.

Occupy has to continue to look at the issues of Racism, Phobia's, and Ism's of all sorts that it faced when the movement was at it's biggest climax, and had everyone excited to be involved. I feel the real issue was never to just occupy a space for camp, but it was to bring about concerns and voice equal rights and justice for all of the 99%, especially the People of Color on the lowest end of the 99% totem pole. We must support one another and not repeat the same tactics used against us. Occupy has to be fair to the POC Groups who take the time to gather ideas and voice concerns for the people who can not do it for themselves.

The organizers of the Occupy Camp acted like if it would not be for them the movement would not exist. As a QTPOC my experience will be with me for the rest of my life and dictate how much I involve myself in the movement. I am still scared because the cops know who I am, and there is no real protection or support from the occupy organizers or the cops. Equal rights for all especially Women, Trans People, Queers, and People of Color who are a part of the Occupy Movement.

Points Of Unity:

- Direct action to confront interpersonal violence is sometimes necessary.
- Our communities need to address gendered and racialized violence proactively, especially when our communities are actively engaged in liberation work.
- We believe in survivor centered, anti-authoritarian resistance to gendered violence.
- Addressing sexual violence brings up issues of gender inequality, racism, classism etc. that some groups refuse to deal with and that pulling the blanket off of forms of violence and creating the discomfort that results when activists have to confront their own privilege is necessary to building an egalitarian world.

On rape culture, from "The Exponent"

It's easier to deal with victims than with aggressors. It's easier to tell women what to wear and how to act and how to avoid rape, than to root out sexual violence in our society and culture. Easier is not good enough for me. I expect more. Let me say that again: I expect more. Maybe instead of worrying about how we talk to our daughters about what they wear and how they act and how that will get them raped, we need to be talking to our sons about how they treat women, or objectify women, or use women.

Addressing rape culture and the rape apologetics that we have all heard is a tricky business, but it is vitally important.

And here's the rub: people you know, people you like, people you respect, and people you love will, at some point, apologize for rape or victim-blame. I still do myself sometimes, and I care about this issue passionately. I am personally committed to eradicate victim-blaming from my thoughts, speech, and actions. I expect more from myself, so I feel confident that I can reasonably expect more from people in my life.

The truth is that I'm not trying to hurt someone's feelings when I ask them to examine what they are saying. I care too much about women to let rape apologia reign. The truth is that I am not dense. I understand what someone means when they say they want to protect their daughter by teaching her to avoid rape by dressing modestly. But like so many other feminists, I expect more.

<http://www.the-exponent.com/2011/06/20/rape-culture-and-rape-apology/>

After it was over, I was so scared, and felt so isolated. I felt that leaving alone would be more of a danger for me so I waited for people to come and meet me because I no longer felt safe around anyone at the camp. The camp had been raided so there were not as many people around. I immediately told who I thought were my allies what had happened and asked people to help me. I was in a state of shock and like a victim I thought I had done something to bring this upon myself. I thought people were thinking negative of me and saying that I was the cause. I later heard the story repeated, but it was always not even close to what had happened or had been sugar coated to protect the protesters and the space.

I was not going to let this happen. I knew I had to let everyone know that this was not acceptable for anyone who shared the same struggles as me. The people had to know the truth without it being sugar coated. I knew this meant group attacks, slurs, threats, and my character could be jeopardized.

I was embraced by other QPOC and Trans folks who were not afraid, but we still needed more to get my voice heard. When I spoke out at the GA, I had 20 other QPOC and Queer people behind me, and even more to support me when I got off the stage. After that, the movement took on a different outlook for me.

I did not feel comfortable anymore alone at the camp. I was literally terrified that someone or people(s) would come after me or catch me when I was alone at the camp or out and about in town. Lots of people asked me about the story, and I began to not speak about it cause it became draining, and I felt paranoid. Lots of people and groups made promises to help me and support me, but never did. I even felt scared of my own kind at times. I felt they were a part of the privileged exclusive groups and were acting out and doing the dirty work for the people who wanted to remain invisible. I never

attended events, meetings, or general assemblies in the same way. I still don't have trust. Safe space was formed for Women, Trans, and Queers, but still I feel the incidents were brushed under the rug as if they never happened. When a POC was murdered running along the outside of the Camp I thought of myself and what that person was feeling before they died. From what I heard this individual was also boxed in and running for his life begging for help. People from Occupy got involved and manage to stop the individuals chasing this guy, but they still shot him and killed him. I just replay over and over in my mind what he was going through up to his last breath. I had

individuals- who began to scream at the youth. This yelling seemed similar to the screams of "GET OUT!" in a synchronized chant which had been yelled when the Oakland PD had come on to the camp grounds earlier in the day. One of the men who was involved in the fight threatened to come back and shoot everyone if they touched him or got in his face again. The security team could not handle anything of this magnitude. No one took the time to take these teens to the side. For the most part people just seemed happy when there was trans music, and it all seemed to be one rave party with all night dancing and partying.

My real experience came when my life was threatened with danger and possibly death if this person actually had been able to do to me what they really wanted to do. Let's just say when weapons are involved and you are faced with life and death situations, that you need to do whatever you need to do to get away. I never thought it could happen to me, but I know this was not my first time being under assault or being verbally or physically attacked cause someone or a group of people thought I didn't belong there. Homophobic slurs and violence are no stranger to me. Before this, I had really respected the space as a whole even though things were chaotic and felt unorganized, cause I believed in the movement.

When this incident took place, I screamed to people what the perpetrator was trying to do to me. No one did anything until I decided to defend myself in this life or death situation. At that point I was immediate surrounded. The white male who was attacking me was not surrounded the same way I was. No one would listen to me and I was feeling really scared because I could still see my attacker walking around as I was being surrounded. I was being treated like I was immediately guilty until proven innocent. I had witnessed this type of tactic when the Black Teens were surrounded. I asked for people to give me my space and they ignored me. I threatened to get police involved only so I can have some control to get them to back away from me. I was then cursed at and insulted. I was angry and outraged and I had to use curse words and swears to get someone to just freaking listen to me. My attacker had time to discuss things with his group of people while I was still being cornered. Witnesses came up to me later and told me that they could not believe that they had seen this all go down.

Sexual Assault Prevention Tips

1. Don't put drugs in people's drinks in order to control their behavior.
2. When you see someone walking by themselves leave them alone.
3. If you pull over to help someone with car problems, remember not to assault them!
4. NEVER open an unlocked door or window uninvited.
5. If you are in an elevator and someone else gets in, DON'T ASSAULT THEM!
6. USE THE BUDDY SYSTEM! If you are not able to stop yourself from assaulting people, ask a friend to stay with you while you are in public.
7. Always be honest with people! Don't pretend to be a caring friend in order to gain the trust of someone you want to assault. Consider telling them you plan to assault them. If you don't communicate your intentions, the other person may take that as a sign that you do not plan to rape them.
8. Don't forget: you can't have sex with someone unless they are awake!
9. Carry a whistle! If you're worried you might assault someone "accidentally" you can hand it to the person you're with so they can blow it if you do.

10. Don't assault people.

why direct action?!

I engage in direct action because I recognize that the community accountability movement, although radical in its push to acknowledge that perpetrators of abuse have a deeply human core and have also been affected by the violence of colonialism and heteropatriarchy, sometimes falls short of actual transformation. I have witnessed community accountability processes being exploited by perpetrators who then proceed to drain social resources when they are not ready to change their behavior.

QUARREL began to re-imagine what accountability could look like. To whom were these processes accountable? Could self-defense be a part of accountability or was it something else entirely? We did not have the answer to many of these questions, but we did know that as radicals we needed to develop alternatives to the police state that were unapologetically survivor-centric. We wanted to create safety nets for when community accountability demands had not been met. We concluded that when people in our community were actively taking power from others to deal with their trauma, community self-defense was necessary.

"Women have the right to be free of violence from both relatives and strangers. Rape and attempted rape will be severely punished." *The Zapatistas' Women's Revolutionary Law*

QUARREL usually takes months to plan actions, trying to explore every angle of the issue and receive feedback from the perpetrator's friends and family; however, humanity is messy and QUARREL is no exception. I was sure of a couple of outcomes when I got involved with this work. **1.** If I was going to confront a man that violated my boundaries I would be blamed, I would be called names, I would be talked about behind my back, I would lose friends. This is what happens whenever women combat sexual violence. **2.** That I would make mistakes. One of the unfortunate outcomes of the state controlling just about every resource out there to assist survivors is that we are alienated from ways that our ancestors have historically addressed violence—without government intervention. The only way I was going to learn what worked was to try something.

I don't think about it as banning, banishing or shaming. I think about it as creating a boundary that makes it easier for me to live my life.

In the face of unchanging patterns, the community has a right to know about histories of abuse so people can be vigilant in preventing further harm.

just seemed to change by the minute, and was voted on by the exclusive crowd first before the general population understood it. It all began to feel like a broken record spinning the same tunes nightly, lasting very long into the wee hours when lots of people had to work or go to school the next day. They spoke with what I swear is a language they only spoke, and without ever breaking it down for first timers or people who really just didn't understand the dialect. The only person of color at first who had the microphone nightly spoke their lingo and to me had no connection to his own roots and clearly did not speak or incorporate himself with any people of color. I watched and observed them all daily and they as an overall did not know how to handle the different variations of people this movement was attracting and housing in downtown Oakland. The people who actually hung out in downtown Oakland nightly where QPOC, and POC. I felt that these individuals should be first to be a part of it all, or asked how they felt since they had an overall glimpse of what the real issues that take place in this area are. It was scary to me to have a majority of white privileged males in an area where they would not normally hang out on a regular basis, and saying with energy, lingo, and laughter that they run this spot. I witnessed people of color being tossed to the side through many white protester's body language, tones of voice, etiquette, and fake smiles. I felt at any moment things could get out of hand.

I also witnessed a group of black teenagers get provoked into a rage of anger that escalated into a beatdown. The teenagers had been sitting along the outer side of the "Occupy Camp," and enjoying themselves, seemingly happy that they could hangout and not be harassed by police in the area. I could tell that the youth would have been hanging out here whether the Occupy Camp was set up or not. A man approached them, throwing terrible insults and threatening to harm these young people for no reason. They demanded that he remove himself from their space. When he did not, the teenagers took the matter into their own hands. When the noise level revealed there was an altercation, someone hollered to the General Assembly that a fight broke out. Hundreds of people who were sitting at the GA began running towards the disturbance. The fight got dismantled after a number of people intervened through pushing, tugging, and yelling. The kids were surrounded by hundreds of strangers- most of them seemed to be white privileged

My Experience at Occupy Oakland

My experience participating in Occupy Oakland as a Trans Identifying Queer Person Of Color was not pleasant, very scary, intimidating, violent, and now leaves me scared for my life still.

I really entered the whole Occupy Movement with an open heart. I was super excited that a movement of this sort was taking place, and still had not had a clear understanding of it all. I had heard of the big movement that had started on Wall St., but really had no idea, hadn't read enough information, or been given enough information. I was happy to be apart of all this wonderfulness and happy to be surrounded by others who felt the same. The nightly General Assemblies were getting to be exciting. The Occupy movement had gotten bigger after major attacks from Oakland PD, and it was my first time being surrounded by thousands of people who shared the same movement.

I started to feel discomforts at times when entering and leaving the campsite. There hadn't really been an established area where I felt comfortable as a Trans QPOC. I would walk around asking to help and really felt shut out at times or ignored by fellow Occupier's. They all seemed to be really angry and stressed about nothing and at the same time happy, as if this was a big slumber party happening in downtown Oakland. I didn't feel comfortable sleeping there. I felt safer going home for the night and returning to help out again the next day, and make my presence known. I wanted to be apart of all the excitement, and my kind should also exist among the rest of the fighting and struggling people. A lot of the people were angry and seemed to have a very militant attitude when giving instructions, setting up breakout groups, talking about GA rules etc. This made it all feel like really exclusive lingo. If you weren't already a part of it all, you were spoken to as if you had no clear understanding. I felt pushed to the side. It felt very heavily dominated with a "White Male Privilege Hetero" climate. I was on guard a lot being a QTPOC, but this was not my first time at the rodeo.

I still wanted to plug in more daily. I would go and be a part but the energy level was intense and the direction had not clear understanding to me even with the General Assemblies happening nightly. The moderators had no clear picture or set rules they were following. It all

Franz Fanon on community responses to interpersonal violence: "Self-criticism has been much talked about of late, but few people realize it is an African institution. Whether it is the djemaas [Villages General Assemblies] of Northern Africa or in the meetings of Western Africa, tradition demands that the quarrels which occur in a village should be settled in public. It is communal self-criticism....."

When accountability has failed, when abusive behaviors are clearly present, when people continue to be harmed, then boundaries have to be created in order to buffer survivors and targeted communities from people who perpetrate abuse.

Some members of QUARREL have found that accountability processes have appropriated the language of self-help. "Closure," has become a key word—diminishing the emotional reality of survivors and the altered trajectories of their lives after they have been affected by violence. There seemed to be unrealistic, often utopian ideals of self-actualization which perpetrators of abuse are imagined to achieve, even people who have repeatedly committed racial abuse and sexual assaults.

We do believe that change is possible; however, relying on the healing process of perpetrators can take years. Healing requires them to dig into dark places where they first began taking power from others as a way of navigating social relationships. Healing requires comfort and safety in order to explore those hidden pockets of their minds. In order for that process to work, justice depends on the commitment of the perpetrator and the capacity of their allies to see it through. In many radical communities, survivors are often pressured into prolonged contact and mediation with their abusers. I find this unacceptable. I find it equally unacceptable that perpetrators of pattern abuse sometimes masquerade as solidarity organizers addressing state violence while not having proven they have worked through their own anti-social behavior. This glaring contradiction is destroying social justice movements.

We support the intentions/goals/ideals of transformative justice, but transformation may take years or decades, and in the meantime, we need to protect one another from harm.

We aspire to explore new roads. We are open to feedback and have learned a lot from self-reflection. Quarrel wants to be brave enough to try out creative new experiments grounded in self-defense while also recognizing that for ourselves to be accountable, we need to put our ideas into practice and when we fuck up, we need to be resilient enough to reassess the situation and try again.

This zine is an open letter to community, we would love to begin open conversations about how we can all be better allies in transforming our networks into healthier spaces.

FOX

In the henhouse



Or The Survivor led removal of a serial sexual assaulter anarchist academic punk rock filmmaker and his presence in queer and Women of Color organizing and safe spaces

Manarchists, Mactivists, and Misogynists, Oh My!



In the midst of the occupy movements protest of economic and social inequality, the encampments established were often a microcosm of the problematic structures that plague society at large; racism, sexism, homophobia...the list goes on. As in many organizing communities, challenges of dealing with these issues, particularly gendered violence and sexual violence, were intensified by threat of police intervention and the perceived greater cause of social change. While incredibly frustrating and discouraging to continue to encounter the same oppressive forces in a "radical" space, women, queers, and people of color organized and strategized creative, useful solutions, as we always do. Almost every major city established women and or queer safe spaces, some that had people stand guard in shifts, as part of their strategies to create safety and respond to harassment and abuse. Some groups worked to make their voices be heard within Occupy, others broke off into autonomous groups or left to put their energy into other projects.

Her experience as the only woman to ever lead the BPP did not exempt her from the brutal misogyny of the organization. She recounts being assaulted by various male comrades (including Huey Newton) as well as being beaten and terrorized by Eldridge Cleaver, who threatened to "bury her in Algeria" during a delegation to China. Her biography demonstrates more explicitly than either Davis's or Shakur's how the masculinist posturing of the BPP (and by extension many radical organizations at the time) created a culture of violence and misogyny that ultimately proved to be the organization's undoing.

These narratives demystify the legacy of gender violence of the very organizations that many of us look up to. They demonstrate how misogyny was normalized in these spaces, dismissed as "personal" or not as important as the more serious struggles against racism or class inequality. Gender violence has historically been deeply entrenched in the political practices of the Left and constituted one of the greatest (if largely unacknowledged) threats to the survival of these organizations. However, if we pay attention to the work of Davis, Shakur, Brown, and others, we can avoid the mistakes of the past and create different kinds of political community....



Overview: The group formerly known as Always A Safe Space was approached for support by two survivors of assault by a man with a long history of violence against women in radical people of color organizing and academic communities. Over a period of 6 months a strategy and action was planned and pursued.

We took an extreme amount of care in organizing this action and response. While we find [redacted]'s violent impact on queer Women of Color atrocious and intolerable, we did not pour all of our energy into an accountability process which he would use to continue to perpetrate harm, as that had already happened multiple times. At the same time we did not want to lead a smear campaign, criminalize this abuser or police him. We wanted to support survivors and their agency, we wanted something more harm reductive for our communities. We consciously chose to pursue cautious awareness raising through one on one conversations to create a boundary around Queer Women of Color safe spaces to allow the participation and presence of survivors. We had many very difficult conversations, experienced a great deal of hostility, were accused of, (among other things) being caught up in a victim frenzy and lost friendships and political alliances along the way.

We also had many challenging discussions that helped us clarify what we were doing and why, we received unexpected support and resisted the patriarchy and misogyny that would accept that a man with a pattern of assault and abuse has more right to participate in community and political organizing than people who have survived his violence.

"Why Misogynists Make Great Informants: How Gender Violence on the Left Enables State Violence in Radical Movements"

by Courtney Desiree Morris reprinted from make/shift magazine

...Maybe if organizers made collective accountability around gender violence a central part of our practices we could neutralize people who are working on behalf of the state to undermine our struggles. I'm not talking about witch hunts; I'm talking about organizing in such a way that we nip a potential Brandon Darby in the bud before he can hurt more people. Informants are hard to spot, but my guess is that where there is smoke there is fire, and someone who creates chaos wherever he goes is either an informant or an irresponsible, unaccountable time bomb who can be unintentionally as effective at undermining social-justice organizing as an informant. Ultimately they both do the work of the state and need to be held accountable.

A Brief Historical Reflection on Gender Violence in Radical Movements

Reflecting on the radical organizations and social movements of the 1960s and 1970s provides an important historical context for this discussion. Memoirs by women who were actively involved in these struggles reveal the pervasiveness of tolerance (and in some cases advocacy) of gender violence. Angela Davis, Assata Shakur, and Elaine Brown, each at different points in their experiences organizing with the Black Panther Party (BPP), cited sexism and the exploitation of women (and their organizing labor) in the BPP as one of their primary reasons for either leaving the group (in the cases of Brown and Shakur) or refusing to ever formally join (in Davis's case). Although women were often expected to make significant personal sacrifices to support the movement, when women found themselves victimized by male comrades there was no support for them or channels to seek redress. Whether it was BPP organizers ignoring the fact that Eldridge Cleaver beat his wife, noted activist Kathleen Cleaver, men coercing women into sex, or just men treating women organizers as subordinated sexual playthings, the BPP and similar organizations tended not to take seriously the corrosive effects of gender violence on liberation struggle. In many ways, Elaine Brown's autobiography, *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story*, has gone the furthest in laying bare the ugly realities of misogyny in the movement and the various ways in which both men and women reproduced and reinforced male privilege and gender violence in these organizations.



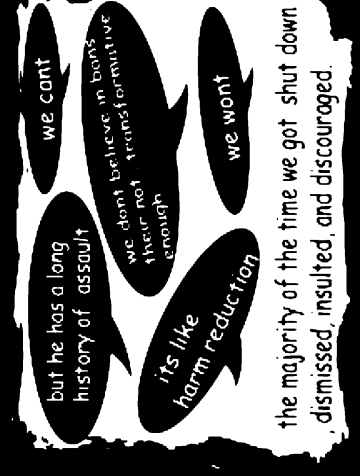
there was this chicano punk organizer radical academic filmmaker guy



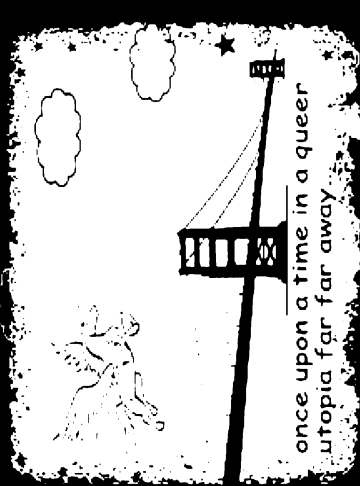
For us the pigs werent an option. Besides, others had tried and it hadnt stopped him



we got a group together to confront him and let him know he wasnt welcome



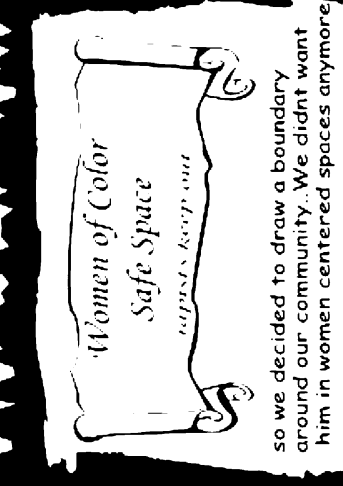
the majority of the time we got shut down dismissed, insulted, and discouraged.



once upon a time in a queer utopia far far away



But then we started hearing the stories and we felt like we had to do something



so we decided to draw a boundary around our community. We didnt want him in women centered spaces anymore



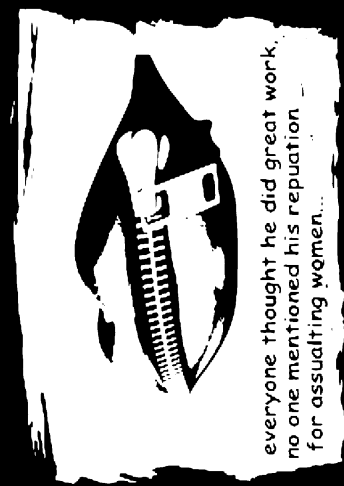
so we started talking to people

confrontation with choice is key to all of QUARREL's efforts to community-build through its creative extenuated survivorship measures. This pushing of the narrative to define the political-initiate interface is diametrically opposed to the common sense of how politics are conventionally practiced. Injury is only politically legitimate to a third party through distance and scale over and against the evidentiary. This insures a politic that never confronts accountability. For Dave Eggers, the narratable "cause" is always elsewhere at Katrina or in Sudan, never in San Francisco. The innovation of QUARREL is the symmetry of its scale for its elements of injury to intervention. It's sheer sanity in response to the utter void where community is supposed to be is perhaps what is most obscene about QUARREL for the liberal establishment. It forces one out of neutrality on the question of whether the decisive narrative of intimate violence survivorship has any political legitimacy. This is the terror of seeing consequences up close, of being vulnerable. What QUARREL does is the most serious direct action meditation upon agency that I have ever participated with. QUARREL suggests a new paradigm for direct action efficacy. QUARREL's work reveals the phobia of agency and autonomy that is fundamental to the way direct action is conceived in practice. QUARREL is a challenge to the notion of direct action efficacy that makes privilege legible through its norms of non-confrontation. For insurrecto-nihilism, the target is always evaded, always abstract---never the bro rapist they're in the streets with. The failure of anonymity is that it always tells. All narratives have a narrator subject to inscrutable motives. The largest ones are just as qualified for doubt as the smaller more intimate ones. I've always done community-building work that holds community accountable to itself. The status on the legitimacy of August's invocation of the radical anti-authoritarian queer person of color imaginary isn't at issue for me, but whether this iteration is useful. My difficulty is whether it is satisfactory to any loose definition of community for me to end my life for the transgression of insisting that the NJ4 deserve better choices. I leave the question open for the reader.

STAY READY



U4-04



everyone thought he did great work, no one mentioned his reputation for assaulting women...



we considered revenge, but that wouldn't keep us or other women any safer



not even us, not even to each other...at least not at first.



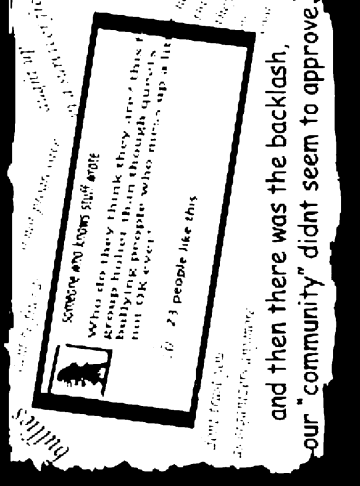
several had pursued long painful accountability processes that failed. We needed something different



The survivor led action was amazing. -We felt strong and hopeful.



but then we noticed he was still all over the place, speaking at events, playing shows full of young women



Someone who says stuff #wot
Who do they think they are this group better than through assault but OK even
23 people like this

and then there was the backlash, our "community" didnt seem to approve



so what are we supposed to do?

QUARREL, the beginning: Wherein ASS was approached by survivors for support.

Sunday, March 28, 2010

Dear Always a Safe Space,

We hope this letter finds you in good health and in the highest of spirits. We are writing to see if ASS, or any of its individual members, would be interested in supporting our burgeoning efforts to make our local women, queer, and people of color communities and networks a bit safer than they currently exist.

As of now, we've yet to formulate specific disclosure guidelines regarding this effort, so we ask that you please keep any and all information contained within this letter confidential and refrain from discussing this issue with anybody who is not a member of ASS.

There are some of you who already know us personally, but before we continue with the specifics of this call to action, we'd like to briefly introduce ourselves to those ASS members who we've yet to meet. We are two queer women of color who live, work, and organize with and within various communities, collectives, and networks in the bay area.

We are also two women who have had violent experiences, physical and other, as a result of our interactions with one male east bay resident who goes by the name [REDACTED]*. If this name sounds familiar to you, it is probably because [REDACTED]* has taught Chicano and Ethnic Studies at many northern California universities, including UC Berkeley, Stanford, and Mills. He has authored various articles and columns, directed a documentary on border militarization, and was/is part of various bands revered in the underground hardcore punk scene. He is also, for many women and communities, a known sexual predator who commonly targets young women of color within the spaces where he happens to hold a modicum of status.

After various conversations with various people, we each came to understand separately that our experience with [REDACTED] was not an isolated incident, but merely one episode in this man's abusive pattern of behavior. Based off of our conversations, we gather that this history of abuse runs over ten years long and has occurred in various locations (even outside the state of California), leaving dozens of women and communities reeling from the impact of the violence that he perpetuates.

Although the respect for death and the desire to survive is absent from insurrecto-nihilism, what is most curious is how the tendency registers certain affects of survivorship in terms of its avoidance protocols. Insurrecto-nihilism bears a close affinity with the internet, which as a social and cultural phenomenon in this case would seem to be an expression of an allergy to people. Anonymization makes sense as a version of security culture developed for the sake of survivor self-determination. However, such a survivor sensibility is frequently deployed in an attempt to avoid radical accountability processes. I've never had more than a few words with August face to face. I knew from the start that it would be pointless. When co-NJ4 organizer Io sought to check-in with August after the death threat, in email August expressed lots of enthusiasm towards the discussion. August apparently made an agreement with Io to write an apology. I've yet to receive anything. It's safe to say that August doesn't consider me part of his community. I guess that would change in the event that I am gunned down by the state. This difference on the issue of insurrection becomes the terms through which we cannot know one another. This was the case when I recently ran into August at the cruise second floor bathroom at the mall. I was standing against the wall waiting to use a toilet when August came out of the stall. Of course the male public bathroom etiquette prohibition against stranger intimacy was also in force and perhaps this avoidance only seems notable because of it occurring in the context of gay cruising. Again the strength of the imago directly correlates to the extent of non-interaction. Differing political attitudes toward the significance of sexuality aside, the imago's strength is further augmented by the degree of estrangement, again akin to the anonymity of gay male cruising culture. Eric and I have frequently (and perhaps predictably, cannily) neutralized the homophobia that August so thoroughly caricatures by referring to him as our "boyfriend." This of course could also be thought of as a kind of bitchy politicized camp, or a strategic queer/trans affect deployed to devise repair, self care and community working with allusiveness, sexuality and irony. The cliché of the social minority who is debilitated through the invisible psychic speculative labor dedicated to a non-existent social relation here operates in a manner emphasizing sex and anonymity. Insurrecto-nihilism thrives on this association---it is integral to how the culture of violence against consent proliferates. This philosophy magnetizes the imago of the perpetrator with erotic energy. This is basically a sexual aesthetic of social estrangement, a no-strings-attached formulation of popular social disorganization, the complete depersonalization of desire. Insurrecto-nihilism is a doomed attempt at mastery at the site of the self's unmaking.

QUARREL's work naturally insists on the exact opposite of this vision of the world. Insurrecto-nihilists portray an unbelievable spite toward creativity and an unwillingness to choose the world in all of its contradictory complexity. Even I would prefer their fucked-up interpretation of the "insurrection"---a loathsome interpretation, yet *something*, nonetheless---over death. Postponed death is something better than immediate death. I'm not trying to pretend that I don't want to die. I believe that in life things might get better. I once believed that it was possible when I was on speaking terms with many of them at Station 40. Before I had to flee for the sake of self care for my mental health. But however hard they may cleave to vanguardist austerity, these insurrectionary anarchists remain just people like you and me, disavowing the political or no. The notion that people remain unmasterable is an axiom of my own anarchist belief and worthy subject to freeing up the innate improvisation of our lives. This embrace of the relentless pursuit of truth through the

radicalist modes of thought. Insurrecto-nihilism instead emphasizes the injury as a signifier of political legitimization. In the basis of blackness as an 'identity of historical injury' it shares obvious affects with survivorship. 'Survivorship' can denote a rather broad range of subject positions. In my thinking I am most directly influenced by queer woman of color feminist accountability definitions of the term. There is a notable tacit gendering that occurs in the two categories: 'blackness' often is coded as masculine and 'survivorship' as feminine. I mention this because the 'thug' subject position that insurrecto-nihilism displays a curious fascination with is a combination of the two concepts that flattens out to 'male'. In such a framework rap songs can be considered the one version of survivor story where truth claims are never subject to the same degree of bad faith. Again this sensibility is apparent in the historical connotations of the word "insurrection," which has always referred to the liberation movements of the colonized--the founding of Haiti or slave revolts such as Nat Turner. Insurrecto-nihilism draws upon this Enlightenment era system of value, notable for being the same historic moment as more legitimate revolutions in the U.S. and France, to make a transvaluating contrast through the seeming veneration of downtrodden black subjects. The rhetoric of realness informs the insurrecto-nihilist stance evident in their curiosity with the nightmarish Post-Oscar Grant incidents involving Parnell Smith and Lovell Mixon. The cases were strikingly similar in what the media described variously as "running gun battles" with the Oakland Police Department in Downtown Oakland. This ghoulish preoccupation with blackness as spectacle in these scenarios of public state violence is notable in contrast with Wednesday's death. The focus suggests a lack of consideration of the sheer ambience of morbidity under the conditions of state terror. Survivorship---which sounds odd in the context of fatalities---has its stakes informed by these scenarios setting the tone for insurrecto-nihilism. Politics means extra-nothing in these moments of tragedy. Unmaking of capital and self are gloriously joined. It would all perhaps be worth taking seriously were they all actually suicidal. Instead they spew anonymous screeds from their vanguardist gentrying chill crib protected by a safe layer of internet and narcissistic paranoia. Security culture is downgraded to an issue for privacy settings. Their insistent proximity raises a glass barrier for the sake of merely designating the in group. It has nothing to do with dedication to covert organizing. It's about make the "closed" signed as visible as possible. Considering insurrecto-nihilism's disdain for open organizing and self care, consent and consensus, their insistence of solidarity in light of their martyr's rape convictions is particularly eerie. Here scale determines the legitimacy of the political narrative, pitting intimacy against spectacle. Of course I'm not implying that it is okay for anyone to be gunned down by police, or that the criminal justice system is a credible discernor of sexual assailants, but it is interesting the insurrecto-nihilists disinterest in the complexity of violence. Nothing can interfere with the insurrecto-disembodied decisive narrative of tragedy transvaluated as triumphantly defiant liberation. What these martyrs believed in didn't matter, only that they were willing to fight back. I also identify the apparition of a critique on the role of blackness within liberal politics in the pattern consumption of black male martyrs of police violence as opposed to black activist intellectuals. It is a notable identification of how this insurrecto-nihilist tendency toward negation exhibits the affects of the ugliest white supremacy on its way out. While attention is paid to the sorts of violence that is synonymous with the lived experience of blackness, the crucial analysis is missing which would imbue such attention with consciousness---something that would only be possible through identification.

As a result of these experiences, we are in the process of devising a plan to make this man's predatory nature public knowledge as a strategy for preventing further abuse from occurring at his hands. Along with this, as women who have been on the receiving end of his abuse, we also see it fit to effectively ban [REDACTED] from women, queer, and POC safe spaces.

So as of now, our strategy for violence prevention is twofold-

- 1) Commit to dialoging with the different companer@s that we come across in our daily lives to let them know that they should proceed any interactions and potential relationships (personal, political, and otherwise) with [REDACTED] with extreme caution.
- 2) Gather a group of community members to hand-deliver a letter to [REDACTED] which discloses our awareness of his violent behavior and states that he is no longer welcome in women, queer, and POC safe spaces, nor is he allowed to actively engage as an ally with any women, queer, or POC causes.

Because A.S.S. is a radical polyethnic grassroots collective of women and queers organizing to keep our spaces of convergence violence-free, we are asking for your contributions in planning and executing the strategies stated above.

We realize that we have just divulged some information which may be hard to process. As a next step, we suggest that we find a time to meet where we could further discuss our proposal and answer any questions that you may have. This would be the first group discussion regarding this topic, and we are asking if it would be okay with A.S.S. for us to invite a select number of women with whom we have already started individual conversations regarding this issue.

With much love and admiration,
XOXO

**THE PROCLAMATION:
PRESENTED TO [REDACTED] BY HAND IN SEPTEMBER OF
2010, TELLING HIM THAT HE HAD BEEN BANNED
FROM WOMEN-CENTERED SPACES AND ACTIVIST
NETWORKS WHICH PRIORITIZED WOMEN'S SAFETY.**

Over the past decade, several women from various communities across the country have voiced concerns about your predatory sexual behavior within, but not exclusive to, the university, radical networks, queer safe spaces, and the underground punk scene

This letter is the result of numerous conversations that involved women and trans people strategizing around how to develop an accountability process that is proactive in addressing your pattern of abuse.

We are angry and frustrated with your continued violation of people in our communities. You have repeatedly sought out power positions to control and sexually exploit women, in particular, young women of color. You have used Black and Xicana feminist theory maliciously, as rhetoric against the women of color whom you have harmed. You have repeatedly manipulated trust and pushed your way passed emotional and sexual boundaries. You have used a queer identity to masquerade as a non-threatening ally to queer women. Furthermore, we believe your behavior to be an absolute threat not only to women and women's spaces, but also to spaces comprised of communities of color who are actively engaged in political struggle.

We understand that your abusive behavior is likely an expression of past trauma in your life, possibly sexual trauma; however, this history does not excuse you in any way from continuously perpetrating violence against individuals and entire communities. Accountability is not about negating your misogyny by centering yourself as the victim though disclosing your own history of trauma and threatening to cause yourself physical harm when questioned about your abuse.

characteristic pure insurrecto-nihilist poetics, reminiscent of Dave Eggers. I opened my improvised and snotty Sunday, August 16, 2009, 7:43 PM retort: "hiya mister eggers-- still getting others to write your novels for you?" Why must Dave Eggers put his name on the autobiography of a Sudanese child soldier? Or be acclaimed as the author of novel about a Muslim Katrina survivor? Why can't they tell their stories themselves? As in the Enlightenment, the liberal subject requires another to define itself against. I doubt Dave Eggers will write a novel about the issues impacting San Francisco's dispossession as a direct result of the gentrification that his edifices of cultural production contributes to. What is odd but perhaps necessary is everyone's much-belabored exasperation with "Anarcho-Liberal" intrusiveness and meddling--liberal politics is essential to insurrecto-disembodiment because it requires something to disavow its inseparable attachment to. This is not to suggest that anonymity is the appropriate fix. The way insurrecto-nihilists use anonymity is largely a commodity made possible by the narrative of defamiliarization ascribed to the internet. Bash Back's disavowal of "Anarcho-Liberal" investment illustrates my fascination with a mode of political practice wherein legitimacy is largely the characteristic of distance. If "The Insurrection" Bash Back! fetishizes must throw out political values, what is the purpose of identifying as queer? Scale and distance become the acceptable way that harm is found sufficiently metonymic and suitable for the genre of "the cause."

I'm concerned that my point wasn't completely clear. This sentiment shares the affect of a survivor's failure to convince oneself of what one's experienced. For a sense of a cathartic passing of the truth of Ralowe's quasi-survivor narrative drama about August every single detail must be heard, digested and taken as unquestionable fact. Someone with similar politics to mine will probably be most likely to read the themes the right way. Someone facing similar frustration with the improvisation in estrangement from searching this radical anti-authoritarian queer person of color imaginary. Herein lies the problem with the politicization of intimacy, if by politicization one intends the mobilization of a third party. What we have here is a tendency towards negation in the midst of attempting to extend a survivor politic. If through survivor self determination and self care we mean the disdain towards the evidentiary in the aim of dignity then our decisive narrative places us in the void. Insurrecto-nihilists would say this is proof that the entire basis of political consensus is faulty. My point is otherwise. I choose to believe in something. My lived experience is as real as anything and I decide to let my politics begin there. Such meditations reveal the innate fictionality of all political basis for action. This never makes the pursuit of ever knowing the right thing to do a foregone conclusion. It's the condition of possibility for agency as any individual or society will ever know it. This never calls for a refusal of our commitment in every situation to figuring out what justice will be. If you forget that then what are you fighting for? Consensus premised upon a commitment to avoid causing harm due to an understanding of our shared finitude will always be the preferable alternative to opportunism, exploitation, autocracy and cruelty. The ends never justify the means, rapist.

Despite the belief that negation will liberate us all, insurrecto-nihilism plots a curious route to this end through the vicinity of blackness and survivorship. I use 'blackness' here to mark a position within a system of value. The insurrecto-nihilists draw primarily upon the New World system of value where blackness represents an identity of historic injury. My argument is that is not an occasion for identification with insurrecto-nihilist practice, whereby historic pain and trauma leads to black

limit of the tellable. Capacity chauvinism lives to make survivors work to prove the existence of what they survived.

So far my efforts have been to craft a decisive narrative. I don't re-hash through my trauma merely to pass the time. My purpose is to have you agree with my assessment of what I've chosen to name "insurrecto-nihilist capacity chauvinism." This mode of storytelling is trying to push you towards identification in a way that forges a survivor narrative contract. The amount of work it takes to forge such a contract usually exceeds the capacity of the survivor, due to the lack of community QUARREL premises. Pushing against all-consuming silence to suit evidentiary, solidarity and consensus motives, survivor stories are constative entities passing between the intimate-political interface to demand unconditional belief. In my quasi-survivor story these forces distill the actantial perp imago, here in the sign of Dave Eggers. "Dave Eggers" first surfaces as an epithet for August over the course of Billy Lu's manipulative mass email sent August 11, 2009, where he barely acknowledges having "hurt" an unspecified number of people.

Billy's email struck me as particularly offensive because 1.) it was an email, 2.) it was sent en masse, 3.) key folks trusted to hold Billy accountable were lacking in the en masse recipients or 4.) would be able to discern what was implied in 5.) Billy's vagueness of what "hurt" was supposed to so transparently delineate, because the primary focus of the email was 6.) Billy's detailed instruction for how he wanted to people to engage him with regard to (barely) said "hurt." It was the disproportion of attention Billy paid to his own standards for acceptable accountability engagement, with express prohibitions of violent alterations, that did the most to etch the enormity of this "hurt" he had done. Going back to 3.), I noted that Billy's close street political organizing bro association with August---whose email address was included in the mass---didn't exactly add up to a vote of confidence in the matters concerning, since August himself had avoided accountability for the relatively minor incident of the death threat following queer critique of the Bash Back con-consensus communique/rant. August responded by pasting in an apparently unsolicited and authentic "statement in response to the news [of]...an 'official meeting'" from one Kattie Kutthroat---who calls herself "an integral part of the debate" over Billy's Bash Back! communique/rant re-post---about whether or not what August said should be seriously considered a homophobic death threat. Her argument is that "kill yourself" is merely a harmless example of "idioms and slang [that] can be easily misunderstood." The point of this essay, the contract I would desire the reader to accept on good faith, is that harmless internet memes contribute to a capacity chauvinist ensemble of hegemonic pressures that operate beyond a deliberate conspiratorial scheme but instead articulate an actantial role of antagonism in the narrative of embodied survival. It's both "just how it all went down" and the result of structures of unevenly distributed material disenfranchisement: "of course!" the straight person is telling queers to "kill themselves," "of course!" the serial sexual assailant is re-posting a rant against consensus, "of course!" the dude recruits someone female-appellated to debunk concerns for their accountability-ducking, etc. My usage of "capacity chauvinism" is not to reveal some unknown alien concept, it's the bedrock of the status quo. Insurrecto-nihilism is the culmination of capacity chauvinist desires to rid such spaces of decisions, identity, community, etc. The vertiginously circular bad faith of survivorship and blackness constitutes the affective labor that shores up insurrecto-nihilism.

That August uses another voice as an extension of his own is definitively

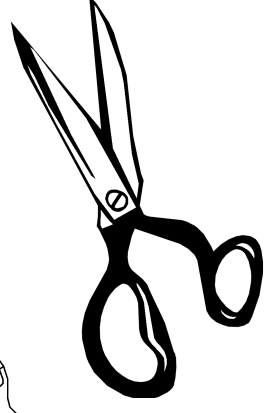
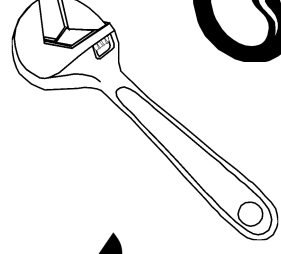
The severity of the damage that you've caused to countless women and the communities that they are situated in leaves us with little recourse but to demand that you seek out methods for dealing with your personal shit that do not come at the expense of taking power from community members.

This letter serves as your first in a series of proclamations that you are not welcome in women centered spaces until further notice. If you are seen in women centered spaces you will be asked to leave immediately. In tandem, it is of utmost importance that you take it upon yourself to disclose your history of abuse to the women in your life as one of many steps in this process of violence prevention.

Over the next few months, we will be speaking with communities on campuses, in radical spaces, in collectives, and queer safe spaces, to let people know that you are not to participate in solidarity with women's causes until we can reevaluate your pattern of abuse.

If you refuse to abide by these guidelines or emotionally torment survivors of your abuse we are prepared to take more serious, public action.

This letter is your final warning.





The Action



After months of planning to try an anticipate every possible outcome, we assembled about 50 people who we briefed about the action against [REDACTED]. On the evening of the action we met and went over the game plan. Several QUARREL members had staked out the bar where [REDACTED] was a guest DJ. At the appointed time they would give the go ahead for the rest of us to enter and collectively read the survivor demands. There were QUARREL members in roles of public relations liaison, security liaison, and police liaison. To minimize conflict and confusions the liaisons were the only people to interact with anyone that approached the group during the action. The liaisons also had cards describing who we were and why we were leading this action to distribute to bar patrons. Everyone in attendance had a buddy to check in with about emotional safety and there was a safe space away from the bar and a driver waiting if anyone needed to leave for any reason. Survivors were in the center of the group, insulated by supporters. As soon as the group started streaming in it was clear [REDACTED] knew something was up. We surrounded the stage he stood smirking on and read the demands in a loud powerful collective voice. Several bouncers approached the group and were spoken to by the liaisons. The group finished our piece, handed [REDACTED] the proclamation, turned around en masse, and left to rendezvous at the debrief space. Adrenaline was high. Several people ran after us to ask what was going on. Liaisons distributed cards and fielded questions. After conferring with each other several bartenders and bar security thanked us for doing something important and let us know that [REDACTED] would be told he could not return.

as planned you don't throw out the plans. But people approach past Point Fuck It from different departures. Without identification the NJ4 is merely an action movie of cartoon antagonism and not a decisive narrative of improvised survival. The death threat's identification, if it hasn't been obvious up to now, resides in the ensemble affectosphere of insurrecto-nihilist capacity chauvinism. Rendering this set of relations transparent is one key element of an extensive project in continuum with QUARREL's intervention to access and dream repair on the status of intimate political community. My interests here should not be received as threatening the tenuous centrality of survivors in their own discourse. I feel my participation with QUARREL's organizing sought to explore the broader social implications of the survivor narrative as political paradigm.

Here, just as in the cultural production of Dave Eggers, the degree to which I would assent to the rationale and content of August's argument is summarily decimated by the glaring context and agenda of the speaker's voice. Capacity chauvinism exemplifies a kind of crisis opportunism where a sense of morbidity is lost during the transvaluation of success/failure. Legitimation anxiety fuels an appetite for survivor stories because they get to become transformed into tales of inspiring oppression glamour. I am thankful for my friendships forged through NJ4 organizing and grateful to have contributed to a small resurgence of queer of color cultures of self defense in the Bay Area, but that doesn't mean that the horrifying incident should be mythologized and congratulated. Such gratuitous acts indicate a very action movie attitude towards the circumstances of politicization that imbues privilege with an unmistakable materiality. There's a difference between not giving a fuck because a.) you have nothing to lose and b.) you always tend to win anyway.

Insurrecto-nihilism lives on an action movie plane detached from the mortifying ongoingness of the world. August's identifiable death threat occurred right in the midst of the unfolding SRO (Single Resident Occupancy) tenant organizing debacle I narrated in my essay "Hotel Hell: With Continual References to the Insurrection": right around the time that fledgling hotel tenant organizer Wednesday *did* commit suicide. The situations of harassment surrounding her death are detailed more extensively in that essay. Furthermore, her harasser also passed away from a medical condition while I was deleting the tangent detailing August's wish that I would die. Eric wisely decided to exorcise the irony that in the interest of showing solidarity with the NJ4, the publicly heterosexual August decided to tell two queers to kill themselves. Wednesday, a white female who identified as queer, and her harasser, the older black desk clerk I renamed Cluny who did not, were murdered by extensive institutional violences. Touring to promote the anthology my essay appeared in, *Captive Genders: Trans-embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex*, co-edited by Eric, I made a point of indicting the ableism of an allegedly anti-state insurrectionary anarchism that failed to grapple with the incapacitating morbidity that saturates the deeply institutionalized lives of those in SRO's. After galloping to defend Bash Back's dismantling of consensus decision-making August was allowed a year later to move into a collective: Station 40. I wanted to play up the neglectful proximity of Station 40 to the Altamont Hotel where I live: August was now literally next door to me. Wednesday could have made use of August's protective straight ally energy when she was attempting to organize against harassment from Caritas Management and Mission Housing.

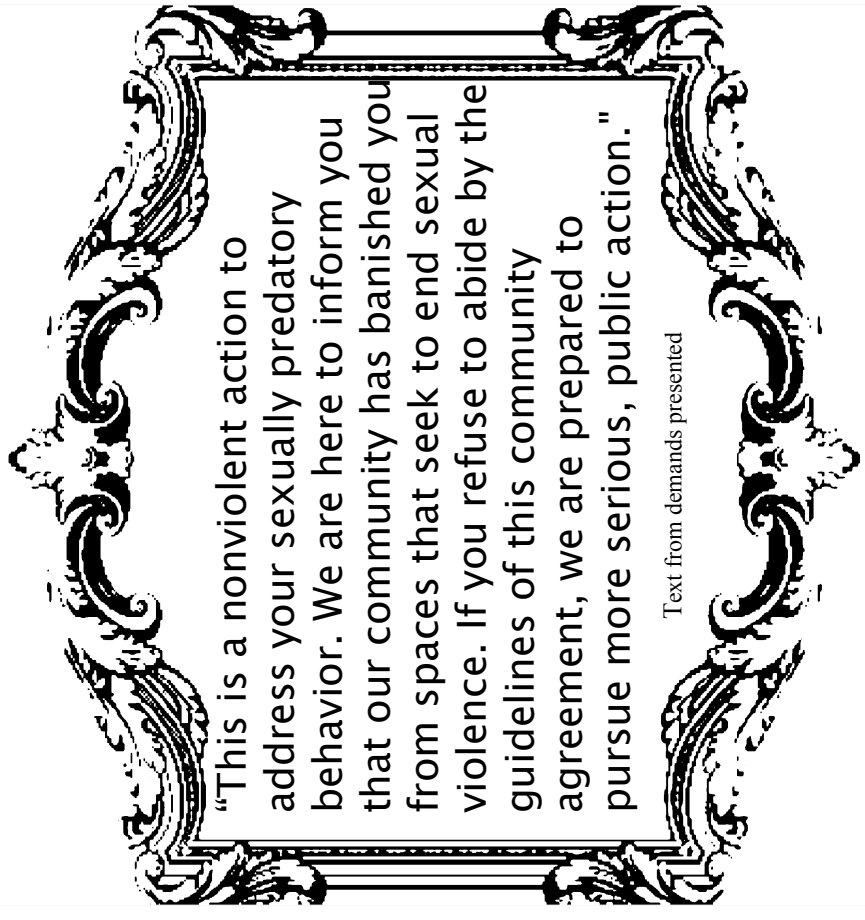
Narrating all of this is exhausting. These are the types of scenarios of expenditure that overwhelm in capacity chauvinism. Capacity chauvinism isn't one singular encounter but operates as an ensemble of tone, something that sits at the

action movie chronotope of deviant insurrectionary urban working class black queer femininity? Stalwart paragon of withstood hardship? Why does it feel like the insurrecto-nihilists, despite their opposition to all things liberal, fetishize an ethnography primed palatable to be installed in the pluralist slot of representative democratic diversity? Would the same frothing tokenization occur if the NJ4 were white straight male nazis? My unwritable synthetic and forbidden imaginary begins in material necessity to imagine an elsewhere of liberation rather than spectacularize its own subjection. Pat Parker once said that she never wanted to be any place where every facet of her full self cannot follow. I'm trying to go there with her.

But what exactly is August doing that is so infuriating? It's August's girlfriend washing his dishes, it's August and Billy acting aloof when I hand them flyers inviting them to Gay Shame's "De-Center the Center" action, it's the Ultraviolence tour, it's his "East Bay" hat, it's August going "Whassup bitches!," it's August watching Black Snake Moan (2006, USA, Dir. Craig Brewer) with his girlfriend. These impressions do not exhaust a personhood, although they exhaust me in my obsession, my revulsion. I am jumping at an affective imago, a figment constructed by my recoil, my trauma. The death threat is identified by a reflex, a flinch. It is a way of naming what capacity chauvinism looks like as the death threat operates on multiple levels. How this threat of death moves can be described as a form of affective labor where intimate violence and insurrecto-nihilism make themselves available for the facile interpretation as metaphors for one another. How pat: "rape" as a metaphor. Insurrecto-nihilism moves through survivorship's linguistic circuits of violence and trauma in an effort to self-reflexively over-determine itself. August and Billy and their friends went through Europe with something called an "Ultraviolence Tour" talking about Oscar Grant organizing in Oakland. This self-reflexiveness is a tactic for re-centering intent as an attribute of the insurrecting mob. I wonder if this is where their notion of autonomy goes? My emphasis on affect seeks to sabotage a fatalism that posits the inevitability of popular violence. I prefer using the term "affect" as a way to track sometimes simultaneous sometimes divergent patterns without the over-determined implication of causality or proximity. I want to problematize even August's all-too-facile designation as an antagonizing hate-sink in this anecdote. It is my trauma rather than August's intentions that registers this identified death threat. Trauma is one way to read what happened. I prefer using the term "affect" as a way to track sometimes simultaneous sometimes divergent patterns without the over-determined implication of causality or proximity. I want to problematize even August's all-too-facile designation as an antagonizing hate-sink in this anecdote. It is my trauma rather than August's intentions that registers this identified death threat. Trauma is one way to read what happened.

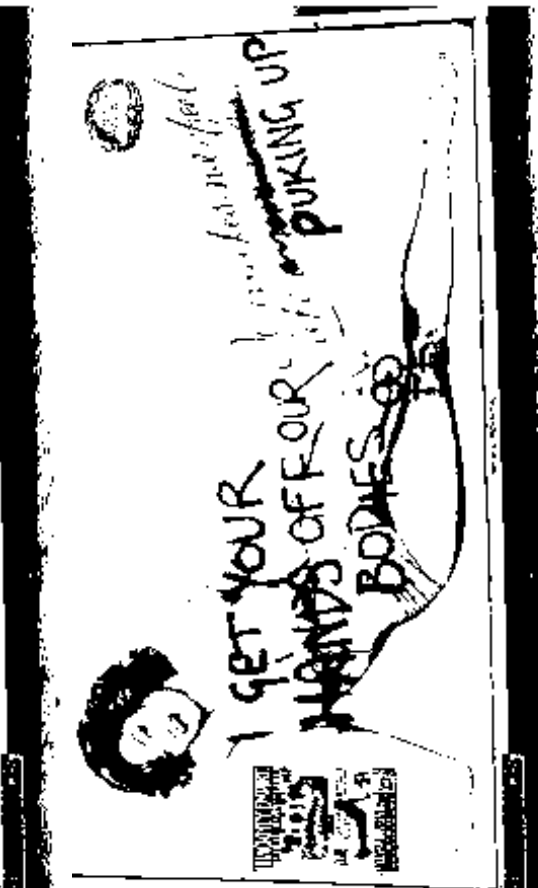
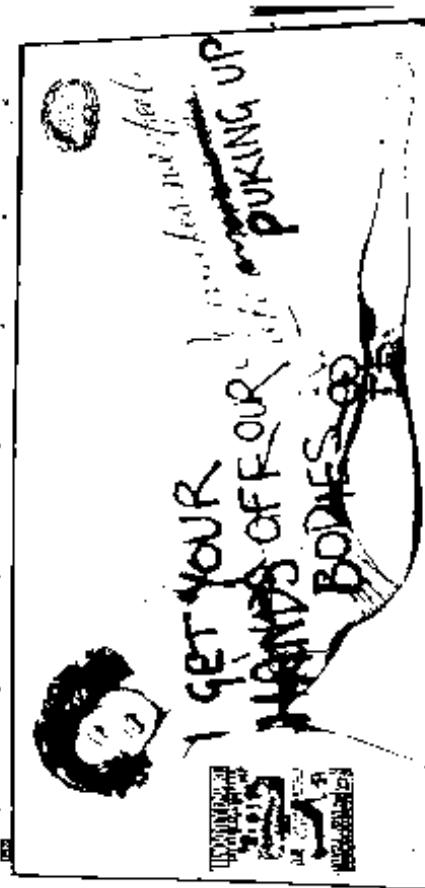
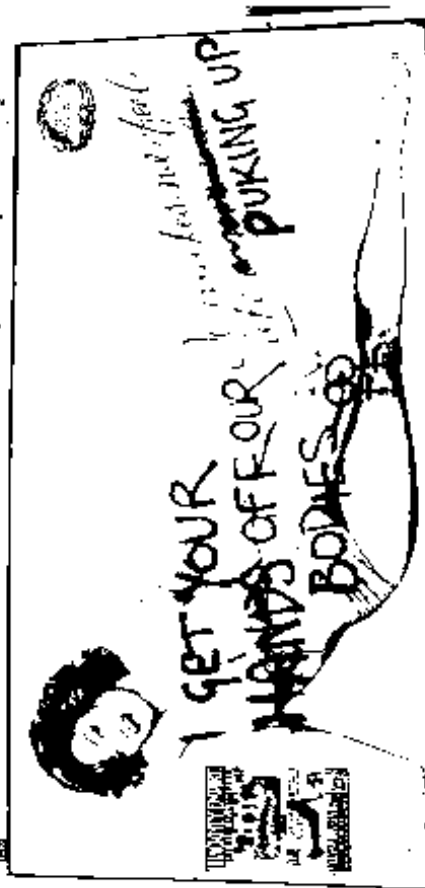
Here I am forced to dissociate, seeking refuge in other possibilities at that exact site of their destruction. Systemic violence is the failure of a sustaining imaginary to constitute itself. The violence here belongs to voice and the effects voicing has on the content. The violence resides in my agreement with the content. The NJ4 indeed made the right choice in a sea of violence. But the NJ4 are not a prescription for the vanguard. The decisive narrative of the NJ4 confirms that consensus is both necessary and impossible. The NJ4 deserve better choices. Improvisation doesn't always go well. It's less than ideal by nature. Why should we set the bar so low for the world we want? Billy Lu's friends had to improvise when they could no longer carry themselves inattentive to the culture of misogyny pervading the anarchist community. Did that go well? Just because life may not go

We arrived at the debrief space where the QUARREL aftercare team had prepared food for the group. We had a checkout about each person's experience. It was announced that though some QUARREL members could care less about [redacted] wellbeing and wanted to have nothing to do with his care personally and politically, we had been in contact with several people who were a part of [redacted] life and were committed to being in contact with and supporting him after the action and thereafter to assure his wellbeing. QUARREL then presented the next phase of the action, enforcing the safer spaces boundaries though direct contact with individuals and organizations and invited the participation of everyone present.



to lionize. [sic]" The NJ4 were seven young black lesbians from Newark, NJ who were sentenced---three pled out---to from 3 1/2 to 11 years for defending themselves against a homophobic attack. Radical politics work in a fragile edifice. Some want radical politics to be a form of escapism rather than confirm a mortifying ongoingness. However a distinction must be observed in this impulse---between either an unwillingness to face one's privilege or a preference toward avoiding what's traumatizing. A survivor narrative such as the NJ4 can offer both, depending on who is telling it. Let's take the NJ4 case as a narrative instance of the radical anti-authoritarian queer person of color imaginary, a fleeting instance glimpsed mere moments before the state terror of the cage, corporeal consequences for defiance: here it also produces content for the voice of insurrecto-nihilism. How is this possible? What distinguishes this voice from a gentrifying restaurant playing rap music? The NJ4 in this voice is not indicative of any institutional violence implied in August's disdain for consensus. This is a voice motivated by alienation, and it alienates me in August's telling, how August represents information. In August's de-familiarizing narrative approach there is also a metaphor of how people think the internet: information distorted and disconnected from consciousness, the world made inaccessible. The NJ4 survivor story obtains an aberrant narrativity told with the prerequisite distance imminently assimilable into so-called insurrectionist discourse. In the dearth of thematic or empathetic identification, the NJ4 operates as a mode of exoticism where insurrecto-nihilist rape culture is never implicated. I want to emphasize the key distinction here, since out of context, August's words read as solidarity. I withhold the option of identification from August, and I want to base the rationale of this maneuver upon the function that voice performs as a rhetorical device which attempts to treat the vanguardist non-accountable organizing I'm labeling insurrecto-nihilist as interchangeable with the extenuating circumstances at work in the narrative of the NJ4. For August, there is merely an idle preoccupation with the sensational "fighting back" component of the story, consumed similarly to how a viewer relates to action movies

Insurrecto-nihilism imagines direct action autonomy as a process of making action movies 3D. August's NJ4 narrative turns direct action into a spectacle worthy of video-sharing and an active comment thread. With editing I could make the NJ4 support group's consensus meetings into a cute postable hashtag-magnet (and perhaps this would be a good idea) but the propagandist production of spectacle would always elude the meaning of identification. Estranged from the banal morbidity that stalks any lived identification with the NJ4, action exists for itself with its own singular narrative concerns indifferently superimposed upon scenes of actual state violence. Insurrecto-disembodiment's grand project is a transport out of the decisive narrative of communal identity that places one in the world. Whereas the priority for Eric and I and everyone else in our transcontinental direct support group was with trying to get the NJ4 out of jail. Our identification led us here, following in the wake of organizers in NYC. Part of what led me there was an identification with being unmade by the corporate media's homophobia, misogyny and racism. Part of it was the thought of being left out to dry when the campaign was abandoned by non-profit neglect. Our support committee's identification also made use of this decisive narrative to promote a culture of self defense. Perhaps the distance invigorated my desire to contribute to efforts to reach out, organize and overcome this fairly visible example reminiscent of so many close experiences of terror. We could have used August and any extra insurrecto-bro personnel to this end. Of course it's not glamorous. I don't see any other option. Stupidly revel in



CONVOS

The following letter or its basic contents were presented to a number of organizations that had hosted [REDACTED] as a guest speaker, had announced him for upcoming events, or were known to be spaces frequented by him:

I am writing you because a man by the name of [REDACTED] has attended and participated in events at your space. I am involved in a process that aims to address this man's sexually predatory behavior.

Over the past ten years, [REDACTED] has repeatedly committed numerous acts of violence against women and trans people in the San Francisco Bay Area and in other cities and states. Because multiple attempts at community accountability have failed and he refuses to seek help, a group of survivors and community members have banned him from women-centered spaces and activist networks that prioritize women's safety.

[REDACTED] uses his status as a musician, academic, media maker and activist to manipulate young women of color; therefore, we are seeking to challenge his entitlement to spaces that actively engage young women of color by effectively banishing him. This is a proactive attempt to make our community safer and make sure [REDACTED] does not retraumatize survivors of his abuse that belong to these communities.

We understand the political and social ramifications of criminalization. We do not seek to criminalize [REDACTED]; instead, we wish to nonviolently ban him from spaces that want to stop violence against women and transpeople. Survivors of [REDACTED] abuse have in the past frequented your space and the communities that [REDACTED] has been known to target have been actively engaged in the political and social events held at your space.

[REDACTED] is aware of the community agreement but because of his history we do not expect him to stay out of organizing spaces that want to stop sexual violence

nihilism seems more enthusiastic about negating people than negating its own baggage from the Enlightenment. In a misogynistic dialectic between the narratable and the lived, I oppose vulnerability, closeness and an urgent intimacy to a distance and disembodiment that I feel is semiotically epitomized by Eggers' jacket design for the 2006 novel *What is The What* and the civic literacy promotion of *Zeitoun* (2009, *McSweeney's*) as San Francisco's official 2010 One City One Book selection. Having encountered Eggers in these contexts and never read either works on principle, this sign becomes crucial to characterizing a kind of production of political legitimacy through a remote survivor narrativity, an erotics of the inaccessible.

All this speaks to insurrecto-nihilism's idiosyncratic attachment to blackness and survivorship, the escapist fantasy of a thug death. Gangster rap as survivor narrative isn't viewed through the lens of consciousness as a cautionary tale but as an action movie vector of exploitation that lends street credibility to their self-reflexive ultraviolent mob eroto-determinism. My analysis here will focus on the importance of voice and the displacement certain voicing causes when privileged subjects insist on their proximity to the socially disenfranchised against all signs of that relation's obsolescence. This "downness" institution becomes a way to mediate proximity, to give communal standing to the absolute necessities of innovative new business interests, something of a vibe that insinuates itself into the rapid gentrification schemes of San Francisco. Formal solidarity and crisis opportunism do not allow one to elude the sea of violence within which one must improvise self and community. It is here at the political-intimate interface that QUARREL's work operates as a crucial intervention, to encourage confrontation with choice. Cultures of misogyny obscure the madness that accompanies decision through a killing of the crucial moment. The moment is killed by its over-determination. The moment is killed by the anticipation of its insurrectionary ultraviolent potential for going videoshare viral, jacking off to the LA riots. Insurrecto-nihilists obsess over this moment, and in so doing kill its messy unmasterable multiplicity. I'm un-pausing now.

The sentence, "You should all kill yourselves," was posted by Chris August Johnson as the entire content of a comment on a discussion thread. August disapproved of the direction a discussion had headed following Billy Lu's re-post of an anonymous communique/rant found on the former Bash Back! blog entitled, "A Response to the Anarcho-Liberal Take Over of Bash Back!" The anonymous authors alleged that queers had "the right to Bash Back! or pre-emptively Bash Back!" This was all quite a gas. Thanks to the internet, Billy's re-post wound up shedding light on political conflicts in the Bay with an uncanny prescience upon the topic of consensus. The battered topic of consensus was discovered under this silently shedding light by Eric Stanley and I; and for being such impertinent discoverers we were both death-deserving, apparently. When I imagine consensus it is never without problems. It is the responsibility of activists to pursue consensus in spite of its problems. What is disturbing is the apparent embrace of despotism in direct action practice in an effort to head-off the problems consensus causes. This direct action despotism is framed by a capacity chauvinist eroticization of distance. After the Greek Solidarity March I wanted to check-in with folks around tactics and jail solidarity. Nobody appeared concerned.

August added, "I wonder: if the New Jersey 4 had stopped to have a consensus meeting before they bashed that prick would they be dead or raped? They probably wouldn't have gone to prison though and we'd have some more martyrs

voluntarily. Due to the severity of [redacted] actions, the length of time he has been a known perpetrator, and the fact that his survivors are involved in these movement spaces, we invite you to act in solidarity with us and tell [redacted] he is not welcome in your space.

We are aware of the difficulty and seriousness in executing this confrontation. We invite you to engage in an open dialogue with us regarding any reservations you might have and welcome your feedback.

Abuse of power should not be a taboo subject in activist networks. We do not believe in contributing to the Prison Industrial Complex; therefore, we depend on solidarity from community members such as yourselves to not stand idly by and allow misogyny to terrorize liberation movements. We encourage you to explore this issue deeper and reflect on how we can work together to dismantle the culture of misogyny that allows behavior like that of [redacted] to go on unchecked for more than a decade.

If, after receiving this information, you choose to continue working with [redacted], please take this email as a warning to precede all future interactions with caution. As people who have worked and shared space with [redacted] in political, academic, and social capacities, we consider it an act of violence prevention to inform fellow organizers and activists about his history. We hope that this letter helps to put his present and future behavior in context so that you can be vigilant in keeping your events safe for community members.



Insurrecto-Eggers-Esque

I'd prefer to write about whatever might be called the radical anti-authoritarian queer person of color imaginary. Instead I get myself caught facing off against insurrecto-nihilists with my incidental provocation in passing: "Must your casualties always be the same as the State's?" This frustrating affair establishes grounds for the identification of a death threat.

I'm taking a moment to be with my anger. So what's the problem? Extenuating circumstances. I'm dissatisfied with not being allowed to write about what I want to write about. I'm being coy, since this unwritable imaginary alludes to broader political dissatisfactions: this figurative dilemma is a little model I'm giving the reader to represent how these different scales of difficulty interface---although within improvisation there is also an observable vitality insinuating a semblance of self-sovereignty. Right now, as I'm sitting on the verge of having to improvise, stretching my dissatisfaction, anger and---faced with an impossible choice within this moment of what may be the closest thing to agency---confusion.

In this essay I'll be using insurrecto-nihilism to succinctly placehold the summary of experiences I've had with a version of organizing ostensibly allying itself to the principles of insurrectionary anarchism. I'm not invested in crafting a concise genealogy for insurrectionary anarchism. Thinking the imaginary against trauma I've been led to improvise, unfortunately, a very nuanced set of working knowledges under the category of "insurrecto-nihilism," if the reader would allow me to elaborate.

My findings suggest that this insurrecto-nihilism is a philosophical tendency within organizing that seeks to unmake the political in a fashion that dismayingly always appears to involve people---the anecdote that I'm taking my time rushing to focuses on a special patronage paid to subjects moving through blackness and survivorship. Insurrecto-nihilism culminates from a theory of how history, community and identity will dissolve into a popular uprising that will somehow continue to require a vanguard of the enlightened---i.e. insurrectionary anarchists with hella hood stripes, nigga!---at the center to bring it about. Insurrecto-nihilism comports swimmingly with a term I've concocted to describe a logistical discrepancy within organizing I'll be liberally referring to as capacity chauvinism. Capacity chauvinism is a staunch and stubborn tradition that compels direct action organizing structures to disregard participation from those with less privilege. I'll be using the concept of privilege to track a multi-dimensional ableism in the diminishment of capacities that materially proliferates disproportionately. This state of incapacitation contributes to an insurrecto-disembodiment, an organizing style that glorifies crisis over and against the psychical sustaining needs of everyday lived experiences. I will be arguing how insurrecto-disembodiment is a mode of obscuring the potentially incapacitating decisive narratives of identification---of being caught up.

These insurrecto-nihilists enact a purely stylistic solidarity with lived experience: a Dave Eggers Effect, if you will. I will be exploring an utterly unnecessary yet indisputably novel analogy to the celebrated author and wealthy social entrepreneurial San Francisco transplant who is renown for bringing topical stories into the mainstream in a fashion that simultaneously fortifies his own unimpeachable liberal persona. As part of my assignment for this zine I was to comment upon the culture of misogyny that surrounds sexual assault. Insurrecto-

Responses

The highlights

From United Anarchists in the Bay

We spoke about your proposal at our meeting and reached consensus to ban [redacted] from the Anarchist Olympics and events. We also decided to let him know before the events to be as open to all parties as possible. We respect the wishes of the survivors and accountability/intervention group.

Thank you for contacting us and helping us keep our event safe and welcoming for survivors, women, and trans folk. We look forward to seeing you at the games!

From Bay Area Booking Collective

Thank you so much for writing us. we do seek to create safe spaces for queer, poc, women, gender variant peoples. i am very familiar with the project and was actually asked to be involved in it. i also have loved ones who have been personally affected by [redacted]. i will bring this up in the next meeting and circulate this email throughout the group. i believe community response to various types of violence is key in our healing process. We appreciate the heads up.

**MINE.
NOT
YOURS**



**MINE.
NOT
YOURS**



**MINE.
NOT
YOURS**



From Chiapas Support Committee

Thanks for communicating your charges which we take very seriously. I think we also have met before, if you're the same. We spoke with each other only briefly – once. If I remember correctly you were also in a relationship with [redacted] at that time (?). So I am very sorry to hear about all these troubling charges because I would never have expected to learn about such charges against [redacted]. I hope you are well.

These are of course very serious and disturbing allegations. I would like to talk with you some time next week to see what we can do to change this situation. Eastside Arts Alliance staff had already spoken with me about your charges against [redacted] and we agreed that he could not be at this event.

In any case, please be clear that this is our event and we, the Chiapas Support Committee with Eastside Arts Alliance, are responsible for the success of the gathering. Any disruption will be handled by us or others who we may ask to help us if needed. we will ask them to leave; if they refuse, we will escort them out away from the space.

However, we do not expect anyone to disrupt the event. At all Chiapas support committee events we expect self-respect from all participants.

Your charges do not match [redacted] I know; this is why I would like to learn more about what happened and what we can do. *Cont...*

Alternative accountability processes, much like the traditional ones, often force the survivor to relive the trauma of the assault and force her to put her reputation – a problematic concept in itself – on the line as “proof” of her credibility. They end up being an ineffective recreation of the judicial process that leaves the perpetrator off the hook, while the survivor has to live through the memory of the assault for the rest of her life . The US legal system and the alternative community-based accountability processes are simply not good enough for survivors, and certainly not revolutionary.

Rape is entangled in a system of patriarchy and domination. It would serve us well to consider rape as part of class and race analysis. It is not only a crime committed by individuals against individuals; it is systemic and structural. It is our material interest as women that pushes us to stand up for ourselves. The material consequences of patriarchy and male supremacy push all women, regardless of how they define themselves ideologically, to fight against our oppression. In our work as a radical community, both female- and male-bodied, we must work to dismantle this form of oppression and domination. We find it an incomprehensible and unacceptable betrayal that our so-called male-bodied ‘friends’ would perpetrate this kind of subjugation of female-bodied comrades. Just because you can articulate feminist theory does not mean that you are to be trusted.

We also find tacit support of male-bodied perpetrators, as well as the hijacking of our collectively defined accountability process particularly offensive. Attempts by some self-identified “male allies” to take control of the action by confronting Maus themselves, pressuring women for inclusion and calling a public meeting without our permission undermined our practice of self-organization. Rather than demonstrating their support these men made it clear that they were unwilling to allow us to act on our own behalf without their involvement. The type of action we took as a group of female-bodied comrades aligns clearly with anti-hierarchical politics and goals of self-determination. If our male-bodied ‘comrades’ want to be considered as comrades, we’d like to see them behave that way.

This action sets a precedent, the beginning of a new kind of accountability process, one that leaves the perpetrator in pain and articulates our call for the dismantling of male supremacy in radical political communities and beyond. We know that Maus is not the only guilty one. We know there are more of you out there...

It would take a revolution to eliminate structural violence; thus an anti-rape agenda must be part of any revolutionary agenda. We demand this now.

Radical Womens Kitchøn

Communicue from Santa Cruz, CA.

This is an unwavering political statement, a conscious effort to politicize an event without being apologetic or defensive. This statement is written by a collective of women who came together in the spring of 2010 based on shared experiences and concerns surrounding patriarchy and sexual violence within the radical scene and beyond. In our meetings and discussions, we learned that many of the women within our network have experienced some form of sexual violence. It is no coincidence that we have had this experience with power. Rape is not a personal misfortune but an experience with domination shated by many women. When more than two people have suffered the same oppression the problem is no longer personal but political - thus, rape is a political matter (New York Radical Feminists Manifesto, 1971)

Violence against women contributes to a system of power, organizing society into a complex set of relationships based on a sometimes invisible and internalized assumption of male supremacy. Rape is not the only form of control that male-bodied individuals can practice in romantic, friend, or comradeship relationships. Physical as well as emotional abuse function as ways of maintaining involuntary hierarchies and control over women, female sexuality, and reproductive systems.

The silence and secrecy that often surrounds issues of power and domination should in no way be taken as complicity, however, we as women and survivors will remain silent no longer.

Ideologically speaking, male-bodied anarchists and communists align with principles of egalitarianism and anti-authoritarianism, yet daily practices in this regard oftentimes fall short. We have repeatedly seen a chasm between theory and praxis in male-bodied treatment of women and other oppressed people. We have seen over and over again, male-gendered behaviors reproduce the very systems of domination that we are fighting to dismantle. We refuse to allow this to continue. In the course of our meetings, we identified one male-bodied individual as a repeat perpetrator of sexual violence against female-bodied people: Jan Michael Dichter, also known as Maus. This particular individual, whose vocabulary consisted of anti-patriarchal jargon, had committed sexual violence before, and participated in survivor-defined accountability processes.

We did what had to be done out of sheer necessity. As radicals, we know the legal system is entrenched in bullshit - many laws and legal processes are racist, classist, heterosexist and misogynist.

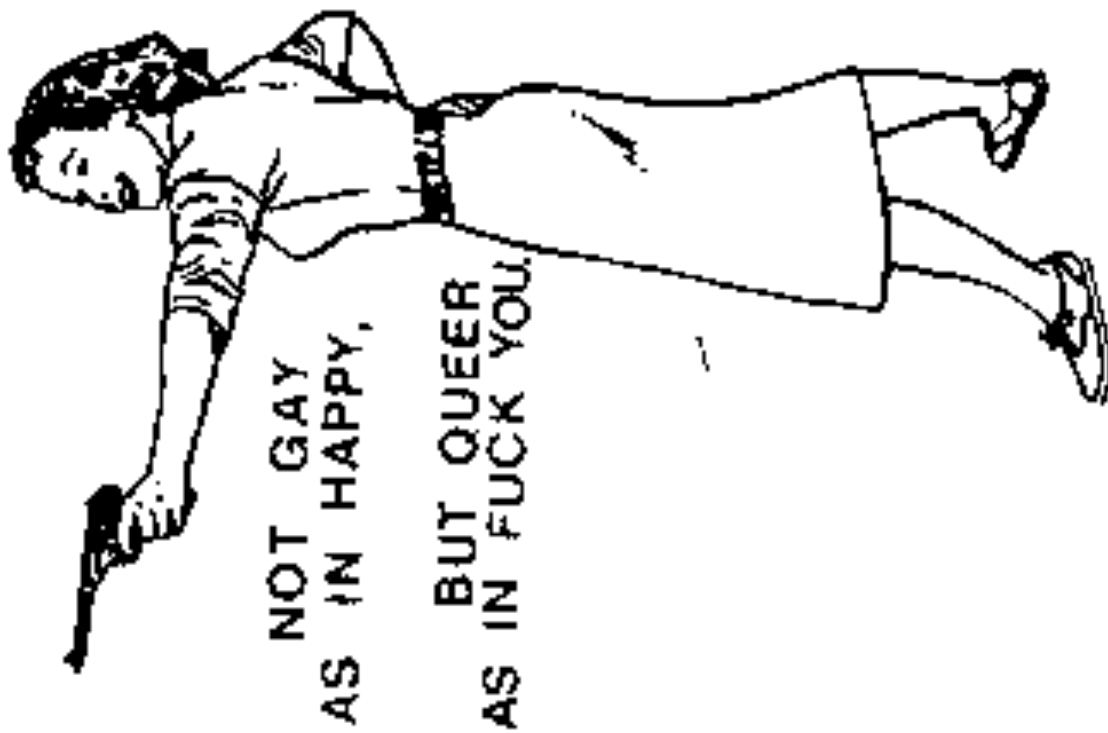
As you may know, [REDACTED] has performed with me on different occasions over the last three or so years. Do not judge us or me by association; you lose valuable ground by doing so. You do not help your argument by implying that if we do not go along with you then we are against you. [REDACTED] is an individual who if he has harmed women and others as you allege then he has to be held accountable. His isolation will not solve the problem of gender violence against women and queers and others who are different. In any case, we may or may not agree on what to do and how to achieve the desired results, but that does not mean we condone in any way, shape or form misogynyism.

First, the charges have to be proven; they may be true or they may be exaggerated -- in either case you do not serve yourself well by implying a threat simply because we may not meet eye to eye with your allegations or agree on how to proceed. This is yet to be discussed and decided.

Although I do not know or have interacted with [REDACTED] on a day-to-day level, from the few times I have interacted with him, your charges do not match [REDACTED] I know. This is not dismissing your allegations but just so that you understand the different perspectives and experiences we may have with him.

If you're available we can talk on the phone some time that's mutually convenient next week and see what we can do to stop this and learn more about each other's work.

Note: Several different people pursued this conversation and tried to set up a meeting over a 2 month period of time to speak to this individual in person though it never manifested. [REDACTED] did not perform at the event which survivors were able to attend.



N (his girlfriend) and my friend P worked at XXXX which was next door to The Argonaut. I knew N was working because of prior research (I did a lot of research in the morning) so we knew we had to go drop a FEW off to her because she lived with O.D and it was good for her to see this flyer we worked so hard on. Once in the bar, I saw N walk away from her bar and V. and I decided that we should drop one or two or 9 flyers off next to her. We dropped em and left. Our work was done for the night.

When we are on the road 10 minutes later we get a call from P and she says that her job is on the line. Her racist Nazi boss decided that she was involved with our flyers and that she may not be able to work there. Not true. We organized without her knowing. So basically she might be getting fired because we spoke up. Shit. They also asked for the case number and for our names. She didnt give our names but passed along the case number. I realized I left my name and the case number at the front desk of the Argonaut hotel and that I may potentially get into trouble for "soliciting" or maybe "slander". If i get in trouble, I get in trouble. I dont care too much because I am going to speak my mind. Too many people are silenced. I wont let that happen. What the fuck am I supposed to do?????????????????????

We get yummy mexican food back in Oakland...now we wait until S. is on at 9. Patiently we await S's call. Will we ever have a phone date? The hotel and XXXXX supposedly called her and told her I had paid them a visit so thats more incentive for her to call me. Lets see.....)

We later decided to follow up with a second "attack" but we are busy grrls. Why the fuck do we have to spend our time and MONEY (printing flyers, making calls, gas) to call out molesters? Such a waste of time! I hope N. has a sense of closure... probably not... but at the end of the day violence against womxn is a fucking daily battle so when wil we ever "feel a sense of closure"? Demonstrating helps, knowing that folx got your back helps, knowing that there are way to go around it without involving the pigs help! We inspire each other to respond to violence and assault in different ways... the story of the J.P demonstration inspired N. and V. to organize their own entourage of bad ass bishes to go to his place of work and create a "situation". Although we don't know if his job told him anything, we do know that one of the womxn that worked at the bar came up and told P that she was also molested by O.D. We empower each other.

After returning to P's a few hours later, we discovered her so distressed and she found out that one of her other friends had been molested by him 2 years ago.

N (the girlfriend) called and told P that O.D. said our story was bullshit and that he had woken up and we were the ones molesting him at 9am in the morning. Right. Serio??

At 7pm we decided to file a report for sexual assault. "officer" Smith and her partner came and wrote our stories down and left with all the information they could.

They came back with 3 pictures of him, separated us and we identified him. They said he would have a warrant out for his arrest and that he would get a "heavy" misdemeanor and have to register as a sex offender forever. They said they would call me after they went to his work the next day and interrogated him.

Of course after many calls to the pig station nobody answered or had clear information to give to N. So after a couple of days from the assault we were kind of tipsy and dancing cumbias and started talking about O.D and we got HELLA mad. So I told them about the J.P. demonstration and since we knew the pigs would not do shit we decided to take matters into our own hands. A facebook, myspace, internet investigation took place and N. put some pieces together.... O.D was a worker at Argonaut hotel in SF. We got a bunched of flyers that we took to the Argonaut, I also filmed the demonstration but V. took all the footage with her and it is lost forever...

After placing about 20 flyers in the bathroom and in the hands of people we see in the lobby, we ask for a HR person/Manager. A man names Antonio (such an ass) comes out but his main intention was to shut us up and try not to cause a "scene" instead of to help and believe our story. (See video). He says" I think what you are doing is illegal and I might have to call the police" I told him they wouldn't give a shit and that was why we were there!

We left after talking him because he didn't want to help and we had one more stop.

The following are a few excerpts from our conversation with Station40. Included here are, first, the original letters sent to them asking for a ban on two sexual assaulters, next is one of their email responses out of what became an epic exchange, and lastly, our final response after the emails became more defensive and off topic:

Dear station 40,

I am writing to ask that your collective ban [redacted] from Station 40. As you may know, [redacted] has sexually assaulted a number of women and queers in the last several years. [redacted] has been resistant to and avoided accountability processes that people in his community, including his former housemates, have created for him. The folks that [redacted] has harmed have not seen an honest effort to change or take responsibility for his aggression.

The only one responsible for [redacted]'s sexually abusive behavior, of course, is [himself]. It may feel like getting too involved, or punitive, or too confrontational to formally ask [redacted] not to come over to your house. However, I am asking that your collective do so. It is on the radical community that [redacted] is part of to send a clear message that his behavior won't be permitted and ignored. And it is on us to show solidarity with the people who have been harmed by [redacted] many of whom have already banned him from their houses. As activists, I think it is important to show we are unafraid to confront [redacted] with what he has done.

One way to do this is by making it clear that [redacted] is not welcome in Station 40. Another is standing by that even if he shit-talks, lies, rationalizes his behavior, or complains that it's punitive.

Thanks for considering this. Let me know what you decide to do.

Best regards,
QUARREL ally

Hello again,

I am also forwarding you a formal request to ban [redacted] from station 40 since the subject came up Thursday night and you said that people that reside at station 40 have been discussing the action that took place in September.

Since station 40 is working to be some kind of ally in Latin@ community--the mission district-- I feel it is especially important for you all to understand the impact [redacted]'s actions have caused in my community and what this type of behavior has done to the Xican@ movement as a whole. Although, I do not want to lump [redacted] and [redacted] and whoever else into the same category and address their behavior in the exact same way, I do think it is helpful to discuss how white anarchism at times enables and feeds patriarchy in communities of color.

Best,

QUARREL

From Station 40, collective/event space:

We're currently engaged in a process regarding [redacted] as a whole collective.

Station 40 is not an example of white anarchism, as we are composed of folks from all sorts of backgrounds....we are a multi-gender, multi-ethnic, multi-aged collective. Many of us are not anarchists (although no one thinks being one is a bad thing) and many of us are sexual assault survivors, vets, working class, queer, and former addicts and homeless people.

We are all very different but all understand trauma intimately and take sexual assault very seriously. Going forward, We would also appreciate assumptions about the identities and privileges of individuals in our collective to remain off the table as we continue communication regarding this subject.

Now, we have a few questions based on blind spots in our knowledge and we are CC'ing [redacted] because we want to make an informed decision.

We believe transparency is crucial to working toward a healthy, healing/healed community space at S40 and beyond. *Cont...*

Fuck O. D.

My apartment mates and I started to worry when we called our homie N. and she didn't respond. The last one to hear from her was Lea and she said that N. had told her "we called the cops and we are trying to figure shit out...." after that we were not able to communicate with her. After two days N. appeared in the house with her friend V. and told us what had happened...

After falling asleep around 5 am at my friend P's apartment next to V. I awoke at 9am with a man named O.D. hand in between my legs.

When we had fallen asleep, O.D. (P's friend of 2 1/2 years, or at least that is how long he had dated her friend N.) was across the room and when we awoke he was underneath our blanket.

I felt his hand and rolled over really confused trying to compute whose hand that was. At that moment he reached his hand and slid it on my butt to my inner thighs. I immediately screamed "cant a woman get any sleep?!!!" and I ran to the bathroom holding my face in disgust.

V. ran to the bathroom and said "Did he touch you?!!!! Because I woke up right now and he touched me!!!" She woke up throwing a hand off of her vagina and was coming out of a daze when I stood up screaming.

We ran to our bags and shoes and grabbed them to leave. He pulled the blankets over his head because he realized we all knew what had just happened.

I grabbed his cigs and a marker and wrote on his white SF hat "Respect Women Fucker!!!!"

Then we left. If we would have stayed I would have beat him to the point of death. I knew where the knives were stored in the house and I had a feeling I had to leave.

WE'LL SHOW YOU CRAZY BITCHES

Communique from NYC.

jacob onto is a piece of shit sexual assaulter. we are tired of accountability processes that force the survivor to relive, over and over, the trauma of assault; that force the survivor to put their reputation on the line as "proof" of their credibility; that end up being an ineffective recreation of the judicial process that leaves the perpetrator scot free, while the survivor has to live through this for the rest of their life.

at the very least, the perpetrator should feel something, some lasting mark of his behavior, something he will remember every time he has sex - that is, if he ever has sex again. so we decided to make sure this is an assault that jacob never fucking forgets.

we rolled in with a baseball bat. we pulled his books off his shelves: he admitted it; not a single one mentioned consent. we made him say it: "i am a rapist." we left him crying in the dark on his bed: he will never feel safe there again.

this is a precedent. this is the beginning of a new kind of accountability process, one that leaves the perpetrator in pain - though this is still only a tiny fraction of the pain that he has caused. we know that jacob is not the only guilty one. we know there are more of you out there.

we are not sorry, and we will not stop: from now on, we will respond to sexual violence with violence.

"if you touch me, i will fucking kill you." let the roundups begin.

(a public service announcement: we encourage you to all use consent from here on out. and let it be clear: consent is not the absence of a 'no,' but the presence of a 'yes'.)

In the meantime, during our own process, [REDACTED] is not welcome at Station 40.

Please answer these questions as soon as you can.

1. There's some concern about banning [REDACTED] from many spaces here in the Bay, primarily that he'll go to other spaces or scenes and continue this behavior. Has this been discussed during your accountability process with him?
2. What is the current status of your process?
3. Who is involved in the process?
4. What would he have to do to return to our space and other spaces?
5. What other spaces have you asked/are you asking this of?

Note: QUARREL was shocked that this group CCed both [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] with the names of survivors on this email, thus putting them in danger and compromising our survivor centered process. We responded and asked to meet with the collective in person, and had an intermediary that was on good terms with them request a meeting. There was no response, and we were ultimately turned down because we were considered hostile around the radical politic of our majority POC group insinuating that station 40 was a majority white collective in a POC neighborhood going through gentrification. As far as we know, [REDACTED] was never posed any questions about his behavior. Station 40 at no point acknowledged that they had CCed [REDACTED], and has discontinued contact with us. We include the following letter, our final response to them.

And here is what was our last response in the long email thread that had degenerated into vitriol on the part of Station 40:

Dear Station 40,

We are writing from the email account of the group that is organizing for safe spaces free of [redacted]'s sexually predatory behavior. Please direct all responses to this email. Leave out monikers like peoples first names, and be aware that we will not reveal the names of people who are organizing in this survivor centered survivor led group. The obvious reasons include safety from retaliation, not only from [redacted], but other sexually abusive misogynistic activists/apologists.

We will refrain from giving you the spiel about protecting the identities of survivors in their work to confront the people who have harmed them, since as a collective that supports direct action against oppressive forces, needs around security should already be clear. Quite possibly however, it did not occur to this collective because our work is not identified by Station 40 as political organizing. Whatever the reasons for this grave oversight, we do not reveal the identity of those in our group, nor do we rely on word of mouth or the internet to reach our goals. Please make those corrections moving forward, respect anonymity, incorporate security culture and intentional conversations if you would like to be involved with our work. To clarify, we are concerned that casually CCing [redacted] on private email exchanges could potentially end up evidence against us in court. [redacted] has threatened us with criminal charges and, we have learned through his accountability team, that he is considering taking us to civil court for defamation of character. We ask that station 40 be vigilant and reflect on why you feel the need to CC people who have admitted to abusing female bodied community members with female bodied community members trying to address this abuse (in [redacted]'s process and [redacted]'s...).

That said, the questions you all have are very good ones and speaks to an accountability process that is actually the work of the person

The Mikiri: Community Self defense

"The mikiri wasn't like a middle-class women's group in the metropolis. It was a form of women's self-government, with real powers. Afrikan women would make rules, both economic and social, that were binding on the whole village—men as well as women. Violators were subject to the women's strike, whereupon all women would refuse to trade with the man, cook food for him, have sex with him, or care for his small children... Like a sentence of social death. Such ultimate punishment was rare since men recognized the mikiri's authority.

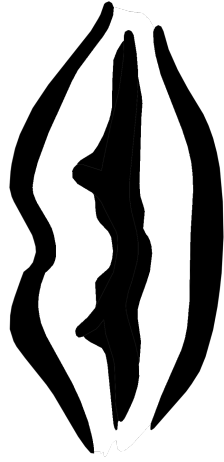
More common was the mikiri acting 'to sit on a man,' usually one who was beating a woman. All the women would surround his house, their faces

decorated with ashes and carrying ferns and ceremonial sticks invoking the power of their women ancestors. Chanting insults and demands, singing ridicule, they would wear the angry man down. Any physical resistance by the man would be beat down by the massed women. If necessary, the women would pull his house down and destroy its contents.

It could go on for days. Only after he gave in, criticizing himself and promising to act differently in the future, would the women leave. This is the mechanism, named women's war by the Igbo, which many mikiri acting together invoked against the British in 1929."

Military Strategy of Women and Children by Butch Lee:
<http://www.kersplebedeb.com/tmsowac/>.

Story Telling.



Included here are a few other peoples stories and statements describing how they dealt with sexual violence and harm in their communities. While you/I might not participate in a particular approach, we respect Survivor Self Determination and the many forms it can take, and what we can learn from them.

For more examples of the different ways people in radical communities have dealt with harm without the police check out:

- Story Telling Organizing Project: audio stories of everyday people responding to violence through community based alternatives
- Cindy Crabb and Alex Wrecks writing on their processes with Microcosm Publishing founder and abuser Joe Biel.
- Bluestockings NYC and bookstore statement and Fran Lucks writing on canceling events featuring abusive animal rights activist Nick Cooney
- Philly Stands Up: transformative justice collective focused on working with perpetrators of sexual assault
- Generation FIVE: Organization dedicated to ending childhood sexual abuse within 5 generations.
- The book: The Revolution Starts at Home; confronting intimate partner violence within activist communities

creating the harm. Please direct those questions and any further questions about accountability to [REDACTED] and his support community. XX, one of [REDACTED]'s supportive community members, whom we have been in constant contact with, can be reached at xxxxxx@xxxx.com. [REDACTED] is aware of his violent patterns and he is the only one who is responsible for his behavior and ending it. Our work is to enforce a ban. We can address any questions about our process and our goals should we meet.

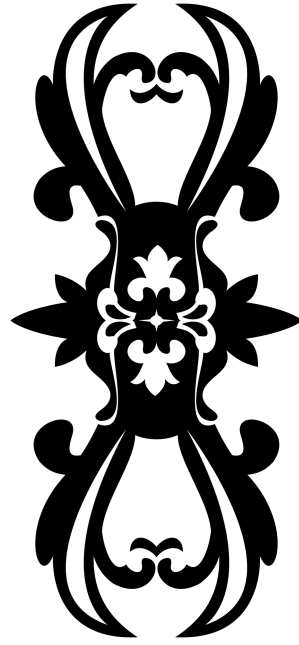
That pending, we would like to expand on the issue of racism and questions we have about how station 40 currently and historically functions inside of racism and hetero-patriarchy because the intersectional work we are doing is very intentional to discuss sexual abuse within the context of racism and hetero-patriarchy. Although the station 40 collective is comprised of people from lots of experiences including survivors and people of color we do not have relationships yet nor engaged in these dialogues about sexual assault and racism that one of your collective members is so proud of. Based on this utter lack of knowing each others' histories and politics, it is important to realize that we do have assumptions about race and privilege and do not assume station 40 is a safe space for sexual violence survivors in our group, who are largely women of color, who are largely Xican@ and Latin@, who are largely queer. Your responses thus far to our work have already created unnecessary risks to at least one member. Separately, a collective member of Station 40 who took it upon themselves to speak for the people of color in station 40 has expressed hostility to having these discussions about racism which suggests to us that station 40 considers that anti racist work done and that station 40 has moved on from struggling with us about these issues. This self identified white collective member ironically said that, "I am shocked and appalled that you feel entitled to ask a group of people you don't know to list our their racial profiles." Yes, absolutely and unapologetically we do feel "entitled" to do so.

We would love to assume that station 40's residents are largely women of color because the housing crisis in San Francisco disproportionately affects this group and thus it would make sense for an activist collective in the area to intentionally reflect that demographic; however, many of us, including the women of color recipient of this

white collective member's email, have reasons to be more than skeptical. As a group that centers the safety of women/queer of color survivors, knowing how many women/queer of color residents at station 40 would be helpful to create a comfortable environment for disclosure around our process.

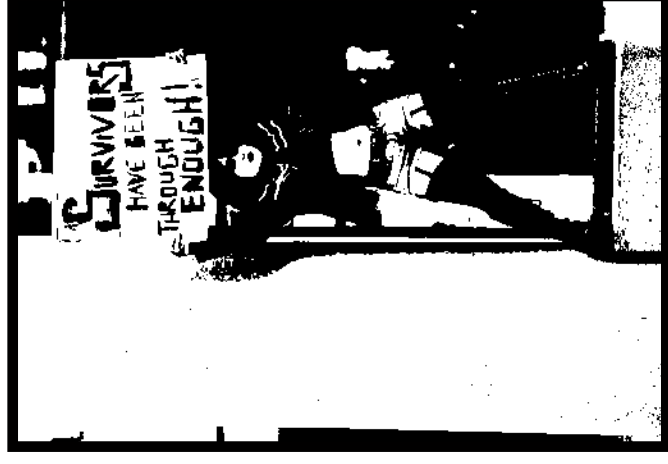
Because we would not like to engage in solidarity with assumptions of each other's identities, we asked for these assumptions to be demystified in more depth. If your collective is defensive about demystifying the multi-cultural identity of a privileged space like station 40 in the SF Mission District in an age of multicultural colorblindness, then solidarity is off the table. If a white coop member speaking on behalf of people of color in the collective is going to be shocked and appalled by such a question and shut down a conversation about how racism has historically functioned and functions in your collective then moving past assumptions about identity is off the table. But, race and privilege are never off the table, we cannot and will not engage with your multiethnic multicultural diverse collective otherwise, and we will not resolve this tension of not knowing each other on the basis of how many people of color currently pay rent in the space.

Our identity remains radical women and queer people of color survivors and their allies, who you may have the opportunity to meet and work with in the future.



Harm Reduction Principles in Survivor Advocacy

- ✧ Affirms survivors themselves as the primary agents of reducing the harms of their various coping methods as well as the authorities on their own experiences, and seeks to empower them to share information and support each other in strategies which meet their actual conditions of survival and coping.
- ✧ Recognizes that the realities of poverty, class, racism, social isolation, past trauma, discrimination and other social inequalities affect both survivors' vulnerability to and capacity for effectively dealing with the effects and aftermath of the abuse.



Harm Reduction Principles in Survivor Advocacy

*based on the model by Harm Reduction Coalition;
adaptation by Emi Koyama*

- ✧ Accepts, for better and for worse, that survivors learn to cope in whatever ways that reduce their pain and increase their sense of control, including those traditionally viewed as "unhealthy", and chooses to work to minimize their harmful effects rather than simply ignore or condemn them.
- ✧ Understands each method of coping as a complex, multi-faceted phenomenon that encompasses a continuum of behaviors from recklessly extreme to no action, and acknowledges that some ways of doing it are clearly safer than others.
- ✧ Establishes quality of individual and community life and well-being--not necessarily cessation of all activities deemed unhealthy or unsafe--as the criteria for successful interventions and policies.
- ✧ Calls for the non-judgmental, non-coercive provision of services and resources to people who are coping with the effects and aftermath of abuse and the communities in which they live in order to assist them in reducing attendant harm.
- ✧ Ensures that survivors themselves--both those receiving services currently and those who have in the past--routinely have a real voice in the creation of programs and policies designed to serve them.



Gloria Anzaldua Conference

We targeted the Gloria Anzaldua conference for support because [redacted] was on the schedule to attend. The original response from a professor organizing the conference stated that because of university regulations she could not legally ban anyone from attending. We responded that she could still support our efforts by putting out a general statement requesting Perpetrators of sexual assault refrain from attending and instead spend the time addressing their own behavior. While not entirely what we proposed, The Society for the Study of Gloria Anzaldua (SSGA) did create a statement committing support for Safer Spaces and include it in all of their conference materials in response to our communications. An excerpt:

“In her work, Anzaldua speaks of women’s bodies as battlegrounds upon which opposing ideologies and institutions wage their wars. As women’s bodies continue to be vulnerable to these brutalities, feminist organizations must clearly voice their opposition to the institutions and individuals that sustain cultures of gender/sexual violence.

In keeping with Anzaldua’s politics, the SSGA recognizes threats to women’s bodies as especially heinous and is committed to creating and maintaining spaces that are safe from violence, and that allow for the injured party to pursue justice in the way s/he sees fit. Gendered violence includes but is not limited to stalking, rape, sexual harassment, unwanted physical contact, assault, verbal abuse, etc.”



Silvia Federici traces the term gossip back to the 16th and 17th century England when women “lost ground in every area of social life.” The devaluation of women was part of a world-wide assault upon working people by the ruling class. In an effort to gather the resources and labor necessary to lay the foundations for capitalism, women’s roles were re-defined by the state (i.e. laws) and upheld by social norms. No longer were women able to handle their own legal contracts, to live by themselves or with other women, walk down the street alone (unless risk “ridicule or sexual assault”), or even be in public. Federici states that “in this period the term “gossip”—female friend—began to acquire a disparaging connotation.” Femininity was re-created to benefit male domination. As a result of decades of violent physical punishment and social isolation, women lost their autonomy and collective power to become the perfect worker and the ideal wife—“passive, obedient, thrifty, of few words, always busy at work, and chaste”





Comunitites United Against violence

I volunteered to contact CUAV– Communities United against violence to tell them about the ban, because I had a relationship with them. I had volunteered on their phone lines for a year and a half and helped them coordinate tabling at their first Safety–Fest. All of us had been to their safety labs and events and had acquaintanceships and friendships with their paid staff, within our overlapping small communities.

CUAV is a 30 year old queer anti–intimate violence non–profit org that is housed in the Mission District in San Francisco, and had recently gone through a consuming internal reflection process as they were defunded and lost half of their paid staff. During this process they changed a lot of the way they were organized and the way that they did their work. At the event that they held to unveil their new structure they emphasized over and over again to their volunteers and members was that they wanted to offer their office space as more of a community resource. This is partially in response to the lack of queer public space, and public space at all in San Francisco, and in the Mission district especially, largely due to the gentrification caused by the dot–com boom in the 1990’s, which continues on through the influx of white and/or class–privileged people, some of whom are in the community of activists who volunteer and are served by CUAV itself.

Some members of QUARREL had come to CUAV the year before QUARREL’s inception, to ask for use of their office to hold a community meeting to discuss how to respond to Just Bailed moving to The Bay*. We had thought that their space was a perfect resource, as it is accessible, private and spacious. After a series of emails and a phone conversation, they decided that the space was not a good fit for our meeting, stating that when they work with people to intervene on community violence, their practice is to, “ work directly with the folks involved so we can do an assessment in order to be more accountable to the parties directly affected.” They went on to say that, “However as always you or anyone else in the conversation can reach out to CUAV directly for support with the stuff that’s coming up or creating safety or engagement strategies.”

* further explained in Just Bailed

Some thoughts on

Gossip

“Stop your gossip, Stop it!” ~ Letter to QUARREL

Gossip once described talk of women and midwives. Where along the way did the talk of women become something degraded? Now its something you can be accused of when speaking out about a person’s history of perpetrating sexual violence.

What exactly is it that makes gossip a bad thing to do and not just another misogynist insult? Or maybe the better question is who benefits when modes of sharing critical information is dismissed as mean hearted hearsay?

There is no clear line that neatly separates one from the other. It all becomes especially dodgy when discussing a topic which is continually evaded, like sexual assault. I once heard “unsubstantiated” information fourth hand about a man’s reputation of abusing women, allegations of abuse. I didn’t even know the person who mentioned it and struggled for a moment with the idea that passing on this rumor could be harmful. I decided to share the information and in opening the conversation I heard dozens of stories about the man’s abusive past within a few months. There was widespread knowledge of pattern abuse just under the surface, knowledge that could have kept women in our community from becoming survivors of his violence.

There have been a number of times I have heard comments after the fact about people who ended up hurting my friends. We sometimes hesitate to pass on what we know so as not to infringe on a persons right to change or dampen a friend’s giddiness about a new crush.

There is no rule we can follow to make sure we are always doing the right thing in these situations, but maybe, if somewhere in between shit talking and silence, between allowing ourselves to believe we don’t have a responsibility to speak up or can just dismiss information for lack of evidence, we can look towards how to build social tools for sharing knowledge that can keep our communities safer .

We were disappointed to not be able to use their space, and it did feel like they were hesitant to work with us without a non-profit backing us up. Especially since we did feel that we were coming to them, “directly for support with the stuff that’s coming up or creating safety or engagement strategies.” We ended up not having the meeting at that time for several reasons, and decided to put the intervention on backburner.

One year later, we found ourselves going to CUAV to ask for support instituting safer spaces related to our action addressing [REDACTED].

Three QUAREL members met with two staff people from CUAV who we knew personally. We explained to them the work that we had done, and what we were asking for: support from them to ban [REDACTED] from upcoming CUAV events. (to clarify: Not from coming in to access other services.) As the discussion went on, it became clear that they were not going to work with us in supporting the ban. The staff repeated their commitment to being survivor-centered several times in the conversation, saying that they had a policy of not banning anyone from events. We asked them if they had any experience with a similar safer space project, and they had not. At one point, a woman of color staff person said that she felt conflicted in the conversation and also like she could not say what she wanted to. We told them that if we ever see [REDACTED] at any of their events we will be demanding that he leave ourselves. We left it with asking them what they could offer us if not support with our ban. We are still waiting for their answer.

Both times that we tried to engage with this nationally known and respected queer social justice non-profit, it was reinforced over again that we cannot rely on board member driven, grant funded, staff/volunteer dichotomy groups to support us, unless we come to them ready to plug into the roles of “volunteer” – by staffing phone lines and making donation calls. Weather or not our friends who work there stand behind our work, they can only support it to the extent that they separate themselves from their day jobs. Having our creativity being consistently unsupported by the most popular org on the block who gets paid to write mission statements about finding alternatives to police intervention taught me a lot about where our organizing resources go, and how we can make that better.

And Beyond

Rants, Resistance & Resources



We drew from [redacted]'s own emails and excuses over the last six years, using many of his own words verbatim. This letter was distributed in online communities as well as at the UC Berkeley campus where [redacted] majors in rhetoric. This tactic was chosen not with intent to shame, but with intent to share critical information. We chose to do so publicly in order to raise community expectations about his accountability processes. As a survivor-led affinity group, we feel it is imperative to take control of narratives that have been misrepresenting our experience in order to contribute to the safety of others.

We are tired of heteropatriarchy bringing the movement down with it. We see movement assaulters like [redacted] causing multiple levels of harm: not only do their actions impact the individuals they abuse; they also threaten the social justice we are collectively struggling for. When someone who is actively perpetrating misogyny is involved in organizing, that misogyny becomes structured into movement building. When perpetrators learn the rhetoric to discuss sexual violence in movement spaces and then exploit it to blame survivors for the abuse they suffered, it shuts survivors down so that they might not only become silent about intimate violence but stop engaging in activism as well. We believe the most radical and useful place in political organizing for people who create harm is in owning and addressing their own behavior.

[redacted] is just one example. His years of cowardice did not happen in a vacuum or without support

We ask the activist community to rise up against emotional manipulators and sexual assaulters who exploit accountability processes, who apologize only to commit similar acts of violence, and who victimize themselves after being confronted. We challenge our beloved movements to not let interpersonal abuses of power go unchecked, no matter how normalized this harm has become. We challenge ourselves to use our wits and our guts as we continue to realize our visions of safer communities outside of the same tired models that keep us competing for resources and reliant on police to solve our problems, in efforts to support survivor self-determination everywhere.

....And here is the aforementioned email, to add more context..

Hi XOXO,

Great talking to you! I'm sorry I couldn't get back to you earlier.

Thanks for reaching out to us about using the CUAV space. Because our communities are super small, we have a practice that in all interventions that CUAV is a part of (including ones that happen in our space) we work directly with the folks involved so we can do an assessment in order to be more accountable to the parties directly affected. Unfortunately this means that CUAV's space is not a good fit for this meeting. However as always you or anyone else in the conversation can reach out to CUAV directly for support with the stuff that's coming up or creating safety or engagement strategies.

We are thankful you trusted us in requesting space and sharing some of the concerns that you and your network have about the situation.

I want to reassure you that what you told me stays in confidentiality and that we are here to be a resource. Let me know if you have any questions or thoughts from this.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
XXXXXX



A month after distributing the apology letter QUARREL publicly issued the following statement:

Clandestine Unicorn Attack Communique #2

Inspired by the idea of creating the world we hope to live in, the Bay Area-based survivor self-determination group, QUARREL, has begun to pursue a public information sharing campaign concerning the chronic abusive behavior of anarchist organizer ██████.

█████ has a history of engaging in emotional and sexual violence, particularly with young women of color in the movement. Since 2005, he has admitted to crossing the sexual and emotional boundaries of others. To hide his behavior, he often moves in and out of social circles, usually when evidence of his abuse becomes insurmountable.

Each time ██████'s abuse or assault on another community member is made public, feminists strive to make him accountable. He initially agrees that he has a problem and promises to change. He agrees to survivor's demands only to manipulate the processes they have developed, effectively draining the social resources put in place for the sole purpose of addressing his behavior. This past June of 2011, it became public that ██████ assaulted yet another woman.

Within QUARREL we have years of experience dealing with this man's emotional abuse and violence. We feel an urgent need to share information about his patterns of abuse in the spaces he occupies so women can make informed decisions about how they interact with him. This comes as a direct response to having broken ties with ██████ over several years of requesting accountability measures that he never followed through with, and knowing that with this recent violation, ██████'s circle of friends asked he withdraw from their anarchist organizing community.

Because ██████ often emails and writes letters apologizing for his abuse, QUARREL decided to draft a letter from ██████ that went further—a letter apologizing for everything he put survivors through and agreeing to demands he previously ignored.



Comments from an Arizona facebook page that reposted the letter from Indymedia:

*im not sure how i feel about this..but ive never seen anything like it.. it seems invasive..but i dunno...it also seems like it could aid in healing

*I know people who commit the same acts while in similar activist circles, so I appreciate this man's admittance and withdrawal from said circles. Though I'm not convinced he needs to quit activism. I think as a reformed assailant, he could be an important voice in working for nonviolence and social justice.

*He admits to "manipulating the language of trauma" and goes on to claim he is a victim of his own actions and patriarchal attitudes as if it has always been beyond his control to not assault women. **I live in a patriarchy and manage to not assault people, like, ALL THE TIME.**

*These are empty words and promises from a selfish man. A poorly veiled attempt at excusing his disgusting actions. He deserves no "self-recovery" as he puts it.

*As a woman that has been violently sexually assaulted(yes i know how loaded that is)...I agree with all the points given, but feel that everyone deserves healing and forgiveness.



Many Bay Area POC and allies were shocked when news hit that a wealthy White person in Portland had been posing as a working class indigenous person of color to participate in POC spaces for several years. This is a first hand account from someone who worked on the accountability efforts that followed:

The first thing that happened was that Just Bailed disappeared without any notice for two days. He didn't go to work or call. His girlfriend was in total shock and fear. Then Just showed up. He and his partner left to talk. A few days later he asked me if we could speak privately. We met near his house and went on a walk, during which he told me that he was white. I was in shock. I asked him if he was mixed at all. He said no. He described his decision to pass himself off as a person of color in a POC only space at Queeruption in Vancouver in 2007. He also told me that he was lying about his class privilege.

I was stunned. I walked back to his house with him where he read me the letter he intended to send to everyone to come out as white and wealthy. I suggested he remove the last line, which stated something like "Hopefully something good will come out of all of this." He seemed to think that somehow his actions were cathartic and would cause other white people to "wake up" or generate some kind of positive action or response.

He got the letter out to a dozen or so people in Portland. The upset after that was terrible. People had nightmares. Got in arguments. Felt unsupported. Didn't know how to respond.

During this time we spoke with a former lover of Just to see if they would be willing to act as a support person for him. At first she agreed, but then declined as she remembered the many hours that Jess spent haranguing her on the basis of her whiteness and middle class background.

Eventually after several meetings two groups wanted to conference formally with Just. The first was a group of POC who lived in Portland who wanted to hear his story and express how it affected them. The second was a white antiracist group that I was a part of. Several of us in both groups met and talked about how these meetings should go down. We were asked to take an account from him of why he would do this horrible thing. We agreed that the white group should listen to and record what he had to say while the POC group focused on saying what they had to say to him.

In the white group's meeting with Just he was quiet, slow to respond, soft-spoken, and exhibited a feebleness and reluctance that made him seem both frail and confused. Over subsequent weeks it became apparent that this guise of frailty was part of his manipulative strategy. Others who knew him better described him as clever, with a clean, sharp analysis. In future letters and phone conversations his manner would change to a quick, analytical bitterness. During the meeting he also referenced his poor mental health several times. He explained that he had once been an antiracist white person, but noticed how "different" he felt when mistaken for a mixed-race person.

One question was: "How are you leading your accountability process? What's your action plan, what's your time line, what resources do you plan on accessing?" J: "I've asked people what they want cause I don't want to step on anyone's toes or take up space when people don't want that my plan for accountability... —I'm going to be present and I'm not going to run away from any consequence. I'm being rigorously honest with everybody about this situation. I know it's a long process."

I then mentioned some resources that related to partner abuse. He didn't respond. Another member of the group asked him how he intended to present himself to new people of color he met in his life. He said that he didn't expect anyone to be his friend, then sort of trailed off into how awkward it was for him now.

The POC conference with Just took place a short while later. During the meeting several people of color who were closely affected by Just's actions spoke, read letters, and expressed themselves while he sat in total silence, not making eye contact with anyone. He never once looked up or responded to anyone.

Over the following weeks I spoke with Just a couple of times over the phone. He seemed to be awaiting further instruction or direction. At one point he became peevisish and hostile, stating angrily that it was the responsibility of other white people to deal with this or that "other white people" were somehow at fault for what he did. A short while later we learned that he planned to leave Portland and move to the Bay Area.

gotcha QUARREL dudes!

Sep 23, 2011 10:09PM EDT

If all the bros in QUARREL had the basic integrity as a radical collective to just do what needs to be done in this situation then they would blast out a level headed warning or advisory about that people could read and take at face value and understand who it was coming from. many would applaud this kind of action including those of us trying to support survivors. This has been done by others who were willing to just say their shit straight up and put their name by it, no matter how painful that may be. Those people have set examples for all of us in this mess. Instead, QUARREL brings it with this deceptive crap that really just confuses the whole situation and hurts real attempts by the other 95% of radicals in the bay to address sexual assault and support survivors. sorry QUARREL dudes, nobody who is actually trying to build compassionate and long lasting radical networks that can constructively address oppression take your antics seriously.go back to the high school cafeteria.



NOTE: QUARREL was interested that we were identified and outed on NYC indymedia. We were told that a man from the original group we tried to work with had seen the letter and decided QUARREL needed to be called out online. While we take his feedback into account, we stand by the creativity of our approach in raising awareness and generating conversation. We find his choice to publicly inform on our identities suspicious and provocateur-like behavior.

I am 100% sure this is NOT from NO GOOD
Sep 23, 2011 04:32PM EDT

Hey Y'all: this is from someone who has been involved with failed accountability processes involving no good these past years. While [redacted] has publicly outed himself as a perp of sexual assault in the past, this statement is definitely NOT from him. It is from a group in the Bay called QUARREL that uses manipulative tactics (like writing fake statements like this) in their campaigns to ban perpetrators from radical spaces. This statement copies almost word for word demands that members of that group have made on [redacted] in the past. In particular, the paragraph about the Oscar Grant movement gives the whole thing away. The language around solidarity organizing etc is clearly not from [redacted] and does not reflect his (anti)politics (or those of many insurrectionaries). Also, if you were on the Berkeley Campus yesterday you would have seen this statement posted everywhere along with a picture of his face. he definitely did not do that.

None of this is to defend [redacted], but don't be fooled by the fools who wrote this crap.

direct your anger toward the perpetrator

Sep 23, 2011 09:24PM EDT

let me make sure i understand you...

you say you've been a part of FAILED accountability processes with [redacted] and that he has admitted to abusing women. And he has failed at making any changes...and you're calling this group QUARREL the fools?!

Given failed accountability FOR YEARS, how is keeping women safe manipulation? Sounds like [redacted] is the manipulator.

So if the goal is to get [redacted] to take care of his shit, and i assume, keep women safe, why are you upset/worried about whether or not he wrote it, and not at [redacted]?

sounds like you gotta role to play in this, homeslice.

In March of 2011 I learned that Just had responded to the craigslist add of a woman of color and presented himself as a white person who had "worked on their shit." After QUARREL organized an intervention of this situation, I sent Just an email. I asked him what he was thinking when he did that and suggested that since he knows he is unable to trust his judgment in regards to his white supremacy/privilege, he should know better than to take the chance of putting another person at risk. He didn't respond to that email and hasn't responded to any subsequent emails since then.



The Just Bailed action was planned in 7 days. We contacted several people who had been a part of Just Bailed's accountability process in Portland for input in planning and strategy. We were also in contact with a local friend of [redacted] who agreed to be a post action support person and was in contact with them within 1 hour of the action. After the action we debriefed with the participants and publicly distributed the communiaue.



Clandestine Unicorn Attack Communique 1

Sunday, March 6th in Oakland, California, QUARREL performed a non-violent direct action to address a perpetrator of racial and emotional abuse who had fled from his accountability process in Portland Oregon

Just Bailed, a class privileged white genderqueer who had claimed he was a person of color to infiltrate queer people of color safe spaces for years, relocated to the Bay Area. Clearly oblivious to the fact that his reputation preceded him, Bailed responded to several personal ads by women of color under the guise that he was a white person who “works on his shit”. QUARREL was summoned by one of these women and a date was set up.

QUARREL and supporters surrounded Just Bailed at Mamabuzz Café to confront him and present him with a list of community demands generated in past accountability process that he has thus far ignored including the request that he disclose his history when forming new relationships.

In the days preceding the meetup some people expressed concerns about the action and its impact on Bailed’s emotional wellbeing. While QUARREL took these concerns into account and adjusted our approach, we are clear that the concern should

slander.

Sep 22, 2011 10:28PM EDT

The guy didn't even write this thing. childish internet imposter.

sexual assault is worse than slander

Sep 23, 2011 02:02AM EDT

and, it's true, so it is not slander. he likely wrote it.

Cause & Effect...

Sep 23, 2011 02:27AM EDT

A concerned community member

It is interesting that the fact of whether [redacted] did or did not write this has completely overshadowed the fact that he is someone who has previously admitted to committing sexual assault on multiple occasions and has now done so again, thereby rendering the normal routes of accountability insufficient. As happens so many times in this still patriarchal society, issues of violence and disrespect towards women are swept under the rug, in favor of spotlighting the perspective of the perpetrator. [redacted] has previously admitted to everything outlined in this piece, so while it remains unclear whether he is doing so again or not, if non-traditional approaches are necessary to stem his continued misconduct, the significance of the method certainly pales in comparison to the fact that it might help prevent another woman from being harmed.

Sure, we as communities need to come up with more satisfactory ways of together stemming the tide of sexual assault, learning from each other and creating healthy & respectful climates for relationships. But as we move in that direction the unfortunate reality is that this kind of behaviour happens all the time, even in so-called anarchist circles. *If* [redacted] did not write this, the repercussions of it being posted in his name are minor compared to the pain faced by those he has harmed. Why does his impact on the many women he has attacked still need to be invisibilized?

The Responses:

The apology was distributed in person, through email and on indymedia in the cities [redacted] has connections with. (see communiqué 2) Several responses are included here.

From IndyBay

Attack Patriarchy by Yourself [redacted]!

by Julia Serano
Thursday Sep 22nd, 2011 12:47 AM

Your letter is great, I felt like you really put yourself out there in a way that I would encourage all sexual abusers/rapists to. I really hope that you stay true to your word and that everyone who reads this makes sure you do. Working on yourself with a therapist and whoever else decides to help you out should definitely be your first plan of action, but you probably already see that.

More to the point, attack patriarchy by yourself. You can't organize with other people anymore, that much is obvious. So [redacted] find out where the culture at large learns sexism: movie theaters, strip clubs, commercials, tv shows, magazine companies, fashion outlets, certain churches, the internet, billboards, etc. and attack them. Like with rocks and fire, redemption in the flames buddy. Cut the fiber optic cables and sabotage the machines that make the glossy magazines. No joke.

It's all well and good to just go to therapy, but you have to put yourself in a dangerous situation (not nearly as scary as being assaulted) to get your conscience clear of this. I think you know that too, somewhere deep down, I could be totally wrong, but that's besides the point [redacted], which is attack attack attack.

be the damaging effects of racial cooptation that has been that the cooptation that has been affecting our community for hundreds of years.

The cooptation of a bi racial indigenous identity is active colonization. When white people claim to be part native, it erases mestizo identity as a distinct group. Bailed colonized the mixed race experience, invisibilized it, then used it as a catalyst to advance whiteness. Because of this type of behavior, mixed race people are many times not considered legitimate members of POC community instead of what they (we) are: evidence of the sexual imperialism, war, gentrification, etc. that brought them (us) into existence.

We demand that Bailed's community take responsibility so that his actions do not fall through the cracks; his white community must step up. We demand that white communities everywhere step up their addressing racism internally so that this does not happen again; the legacy of white people in brown face has gone on long enough and we unilaterally oppose its continuation to hinder our attempts to make our spaces safe from white supremacy.

The Demands

- *Don't try to pass as indigenous or as a person of color
- *Don't hurt yourself
- *Don't skip town
- *If someone asks you to leave a space for the safety of people of color, LEAVE.
- *Get in touch with people you used to know in the bay area and tell them about why you left pdx.
- *Re-establish contact with people you were working with in PDX. It seems important that there would be some kind of continuity if you are actually going to have an accountability process.
- *Take the unlearning white supremacy training.
- *Inform new people you meet about your history as a cultural appropriator.

Hey [actual] mixed race and passable companion@s, I hope you are not feeling too disempowered by Just Bailed's actions. Here is a piece to keep in mind during those tough times when covert white supremacy abounds:

Bill of Rights for People of Mixed Heritage

I

HAVE THE RIGHT...

Not to justify my existence in this world.
Not to keep the races separate within me.
Not to justify my ethnic legitimacy.
Not to be responsible for people's discomfort with my physical or ethnic ambiguity.

I

HAVE THE RIGHT...

To identify myself differently than strangers expect me to identify.
To identify myself differently than how my parents identify me.
To identify myself differently than my brothers and sisters.
To identify myself differently in different situations.

I

HAVE THE RIGHT...

To create a vocabulary to communicate about being multiracial or multiethnic.
To change my identity over my lifetime--and more than once.
To have loyalties and identification with more than one group of people.
To freely choose whom I befriend and love.

3) **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT** I will stop manipulating the language of trauma. As a defense mechanism, I have placed blame on sexual partners when they ask for acknowledgment from me regarding my abuse. I have now moved on from this behavior.

4) **REFLECTION** I will stop solidarity organizing and will instead prioritize stopping my pattern of abuse as my sole organizing project. I acknowledge that my decision to participate in the Justice for Oscar Grant Movement was counterproductive, as I was doing this work while being an admitted abuser. I now view my actions, as well as my friends' enabling behavior, as causing disorganization and harm to the movement. I will not organize any direct actions in the Bay Area or elsewhere. I will no longer attend radical events and meetings

5) **COMMUNICATION** I will encourage others to bring my assault history out of the dark and discuss it openly so that we can all learn from the ways that my lack of accountability has affected my local networks and larger political coalitions. Please do not read, nor distribute any writings that I have helped to create.

6) **CELIBACY** I will refrain from any and all sexual activity, including kissing and suggestive touching.

I want to take a moment to formally thank all of the people who have had my back throughout the last few years and who continued organizing with me, even after I admitted to having a problem assaulting women. While I appreciate all the support you have given me, it is obvious that the only recourse I have left is to go public about my history of abusive behavior as a first step in my own process of self-recovery. Indeed, it is time we all start owning up to the ways our patriarchal behaviors cripple our movements and wound our communities.

In closing, I hope this letter has not put you in some kind of unfortunate position. There were many times that I've faltered off course, avoided tough decisions, and lost track of things—made worse by cashing in on the privilege of forgetting. I'm faltering now, which is why I have made a commitment to myself and to community to change. Now that I have come to terms with my issues around heteropatriarchy, it is time we all do. I encourage you to spread the information within this letter far and wide. **Thank you for taking the time to read this.**

The "Apology": An Apology for my Pattern Sexual Assault

A public declaration of my commitment to ending sexual violence.

Dear Friends and Community,
I am swirling with feelings of deep embarrassment, impatience, and incredible anger at myself. I have committed an act of gendered violence, yet again. This time, it appears that I touched another woman nonconsensually while she was sleeping. I would like to take this opportunity to publicly "out myself" as a chronic perpetrator of sexual assault and emotional abuse. I have struggled to manage my assaultive behavior for the last 8 years. It is common practice for me to find coercive ways to get my sexual and emotional needs met through control and manipulation.

Furthermore, I have a pattern of nonconsensually touching female-bodied comrades while they sleep. Since 2005, I had been asked to publicly acknowledge my violent pattern of behavior. I have been involved in a number of failed accountability processes and, ultimately, I chose not to remain accountable to demands that were developed in order for me to educate myself and also bring some form of resolve to the survivors of my abuse.

To state it clearly: I have a problem understanding that women, just like men, have boundaries that I need to hold as sacred. Moving forward, I would like to take this opportunity to be transparent about my intentions. The following is a list of agreements that I have made with myself. I ask you to support me in enforcing these agreements:

- 1) **SOBRIETY** After taking the time out to consider how alcohol and drugs have influenced my already problematic behavior, I have decided to never use again.
- 2) **HONESTY** I will stop pretending to forget the events of my perpetration. In the past, I have been known to deny any remembrance of abuse that took place when confronted about the fact that I use power and control tactics on others. I intend to work against my frequent efforts to avoid honest discussion.



Responses



From Indybay:

Thank you, thank you, thank you for taking his accountability process so seriously. As a member of the Portland QPOC community, I was one of the people directly effected by his irresponsible actions and racist, colonizer behavior. It is so good to know that folks in the Bay are not going to allow him to get away with the severe damage he has caused and continues to cause toward QPOC and POC communities.

A thought:

From Facebook:

I should've said this a long time ago, but I guess late is better than never out here in the bay; it is NOT OK, or even acceptable to use public shaming as an accountability tactic. I know there's a collective of queer folks that have taken it upon themselves to basically bully people whose actions they dont agree with. Yes we need to come together, come up with non violent ways to deal with the trauma and oppression we face. But harassing people in their place of work with group of folks, threatening them and using craigslist to set them up and publicly humiliate them is Bullshit!, is Bullying is the very same high school trauma ALL of us (white or not) are STILL healing from; Is there a Queer community? I'm so ashamed of the pain I witness we've cause each other. Work on your own healing instead of ostracizing one another.

No Good

Snap back to 2009: A white woman and her allies outed a man of color of high standing in his activist community for being emotionally and sexually abusive. In shocked response to this intervention, some of his friends stood up as allies to the survivors and promised to address his behavior, set demands with him, pursue processes of accountability, and keep the knowledge of his harm in their collective histories. This was an attempt at release for the four queer, female-bodied people who had spoken out about the emotional and sexual manipulation they had experienced from him through the years. This intervention came together because a survivor, who had thought that she was alone, learned that hers was not an isolated experience.

Fast forward to 2011. Despite 2 years of attempting to stop his pattern of harm, this activist assaulted another woman. Some of the same activists who had come forward in 2009 as allies began reaching out to Quarrel. We felt this was a rare opportunity; people close to the assaulter were both in a position to address his behavior and wanted to. The initial meeting was fraught with tension because of the many emotional conversations and disagreements over tactics that had taken place between members of both parties throughout the years. At the meeting, after describing what they had heard about the most recent, all too familiar and painful assault that had taken place, the group asked for our thoughts, and processed their hurt at having been betrayed by someone they had put so much work into since 2009. They declined both our offer of help and request of inclusion when it came to crafting a response to this latest assault. "I have been doing a lot of feminist work lately, " one of the activists remarked. When Quarrel asked if survivors of his were invited to be included in their response, the ex-allies group said no. Quarrel was summarily dismissed and left the meeting wondering about the bridges that were supposed to have been built.

After this, Quarrel was accused of being hostile in the meeting to the point of preventing the maintenance of a safe space for the ex-allies. From one member of the ex-allies group we each received a critique of our conduct and approach, and were asked to apologize for our behavior in the meeting. Needless to say, Quarrel was frustrated that we, rather than the man who continued to perpetrate violence against women, had become the target of this group's energy. A collaborative opportunity had been lost. We decided to pursue our own process to address this man's behavior, a process led by survivors of his abuse.

Our top priority was to raise awareness about his history within his current community. The group that we had met with had decided that their response would be to disown him as a friend, thus leaving a void of knowledge about his history in his current community. We didn't want him to have a free pass to continue perpetrating assault. After much debate, a Quarrel-er who knew the man's mother wrote her a caring letter explaining the situation: that he has a history of hurting people and recently had assaulted a young woman for the hundredth time. This letter was well received.

As the assaulter in question is a master manipulator, writer, and apologist, it was easy to find public apologies that he had written in the past which have been written after people have come forward and spoken out about being harmed by him. In the style of the Yes Men and many others before, we used the same propaganda techniques that the assaulter had used multiple times when the past abuse had become public. We issued an apology on his behalf using many of his own words from past apology emails that he has sent out, committing him to the accountability demands survivors have spent years requesting.

To my friends who have been chased out of oakland or isolated because they've made a mistake and folks take it upon themselves to be holier than thou; I'm really sorry for your pain. and i wish there was more that I could do than writing a note on facebook.



20 people like this

SOMEONE thank you for putting this out there, August 25, 2011 at 10:37am

SOMEONE yes. WE as a community need to direct the bullying in OUR community. August 25, 2011 at 11:48am

SOMEONE The bay way is to be passive aggressively entitled when shit goes bad. I'm all for calling people out, and also for safe spaces when trauma or hurt has been caused by someone in your community. (Which we know means you probably have to see them all the DAMN time). However, no one deserves to be so shamed that they in turn feel completely exiled. The only way we can become better is through support. At a certain point placing accountability can become harassment. We need to figure out ways to feel supported by those close to us and stop the attachment to negativity from hurtful folks. Much easier said than done. Thanks for thinking/speaking so critically and with such compassion. August 25, 2011 at 1:02pm · 3

SOMEONE Wisdom.

August 25, 2011 at 8:14pm

SOMEONE these are brave and important words. xxox September 14, 2011 at 11:12pm

We have included these comments to illustrate the support of sentiment against our "collective of queer bullies". Because our actions our public and address challenging issues they can be subject to widespread critique. QUARREL contacted the original poster to offer further discussion. It turns out this person had some misinformation about the action and a lot of questions. A few days after the meet up they posted another note online and stated they stand in solidarity with QUARREL.



SOME GUYS B NO GOOD

I stand in solidarity with
QUARREL and any survivor who
tries to make this world a
better place for themselves &
for us, people who have
suffered so much violence
rooted in white supremacy
capitalist hierarchy.

- From the statement posted online

