

the erotic
minorities

the book
that shocked
sweden
and france

by lars
ullerstrom, m.d.

a revolutionary work the erotic minorities

is a humane and eloquent plea to accept as full-fledged human beings the “sexually different” — the voyeurs, exhibitionists, the so-called sadists or masochists, the scopophiliacs (Peeping Toms), and all the others whose behavior is usually considered as “perverted.”

To help abolish the misconceptions and prejudices about deviant persons, Dr. Ullerstam offers many facts and examples of sexual minority patterns and challenges many of our deep-rooted taboos. Even those who may not agree with the ideas expressed in this book will read the author’s persuasive and witty arguments with fascination.

“Dr. Ullerstam’s basic premise deserves serious consideration: why should not those who ‘deviate’ from the sexual norm (in the statistical sense) be permitted their gratification, if it involves equals and is freely chosen?” — *Playboy*

“Dr. Ullerstam’s views are well-thought-out and persuasively presented and they deserve a careful hearing by all thinking people.”

—Albert Ellis, Ph.D.

THE EROTIC MINORITIES

by Lars Ullerstam, M.D.

**Introduction by
Yves de Saint Agnès**

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Introduction

EUGENIE—*Now there's a most extraordinary notion!*

DOLMANCE—*None may be qualified thus, my dear: all are a part of Nature; when she created men, she was pleased to vary their tastes as she made different their countenances, and we ought no more be astonished at the diversity she has put in our features than at that she has placed in our affections.*

—The Marquis de Sade
Philosophy in the Bedroom (1795)

A book has created a scandal in Sweden! The novel, a kind of sex fantasy, bears the title *The Howling Misery*. Its author is Bertil Schütt. In the first chapters we are taken to a debate on sexual matters in the Swedish Parliament. The Prime Minister, Mr. Tage Erlander, and a number of well-known politicians take part in the discussion. The odd thing is that all these gentlemen call a spade a spade, and do so in the most down-to-earth terms. Bertil Schütt also describes a "surprise party" featuring a sex raffle. One of the princesses of the Swedish royal family participates in this and declares: "I do hope to get preg-

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nant, so as to give birth to the first child ever won in a lottery."

A lawyer, Hans Richter, has decided to take the author to court, giving this statement to the press: "I do it because I hate defamation, not in order to defend *traditional morality*."

Since 1946, sex education has been given in Swedish schools. The character of the instruction attracts criticism, from students as well as a great number of psychologists. The reproach: "Instead of keeping to a strictly biological and objective line, the education dispensed by the state gets bogged down in *considerations of a moralizing nature*."

Present-day Sweden is living through a sexual revolution. The first victim to be hunted down is morality. In religious wars, absolution is always given for deeds of violence committed "for the cause." Similarly, the crusade against classical morality lends its participants a kind of immunity. The author mentioned above is aware of this.

Not content with dragging that notorious morality through the newspaper columns and attacking it in students' meetings, the Swedes even pursue it into the realm of vocabulary. In order to justify the use of ribald language, and the presence in salacious scenes of heads crowned by tradition or universal suffrage, Schütt says: "The use of popular terminology in speaking of sexual matters is due to the necessity to demystify these expressions and to restore their original poetic and magical powers. As to the public personalities involved, they act, more or less consciously, as models for the great mass of people. In giving them total freedom of speech and morals I contribute, or so I believe, to the liberation of the individual."

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The first sexual revolution in Sweden arose out of the prophylactic concern of a group of physicians who in 1907 presented to the king a report titled: "Measures to be taken against venereal disease." Eleven years later, in 1918, that report formed the basis of a law, the *lex veneris*. This threatened with two years' imprisonment any who "knowingly" passed a disease of this kind to another person. At this point the powerful women's organizations, led by a certain Mrs. Elise Ottesen-Jensen, intervened in the debate. Their reasoning was straightforward: "A 'knowing' contamination presupposes knowledge of the disease. Thus it would seem absolutely necessary to inform and to educate, if the measures taken by the government are to have any effect."

For years, Elise Ottesen-Jensen fought the doubts and misgivings of the Ministry of Education, in order to provide the population with at least rudimentary sexual education. In addition, she also demanded the free distribution of contraceptives. At the time, all contraceptive propaganda was punishable by law. "Ottar," as she was nicknamed, ignored this prohibition. She traveled all over the country on her lecture tours, and in 1933 she founded the *Riksförbundet för Sexuell Uppllysning*, or R.F.S.U. (National Society for Sex Education). The program of this organization was as follows: introduction of sex education in schools, establishment of unrestricted information centers, abolition of the anti-contraceptive law, revision of the statutes concerning abortion and of some of the laws on sexual offenses (those penalizing homosexuality and zoophilia, abolished in 1944).

By its persistent campaigning the R.F.S.U. has achieved all these objectives. The result: compared to other nations, Sweden is generally considered an "advanced" country.

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Now, a few illustrations, to give an idea of the sexual freedom of contemporary Sweden.

First of all, the typical ritual of the *raggare* (the Swedish teenagers). Around eight o'clock on Saturday evenings they arrive on Kungsgatan, Stockholm's "Champs-Élysées," in their old American cars, Ford Crown Victorias—*Kromvicke* in their jargon—or Chevrolets. In the front seat, three or four boys, wedged in tight; in the back, no one. That is the *sängkammare* (bedroom). Bumper to bumper they roll along the curbs, where the *tjejer* or *ragnarbrudar* (their chicks, pieces, girls) are strolling. The cars stop, the girls come closer, the dialogue is laconic: "All right?" "Awright." And they get in the back.

Now they drive off to Liljanskogen or some other piece of woodland in the surroundings of Stockholm. Later, a drink in a *ragnarfik* (teenagers' coffeebar). The establishment is not licensed to serve alcoholic beverages, but that's no problem: as often as not, someone has a bottle of *renat* (pure spirit) in his back pocket. And that gives some punch to the most insipid of lemonades. Before parting company, the gang may decide to pay a visit to the Central Railroad Station. There they form a circle around a photomatic booth, in a corner of the waiting room. The girls get into the booth, one by one, strip to the waist, and operate the automatic camera. Five minutes later they can present their devoted cavaliers with a "sexy" souvenir.

All these frolics are hedged around with precautions. Pessaries and condoms are for sale to the public in the network of shops and clinics established by the R.F.S.U. A poster in the showcases of these establishments has a caption to a picture of a serious-looking girl: "Be honest:

can you trust her?" and below, in larger print: "Be sure with the products of the R.F.S.U."

A French friend who lives in Stockholm told me: "Here, people consider and buy contraceptives as coolly as they would a cake of soap. In France, in the *lycées*, the older pupils amuse themselves by sending the small boys to ask for contraceptives at the corner drugstore. In Sweden that wouldn't even be a bad joke."

The main streets of Stockholm demonstrate this integration of rubber goods into everyday life: Next to vending machines providing cigarettes, ice cream, or nylons, there are contraceptive dispensers in which the products bearing the R.F.S.U. label lie stacked in pretty columns of gold, green, or blue (there are also different brands, and one big type labeled "economy").

At present the R.F.S.U. is facing a financial crisis. Its most obvious and profitable source of income has been the sale of condoms. Now the progesterone-based contraceptive pill, being practically foolproof, is gaining ground. Nevertheless—and this is a major drawback—its effects on the adolescent organism are still little known. Thus it is not being prescribed for young girls of less than nineteen. Research for a completely harmless method now seems to have met with success: a plastic coil which is inserted in the uterus by a gynecologist. This accessory can easily be removed when maternity is found desirable.

But the "classical" utensils still have happy days, not to say nights, ahead of them. The R.F.S.U. has not retained a monopoly in this field. Its publicity is in fact restrained, compared to the advertisements published by its competitors in the daily and periodical press. In this week's edition of the magazine *Se* I find ten of these. All the articles

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on offer are guaranteed to conform to the standards set by the Royal Ministry of Public Health. One of the "package" offers consists of: three units of "Komet Lubric," six "Carmencitas, pink and transparent," six "Durex, lubricated," three "PL 2142, michrotine-latex." All this, post-free, with an illustrated book thrown in: *Samlagsteknik* (coitus technique).

It is not necessary to rely on the mail-order business to acquire this type of literature. These books are freely displayed in the numerous tobacconists-cum-bookstores of Stockholm, together with pornographic publications for both hetero- and homosexuals. The fairer sex exhibits its femininity without inhibition in these magazines, while the sometimes effete faces of the black-and-white Apollos are offset by the visual evidence of their copious virility. Even more remarkable are the classified advertisements, under the headings: "men looking for friends," "women looking for girl friends," "couples looking for men," "couples looking for women," and "various requirements." Here is a sampling of these advertisements:

Stockholm: *A song of Spring sings in my heart. Is it for you? I am blond, 5 ft. 10, 152 lbs. I am 25, and am looking for a friend, very masculine, about 35.*

Göteborg: *Bisexual couple, he 30, she 25, unprejudiced, wants to meet other couple of the same age group, with a view to shared entertainment and pleasure.*

Norrköping: *Schoolmistress, 30, seeks partner for fictitious marriage.*

Stockholm: *Young man, 20, interested in disciplinary problems and leather-wear, wants to find friend of the same age, of a humble and submissive character.*

Stockholm (advertisement published in English): *Hello,*

all you birds of passage in our town. Come pay me a visit. I'll fix you up for free.

Dalecarlia: Cultivated and good-looking lady aged 43, height 5 ft. 5 in., of romantic disposition, seeks hot-blooded friend employed in the medical profession.

The commercial advertisements are perfectly in tune with these personal requirements. Here you can find an ad for a pocket guide for traveling homosexuals, with a listing of good addresses to look up when abroad. The work consists of two volumes, the first dealing with Europe, the second with other continents. Price per volume: 5 kronor 70 öre. A pictorial advertisement extols the virtues of a photo album:

If you're throwing a party, it's safest to chain your copy of *Male Nude Models* to the wall, if you want to keep it. Who wouldn't go for these one hundred guys of all sizes and colors? There's only one thing we regret: that we aren't able to offer them to you in the flesh. This really is one of those books you read with your right hand while the left is busy brushing your teeth.

There are numerous advertisements praising the skills of barbers who are masters in the permanent waving and making-up of male clients. One corner of the page offers a pair of swimming trunks that is a sort of esthetic aid designed to provide what parsimonious Nature did not supply.

The Swedish homosexuals of both sexes have their own organization, the R.F.S.L., *Riksförbundet för Sexuellt Likaberättigande* (National Federation for Sexual Equality). Its declared aims: to encourage contacts between homosexuals and to advance their acceptance by society

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at large. The R.F.S.L. provides its members with a correspondence club, a monthly, *Följeslagaren* (*The Companion*), and two restaurant clubs, one for Lesbians, the other for pederasts.

In addition to these special privileges, the homosexuals, like the rest of the public, also have the readers' columns of the evening papers at their disposal. There, all their problems are discussed without inhibition. Last August I found this letter in *Aftonbladet*:

I'm 14 years old. Two years ago I had my first sexual experience with a boy only a little older than myself. We used contraceptives. The experience did not satisfy me. For six months now I have been having an affair with a man of 40. We don't use any accessories. I am perfectly happy, and the state of my skin has improved considerably.

On July 11, 1964, another subject, another letter:

For four years, my sister has been married to a homosexual. She now finds herself on the verge of a nervous breakdown. When I think of how proud she was of her fiancé, who never lacked in respect toward her! How can I help her?

On the 27th of that month, the paper printed a response, signed "Homosexual Celibate":

As long as no precise instruction on the subject of homosexuality is given in our schools, young girls and boys will go on making the mistake of marrying a homosexual partner. Of course, your brother-in-law should have explained the situation to your sister before they got married. But perhaps he himself belonged to that category of ignorant young men who imagine that their homosexual inclinations can be dispelled simply by marrying.

The social order of Sweden is against human suffering, and the publication of hundreds of cases of "sexual misery" has given rise to the second sexual revolution. The young generation now demands a total recasting of sex education. At the last Students' Congress, in January 1964, a group of young girls from Lidingö presented a motion—which was not adopted, but nevertheless recorded in the official congress report. They wanted sex instruction in schools to include not only physiological descriptions, but also the technique of sexual enjoyment (prelude to orgasm, orgasm, and a serious study of erogenous zones).

The university students' associations play a considerable part in Swedish life. The president of the Union of Secondary School Students, Rolf Granstrand, age eighteen, has a seat on a national Educational Commission of nine members. This committee has been given the task of re-writing the "archaic" manual of sex instruction used in schools at present.

The most important shock helping to arouse public opinion, however, was given by the publication of this book, in September, 1964. Its author, Lars Ullerstam, is thirty years old, and thus still belongs to the younger generation. He has had a scientific as well as a literary education (being a doctor, ex-intern at the hospital of Beckomberga, and a B.A. in philosophy).

It is not my intention, here, to commit an act of defloration on the contents of *The Erotic Minorities*. Let it simply be known that even though this book has slightly shocked the more conservative elements in Swedish society, it has at no time been regarded as the work of a comedian or an erotomaniac. On a recent trip to Sweden

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I had the opportunity to meet certain persons of authority in the ministries of National Health and Education, and all of them agreed: "Ullerstam's conclusions may be exaggerated, but he still deserves praise for having brought the problem out into the open again."

Some Scandinavians already have subscribed to the spirit of this manifesto (one might call it that, as Ullerstam himself paraphrases Marx at the end of the book: "Erotic minorities of all categories, unite!"). That is the case, for instance, with the journalist Henning Pallesen, author of a book on homosexuality (*The Deviates*) often referred to in the pages that follow.

Henning Pallesen bases his attack on the sex laws of Sweden mainly on the fact that the law discriminates between homosexuals and heterosexuals, with a difference of three years in the age definition of minors to whom sexual advances must not be made (eighteen in the case of homosexual, fifteen in the case of heterosexual advances). But beyond that he turns, like Ullerstam, against prejudices nurtured against members of the erotic minorities by certain employers, certain landlords. Pallesen has even pushed his conscience far enough to re-create, in the field of discrimination against homosexuals, the experiment recently made in the United States by the author John Howard Griffin, who changed his appearance to that of a Negro for a time in order to investigate the race problem from "inside." Pallesen gave his wardrobe a few effeminate touches and, for a month, told his friends, his relatives, and his professional colleagues that he was a homosexual. "The reaction was terrifying," he writes. "I had the impression of being the victim of a kind of merciless racism."

The Swedes are long-time converts to the theories of

universal democracy. Thus the accusation of racism is, to them, the worst grievance that could be voiced. For the progressive elite of Sweden the problem of erotic minorities exists on the same level as that of the Jewish, Negro, gypsy, etc., minorities. This was declared by Professor Joachim Israel, in a speech he made at a congress of liberal students held in Stockholm on October 12, 1964.

This meeting brought 650 people (lawyers, members of parliament, sociologists, physicians, writers, and trade union representatives) together in the main assembly hall of the *Medborgarhuset* (House of Citizens). The theme set for debate was "Sex and Society."

Off-stage, two covert homosexuals made public statements, using the public address system.

What the first one, aged twenty-seven, said was this:

I entered my first homosexual relationship at thirteen, without being conscious that I was a "deviate." I have been homosexually married twice. That's enough. Now I should like to marry a girl. I think it will work out. The only question is, will it be possible for me to remain heterosexual.

And the young man of twenty had this story to tell:

I started when I was eleven, doing it for money. A pal of mine and I decided to work together. Elderly high-class gentlemen invited us to parties. I tried to make love to girls, but that didn't work out at all. Then I fell in love with my friend, the one I was working with, and we gave up hustling and settled down to live together. My friend died, tragically, but he was in any case my first great love.

The two homosexuals later accused the vice squad of secretly photographing them in order to start a confidential dossier on them.

After these exposés, a public opinion poll was taken in

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the hall. Eighty percent of the audience thought that there was nothing wrong or harmful about reading pornographic texts in order to get sexually aroused, sixty percent declared themselves in favor of free abortions, and only seventeen percent admitted that they detested homosexuality.

Then Henning Pallesen took the speaker's chair. Basing his calculation on Kinsey's statistics for the United States, he estimated the number of Swedish homosexuals as being in the neighborhood of 250,000. "If they would pull together," he said, "they could form a political party of importance in the *Riksdag* [the Swedish parliament]."

Lars Ullerstam also made a speech, declaring: "Pornography is a necessary good. The sexual activity of a great number of people requires it as a stimulant. Besides, where does it end and where does it begin? Even the legislators have contradicted themselves in various cases."

Professor Svanberg stated that he was a champion of complete liberty. "As against several of the participants of this meeting," he added, "I am a perfect democrat, as far as pornography is concerned. It is an injustice to discriminate on the grounds of literary value judgments."

Then a film was shown. It depicted the entire sexual act in every detail. A push-button mechanism installed in front of every member of the audience enabled him or her to register reactions. The result: sixty-five percent found themselves "sexually excited," fifty-five percent "amused," twenty percent "indifferent." Sixty-nine percent of the total were of the opinion that this film could be shown in a public cinema.

A prominent member of the Women's League, Mrs. Nina Estin, added the following comment: "Care should be taken in this new area of film-making not to concentrate exclusively on the satisfaction of males!"

Swedish women are always conscious of the importance of their rights. Tacitus described the major role of women in the Germanic society of his day. For the Nordic nations women were not the "fields to be tilled" described in the Koran. The virginity taboo was unknown. In the enumeration of rewards offered to the Viking warriors upon their entry into Valhalla, there was never any mention of the eternally virginal houris Mohammed promised his believers. Kristina Ahlmark-Michaenek, a young lady, author of the book *The Myth of the Virgin and the Double Standard of Morality* has some harsh comments to make on the "morals" of the South. She writes:

Fortunately, our idea of love is less schizophrenic than that prevalent in the countries of Southern Europe, where women are divided into two large categories: the Virgin Marys and the whores, or, in more moderate terms, the girls of good family, and the bad girls. The former have a right to Platonic friendships, the latter to sexual interests.

It would be wrong to overlook the part played by Nordic atavistic tradition in the upheaval we are witnessing. Talking of the modern world, one does not always remember to take the morality of the pre-Christian era into account. In Scandinavia this remains active in the love of freedom and in the respect for individualism. The innate social sense of the Nordic people did not require the codification of sex life by means of religious taboos. The arrival of Christianity was a cataclysmic event in the history of the Scandinavian peninsula, and it disrupted the established pattern of thought. By placing God above the world of the living, the Christians presented nature and all its expressions as evil itself. The sexual instinct became a guilt-laden thing. But all this proved only a transient phase. In the twelfth century there were still "pagans" in

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Värmland. Later, paganism and Christianity coexisted, symbolized by the runic signs adorning certain ancient churches.

The Reformation soon got rid of Christian universalism. The Nordic spirit could not endure the curtailment of the freedom of thought demanded by Catholicism.

A remnant of the old world of the Scandinavians has survived until recent times: the island of Runö in the Gulf of Riga, on the maritime border between Latvia and Estonia. The inhabitants of Runö, descendants of those Swedish Vikings who traveled east, fled the island (some five hundred people) in 1945 under the threat of Bolshevism. They have now dispersed and settled in various parts of Sweden. Up to World War II the islanders retained a dialect, a set of customs; and certain traditional items of clothing close to the ancient Viking culture. In the *Mecklemburgischen Monatsheften* of May 1927 an Evangelical German clergyman, Wilhelm Bierke, published an astonishing report, dealing with Runö and its customs:

The married couples are faithful to each other in the Germanic manner, but sexual liberty before marriage is remarkable. Throughout the centuries there have been foreign pastors on the island exhorting the faithful not to indulge in pre-nuptial intercourse. Faced with this kind of intrusion the natives have always applied a radical remedy: by way of warning, they keelhailed the moralizer under one of their boats. If that did not stop him, they escorted the killjoy to some isolated rock in the Baltic Sea, leaving him there.

As the sociologist Pierre d'Arribère has pointed out, the sexual revolution of our days is simply an exacerbated reaction to a form of secular oppression. All its manifestations cannot be gone into within the limited scope of a

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preface. However, in a volume to be published by Editions Julliard, Madeleine Chapsal and I attempt to give a more complete view of the phenomenon.

The movement undoubtedly runs to all the excesses common to revolutions. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to see a Lars Ullerstam as a kind of Robespierre of sex. The author is severe in his judgments and uncompromising in his conclusions, but he has not lost his sense of humor. After the showing of that pornographic movie at the *Medborgarhuset* he declared, publicly: "The only criticism one could make of those films is that they are so utterly lacking in a sense of fun."

To a certain degree that reproach also applies to the majority of Swedes in their quest for liberation. It does not fit the author of *The Erotic Minorities*. Lars Ullerstam is the smile on the face of the sexual revolution.

YVES DE SAINT-AGNÈS

Preface

Pleas for a humane attitude toward the sexually deviant usually refer to the homosexuals. The latter, as a matter of fact, are now the most fortunately placed sexual eccentrics. They have a strong force of opinion on their side. Their case is presented from time to time in the press and in literature. They have clubs where they can meet others of like mind, and in Sweden there is no law that would prohibit their engaging in sexual intercourse with one another.

Other groups among the sexually "different" suffer from a lack of these benefits, and penal law forbids them their sexual satisfactions. Take, for example, the exhibitionists, the scopophiliacs, the pedophiliacs (*see* Glossary). This book is a plea for the erotic minorities, and its intent is to attack three types of preconceptions, namely:

1) *Sexually deviant persons are inferior to others in their human qualities.* It might seem unnecessary to dispute so archaic a prejudice: even the psychiatrists have ceased calling them "psychopaths." But read Henning Pallesen's polemical treatise on homosexuals, *The Deviates*, and you will see how common a prejudice this still is.

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2) *Sexual deviations are psychopathological phenomena.* It is not so surprising to find ordinary folk nursing this prejudice, given the fact that the psychiatrists cherish it themselves. The psychiatrists defend this as a *moral evaluation*, with all kinds of verbal conjuring tricks to prove it. If anybody happens to believe that psychiatrists view these questions in a scientific manner, it may be worth his while to observe how they duplicate in almost every respect the theologians' and legislators' conceptions of the sinfulness or criminality of certain patterns of sexual behavior—they have simply changed the label.

3) *The sexually deviant must not be helped to achieve sexual pleasure.* It is often said, by way of motivation for this grudging attitude, that deviations are symptoms of disease: an absurdity. Surely the fact that a pathological process creates its own potential for pleasure cannot, in itself, justify a desire to force these people to lead unhappy lives. An optimistic attitude may be a symptom of a brain tumor—yet we don't approach such a patient with a sour mien, nor do we prevent him from borrowing humorous writers from the hospital library.

Sometimes one hears that society would suffer damage if the "perverts" were allowed sexual happiness. The arguments supporting this view—all of them of a very speculative kind—will be dealt with in a separate chapter. That the "perverts" themselves would suffer if one helped them to realize their sexual dreams is probably utter nonsense. According to Kinsey, who managed to interview quite a number of "perverts," their only problem derives from the reactions of their environment. We refuse to assist the deviate to satisfy his sexual urges because of our own social conventions—not out of any altruistic

desire to help him.

I have devoted a chapter to certain suggestions for reforms which could help the erotic minorities to achieve their kind of happiness.

This book contains many facts and examples of sexual minority behavior patterns—some may think an unnecessarily large number for a polemical treatise of this size. However I have good reasons for this. In the first place, no popular exposé of the subject has ever appeared before; second, people are amazingly ignorant of the existing modes of sexual behavior. And third, I live in the (utopian?) hope that knowledge can alleviate intolerance.

One cannot attack prejudice by an accumulation of dry facts alone. What is needed is understanding and empathy, an insight into the fact that seemingly exceptional individuals want to satisfy cravings that are, essentially, the same ones we have, and that their satisfactions have been linked to certain outer stimuli only through a chain of circumstances we do not know, or can only surmise to be various kinds of special conditioning.

In order to abolish the myth that the "perverted" pleasures are of a low and tawdry nature, I intend to give a few samples of the inner experiences that these "perverted" acts can create. Their spiritual level is often very high: practices now termed sexual offenses can satisfy the same elementary human cravings as religious rites.

In spite of cruel laws and a lack of generosity on the part of his fellow men, the sexually handicapped person still has certain opportunities to satisfy his sexual urge. I shall attempt to describe the opportunities that exist and also the loopholes that are apparent in our legislation concerning sexual matters.

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And finally, I hope this book will also meet various pornographic needs.

LARS ULLERSTAM

Pleasure, need, and taboo

Throughout the ages the term "perversion" has been applied to the most divergent phenomena. But generally this poison label has been applied to human *needs*. When an individual is called a "pervert" this means, as a rule, that he has the capacity for pleasure in a specific context. Whoever has as his concern the happiness of his fellow men ought therefore to appreciate and encourage "perversions." That, however, is rarely the case, and it is precisely this selective enmity toward joy which I have chosen as my subject in this book. The hostility toward "perverse" pleasures probably has many causes of an emotional and ideological kind, and I shall attempt to highlight a few of these. Thus it is possible to be unconsciously influenced by antiquated doctrines of moral philosophy which are directed against pleasure and which one opposes, ideologically, in other contexts.

The capacity to enjoy, to feel pleasure, is common to all men. Whether we call ourselves ascetics or sybarites, we all provide ourselves constantly with little doses of pleasure. Equally, we all have *needs* (desires). The satisfaction of a need often creates feelings of pleasure, but this is not always the case, as with certain compulsively

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neurotic acts which only cause the actor discomfort. But the thwarting of a need always causes displeasure, and when this reaches an intense degree, we call it *compulsion*. Thus the nicotine addict feels compelled to smoke, from time to time, and the exhibitionist feels compelled to show himself. The exhibitionists suffer punishment, the nicotine addicts don't, although they ruin the air in all the rooms they enter. It is a common mistake to consider an act egotistical simply because it meets a need or creates feelings of pleasure in the person who commits it. The greatest pleasure feelings are often caused by an altruistic satisfaction of need.

Despite the excellent contributions made by the behavioral psychologists, we still do not know much about the origins of our needs and the interaction of heredity and environment in their creation. That the sexual urge becomes directed in a certain way, that is, linked up with certain objects and ritual acts, is probably due to specific environmental factors, but this is pure speculation. The regular repetition of any given act often seems to be sufficient in itself to create a need. Monks abstain from bodily urges, but create new needs through ceremonial customs. In many women the sexual urge has certainly been created through habituation rather than seduction, even though many men prefer to believe the contrary. Our legislators believe that homosexual tendencies can be caused by seduction.

Our ability to experience strong pleasure feelings, at least now and again, makes it possible for us to endure our misery on this earth. Yet there have always been preachers and moralists who have managed to delude men into believing that the satisfaction of their needs is sinful. And even though it is not always explicitly stated in their

sermons, it is obviously the sexual joys they want to get at. Culinary or other needs have been less frequently chosen as targets for these moralists' thunderbolts, and even the most bigoted Victorians were able to relate their gastronomical excesses without so much as a blush. The most malignant of all doctrines is the quietist's, which regards needs in general as evil and demands their extermination. According to traditional Christian ethics one should forgo one's own needs, if they are not of a religious nature, and satisfy those of others, as long as they are not sexual. In the nineteenth century, many German philosophers considered any act morally suspect as soon as it gave happiness to its perpetrator. The English hedonists, on the other hand, posited pleasure as the only rightful objective of human deeds. The philosophers who taught this doctrine, Bentham, Mill, and Spencer, were without exception irreproachably pure in all sexual respects. As they lived in the Victorian age, they cannot be accused of inconsistency: they were afflicted by the superstitious belief of their time—that a lewd life caused the spinal marrow to wither away. If these bigoted hedonists had lived in our time, they certainly would have approved of the film censors' efforts to protect our mental hygiene from the dangers of eroticism on film.

In his early days, Freud believed that abstention from the fulfillment of sexual needs caused poisoning by endocrine substances, and that this poisoning could lead to states of anxiety. However, he lived in a cultural environment composed in equal parts of German moral philosophy and Christian prudishness, and thus he never dared to advise his patients to satisfy, for instance, their perverse sexual urges. The psychoanalysts still believe that abstinence is harmful, though on different grounds. The

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exaggerated asceticism of many psychoneurotics, such as compulsive neurotics, is now considered a symptom and not a cause. I have been pleased to hear of cases where psychoanalysts have encouraged their patients to homosexual acts, but as yet no doctor has given comparable recommendations to an exhibitionist.

We in the West now live in an age which is about to make Bentham's old dream of the hedonist society come true. The profane needs of men, their pleasure and displeasure, hold the foreground in the preoccupations of our politicians—or at least, in their official statements. Our social institutions are no longer designed to please preachers and gods, but to create tolerable conditions for the individual in society. The surveys and studies that anticipate our social reforms bear the character of collective calculations for maximal happiness, at least in their formal aspect. The modern welfare society is not content with the creation of material preconditions for the satisfaction of various already existing needs, but is, in addition, busily creating new needs through advertising. These needs are, however, illusory, and do not give any real pleasure to anyone except the profiteers.

The majority of religious men-with-a-message in the West have adapted their message to the values of their time, and the Christian god has become the foremost guardian of our secularized societal ethics. In fact, only certain extremist groups—pietist sectarians and so-called right-wing extremists—dare in our day raise their voices for an authoritarian view. Representatives of hallowed principles must have recourse to an increasingly complex demagogy to win support. There is really only one principle that is still in serious competition with the pleasure principle, and that is the principle of justice.

Society has not even been able to prevent the welfare morality from making inroads in the sexual sphere. In Sweden we now hold the view that sexual intercourse should be used for pleasure. We have come so far that the state finances institutions where people are advised on methods for maximal coital satisfaction. At the same time propaganda is made for what is called sexual hygiene, and it happens that even clergymen send people to the R.F.S.U. for advice. Our concern for the welfare of our fellow man has thus extended to sexual needs, and the fury of the black-coats in their pulpits, and the vetoes of the white-coats in governmental circles, cannot reverse the trend. Wholly in the spirit of the times was a recent book, written by a young woman, in which she exhorts girls to sleep with their male comrades as an act of charitable friendliness.*

There is however an area where this humanization of ours seems to lag behind: in our attitude toward the sexual "perversions." Here the old moralists' cruelty has remained intact, in an extraordinary way. As soon as "perverted" wishes are expressed, we lose all interest in helping our fellow human beings. Simply because these sexual needs sometimes attach themselves to certain objects or ceremonies, we feel entitled to coerce those with such needs to total abstinence. For example, we have laws to prevent exhibitionists, pedophiliacs, and certain kinds of scopophiliacs from ever being able to satisfy their sexual urges. The revised Swedish penal law will be even less tolerant in these respects.** Without a qualm we give

* See Introduction, page xvii.

** References throughout this book are chiefly to Swedish law. For a brief summary of laws in the United States covering the "offenses" discussed in this book, see page 170.

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debilitated incest cases their long-term prison sentences, content that justice is being done. And according to the official views of the Swedish State Church, homosexuality is still a sin.

Of course, people who write laws and pastoral letters are, most of them, well advanced in years, and therefore disposed to be more hostile than most to sex life in general. Thus they may not be representative of common public opinion. To make sure that I was not wrestling with a superannuated ethical ghost I interviewed a number of undergraduates at Stockholm University. The survey confirmed my surmise. Even the majority of the young intellectual generation regards the joys of "perversion" as foul and degrading. Their radicalism does not extend to taking a stand for the right of people to enjoy "abnormal" sexual pleasures.

The sexual liberalization that has taken place in Sweden in the course of this century has not been to the advantage of the sexually deviant. At the same time as economic and social barriers have been demolished in order to satisfy the holy principle of justice, a *society of the erotically privileged* has been created. In the second half of the nineteenth century all sexual pleasure was sinful, but the "pervert" could still visit his brothel and have his wishes come true. The welfare society has accepted sex joys among people with "healthy" needs, but it has also closed down the brothels. Thus one may well speak of a puritanical freeze that has, selectively, hit the "perverts" hardest. Many of them see themselves constrained to lead lives of suffering in a sexual desert. The only positive event during this century has been the abolition of the law against homosexuality and zoophilia.

The prejudices against these behavior patterns are still as strong as ever.

Thus erotic enjoyment has become, in our society, the privilege of people with a specific pattern of heterosexual needs. The debate on morals that is kindled at regular intervals in Sweden, with its participants firmly convinced of their progressiveness, concerns itself almost exclusively with the possibilities of increasing the advantages enjoyed by this already well-favored caste. Recent agitated polemics about the suitability of showing coitus and sodomy on film may have created the impression that they were in the interest of the voyeurs, the peeping Toms: to a certain extent they were. It is, however, typical of the libertarians' attitude that they resorted to all sorts of more or less subtle motivations in favor of pornography on film, but not a single one among these cultural "radicals" was prepared to stand up and say that the voyeurs have a legitimate interest in opportunities to satisfy their sexual urge.

Thus the attitude seems to be that a certain kind of enjoyment is *in itself* reprehensible. Our legislators do not go to any pains to conceal their authoritarian stance in their comments on the prohibitions concerning sexual perversions in the revised penal code. There, it is said that legal action has to be taken against conduct which is "commonly regarded as grossly offensive." However, the new utilitarian way of thinking gains ground so rapidly that the supporters of a more authoritarian moral system begin to realize the disadvantages of openly defending holy principles. Therefore, their ethical zeal has to be camouflaged as concern for the common good. And this creates some oddities in the technical side of the argument.

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To justify their rejection of certain sexual liberties the apostles of morality refer to their alleged injurious effects. That certainly makes it sound like a utilitarian argument; but if one then asks for a definition of these injuries, all one gets is a roll call of Victorian value judgments. When the Film Bureau labels a film "brutalizing" or "injuriously titillating," it is impossible to acquit the Bureau of this same kind of trickery.

During my survey of undergraduates' attitudes I received the definite impression of an ethical dilemma, a conflict of norms. On the one hand, there is a feeling that everybody should be allowed to pursue happiness after his or her own fashion, and there is no reluctance to help the less fortunate individual achieve his pleasure. On the other hand, there is a reluctance to see the "perverts" experience their sexual happiness in freedom, and there is great reluctance to make it easier for them to find it. This begrudging attitude causes some feelings of shame, which in turn give rise to a search for utilitarian arguments, the more the merrier. It is admitted that the "perverts" do have a moral right to satisfy their sex urge, but one nevertheless wants to stop them, in order to save them from their own guilt feelings. Even those who have never met an exhibitionist know all about it, and assure the interviewer that the exhibitionist doesn't *really* want to expose himself. A common masculine objection seems to be that our society will go down like the Roman Empire if we do not keep those perversions in check. References are made to the storms of outraged moral public opinion that would follow any attempt to help the perverts fulfill their wishes and would thus only make their life more difficult. Throughout, the interviewees seemed to be convinced that their environment's attitude

was intolerant, while they saw themselves as free of prejudice. And is that not the reaction pattern of white Americans, when interviewed on the Negro question?

Yet the final result of the inquiry into students' attitudes was encouraging. In spite of everything, they showed a more differentiated and tentative approach than the one expressed in the hardened opinions of our churchmen and legislators. I was never told that my reform proposals in the sexual sphere were impossible because they were immoral or contrary to God's will. It is true, a couple of times I heard that perversions were "against the natural order of things." It did surprise me a little to see this one still trotting, particularly considering how well known the results of ethnographic research are nowadays. In a few isolated cases, there were tones of moral fervor: "So we ought to help the perverts to satisfy their abnormal inclinations? Well, isn't that taking humanitarianism a bit too far! There are more urgent tasks on this earth. Think of the starving children in India, think of the oppression in South Africa, etc.!"

Thus it seems that we do not find originality praiseworthy, when it comes to sexual matters. In fact, we don't use the word "originality" in that context at all, we apply the term "abnormality" instead (together with "perversion"), and that is no compliment. In sexual affairs, the statistical and the ideal norms obviously coincide. It is accepted that the majority is right, in this case, and that we all should conform to their sex habits. The only approved variations are purely technical, that is, variations of coital postures to achieve as effective an excitation of the sexual organs as possible. On these questions handbooks and sex instructors are very willing to give advice, as long as it's a heterosexual act between two persons. But if someone

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wanted to know how to vary techniques in acts, for example, of troilism (three persons taking part in the sexual act) or sodomy, I wouldn't advise him to visit the R.S.F.U. The only sources of such information are eighteenth-century French authors.

If a person decides to alter the conditions for sexual pleasure in a more definitive or drastic way, he or she meets with closed ranks of intolerance. To try out, to experiment, to create variations, new conditions, and then wait for results—such an attitude to reality is in most contexts seen as intelligent and mature. But if these rational principles are applied to sex life, they suddenly become symptoms of infantilism. Curiosity in sexual matters can barely be tolerated in children; for the adult, the sexual objective is an unthinking conformism. If our fellow human being wishes to create variety in the social and psychological circumstances surrounding the sexual act, if he wishes to replace coition by another ritual, perhaps a sexual dramatization that requires the participation of several persons, we generally find it our social duty to deny him sexual happiness or at least not to help him achieve such happiness. In some cases we even get the police to go after him. The only category of sexual eccentrics we have started showing some measure of tolerance are the homosexuals. Nowadays most Swedes admit, in theory, that the homosexuals have a right to satisfy their sex urge. How this lack of prejudice appears in practice can be seen in the aforementioned polemic by Pallesen. The results of his investigation are discouraging.

What is it that causes such deplorable behavior in people? How can one explain why they cannot tolerate the fact that there are individuals with deviant sexual needs? The question can be answered in various ways.

One can demonstrate that intolerant human behavior in this respect is a special case of a *biological* law of nature which also applies to other society-building organisms. The question can also be answered by directing attention to certain common characteristics of the human race: this would then be, more or less, a *cultural-anthropological* explanation. Specific facts of the history of *culture* and *religion* may be pointed out; and finally, *individual psychological* mechanisms can be accounted for.

1) *The biological explanation.* It seems to be a consistent and characteristic trait of creatures with the herd instinct that they persecute individuals that are "different." This behavior can be observed in all society-building species—insects, apes, humans. It already begins in the sandbox, at nursery school. The children seek out some poor kid wearing ridiculous clothes and poke fun at him. The adult person specializes in skin pigment, language, religion, sex instinct. If people differ in any of these respects, or belong to a minority, that is seen as sufficient reason for denying them their basic human rights. In the worst cases, they are massacred. The intellectual weapons used in this are taboo rules, moral principles, and doctrines of mental hygiene or eugenics. Anyone with a biological view of life has reason for pessimism. Why believe that the countries we call democracies will change human nature so much that it loses these habits?

2) *The cultural-anthropological explanation.* In all civilizations and among all peoples, man's sexual needs have been sacrificed to more or less sadistic deities. Even where the interest taken by the gods in the sexual enterprises of other beings have not always been as pathologically inflated as with the Christian god, the divine powers have appeared remarkably lacking in generosity.

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Ethnologists claim that most taboos were formed at a point in time when the nomadic tribes settled down and became engaged in agriculture. By abstaining from certain sexual behavior patterns, they disposed the supernatural powers and gods favorably, and thus increased the yield of the land.

3) *The historical explanation.* The Occident is one of the cultures most hostile to sex that has ever existed. J. Wagner Smitt considers that not even one out of twenty cultures has been equally prudish. The main blame for this poisoned sexual vision lies with Christianity—this is an inescapable fact. That religion has many things on its conscience, such as the persecution of heretics, the Inquisition, the religious wars, and the terror directed against science, but it is questionable whether the cruelties indulged in under the banner of sexual decency do not, in the end, surpass all the others. The Christian church knew how to acquire power through the exploitation of the sex taboo. For this purpose it made use, partly, of the cruel sex precepts of a superstitious, half-nomadic cattle tribe, elevating them to ethical and divine commandments, and partly of the fanaticism of certain apostles of morality (Paul and the Church Fathers) who were influenced by extremist doctrines of asceticism from Persia and India, and were so obsessed with their sexuality that they did not, in some cases, even hesitate to castrate themselves. The Bible sanctified most kinds of bestiality in the fight against erotic lusts. A couple of centuries ago the Christian church caused hundreds of thousands of women to be tortured in the most revolting manner and burned at the stake, on the mere suspicion that they might have sexual feelings. The motivation was

found in Exod. 22:18, where it says: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."

We are still saddled with this religion of horror, and from what I hear, its priests have not become much more human than they were before—although the theologians no longer demand the rack for people with special interests in the sexual field. Nevertheless, their Catholic highnesses still prefer to see people dying of starvation in Southeast Asia, rather than allow the use of contraceptives. Our own bishops still regard homosexuality as a sin. I don't suppose very many people in Sweden care about what happens at the ecclesiastical ceremonies on Sundays, and yet it would be dangerous to underestimate the influence of the church on public opinion. Even today, the majority of young people in this country undergo confirmation.

Contemporary, secularized man would rather not hear it said that his opinions are formed by Christian anti-sex attitudes. He probably believes he has realized that sexuality is a profane and human affair, and a legitimate source of pleasure. And I suppose he thinks he is able to solve sexual questions in a rational way. Well, to a certain degree he is right: we do have contraception, legal abortions in certain cases, and sex instruction and advice. But as far as sexual deviations are concerned, not one of us is yet free from the patterns of Christian ethical thinking; in that area, we are still groping in the murky reaches of medieval theology. True, we don't now say that the perverts are possessed by demons; belief in the Devil has gone out of fashion. But we can't quite expel that appraisal from our minds, and when we say that the sexually deviant are defective, dangerous, diseased, inferior, etc.,

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this is just a verbal expression of the Christian horror of sex from which we are still suffering. According to qualified scholars of jurisprudence (Per-Erik Fürst) our legislation in sexual matters still harks back to the Mosaic Commandments. When we refuse to help to sexual happiness those who feel differently, we equip ourselves with rational arguments; but the subtle and speculative character of these arguments harmonizes so poorly with our otherwise extremely assured attitude that the suspicion cannot be avoided: we are haunted by those old Christian appraisals. The lusts of the flesh are of the Devil, and it is this judgment that today selectively punishes all "perverted" sexual practice.

A person with "perverted" sex urges who happens to be born in a Christian welfare state can be seen to have suffered a considerable misfortune. According to the historians of manners and the ethnographic authors, practically all other nations and cultures have had a more benevolent attitude toward sexual anomaly. If nowhere else, one's sexual tastes could be cultivated at religious rituals, where various "perverted" acts were permitted and even encouraged. Even peoples with very rigorous taboo rules arranged sacred orgies, and at these all kinds of forbidden acts such as incest, self-exposure, sodomy, and coition in public took place. Such ritual violations of the taboo were intended, among other things, to attract the attention of the gods to the fields and to the necessity of good harvests. I do not know to what extent civilization (read: Christian missionary zeal) has exterminated these healthy customs.

Despite its cultivation of all sorts of sexual taboos, the Christian church finds no use for such ritual breakings of the taboo. Its liturgy is uncommonly gloomy and

boring, and, with a few exceptions (the Scandinavian Laestadians, Maranatha*), it has no ambition to lend its acts of worship some color through sexual elements. The majority of religions contain some insight into a relationship between sexuality and religious feeling, some knowledge of the possibility of obtaining religious experiences through sexual ecstasy. Unfortunately, Christianity is totally alienated from such trains of thought.

4) *The individual psychological explanation.* Leaving aside the fact that the persecution of minorities, in general, gives satisfaction to a mass of different needs—such as the need to feel superior, of a higher caste than certain other people—additional, specific motivations occur, according to the animal psychologists, when the persecuted minority is of an erotic nature. It is claimed that we all carry within ourselves certain forbidden sexual impulses of which we are unaware, most of the time. Whenever these impulses threaten to rise up into our consciousness, this causes anxiety. One way of combating these impulses within ourselves (and, thereby, also the anxiety they cause) is to combat them as they appear in others. That

* *Laestadians*: A Protestant sect widespread in Swedish Lapland. Strict and puritan in their general behavior, they indulge in uproarious manifestations of joy during divine services. They utter cries, heave sighs, and embrace each other. One branch of the sect, now no longer in existence, also sanctioned ritual orgies.

Maranatha (In Aramaic, final salutation of Paul to the Corinthians, 16:22, meaning "The Lord is come."): For some years, movement of religious awakening stemming from the Pentecostal sect. The Maranatha ceremonies were enlivened by cries such as: "Jesus is a terrific guy!" and "It really pays off to believe in God." Believing themselves inspired by the Holy Ghost, the faithful occasionally experienced a sort of ecstasy and expressed themselves in "mysterious" tongues.

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is the reason for the good conscience we receive through our moral fervor, however much suffering we may cause other people with it.

There is one thing we should realize: no matter how many explanations we can find for the intolerance shown toward the sexual minorities, these explanations cannot excuse intolerance. Members of modern civilization who have experienced Nazism and the persecution of Negroes should reasonably be expected to regard their own ethical aggressiveness with some skepticism. And, above all, it should be possible to expect a measure of vigilance against intolerance, in particular.

As soon as one feels the urge to join some party, to take sides in any emotionally charged controversy, one has reason to suspect oneself of egocentric motivations. As a working hypothesis, one should take the view that the initial position was wrong, and then proceed, to the best of one's ability, to discover what the motivations were. Bertrand Russell recommends the following healthy habits of the intellect: 1) When the experts are unanimous, the opposite conception cannot be regarded as certain. 2) When expert opinion is divided, no non-expert should regard any specific opinion as certain. 3) When all experts are agreed that there is a lack of sufficient grounds for a positive conception, ordinary folk do best when they abstain from any judgment. Russell remarks that these precepts may seem tame, but comments that if they were accepted, they would completely revolutionize human life.

At least, the sexual deviates would have a more tolerable existence.

Puritans in a welfare society

In itself, asceticism is a respectable stance. A human being may have good reasons for abstaining from personal pleasure. Certainly even puritans have to be tolerated, as long as they do not force other human beings to conform to their doctrine. However, such individuals often have a compulsion to prevent their fellow men from experiencing lust and joy, and in that case there is, naturally, cause to react against them, particularly if they use implements of power put at their disposal by society. Nowadays, the puritans cannot any longer claim that all sexual activity is sinful—they are afraid of being held up to ridicule. And that is the reason they have made it their specialty to lay booby traps on the paths leading to “perverted” happiness, and that is where they meet with their environment’s approval.

Thus puritanism has changed its outward aspect, and it is not always so easy to recognize its adherents in our welfare society. Often they shelter behind scientific terminology, and they like to lend their pronouncements an air of medical authority. In any case, they do not invest as heavily in the Kingdom to Come as in earlier days. Chastity and abstinence: among the servants of bigotry

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these have become discarded items of fancy dress. To be chaste is no longer praiseworthy; rather, it is something *unnatural*, and therefore almost intolerable. Naturalness is some sort of conformist behavior—a closer definition is hard to discover. Actually, there is only one thing that is more important than being natural, and that is, to be "sane." We live in an era of a kind of Reign of Terror by the sane. This sanity which has nothing whatsoever to do with mental hygiene seems to be an American import and consists of a peculiar *mélange* of sun-tanned rude health, brutality, and prudishness. Thus "sanity" and no longer "chastity" is the slogan the Pharisees of modern times hurl at the damned. The advocates of a sane eroticism are often puritans who do not dare to show their flag, since asceticism has become a dirty word.

In the old days, bigotry lashed out against all sexual pleasure. Now it is directed against a minority. We know that the persecution of minorities satisfies a certain human craving. Just imagine what would happen if the puritans could benefit from the full impact of these motive forces! When the apostles of sanity claim to be concerned about mental hygiene, one is terrified by the thought of what a turn these matters could take if some power-mad maniac would give their teaching a doctrinaire spearhead and brainwash people into believing that individuals with special erotic interests are morally contagious and therefore to be exterminated. As it is, most people are able to conceal their sexual deviations, but future refinements of psychiatric diagnosis could well make this less possible.

But what types are these individuals who cannot tolerate that others satisfy their sexual urge in the manner that suits them best? What do these individuals look like, from the inside? As always, most of them are probably

passive fellow-travelers, driven by the usual mixture of mental laziness and opportunism. But what about the committed ones, the fanatics, those who actually devote the better part of their lives to the suppression of other people's "perverse inclinations," who, to this end, struggle to achieve key positions in society, in order to be able to control the sources of perverted joy, such as pornography? What sort of people become film censors, or prosecutors in pornography cases? What differences in personality cause certain bishops to accept homosexuality while others condemn it? (It is my assumption that there are bishops with a friendly attitude to homosexuality, even though they dare not express this humanitarian view publicly.)

There are research reports which shed some light on these questions, some American surveys of attitudes which were intended to map out the personality picture of anti-Semites. It appears that people who dislike Jews and Negroes also tend to condemn homosexuality, and to demand severe punishment for homosexual practices. Other distinguishing traits of this "ethnocentric" attitude are the inability to admit flaws in oneself, and the tendency to ascribe immoral inclinations to others. Harald Ofstad has made a similar survey in Oslo, arriving at the same result.

Freud claims that a person who nurtures wishes he cannot admit to himself saddles his fellow men with these wishes, his own motives. This is called *projection*. According to Eysenck this theory concerning the mechanism of projection has been experimentally verified. However, the ethnocentric person is not content to "perceive" the immorality, he also wants to combat it wherever he believes he sees it. In this way he protects himself from his own immoral inclinations. Thus, he fights the "devil"

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in his own flesh, while arranging it cleverly so that he avoids all personal suffering—that, he leaves to the others. This explains why the moralists find their cruelties a balm to their conscience. They always believe their action is just.

What is the motive force behind a prosecutor who jousts against pornography with all his might? Is he supporting his good conscience, while at the same time satisfying his peeping Tom needs by watching films depicting coition and similar delicacies? I am not saying here that prosecutors of pornography are potential Jew-baiters, but I should certainly enjoy quizzing these gentlemen—in view of the surveys and theories mentioned above—on their views on, for instance, Negroes and Jews. Could not a government grant be given to some psychologist for such an investigation?

I suspect these gentlemen of moralistic cruelties. Now, if anybody claims that the laws have to be obeyed, and that the prosecutor only acts within his duties, I should like to point out that their zeal surpasses any reasonable demands of professional duty. It is a prosecutor's task to ascertain that an offense has been committed, and to demand that formal justice be done. But no: these gentlemen cannot restrain themselves from weaving moral sermons into their pleading—and repeatedly you can read in the papers how they ride again on their raids into "the morass of pornography."

Have any of my readers witnessed one of those debased spectacles they call pornography trials; how itchy-fingered lawyers ruin families, ruin personal integrity, provoke breakdowns and suicide attempts, and then retire to their secret chambers, taking the pornographic delicacies along with them? Some time ago, I had the opportunity to

observe such a case at close quarters, so I know what I am talking about.

Now, just imagine if all this devastation is caused simply by the guilt feelings these jurists have because of their own voyeuristic tendencies. Isn't this a question that should be of some interest to psychiatrists? And if that is the case, shouldn't these gentlemen be prevented from going on such rampages, as soon as possible? Perhaps it would then become possible for other voyeurs, too, not only certain jurists, to satisfy their craving for pornography in peace and quiet.

The film censors are another group of people specializing in the harrying of scopophiliacs, that is, those people who satisfy their sex urge by "looking." It goes without saying that they have a motivation handy, claiming to act in the interests of mental health. Those who sit in the State Film Bureau pay homage to the dogma that young people suffer damage if they see sex acts in the movies. Violence, however, does them no harm at all, and it can be shown in any amounts. This attitude is a mirror image of the fact that we live in a culture fostering the martial virtues and suppressing sexuality. There is no scientific, research-based evidence behind it, since not a single one of the countries that could afford film research would tolerate experimentation on how sex scenes affect youthful audiences. On the other hand, studies *have* been made of the reactions shown by children and young people to scenes showing people taking each others' lives. The clinical as well as the experimental data corroborate the idea that it is dangerous to demonstrate violence. The risks are: provocation of anxiety states, sleep disturbances, psychosomatic symptoms, abnormal development of the sense of justice (in other words, adoption of the club law prac-

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ticed by the private eye, the representative of justice), and imitative adoption of instruments of murder (the switchblade knife).

But none of this interests the censors of the Film Bureau; without a care in the world they allow Sweden to be flooded with gangster movies.

Decisions in questions of pornography are mostly taken by elderly gentlemen. To them, sexual impulses are dangerous, for they have been brought up to accept that this is the case. The public controversy on pornography that has been raging in this country is nothing but a reflection of these gentlemen's sexual fears. Younger people find this a subject for ridicule, as they have been spared the older generation's indoctrination with ugly taboos. There is, probably, no danger in demonstrating coition to a child, provided that the child has not already been inoculated with a fear of sexual matters.

The Film Bureau seems to attract obscurantists. To give an idea of the qualifications these officials possess, I cannot restrain myself from quoting the report given by the Bureau's psychiatric expert (sic!), in the case of the film 491: * "The undersigned regards as a reasonable assumption that films can cause mentally deleterious effects. If this were not the case, an essential part of the legislation concerning films and their exhibition, legislation rooted in popular consciousness, would become unnecessary. It would be peculiar if a cultured society had committed such grave errors in the writing of its laws."

The puritans like to occupy positions in the welfare

* Recent film made from the novel by Lars Görling (to be published in the United States by Grove Press). The film caused a scandal because of a scene of zoophilia between a young girl and a dog.

structure, to be able to assert their power. In accordance with contemporary linguistic usage—that the sexually deviant are sick, not sinful—the measures society takes against them have come to be called “care,” not “punishment.” This is simply a change in nomenclature. It would be wrong to conclude that the vindictiveness of the sexually orthodox, the providers of such “care,” has diminished in any way. Self-exposers still run the risk of castration in our mental institutions. Certain psychiatrists call these mutilations “therapy.” It is true that the law requires the patient’s consent for the operation; however, this free choice is illusory, as psychiatrists are specialists in persuasion. In addition, the patients are prepared for this by the use of drugs, and there is no one to control the procedure when they put their signature to the piece of paper that gives the hospital authorities permission to operate. It has recently been suggested that Sweden should follow the example of Denmark, in authorizing the courts to *sentence* offenders to castration: a charming outlook on the future, indeed.

When the chief surgeons of mental hospitals don such priestly robes to perform sacrifices on the altar of bigotry, this can lead to very unhappy consequences for the patients. During my first internship at a mental hospital I witnessed the castration of a self-exposer, an experience I shall never forget. The chief surgeon delivered an ultimatum: either the patient would submit to castration, or remain in the mental hospital for the rest of his life. Nevertheless the man, who was very embarrassed, categorically refused to give his consent. A few days later, however, the mutilation was an accomplished fact, and during our tour of the hospital the chief surgeon applauded the intern who had persuaded the patient to

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accept the operation. Shortly thereafter we entered the patient's room: he was lying there, rigid, in a state of darkest depression, covering his face with his hands. Such cases are even more revolting considering that clinical experience indicates that self-exposers often experience castration in a more horrifying way than other people.

A bizarre branch of neo-puritanism is nudism (or naturism, supposedly a more respectable designation). This movement aims at curing mankind of the disgusting vice that consists of enjoying the sight of another naked body by making nakedness a commonplace affair. It seems to be a successful enterprise, as one never sees any male person having an erection in their publications. On the other hand, one now and again finds vicious attacks in them on "peeping Toms" and "dirty old men."

It is not possible to eliminate the delusions of persecution mania, in a paranoiac, simply by talking to him or by giving him drugs. To psychiatrists, this is a well-known fact. It is, however, possible to lower the "temperature" of those delusions by the judicious use of drugs. Analogously, it might be desirable to prescribe tablets to those who suffer from prejudices against certain categories of other people. Many of the persons who cannot tolerate the sexually "abnormal" seem superficially lukewarm about it: but this is often deceptive. They are able to express a benevolently permissive attitude, and make intelligent conversation along the lines of how erotic matters among adults are their private affair. And they surely regard themselves as magnificently generous when they claim to have no objections to deviates meeting others of like mind and indulging in their perverse happiness with them. But it is still, almost always, possible to provoke

Puritans in a welfare society

aggressive reactions with the question why they don't believe one ought to *help* people to make such contacts, or why they do not make any effort in this direction themselves.

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The sexual urge is not simply an urge to procreate or copulate, as some people seem to believe. In actual fact it covers a very wide range of different modes of behavior, all of them containing a common element. This common element, the foundation of all sexuality, consists of certain physiological processes which, through habituation, are joined to various physical and psycho-social stimulations, various objects and rituals. Although we do not want to admit it, most of us have a choice of several different means when we want to experience orgasm or sexual pleasure.

Every human being has his own pattern of talents and abilities; likewise, he has an *urge pattern*, consisting of various habits of sexual behavior, such as sadism, exhibitionism, and urolagnia—to mention a few examples. When mapping out an individual's urge pattern, one has to learn the following things:

1) Which actions or stimulations, by themselves or combined, cause a) pleasurable sex feelings; b) erection; c) ejaculation without orgasm (orgiastic impotence); d) orgasm without ejaculation; and e) orgasm and ejaculation.

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2) Which behavioral habits have become a) sexual needs; and b) sexual compulsions. An individual's ability to resist a need does not, of course, depend only on the intensity of that need; his general moral resistance also comes into the picture.

3) In what order are various actions to satisfy the sexual urge preferred.

4) Which kinds of sexual behavior cause anxiety or guilt feelings.

This is only a rough draft; in order to achieve a detailed diagnosis it is necessary to establish the individual's taboo pattern and his general moral standard. For a complete picture even the latent urges would have to be investigated; we don't know too much about methods to achieve this. Certain animal psychologists believe that a secret inclination to a manner of sexual behavior exists if we exhibit a sufficiently strong revulsion against it. There are, however, psychological tests that are said to reveal unconscious impulses. One of these is the Rorschach test: suggestive, stainlike images are shown to the person under investigation, who is then asked to describe what he sees. The test is often used to diagnose homosexuality. Individuals who lack the ability of introspection and are unable to admit forbidden impulses in themselves seem to have a tendency to project these onto the outer world, often by suspecting others of these same inclinations. Many latent homosexuals, for instance, believe that they are in danger of homosexual assaults.

An urge pattern is a guide to sexual pleasure. Thus, many individuals ought to find it of value to have their urge patterns analyzed and defined. In this way, frigid and impotent persons could, for instance, find out which stimulations and ceremonies would be likely to increase

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their chances of sexual self-realization. On the other hand, those who believe themselves to be leading a flawless sex life could get indications of "perversions" that might increase the intensity of their pleasurable experiences. Conceivably very few of us make full use of the possibilities given in our urge patterns.

But what do we know about the urge patterns in our fellow man, about the urge structure in our society? Practically nothing, not even after the Kinsey report. Due to the special methods of interrogation Kinsey used, his results are partially unreliable. Kinsey was a biologist and knew nothing about recording a psychiatric anamnesis. Every psychiatrist knows how much trouble he has trying to persuade the patient to give him information on sexual matters, and straight interrogation is absolutely useless as a method. Such secrets are deep-rooted and are brought to light only after the psychiatrist has become well acquainted with the patient.

In any case, it seems obvious that there exist a great number of erotic eccentrics who go through life in a state of frustration, taking their sexual secrets with them into the grave. They suffer from their sexual loneliness, and they do not believe that there is any other human being who could, and would, satisfy their sexual urge. And that is their mistake: on statistical grounds it can be said with some certainty that there are a number of ideal partners even for individuals with highly specialized urge patterns. But they have no reason to entertain any hope, as long as our legislators take the view that people ought not to be helped to make sexual contacts.

Unfortunately, chance is an unsatisfactory matchmaker for the sexual deviate. Most of them do resign themselves to their fate, but there is always one or another erotic ec-

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centric who makes heroic attempts to make his dreams come true. Often he ruins himself in the brothels of Hamburg and Paris; as brothels are illegal in Germany and France, their personnel often consists of morally unscrupulous people—but our erotic eccentric has heard it said that these institutions are able to meet all kinds of perverted demands. Thus, for example, he gratefully accepts the offer—spontaneously uttered in those parts of the world—to have several women at once, as a special treat. Perhaps his particular needs are such that he requires several persons to participate in the sexual act; regrettably, the girls usually misinterpret his intentions, and the show turns out a flop. But they do know how to rifle his wallet during the séance, and as he is, mostly, inhibited in his aggressive instincts, he cannot do anything to prevent the robbery. He leaves that house of pleasure with an empty wallet and bitterness in his heart. He curses the fate that gave him an urge others do not want to help him to satisfy.

“Perversion” is a word that should be discarded. It has been made to order for obscurantists and demagogues. It is saturated with superstition, and it is an insult, to boot. According to Kinsey, it is used in different ways in different social strata: in his social group III all sexual expressions are perversions, with the sole exception of heterosexual coition with the man lying on top of the woman. Scientific authors on sex usually reserve the term for such cases where a person prefers another type of behavior to coition when he wants to satisfy his sex urge. According to this definition, a man who masturbates or engages in sodomy when no women are available cannot be called a pervert. I suppose most people nowadays find *cunnilingus* a normal part of the sexual prelude, but in

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California married men may be sent to jail for touching their wives' sex organs with their tongues.

Our prejudices concerning sexual deviation are now as strongly colored by the mythology of psychoanalysis as they ever were influenced by Christian myths. Both doctrines satisfy our craving to pass derogatory value judgments on those who show some originality in sexual matters. According to psychoanalytical dogma these are the *infantile* people. They have "regressed to an infantile behavior pattern," says the official definition. Nowadays the adherents of this school call themselves "psychodynamicists," because psychoanalysis has gotten a bad reputation—but they are birds of a feather.

The word "perverted" has a key position in psychoanalysis. According to this school, the child has sexual emotions and goes through a process of sexual development. In the earliest stage the sexual feelings are connected to the mouth (the oral phase), and after that, the anal tract acquires the role of sex organ (the anal phase). When the child befouls itself, this simply means that it is engaged in anal masturbation. Finally, and in fortunate cases, the sex urge takes up residence in the penis and in the vagina. It is also claimed that the child normally engages in all kinds of sexual perversions which disappear when it becomes sexually mature. Now, if this evolutionary process is thoughtlessly interfered with, it is possible that the individual cannot shed his perversion even as an adult. Thus, perversions would be created in a way similar to psychoneuroses. I once asked a well-known psychoanalyst whether he knew of any statistical survey demonstrating that sexually deviant people show a greater number of neurotic symptoms, on an average, than others,

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but he did not know one. Such questions are of no interest to the psychoanalytical sectarians.

It is not only the psychoanalysts who show a lack of understanding of the fact that sexual behavior can be as variable as all other human behavior. They have this intolerance in common with most psychiatrists who take an interest in sexology. Practically all handbooks of sexual science can be seen to teem with value judgments as soon as the deviations are discussed. (Kinsey is a remarkable exception.) Modern sexual science and the Books of Genesis appear to be surprisingly unanimous when it comes to judging sexual behavior. Erotic eccentricities not accepted in the Old Testament code appear in modern expositions under the headings of disease, defects, disturbances, neurotic symptoms, psychopathological phenomena, arrested development, perversion, abnormalities, etc.

If one takes the time to read these sex-scientific papers in depth, one finds that they use four types of argument to prove that perversions are morbid phenomena (when their authors do not think it self-evident).

1) It is *by definition* morbid to act, or wish to act, in a manner contrary to the environment's social conventions. Probably no medical man would like to accept this statement if it were put to him as baldly as this—he would say that it drains the concept of disease of all medical content. However one often encounters it as an implicit assumption in sexual-psychiatric contexts.

2) The "perverts" *must* be ill, a priori, acting the abnormal way they do. This ought to be realized *intuitively*.

3) If (1) and (2) are not found satisfactory, one then creates, as the psychoanalysts do, a system of dogmas and axioms to prove, by logic, that the perverts *are* sick people.

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4) An *empirical* method is also used. Attempts are made to prove that the average pervert has more neurotic symptoms than other people, or that he suffers from some somatic disease, such as brain damage. The latest news from this quarter is that a research scientist in Uppsala, Sweden, has shown by the use of electroencephalography that certain erotic eccentrics (transvestites) had abnormal electrical currents in the brain, and these findings have been widely publicized. In actual fact there is nothing extraordinary about this—so-called abnormal electroencephalograms very often appear in clinically healthy subjects.

With convincing experiments the psychologists have shown us the high degree of distortion our expectations cause in our observations. Once one has decided to label the eccentrics as diseased, there is a risk that one will interpret one's observations in a partial way. If a psychiatrist thinks he has grounds for the statement that perverts are psychically more disturbed than others, he ought to watch out for two further sources of error. In the first place, his patients are a pre-selected group, that is, people with troubles of various kinds. No psychiatrist is tempted to regard stamp collecting as a disease simply because he meets neurotic stamp collectors. He has reason to cultivate similar care in reaching conclusions about perverts. Second, the psychological disturbances of the "pervert" may be secondary, and quite adequate with regard to the measures of discrimination society takes against him.

In the great sexologists, Hirschfeld, Krafft-Ebing, Havelock Ellis, Stekel—and others (obscurantists with undeserved reputations)—one finds these four lines of argument running parallel in their expositions, and not too much care has been taken to keep them apart. They cloak

their theoretical frivolity in a welter of stilted terminology. With such methods it is not difficult to convince the layman—whose attitudes are already preformed—that perversions are pathological. In this way, a scientific blessing has been given to the derogatory judgment proposed by theologians, jurists, and societal ethics, to an attitude, finally, harking back to the superstitious and magical ideas of the Old Testament.

It is, apparently, a question of social evaluation, whether one wants to catalogue the perversions as pathological phenomena or as variations of biological norms. Only laymen and certain obscurantist psychiatrists believe that the term "disease" has a fixed meaning. As a term, it is not much of an improvement on "perversion," and it is best suited to moral propaganda. Looking at the matter in a scientific way, one has to be content with the statement that certain kinds of sex behavior are more or less rare, or that they conflict with conventions and laws in one society or the other.

Personally I share Kinsey's *valuation* that "perversions" are phenomena in the realm of normal biology (which of course does not exclude the possibility that they can be symptoms of disease, in isolated cases—as, likewise, a cheerful disposition can be symptomatic for mental disease; or meticulousness, for brain damage). Kinsey, who came into contact with several cases of homophilia, zoophilia, and exhibitionism, did not find that these, generally speaking, presented any psychical symptoms that would justify a diagnosis of disease. According to his findings, the main worry of the "perverts" was the moral reactions of their environment.

I shall make propaganda for my positive valuation of sexual deviation by demonstrating that equivalent types

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of behavior occur in the animal world, and that they have won acceptance in various primitive *and* civilized societies. Not that I find there is any moral challenge in a bio-sociological argument of this kind (why should we play ape to the apes?), but certain people do find it impressive (surely, whatever the brutes and savages do must be *natural*) and allow themselves to be convinced by it. Thus I serve my intention to lend the perversions respectability in people's minds, and therefore this point of view will appear now and again in my exposition.

It would no doubt be amusing to conduct a sociological survey of the psychiatrists' verbal behavior in sexual matters. Could not some professional scholar of philosophy, trained in modern logical analysis, or a theoretician of science be tempted to stir that semantic porridge a little?

There is no end to theories on the formational mechanisms of sexual perversion. Nowadays members of most schools of thought tend to lay the blame on parents. If one looks at the matter in a more biological manner, one finds that animals on the lower rungs of evolution have their needs (instincts, urges) strictly and irrevocably tied to certain environmental conditions or stimuli. The higher you climb on the ladder, the more flexible the needs become (as do certain physiological reactions partly connected to these needs, such as salivation), and they can be joined to different stimuli. That these connections depend on imprinting seems probable after experiments with animals, among others Pavlov's well-known experiments with dogs, in which he was able to condition their salivation to various signals.

Thus it would seem that it is the high level of human intelligence which makes it possible for man's ejaculation of sexual secretions to be linked up with so wide a range

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of external conditions—which, in other words, disposes man to “perversions.” In his sexual variability man is highly superior to all other animals, although the chimpanzees show many parallel types of behavior, such as exhibitionism (Kinsey). The moralists who want to affix the sex urge to certain stimulations actually strive for our primitivization and animalization in sexual matters.

Strictly speaking, we have almost no qualified knowledge of the sexual deviations. There are clinical journals, but no statistical work has been done on them. In addition the sexual anamnesis is mostly superficial. Criminology has some material to offer, but for the most part of a casuistic and anecdotal kind. Finally, there is an important factor which makes all research in this field difficult, not to say impossible. The material we have at our disposal consists of cases that have been brought to the knowledge of the police and the hospitals. Obviously they cannot be representative in any way, and it would be foolish to arrive at conclusions on sexual eccentricities from this material. Yet this is what happens when the claim is made that “perverted” people are, on the average, less well-adjusted than others.

If one of them goes to a doctor, it would seem a priori probable that he is in difficulties, whether he is a pervert or not. It is equally self-evident that those persons who appear in the records of the police are more criminal than those who have not been registered there. People think “perverts” are dangerous, one of the reasons for their belief being that they are never told about perversions except when they read about sexual offenses in the papers. After the sex murders in the summer of 1963 (in Sweden) the daily papers carried a certain amount of verbiage from jurists who expounded on society's need to protect

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itself from the "sexually deranged." The irresponsibility of such writings becomes apparent when one considers how eagerly people tend to identify the "sexually deranged"—that is, sexually deviant individuals—with sex criminals. It is also irrelevant, as there is no study in existence to demonstrate that "perverts" commit a greater number of crimes of violence than people with so-called normal instincts.

The reason a person commits a sexual crime may be a strong compulsion, or the cause may be a lack of inhibitions. Among the sex criminals with defective inhibitions a distinction is usually made between the *uninhibited* and the *de-inhibited*. In the primarily uninhibited the order of values and norms characteristic of people in their social environment never becomes established. This nondevelopment of taboos may be due to backwardness or brain damage, possibly also to defective upbringing. According to Kinberg most individuals who commit incest belong to this group. The de-inhibited person, however, has had intact inhibitions once, but has suffered a moral decline as a result of mental disease, alcoholism, or geriatric changes in the brain. With the inhibited individuals, for instance some exhibitionists and rapists, a kind of exaggerated taboo system or indications thereof have been observed: this could then appear for instance in the fright reaction that comes after the deed. Certain sex criminals of a dangerous kind suffer from periodic conditions of "blackout" or overexcitement most probably of an epileptic character, perhaps often triggered by the consumption of alcohol. Even if these individuals should have good powers of moral resistance in everyday life, they can lose control over their instincts when they enter such

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states. Then it can happen that they commit acts of sexual violence with tragic consequences.

It would be unreasonable to assume that the shortcomings criminals have in their personality structure also appear in law-abiding persons. But legal psychiatrists are not the least prone people in the world to ascribe the traits they observe in their sexual criminals to all sexually different people.

Everything seems to indicate that extreme deviations in general appear much more often in men than in women—this despite the fact that women, in our civilization, have a greater ability to conceal their sexual disposition.

There is one thing we can be dead certain of: the “perversions” allow considerable chances to achieve human happiness. And therefore the “perversions” are in themselves good, and therefore they ought to be encouraged.

Incest

The incest taboo is one of the most universal human restrictions on sexual activity, and practically all primitive peoples have some sort of taboo concerning sexual intercourse among relatives. In the rest of the animal world incest is practiced without inhibition, even without any indication of instinctive repulsion. Before the advent of Islam, incest was permitted in many Arabic countries, and the Pharaohs of Egypt were compelled to marry their sisters in order to keep the strain pure. Among certain Polynesian tribes, where incest is subject to severe taboos, coition with otherwise forbidden relatives forms part of a ceremony in religious festivals. The concept of incest is generally wider among primitive tribes and includes all sexual activity within a larger group, regardless of blood relations.

Incest is a much appreciated hobby in the company of gods and goddesses, and at all times mankind seems to have been fascinated by this motif, even though its attitude toward it has been ambivalent. On one hand, most of us find the thought of sexual intercourse with our closest blood relations physically repulsive; on the other,

the thought of incest on the part of others exerts a strong voyeuristic fascination. The incest motif finds extensive treatment in fiction; the sensational magazines however dare not make use of it, in spite of its considerable pornographic value.

A rich flora of pseudo-theories has grown up around the reasons for the incest taboo. The psychoanalysts have done their share, of course; they offer us their Oedipus complex, an open sesame used to explain all kinds of expressions of human life, pathological or not. One psychoanalytical thinker, Alexander, even claims that if all our laws and regulations were abolished, all crimes would increase except for two: incest and parricide.

In most countries incest is a cruelly punished crime. According to Mosaic law, the incestuous man and his progeny are condemned to Gehenna, and the only task left to secular justice is to dispatch him as quickly as possible. In the Swedish code of 1734, incest does not only incur the death penalty, but the criminal is even refused the right of burial in consecrated ground. In the Age of Enlightenment the majority of European states managed to free themselves, to a certain extent, from the inhuman practices of these Mosaic laws, and punishments were alleviated; not so in Sweden, where the death penalty remained in force until 1864. Among those who were executed under this law one finds many mothers—which is remarkable, as incest between mother and son is extremely rare. Evidently this form of incest was considered so offensive that people were put to death on grounds of pure suspicion.

Even today incest is a crime here in Sweden, and in this respect the new penal code will not make any changes.

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The rulings in the present law are draconic. Paragraph 18:1 reads as follows:

If relatives in directly ascending or descending line engage in lewd acts with one another, the elder is to be sentenced to hard labor for a term of at least twelve months, and at the most six years, the younger to hard labor for a maximum term of two years, or to be imprisoned. If a relative in directly ascending line has engaged in lewd acts with one who was not yet fifteen years of age, or who was mentally diseased or retarded, or has otherwise seduced him to lewdness by taking gross advantage of the younger person's dependent state, he is to be sentenced to hard labor for a minimum term of four years and a maximum term of ten years.

Small children often express an unmistakable interest in their parents' genitals. The psychoanalysts are of the opinion that it is of utmost importance to the child's psychosexual development that the parents do not rebuff these advances, which in some cases can become intensely libidinous. Otherwise, it is said, there is the risk of various emotional disturbances in later life, psychoneuroses, sexual invalidity, etc. I do not know how much truth there is in this, but I believe, in any case, that the children will find it difficult to develop happy instinctive feelings for their parents, if they are not allowed to "play games under the blanket." By harsh rebuffs the parents probably lay the foundations for the feelings of sexual guilt and anxiety, which is the dilemma of the present generation of adults.

In my experience sexual games between parents and children (in the infant age) are becoming increasingly common in young families. In any case, they do occur

with most of my friends. These games have all sorts of affectionate designations ("the tunnel game"), and I cannot see that this is anything but a healthy and happy state of affairs. Unfortunately, I am compelled to say that the parents who give this attention to their children become—according to Swedish law—guilty of crimes comparable in gravity to homicide and assault and battery. Thus the parents have to face the alternatives of running the risk of several years' hard labor (from four to ten years), or jeopardizing the children's psychosexual development. There is always the danger of the marriage breaking up and one of the partners accusing the other of incest.

But is it possible to regard the commonly occurring genital games between parents and children as "lewdness" in a legalistic sense? If one consults Stjernberg's *Commentaries on the Penal Code* (chap. 17–18), which seems to be decisive for practice, one does not find any clear-cut guidance (except in the case of sadistic maltreatment of children which does not arise from lewdness, and is therefore not treated with such severity by our legal authorities). I have asked a public prosecutor about this, and the answer was that an act of lewdness is not necessarily committed if the child manipulates its father's penis; but if the father gets an erection in these circumstances, he is guilty of criminal incest. Thus it seems safest to refrain from allowing the children in one's own bed. If animosity should arise between the parents, the wife could always claim that the man had an erection, and he would probably find it rather difficult to prove that this was not the case.

From the beginning of 1965 the "game under the blanket" will be categorized with "lewd acts against chil-

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dren" or "lewd behavior," and the risk diminishes to a mere four years' imprisonment. In the new penal code coition is a prerequisite for incest.

Can there be any sense in making incestuous acts between adult persons into crimes? Are there any gains, from an individually or generally preventive point of view, in condemning, as now happens all the time, mentally retarded people to prison sentences of many years, for acts of incest? The legislators responsible for the new code apparently believe there are. It is, however, necessary to acquire some factual knowledge about incest before one can take any kind of stand on it, and it certainly is not enough to use superstitious and fanciful ideas as a starting point. Here in Sweden we have Kinberg's extensive study of the matter at our disposal: this is an exceptionally detailed sociological, medical, and psychiatric survey.

Before I go on to discuss it, I would like to deal briefly with two arguments, one of them medical, the other socio-philosophical, which are commonly used to counter demands for the abolition of the incest taboo. *The medical argument* is that incest would cause a deterioration of genetic quality, giving rise to degeneracy,* sickliness, idiocy, and sterility. Experiments in inbreeding among animals, examinations of children born of incest, and studies of "isolates" (island populations, remote regions,

* This is a term very popular among obscurantists, who by its use strive to achieve various murky ends: they claim that Jews are degenerate, homosexuals are degenerate, etc. The student of medicine uses this term—which should never be uttered by a layman—exclusively to describe certain changes in cellular structure, which he observes while studying anatomical preparations under a microscope.—L.U.

etc., where inbreeding occurs on a large scale) largely contradict and invalidate this claim. There does appear to be a slight increase in the risk of certain recessively hereditary diseases, but this increase is negligible if the disease has not previously manifested itself in the family. From a eugenic point of view there would be greater reason to make intercourse with diabetics a criminal offense. In addition, birth control techniques being as highly developed as they are, there would hardly be reason to fear the danger of unwanted progeny.

The socio-philosophical line of argument is 1) that the family is a necessary component part of a social body; 2) that incest is a menace to this institution. A conception of this kind was expressed for instance in the criminal law committee's draft code of 1953, where incest was listed among crimes against the family. In order to make any sense out of this discussion which has been conducted solely with a priori arguments, a distinction has to be drawn between two different questions—these being: 1) To what extent can incest be assumed to disturb relationships within a family?; and 2) Would the abolition of the legal incest taboo cause an increased frequency of incest? Even if incest is found to wreak havoc in families, a removal of criminal penalties still would not have any social repercussions if the frequency of incest does not increase. This sounds obvious, yet it seems necessary to state. Let us now see if Kinberg's study throws any light on these questions.

Kinberg's material consists of 100 cases of criminal incest between 1929 and 1937. As he has included only incest criminals who have been subjected to legal psychiatric examinations, the material is not wholly representative, and it is clear that various kinds of psychical abnormalities

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are, of necessity, over-represented. A little less than two-thirds of the cases were fathers who had had sexual intercourse with their daughters, the remainder consisted for the most part of males who had committed incest with their sisters.

Socially and culturally all incest offenders were of the lowest order. The most frequent individual occupational designations were "agricultural laborer" and casual laborers who often led a migrant life. Practically all had defective inhibitions, most of them being primarily uninhibited because of neglected upbringing, and this often combined with early brain damage. A smaller number was de-inhibited as a result of sclerosis of the brain, or, in a few isolated cases, because of schizophrenia and alcoholism. The average level of intelligence was low, but significantly higher in the group of incest-with-the-daughter than in the group of incest-with-the-sister; for all that, members of the former group were more neurotic and unbalanced and tended to develop into family tyrants. It is interesting to find that twenty percent of those who had intercourse with their daughters and the majority of those who had intercourse with sisters did not know that incest was criminal. Except for the crime of incest itself, no above-average criminality was apparent among the incest group.

Hardly any of the offenders had exhibited any sexual abnormalities before their first act of incest, but the figures given for the frequency of intercourse seem to indicate that the incest group on an average had a somewhat stronger-than-normal sexual urge. At the time of the first offense at least, the majority of those who committed incest with their sisters were in a state of sexual depriva-

tion, in most cases because their wives denied them intercourse, wholly or part of the time. To solve this problem in the usual manner, that is, through adultery, seems to have been particularly difficult for this group, partly because of their social isolation, partly because they were often inhibited by physical and psychical defects. This abstinence—with the damming-up of the sexual urge attendant upon it, combined with the low inhibition threshold—is in Kinberg's opinion the most important factor causing incestuous behavior. He arrives at the conclusion that we are not dealing with a perversion here, but with a "complication of the urge."

The survey does not give any indication to what extent incest affects family relationships in a destructive way. In most cases, incest took place in fragmented and neurotized families, in a state of disintegration even before the first incest offense. In certain cases the incest seems to have caused further deterioration in the general state, in others it meant a relief to the sexually exhausted wife. Kinberg describes lovely idylls, with the mother serving morning coffee while the father and daughter, still in bed, indulge in masturbation.

It would take us too far to discuss the psychiatric details in this fascinating study. In any case, Kinberg finds that they justify the conclusion that the deprivation of liberty, as a prophylactic and individually preventive measure, is irrational and reprehensible on humanitarian grounds. Considering the structure of the incest group from a social and psychical point of view Kinberg finds himself in a position to state that the abolition of the legal taboo would not cause an increase in the frequency of incest. Furthermore Kinberg expresses the view that all

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of the incest cases society could have any interest in taking action against could be prosecuted as cases of lewdness involving the deprivation of personal liberty.

The originators of the new penal code seem to hold a view different from that of Kinberg; at least their actions are diametrically opposed to his recommendations. It is a curious fact that the commentaries to the new law do not contain a single mention of the views of the one legal psychiatrist who has conducted the most extensive survey of this problem in Sweden (and perhaps in the whole world). This cannot very well be due to ignorance of Kinberg and his studies. Could it be that the legal profession feels offended by the man's rhetoric directed at jurists, not always amiably?

What is the reason for the complete absence of the higher social groups in Kinberg's material? Is it that these do not tend to incest, or is it that such things are easier to conceal in these groups? That incest occurs in top social groups is attested by psychiatric anamneses, in which many women relate childhood sexual episodes involving their fathers. Kinberg is surely right in claiming that there is a great discrepancy between the factual and legal frequencies of incest. But then, those who are prosecuted are struck the harder for it, by the Damocles' sword of the law.

Exhibitionism

If one could give credence to the writers of the nudist press, all men and women feel a need to expose themselves, not only to sun and wind, but even to onlookers. According to the theoreticians of the naturist movement this is supposed to provide them, in addition to purely physical feelings of well-being, with spiritual experiences of freedom and purity. Whatever character those somatic experiences of pleasure may have, they do not seem to originate from the genital sphere. Looking through the illustrational material in a great number of publications put out by the movement I have never found a single erected penis. So I shall leave it to the reader's discretion to judge how truthful or how slanted these pictorial reports are.

A more pronounced urge to self-exposure certainly affects only a minority. Contrary to often-heard claims, the desire to show oneself naked is common enough among women, too. Female exhibitionists can, however, often satisfy this urge in a legitimate manner, through the channels provided by the theater and variety shows; and their urge does not have the same strictly genital character as

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male exhibitionism. That it does not constitute a criminal-political problem is probably also due to women's lack of sexual initiative. It is of course conceivable that there are a great number of women everywhere who indulge in superheated fantasies of genital exhibitionism: but we cannot know anything about that.

The knowledge we have of the nature of exhibitionism rests on such cases as have been brought to the knowledge of the police. In 1957, 464 cases were brought to Swedish courts, in 1961 the number had risen to 804. Even so, this is regarded as only a fraction of the actual frequency of such offenses. Thus the material available does not even represent the bulk of criminal exhibitionism, to say nothing of exhibitionism in general. Knowledge gained from such mutilated samples can only be illusory. The average self-exposer who gets caught must belong to the least well-endowed personality group within this deviate category.

Generally speaking, self-exposure takes place whenever a person shows his genitals to another, thereby intending to achieve sexual pleasure. The behavior can be observed in apes, and it is common among children. In many primitive cultures it has even been a social institution, and the ancient Greeks featured it extensively in their festivals. Thus there is reason to regard it as a normal biological variant—if it is absolutely necessary to make such a valuation. But the psychiatrists have mainly tended to confirm the jurists' and social moralists' already established devaluation: they have spoken of degeneracy (Seiffer), psychopathy (Krafft-Ebing), neuropathy (Havelock Ellis), psychosexual infantilism (Freud, Stekel), neurotic compulsion (Rickles), personality flaws (Plaut), pathological

personality, perverted personality, neurasthenia, epilepsy, etc. All of these rickety diagnoses, propped up with industrious philosophizing, serve to camouflage the fact that we do not know anything and haven't found out anything about it.

Various methods of argumentation have been used to propagandize these estimations: 1) By definition, exhibitionism is a pathological behavior pattern, or, a priori, appears only in psychically diseased individuals. 2) Self-exposers demonstrate factual neurotic and other psychic symptoms and defects. Most authors in the field tend to mix up their deductive and inductive points of view in a most muddle-headed way.

Another popular pastime among sexologists (even those who officially dissociate themselves from the school of so-called existential psychiatry) is to engage in profound approximately esthetic considerations of the *content* of exhibitionistic behavior—how to *interpret* the urge to self-exposure. And there they find that the exposure is a symbolic declaration of love, a “psychical defloration” (Havelock Ellis), and a projection of erotic self-love onto the surrounding world (Stekel). Certain psychoanalysts believe that it expresses fears of castration; by observing the disgusted reaction of the onlooker the self-exposer finds assurance that his genital organs are uninjured. Such flashes of genius abound in any larger work on exhibitionism.

Bo Gerle, legal psychiatrist and assistant university professor, holds this view on exhibitionists: “Probably the largest group among these sexual criminals however consists of younger males without apparent psychopathological traits, even if most of them demonstrate traits of

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psychical eccentricity to a greater or lesser degree." (SOU,^o 1953:14)

Investigating the case material presented by the sexual scientists, and relying strictly on the factual information given (and ignoring valuations and devaluating diagnoses), one arrives at the impression that these are, generally speaking, people in good health. Perhaps the occurrence of psychical disturbances and maladjustment is somewhat greater than one would expect from a normal sample, but in this case this is not very surprising if one considers the violent discrimination these people are subject to in our civilization. If we would punish everybody who engages in normal intercourse, I doubt whether even the sexually orthodox would be all that well-adjusted.

The self-exposers constitute a very motley clientele. According to Plaut, who has studied 184 cases, all professions and trades are represented, and in terms of social position and intelligence the exhibitionists do not distinguish themselves from the average population. Roughly half are unmarried, and late marriages are typical. The behavior is commonest among the younger middle-aged, and one finds extremely few old persons in this group. They are often seen to be rather timid "solitary" persons, who find it difficult to establish contact with women in a natural way. According to Swedish legal psychiatrists (Holmstedt) their sexual inhibitions are more frequently exaggerated than underdeveloped. The fright reaction that regularly follows the act of exposure may be seen as evidence for this view. The self-exposers are generally

^o SOU: *Statens Offentliga Utredningar* (public government researches).

seen to have a weak but easily aroused sex urge, and they are dedicated masturbators. Many are impotent, but some exhibitionists maintain simultaneously a conventional heterosexual liaison. It is typical, in this case, that the activities cannot compensate for each other.

The act of exposure bears a stereotyped, ritual character. It is planned in advance and takes place in public parks and staircases, the spectators consisting of women; in isolated cases, children. The self-exposer is sober, and he makes sure that he has a route of retreat. The objective is to draw the spectator's attention to the penis. If it is dark, he illuminates his penis with a flashlight. As he observes the woman's reaction to the demonstration of his genital organ, he has an erection, and often without taking any masturbatory steps, an ejaculation as quick as lightning. The most important element is that of surprise. Often he desires a reaction of disgust. On the other hand intercourse is not his aim, and should the woman make an overture this would ruin his enjoyment.

It goes without saying that not all self-exposers follow this pattern which applies to typical cases. Sometimes they act in a very courageous and burlesque manner. They can rush into theaters stark naked, or strut through trains or along crowded streets wearing only, say, a brassiere. The most audacious of all exhibitionists I know of is the Cynic Peregrinus Proteus: he used to stand stark naked in a town square and masturbate in front of a great congregation of people. Some adopt very ingenious clothing to be able to demonstrate their gifts effectively and without delay, whenever the opportunity arises. Such a special suit can consist of no more than a hat, shoes, a long overcoat, and a pair of trouser legs reaching only up

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to the knees. An elegant gentleman taking his Sunday stroll—and yet he only has to fling the coat open to reveal all the wonders. . . .

When interrogated, the self-exposer is not very communicative, and it is almost impossible to discuss his motivations or experiences in connection with the acts of exposure. However, it seems to be a combined experience of fear and lust which exerts an irresistible fascination. It sometimes seems as if the act of exposure would in some way alleviate anxiety. For many, self-exposure is the only means to an adequate discharge of their sexual energy.

The self-exposers are constant recidivists. The magical liberation from tensions achieved through the exhibitionistic ritual exerts an intense temptation, and a normal ability to restrain taboo impulses is not sufficient to prevent the exhibitionist from relapse. There is every reason to consider this a specific structuring of the instinctual make-up, which causes the need to expose oneself to appear with extraordinary strength. In some cases there are indications of a kind of "seduction" to exhibitionism which could possibly have triggered the habit of self-exposure. It is conceivable that the young man whose sexual behavior pattern had not yet been established was discovered masturbating by a woman, and experienced a strong combination of fright and pleasure which increased the enjoyment of the act. The need to re-experience this fascinating pleasure moves him to repeat these exhibitionistic séances, and as time goes by, a sexual habit of the kind that is hard to break becomes established.

Naturally it is possible that the exhibition of the genital organ can be a compulsive act of the same kind as the compulsion to step on the lines between paving stones, or to go through certain ceremonies before falling asleep

at night. It is in fact not untypical for compulsive neurosis that the patient sets himself unpleasant tasks. Even though the psychoanalysts give such neurotic-compulsive manipulations a profound content of sexual symbolism, it is a fact that they do not provide the patient with any genital pleasure, and he does not have an erection. Whoever witnesses compulsive self-exposure of this kind usually regards it as rather an accident and does not report the matter. The penis is only exposed for a fraction of a second, and the culprit looks merely embarrassed.

It sometimes happens that old alcoholics, pedophiliacs, imbeciles, and other sexually uninhibited individuals are found exposing their penises in public places. Such cases of accidental exposure are often wrongly labeled exhibitionism. A typical case is the old wino who stops to urinate in a park frequented by women and children and then perhaps forgets to do up his fly.

In isolated instances, self-exposure can be symptomatic of mental disease. Such actions can for instance appear in the bizarre behavior patterns of certain types of schizophrenia.

All of the foregoing applies to the prosecuted offenders. What then do we know about those exhibitionists who manage to control their impulses? Let us call them *self-exposers-in-fantasy*. Strictly speaking, nothing at all—though our legal psychiatrists claim the contrary. It seems probable that there are a very considerable number of men who have an exhibitionistic fantasy life. Perhaps their proportion of the total population is one in a thousand, perhaps one in a hundred, perhaps even much higher. How many impotent males may not in actual fact be self-exposers, who have lacked the courage to explore their urge pattern? If credence can be given to the psychoan-

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alysts, all individuals suffering from phobias, agoraphobia in particular, are potential exhibitionists.

Psychoanalytically oriented legal psychiatrists (Yngve Holmstedt) believe that exhibitionists (like scopophiliacs) suffer from a periodic anxiety, which they can only relieve through exposure (or "peeping"). However, one loses one's respect for this interpretation if one knows how loosely these psychoanalysts (Holmstedt prefers to call himself a psychodynamicist, but that makes no difference) are accustomed to deal with the concept of "anxiety." All sorts of physical and psychical symptoms, headaches, heart palpitations, sweats, bellyaches, depressions, compulsive acts, etc., are termed symptoms of anxiety, whenever the theory demands it (in common usage anxiety is a symptom in itself, an experience of specific character). And the theory does so demand in this context, because the intention is to prove that exhibitionists are infantilistic. If one only manages to make it plausible that exhibitionists suffer from sexual anxiety, that takes care of the matter—other axioms are then trotted out to complete the chain of circumstantial evidence.

Holmstedt is unable to imagine that a self-exposer could ever be "friends" with his instincts. In his conception, the urge to exhibit the penis is an infantile residue, which has remained within the adult personality without being incorporated into it. Now, this is self-imprinted psychoanalytical jargon, not to say sheer rubbish. It goes without saying that anyone who runs the risk of imprisonment for a certain kind of act cannot be friends with it, when he is confronted with the representatives of justice—among whom legal psychiatrists have to be counted. Of course it must seem more opportune to him to claim that he has been the victim of an irresistible, alien impulse.

But this is self-evident, and does not allow for conclusions of any interest.

I am personally acquainted with a self-exposer-in-fantasy who absolutely cannot be called hostile to his urge; on the contrary, it is obvious that the urge to self-exposure is an integral and very essential part of his personality. I shall describe this case, with his permission.

He is a young, introspectively oriented man, of much-above-average gifts. The home environment: puritanical. His taboo and normative system is overdeveloped, his self-control meticulous. An asthenic, anxious, and "perfectionist" individual, circumspect and ineffective in his work. He shows a certain number of neurotic compulsive symptoms, but is otherwise healthy. Considering his excellent intellectual equipment his human relationships are surprisingly meager. Except for masturbating frequently, his existence is of an ascetic character. He does not enjoy sexual intercourse.

He is very willing to discuss his sexual deviation; thus he might even be called a spiritual exhibitionist. His confessions invalidate all the talk about the low and sordid nature of perverted experiences. While masturbating, he imagines himself acting out various exhibitionistic scenes. The experiences he procures for himself in this way have the most sublime spiritual and intellectual content and are probably related to religious experience. In the fantasy, the exposure is often combined with a kind of pantheistic feeling of joy and kindness, sometimes with a masochistic flavor. Self-abasement is a steadily recurring theme, and it is given a metaphysical connotation. Through his own ridiculous and grotesque exposure he experiences an increased possibility of seeing the dignity of human life as independent of all the trappings of dig-

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nity. Sometimes the masochistic touch becomes dominating, and he goes through a veritable Golgotha adventure, complete with crucifixion and spittle in the face. At times he has visions of freedom, brotherhood, exalted honesty, or redemption in the certainty that he is accepted as he is, with all his flaws. He rationalizes his difficulties in establishing human contacts by the explanation that he conceives of self-exposure as an unavoidable prelude to deeper human relationships.

All kinds of drastic situations present themselves in this man's imagination. Sometimes his only fantasy is of showing his penis to an unknown woman. At other times he dreams of appearing naked on a stage, in front of a large and mixed audience. He wants to abase himself in the eyes of these spectators, to a maximum degree, by performing burlesque dances and other acts, such as saying dirty words, masturbating, sitting on the potty, fouling himself with feces, or practicing sodomy. He likes the audience to react with irony or disgust, and is most pleased when the performer meets with a barrage of sarcasms. His is a search for the utmost humiliation. He says he does not feel the male sector of the audience to be a disturbance; on the contrary, it increases the excitement. Sometimes he cannot imagine a greater joy than to be allowed to show his erected penis to a man.

The masturbation fantasies do not, however, give him any real relaxation of tensions, or redemption. The ejaculation becomes an anticlimax, and it leaves him in a state of irritability and dysphoria, with the compulsion to masturbate again. Thus the acts of masturbation become strenuous and excessive and exhaust him without giving satisfaction. He never experiences in actual fact the bliss and the heightened sense of life that appear to him during

the fantasies. However, the conviction that these states can be experienced remains, and this, in turn, creates a state of mental turmoil and makes it difficult for him to concentrate on his work.

Does this self-exposer-in-fantasy never make an attempt to make his dreams come true? Yes, this has happened a couple of times, but he never succeeds, because his courage deserts him in the decisive moment, although he prepares himself meticulously and takes all sorts of baroque safety measures. After each failure of this kind he grieves and vows to himself that the next time will prove more successful. On a summer's day he journeyed to a remote, wooded region, where he walked around naked, carrying a pair of swimming trunks in his hand. Suddenly he saw, at a distance, two solitary women approaching, walking across a meadow. A perfect situation! Two persons at once he could expose himself to, with no policeman in the vicinity! He chose an interesting maneuver to extricate himself. By telling himself the women were mother and daughter he introduced a new taboo to the situation, a taboo that was impossible to violate. It was unthinkable for him to expose himself to both mother and daughter when they were together, and thus he avoided all guilt feelings that might have been caused by his failure to achieve his intention.

Now I do not know how representative a case this man is, but he cannot conceivably be unique. The adequate solution to his problem would be to introduce him to a group of people who would not object to a male striptease performance. But how can such things be arranged in our society? What efforts does our humanitarian society make to fulfill the needs of these individuals?

The answer to that question is, of course, that we do

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not do anything whatsoever for these unhappy people. We pretend to ignore their problems, provided that they submit to our cruel demand that they must abstain from satisfying their sexual urge in the manner that comes naturally to them. But if they do not manage to live a life of total abstinence, if they should ever give in to their urge, then we lock them up in prisons or penalize them with fines. If worst comes to worst, we demand that they castrate themselves. So, that is what human charity looks like today in welfare-state Sweden.

Nevertheless our legislators think that the exhibitionists' life is not difficult enough. According to past legal practice, a man offends against "decency and morality" if he exposes his penis in front of a woman he is not married to. However, he can be convicted only if the deed has been "public to a certain degree," which means that it could "easily" have been observed by more than one person. But this qualification has been deleted from the new penal code.

The legislators have informed us of their reasons for this increase in severity as follows:

By these means it becomes possible to take action against a self-exposer who has behaved in a morally offensive manner in the presence of one person only. One particular reason why it is important to increase the possibility of prosecution of such persons as are intended here, is that they have at times shown themselves capable of other, and more serious, sexual crimes, such as rape or offenses against children. In this context it may be recalled that a psychiatric examination of persons prosecuted for indecent behavior is often desirable, even if the actual crime is of a relatively light nature.

To me, this argumentation sounds like pure fiction. I do not know of a single statistical survey that would show

exhibitionists to be more prone to violent actions than other people, and no one else has heard of such a survey either, not even the police official in Stockholm who is in charge of our criminal statistics. The child psychiatrist Elsa-Brita Nordlund, who has investigated about a hundred cases of sex offenses against children between the years 1944 and 1949, has not found one self-exposer in her material (even though a certain percentage had committed other offenses against decency and morality). The common assumption that self-exposers can be dangerous is based on, among other things, a couple of rare but highly publicized cases, in which pedophilic activities have led to acts of violence with a tragic outcome. In one of these cases the offender had been previously prosecuted for an exhibitionistic episode, and this story was widely circulated in the newspapers.

Dangerous individuals probably exist in all walks of life, but that is no justification for sending all exhibitionists to the psychiatrist. It would be just as necessary to have all policemen, or all longshoremen, subjected to a mental checkup, seeing that their ranks are not devoid of violent men.

If we now hold the opinion that exhibitionists should not be allowed to expose themselves, that is, if we sacrifice their freedom in favor of those who do not wish to see male genitals in public places, surely it would be only fair and decent to grant them some form of compensation. One would think that it would be a reasonable solution to introduce the exhibitionists to scopophiliacs. There are many who would, probably, regard this as a blasphemous thought, and anyone attempting to act on this excellent idea would very soon find himself removed from any position he might have in the social welfare service, or he would even be imprisoned for procuring. It is probably

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safest to follow the example set by the official advice bureaus: to encourage the self-exposer to concentrate on his educational career and to acquire hobbies.

The rational way of channeling exhibitionistic urges would of course be to provide the exhibitionists with clubs, where they could freely expose themselves. I have submitted this proposal to experts in legal psychiatry—who rejected it totally. You see, they said, what makes the idea of self-exposure so attractive is that it is forbidden, and that it comes as a surprise to the spectator. Well, there may be some truth in that, but it is by no means certain that it is generally applicable. It is, in any case, peculiar (but certainly characteristic of the views commonly held on this subject) that the idea to even attempt an experiment gets categorically rejected on a priori grounds. Perhaps such clubs would, after all, be of some use to certain exhibitionists. Various devices could be used to create a situation as authentic as possible, and the audience would be instructed to react in the manner desired by the self-exposer—with scorn, heckling, disgust, terror, contempt, astonishment, hilarity, excitement, etc. Or one could stage psychodramatic scenes, in which the offender would get caught by a “policeman.” It isn’t certain that this would solve the problems. On the other hand we cannot be quite certain that the experiment would misfire, and in my opinion this is sufficient reason to try it.

To recommend nudist camps would be ill-considered. If those inverted puritans would not expel the self-exposer because of his offensive erection, the wholesale trivialization of exposure in itself—which is the exhibitionist’s highest joy in life—would have a depressing effect on him. He would, besides, find it pointless to expose himself in front of a nude audience.

The self-exposers have a difficult position in our society. Unlike the ancient Greeks and most other peoples we do not have any festivals where taboos are broken ritually, where exhibitionists can perform solo dances. The exhibitionists have no defense groups, like the homosexuals, and there are no publications, in which they could advertise for spectators. They have no meeting places such as bars, parks, or urinals, like those for homosexuals. The society of sexual privilege has taught the self-exposer to feel so thoroughly ashamed of his inclination that he does not dare to confess it even to his doctor. The great majority of self-exposers submit silently to their abstinence, which cannot be desirable from a mental-hygienic point of view. I would like to draw attention to the remarkable ineffectuality and asthenia of that self-exposer-in-fantasy whose anamnesis I related in this chapter. The continuous damping up of the exhibitionistic impulses shackles a great amount of energy which could find better use. To accept that these individuals go through life in a state of frustration, is to condone a special kind of cruelty against them, solely on the grounds of their eccentric sexual urge.

I want to appeal to my readers: the next time you see a self-exposer in action, do regard him as a fellow human being, not as a leper! Try to comprehend the touching and pathetic elements of his behavior! Above all, do not report him to the police—nothing but harm can come of that! We ought to allow our fellow human beings the beneficial magic of the exhibitionistic rite.

Pedophilia

Our bigoted and ill-considered attitude to sexual matters hardly ever achieves a riper expression than when the subject is infantile sexuality and "dirty old men." The Victorians believed that the main task of education was to alienate the child from anything connected with sex. In this way, they believed, the rising generation was saved from a life of vice and disease. By now, this attitude has faded a little, but there still are many young parents who feel they have to react with disgust and nausea when the child expresses sexual curiosity. The child psychiatrists are preaching to deaf ears. People believe themselves receptive to the psychiatrists' advice, but as soon as it begins to deal with unpleasant subjects, they dig their heads into the sand like ostrich.

It was his theory on infantile sexuality that caused the greatest uproar about Freud's doctrines. We are still stuck with the Christian myth that children are innocent and pure. There is hardly one other culture known in which infantile sexuality would have been hedged in by as many taboos as in our society. In many other cultures the children are initiated into sexual secrets from the very beginning, and their erotic games are encouraged. On the

Samoan Islands, Margaret Mead relates, the mothers used to masturbate their boys, so that their genitals would grow to the right size. The ancient Greeks went so far as to consider it an older man's duty to establish erotic relations with boys, and saw it as an essential prerequisite for their education to good citizenship.

For a long time, our culture has considered it right for adults to implant guilt feelings in their children by frightening them away from masturbation. No one ever thinks of prosecuting parents for creating this terror of sex in "young vulnerable minds"—for making them become sexually inhibited invalids. But should loving genital manipulations occur between a child and an old man, we feel we have to call for the police, although anyone who takes an interest in child psychiatry should know that such behavior, generally speaking, does not harm the child in the least, rather the opposite being the case. Children have a craving for physical contact, and if they do not get it at home, they resort to outsiders.

Now this should not be misinterpreted to mean that I claim all grown men ought to be allowed to manipulate children's genitals. My chosen task is to plead for a more reasonable sense of proportion in our attitude to this problem.

Pedophilia (from *pais*, child; and *philos*, loving) means that the person so afflicted feels sexually attracted to children. This inclination must be very common, but we are not allowed to admit it to ourselves or to others. With some people, sexuality has become totally fixed on children, so that these are the only conceivable objects for their urge. For these, life is a single, long period of abstinence, if they do not want to break the criminal law.

The only pedophiliacs we have any certain knowledge

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of are the criminal child molesters. It is often difficult to glean any facts from the scientific literature dealing with the subject, as the authors are in a state of moral indignation and tend to interlard their factual expositions with invective. Reinhardt* claims for instance that the pedophiliacs are extremely dangerous, not only because there are sadistic rapists and murderers among them, but also because they have a natural tendency to cruelty and ruin the children's morals, even in those cases when they do not cause them any physical damage.

The "dirty old men" are a very heterogeneous group. Usually a distinction is made between those whose urge is specifically directed toward children, and those who resort to children when they lack other sexual objects. Both uninhibited and overinhibited individuals are represented, with all conceivable gradations in between. The secondarily de-inhibited senile individuals are a special, and tragic, subcategory. Many of these are infantilistic to a marked degree and enjoy playing with children most of all; thus it is not so surprising that they also look for their sexual objects in their natural social environment. There are others who have in their time attempted to establish sexual contacts with adult women, but who have been frustrated and have not repeated the attempt.

In how many cases does the child molester use force or threats to achieve his objective? The statistics give highly divergent data, but most investigators agree that in more than half the cases no violence has been used. The old ones practically never resort to brutality. Intercourse occurs in a minority of cases, reciprocal manipula-

* James Melvin Reinhardt, *Sex Perversions and Sex Crimes*, C. C. Thomas, 1957.

tion of genitals is far more common. Girls appear as objects somewhat more often than boys. The most desired age group is that between five and nine.

The child psychiatrist Elsa-Brita Nordlund has made a study of about one hundred sexual offenses against children, committed between the years 1944 and 1949 (SOU 1953: 14). Among other things, she demonstrates that the number of frequent contacts is twice as high as that of isolated cases. The child often appears strikingly loyal to the offender. This corroborates what can be indirectly gathered from the existing case material. Many pedophiliacs are remarkably gentle and peaceful individuals, the kind that would not hurt a fly. They often establish intimate relationships with recurring sexual contacts. The child gets lollipops and a physical tenderness it has lacked in its home environment. Elsa-Brita Nordlund relates an illuminating episode, which reveals the affection children can feel for their "dirty old men." At a police line-up a child was asked to point out an offender, from among several arrested, and pointed at the policeman, because he was so "nice."

The psychiatrist Bo Gerle (*Psychiatric Views on the Sexual Offenses*, SOU 1953:14) characterizes the aged pedophiliacs in the following manner:

Thus they present constitutionally a psychical picture which is characterized by an open, warm, contact-seeking attitude toward the environment, with a pronounced love of children and a remarkable ability to win their confidence. Exactly these traits, which count among the better ones a human being can show in his life with others, may thus become the aged person's road signs to an act that is regarded as a serious crime. The tragic element naturally increases when the sexual interest directs itself to children in

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the families of sons and daughters. Unfortunately, this new tendency of the sexual urge of old people often becomes permanent and persistently recurrent as soon as one tries to return them to the freedom they so intensely yearn for in hospitals or other institutions.

Child molesters are punished very severely in Sweden. They can be sentenced to hard labor for two to eight years, if they are not declared *non compos mentis* and incarcerated in an institution for an unspecified period of time. In the new penal code the penalties are a little less severe, though not essentially mitigated.

What, then, is the good of such draconic punishment? There are many pedophiliacs who are guilty of violating children, there even are murderers among them. But is it reasonable to punish people who express their love for children simply because other individuals treat children brutally?

Two motivations for a generalized criminalization of acts of pedophilia are usually given: one of them is based on mental hygiene, the other on legal policy against crime.

The mental-hygienic motivation is that children suffer from sexual interference, whether violence comes into it or not. This is an arguable claim. A Norwegian physician, Rasmussen, has made a study of fifty-four women, who had all been "interfered with by dirty old men" in their childhood. Forty-four of them exhibited no psychical disturbances whatsoever. I admit that I don't know the criteria for psychical disturbances that were used in these cases, but I do find that the group as a whole seems remarkably sound, even when compared to a normal sample.

Elsa-Brita Nordlund, on the other hand, thinks that she has evidence for emotionally damaging effects. She does not, however, believe that the sexual approach in itself has

had any pathogenetic effect worth mentioning, provided the offender did not use force. No: what traumatizes the child, in her experience, is the mother's bigoted and hysterical reaction. Anna-Lisa Annell, an assistant university professor, shares this view.

It is a priori credible that children can suffer mental damage from a "dirty old man's" advances if they have already been inoculated with a horror of sex by their parents. But if that is the case, surely the parents have been more pathogenetic than the "dirty old man." From the point of view of mental hygiene the problem is best solved if the parents show some common sense.

The motivation based on crime policy cannot be dismissed so easily. Its argumentation runs as follows. Among the child molesters there are quite a number of violent individuals, some of whom are really hard cases. It is of course necessary to have a law to protect the children from these. By incarcerating all "dirty old men" for a number of years, one does cut down the number of those who live in freedom, and this, in turn, diminishes the probability of violent molestations of children. Thus the most effective protection would consist of having all pedophiliacs imprisoned for life. Humanitarian considerations make this draconic measure impossible. A more differentiated treatment of these offenders cannot be achieved, as legal psychiatry has not yet developed to the stage where it can separate the wheat from the chaff. There is no way of knowing which pedophiliacs are potentially dangerous. And therefore there is no other choice but to accord them all equal treatment, even if this may seem unnecessarily cruel in certain cases.

I suppose there are not too many obviously weak links in this chain of reasoning. But I would like to draw atten-

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tion to a special category of "dirty old men": the pedophilic *old* men. Of these, we know that they are practically never guilty of violence; they almost always treat the child with kindness and care. Would it require more than a little good will to humanize the treatment of these, in most cases, morally respectable persons, so that they would not have to end their lives in tragedy?

It is regrettable that there is no way to supply the pedophiliacs with the objects of their sexual desire, but I do not know how this could be arranged in practice. But I oppose the view that it is an a priori fact that these individuals should not be allowed to satisfy their sexual urge. The sexual deprivation of the "dirty old men" is a problem to be solved by tomorrow's humanly oriented society.

Saliromania

Many people require their sexual intercourse to be esthetically pleasing, at least to a certain degree—or demand that it should not be too unclean, in any case. Such assumptions become apparent even in legal commentaries on sexual matters, and in statements made in the courts. They are, of course, rudely disparaging to those individuals for whom the unesthetic or grotesque element has become the hub-fetish of their sexual desires.

When things which in the normally held view are ugly, dirty, or repulsive are seen as sexually attractive, this is called *saliromania*—the urge to defile. It is a quite common inclination, but few seem to be fully aware or capable of making full use of it. It can appear in many different ways. It is not, for instance, rare to find adults experiencing sexual enjoyment in the act of making themselves dirty; others want their women to dress up in grubby underwear for the sexual act; and there are, in fact, men who find sexual satisfaction by soiling women's frocks. Sometimes the sight of dirty female fingernails can excite them to the point of orgasm. Many enjoy intercourse most when the woman has her menstrual period and "sloshes."

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Highly educated men have confessed that they are capable of intercourse only with women of a vulgar type.

There are masturbators who specialize in looking up "dirty words" in works of fiction. Vilhelm Moberg* once gave them the sour epithet "word-snoopers," but I cannot see that theirs is not a legitimate method of seeking sexual enjoyment. An author ought to be grateful for being able to provide fellow men with this pleasure. It isn't only young boys who scribble sexual graffiti on public lavatory walls, even grown men can find this sexually exciting. Some men find it enormously gratifying to use the word "cock" in mixed company, and men are often taken to court for trying to conduct obscene conversations with switchboard girls. Some authors, Havelock Ellis for one, see such behavior as related to exhibitionism.

It is a very common pornographic taste that enjoys combining sex with vulgarity and tawdriness. I suppose people in general shy away from the blatantly ugly and grotesque; but they do tolerate the dirty snigger and the conventionally vulgar. This has been realized by the manufacturers of pornographic magazines. The calculated tawdriness of the yellow press is a very salable commodity. A more pronounced form of saliomania finds its expression in mud wrestling bouts between women; unfortunately, the Swedes have to scrape and save for trips to Hamburg to be able to have that blissful experience. The more advanced grotesqueries are otherwise rare, and whoever has a taste for them has to lead a life of frustration, if he isn't lucky enough to become a member of a closed group where such refinements are cultivated. The blame for this

* Outstanding contemporary Swedish novelist, considered a "proletarian" writer.

lies with our legislators, who believe they have the right to protect the public from things that "offend against decency and morality."

According to Paul English (*History of Eroticism in Europe*) the ancient Greeks had a well-developed sense for grotesque elements in their erotic dance feasts: "Padded buttocks and bellies, pug-nosed masks, or masks with huge staring eyes, hanging snouts, and pointed donkey's ears add up to a consciously comical impression; in most cases they were even provided with a phallus, of an unnatural size, tied round their waists."

Our old fairground attractions, the bearded lady, the legless lady, and the giant lady, which were made to order for saliromaniac voyeurs, have now been sacrificed, alas, on the altar of modern prudery. True, humanitarian reasons are given for this, but many of those figures were well able to adjust themselves to their roles (after some initial difficulties in certain cases), and liked to be appreciated. It is a reasonable assumption that many of the gigantic ladies found it more rewarding to fulfill a social function in this way, than to be quietly hidden away somewhere because of their enormity. One of the prejudices contemporary man finds it honorable to apply in a mechanical fashion is the idea that it is cruel to find deformity comical.

Freud claims that the urge to defile is caused by too harsh an education to cleanliness in the first years of life. Especially around the age of two the child shows great interest in the anal tract and its products, and according to the psychoanalytical educators one should allow the child this preoccupation, within reasonable bounds. Otherwise, they say, the psychosexual development process is jeopardized, and the child will dedicate the remainder of his life to compensating for it, in other words to defiling himself.

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Thus, saliromania and anal eroticism are seen to be siblings.

In certain individuals the anal area is the most sensitive erogenous zone. In my experience this is not all that common. The insertion of a finger into the rectum is an important part of medical examination. I must have made at least a hundred such examinations, but I cannot remember a single case in which I observed any obviously sexual reaction. It is probable that the circumstances surrounding a visit to the doctor are such that sexual stimuli are strongly inhibited in most cases. Therefore, such observations do not lend themselves to any definite conclusions. The pleasure experienced by the passive homosexual in acts of anal coition nevertheless depends, in all probability, more on the psychical element, the feeling of "penetration," than on any tactile experience.

One method by which these individuals can achieve sexual climaxes is the exposure to repugnant smells and tastes. Particularly useful are human excretions such as urine (*urolagnia*) and sweat. There are not a few for whom the armpits have become the most interesting sexual objectives. Certain individuals do not even hesitate to consume excrement (*coprophagy*), preferably straight from the rectum. It is a common idea that all coprophiliacs are mentally diseased or primitive personalities. Nothing could be further from the truth. I have found highly educated persons with sophisticated esthetic and intellectual interests, who were subject to this urge. Hirschfeld tells us of a female vampire that she found some compensation for her urge to devour human intestine in engaging in *anilingus* (licking the anus) with senile old men. Less extreme variants are swallowing the seed after fellatio, or eating food someone else has masticated. The line dividing

unpleasurable disgust from voluptuousness is only a hair's breadth, and psychological factors play a great part in coloring the experience.

Urophiles ("piss lovers") like to frequent urinals, and their greatest wish is to meet someone who will be kind enough to urinate into their hats or pockets. They rarely experience this joy, but they often get beaten up instead. To want one's garments soaked in urine may be a legitimate desire, based on need, and it is revolting to hear some people boasting of how they have given such individuals a rough time. I do not demand that all should be as generous as the honorable Madame who in the name of religion emptied a chamber pot over the heretic Pangloss. But if one cannot meet their humble demands, one could at least afford them a little plain courtesy.

It is not easy to define the borders between saliromania and algolagnia (see the next chapter), and various forms of sexual expression can equally well be said to belong to one category as to the other. This applies for instance to the desire for revulsion, counted by many among the masochistic perversions. It is equally difficult to know how to classify the sexual deviation that manifests itself in the need for self-abasement, the need to make a fool of oneself, to be "trodden underfoot." This inclination probably exists in most people, in a mild sort of way. A more definite form of the same urge can be seen in the socially well-positioned man who feels compelled, every week, to clean out the Dutch tile stove in a prostitute's house, stark naked and with the girl watching him. To achieve a maximum sexual effect, the self-degrading act has to be complicated, and it has to involve several participants. Such a "dream situation" rarely occurs spontaneously, except in such uncommonly lucky cases as that of Jean Genet, who was sub-

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jected to a barrage of saliva by his fellow prison inmates (see the next chapter).

Individuals who can find no pleasure in sexual intercourse may well be unaware saliromaniacs. They can, of course, also have other perversions which have remained latent for one reason or the other. I would like to advise the many impotent and frigid people to find out for themselves which sexual act they find the most repulsive of all—and then to try to commit this act, as an experiment. And this because it could well be, or at least that is the belief held by the depth psychologists, that a strongly defensive attitude against some kind of behavior is nothing but exactly that, a defense against very strong unadmitted inclinations to that act. Moral courage and self-discipline are required for such an experiment, but there are reports of successful cases in which disgust has transformed itself into voluptuousness, the embarrassed reaction become ecstasy, either gradually or in a sudden revelation. The feelings of disgust, embarrassment, or terror often remain, residually, but are then experienced as a necessary ingredient of the orgasm. We carry many slumbering possibilities within ourselves, and often they are revealed only by accident. Why not take the matter into your own hands? To those who want help and advice to achieve such conversions I would like to recommend for reading the great sexual geniuses—Chorier, de Sade, de la Bretonne, Gide, Genet, Miller, and Annakarin Svedberg.

Algolagnia

People have the most grotesque fixed ideas about sadism. Sadism is thought to be identical with cruelty, and people afflicted with it are seen as dangerous to their fellow men's life and well-being. Acts of rape, certainly sex murders, are assumed to be expressions of this particular perversion. It is also assumed, as a matter of course, that sadists seek to legitimize their impulses by becoming schoolteachers or policemen. Whenever a child gets spanked or otherwise maltreated, the papers report this as the misdeed of another sadist. If a policeman plays it rough, almost everyone agrees that he has been satisfying his perverted sexual urge. It has become axiomatic that the Nazi crimes were committed by sadists. These prejudices depend to some extent on usage: "sadism" is partly a term of abuse, partly the name of a sexual deviation. Because of the strong emotional charge the word has acquired it would be best to discard it in any objective discussion.

There, a neutral term such as *algolagnia* is to be preferred. It consists of *algos*, pain, and *lagneia*, voluptuousness, and means that the sexual urge has become linked to the experience of pain or to the rite, punishment, act of violence, which causes that experience. The active algolag-

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niac (sadist) feels *sexual* pleasure when he causes pain, and the passive one (the masochist) desires nothing more than to become the object of these favors. The way the term is commonly used, the violence need not be of a physical nature (physical algolagnia). It can also consist of psychical expressions of power, such as orders, insults (psychical algolagnia). A number of psychiatrists use the expression "masochistic personality" out of the sexual context, to designate those persons who for various reasons want to assure themselves of constant hostility, for instance by irritating their environments or by marrying alcoholics. But this should not be confused with psychical masochism, which presupposes an ability to achieve *sexual* satisfaction through self-abasement or submission to another person's will. Nobody knows whether a positive correlation exists between psychical masochism and masochistic personality.

About algolagnia we know next to nothing, in actual fact, although a great deal has been written about it. The scientific authors in the area of sex are not interested in any authenticated knowledge on this particular point. They are content to provide us with a hodgepodge of case histories, appending to them some quasi-philosophical meditations of a psychoanalytical type. Of course, it is for various reasons difficult to conduct investigations in this field, but it ought to be possible to collect certain simple statistical facts. If a fraction of all the time that went into mapping out the deep subtleties had been used instead to calculate the percentage of violent crimes that have been committed by individuals with an obviously sadistic sexual urge, some useful function would have been served—even though statistics have proved an ineffectual weapon in the fight against prejudice. The only certain knowledge we have of algolagnia is that it has a great potential

for happiness. Rather modest efforts on the part of society would be enough to realize this potential for many people.

Often sadistic and masochistic impulses appear in the same person, and it seems that a similar connection exists between physical and psychical algolagnia. In certain cases the violence alone leads to orgasm. In others, it is used as an introductory measure to other sexual acts, such as coition. Of its genesis we know nothing, although the psychoanalysts claim the contrary. Corporal punishment in childhood has been considered a certain factor in the release of masochistic tendencies. Different kinds of algolagnia can be completely distinct in their etiological and phenomenological character. Many sexologists want to derive the erotic need to be disgusted, for example by tasting urine or vomit, from masochism. One assumes that the essential element in physical masochism is the desire for maximal excitation of the senses, with no particular regard to which sensual area is brought into play—that is, whether it is the area of pain, smell, or taste. But this is denied by the psychoanalysts, who believe that masochism is an infirmity with its own psychical formation pattern, and that the desire for disgust arises from the same motivations as the urge to self-defilement.

Ethnographic authors have a good deal to tell about sadistic elements in religious celebrations. According to Ruth Benedict, the Indians of the northwestern seaboard of America have dance ceremonies where the dancers, when they reach ecstasy, bite chunks of meat out of the spectators' arms, and then vomit them up again. Lucian gives the following description of the cult of Cybele, in ancient Greece: "A young man, overcome with the madness, suddenly tears his clothes off, rushes in among the priests, grabs one of those short swords which have been

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provided for this purpose, probably for many years, castrates himself, runs about in the town with the cut-off part in his hand, and rushes into any house he chooses, and in this house they have to give him women's clothes and all the adornments that are a woman's due. All of those who castrate themselves act in this way."

There is a strong infusion of masochistic sexuality in the Christian mysticism of suffering, and it should be possible to read the story of Christ's Passion as masochistic pornography. A number of sectarians have in fact used the words of the Gospel as a pretext for their sado-masochistic orgies. The best-known examples are the flagellant processions in the Late Middle Ages.

According to a popular opinion sadism has had two great periods of flowering, in two historical cultures: ancient Rome and Victorian England. If one can trust the essayists of manners, flagellation (whipping) in particular seems to have spread epidemically in nineteenth-century England, and many English brothels were furnished with veritable torture chambers. There is nothing remarkable in the idea that only the upper classes practiced self-humiliation in these brothels—after all, they were the only ones who could afford to pay for the feast. But a number of authors have been tempted to profound meditations on the rulers' need to expiate their guilt in front of the people held in thralldom. It seems to have been very popular to "play school": at regular intervals, a number of serious gentlemen, dressed up in short trousers and wigs, would congregate in a "classroom" with a dressed or undressed "mistress," who then spanked them for the least offense. In England, public executions were popular festivals comparable to the Roman gladiator games, and according to

Paul English, many noblemen used to attend them as aphrodisiac preludes to sexual activity.

Masochism has been so named after a German baron, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, whose greatest pleasure in life consisted in being intimidated by a lady in a fur coat. Literature contains many baroque instances of marriages between masochistic husbands and sadistic wives. The husbands want to be treated like slaves, little boys, animals (dogs, horses), or lifeless objects (mats) by their mistresses, who in fortunate cases do not miss these opportunities. There is the type of man who marries only in order to experience the wonderful humiliation of serving his wife and her lover, who engage in intercourse in his presence. Unfortunately, the wives' sadism often isn't all that genuine, but in many cases they know how to take artful and unscrupulous advantage of their husbands' inability to resist their whims, using this as a means to gain various nonsexual profits.

Extreme sado-masochistic relationships seem to be much more common among male homosexuals, and masochistic homophiles can be astonishingly inventive in constructing instruments of torture. The greatest authority on sadistic refinements is Sade. One of the Marquis' favorite notions was to whip women hung from the ceiling in special arrangements, while his servant masturbated him.* Every sadist and masochist requires his own very special setup, with particular types of fetishes and tools of torture, to arrive at his optimal degree of satisfaction. Frequently he wants to participate in a psychodrama with several

* In truth, Sade never had the opportunity to realize his fantasies completely.

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persons in different roles and costumes. He does not, however, achieve wish fulfillment in the sensual world if he does not have uncommonly generous and unprejudiced friends, or great wealth and power like the Emperor Nero. Of this man—who appears to have been one of the greatest sexual originals of all time—Suetonius tells us, among other things, that he had himself dressed in an animal's hide and locked up in a cage. Then, when he was released, he crawled out on all fours to a great number of naked men and women who were fettered to poles, and went through all kinds of manipulations with their genitals. Thereafter, he allowed himself to be raped and symbolically deflorated by one of his favorite slaves, all the while uttering loud cries of lamentation.

Quite a few masochists have testified to considerably sophisticated experiences during torture: experiences of a religious, visionary, and esthetic nature, sometimes intensified to revelations. Genet, the French author mentioned in the previous chapter, relates in his *Miracle of the Rose* how he felt when his fellow prison inmates were kind enough to cover him with their spittle:

I received the spit in my distended mouth, which fatigue failed to close. Yet a trifle would have sufficed for the ghastly game to be transformed into a courtly one and for me to be covered not with spit but with roses that had been tossed at me. For as the gestures were the same, it would not have been hard for destiny to change everything: the game is organized . . . youngsters make the gesture of hurling . . . it would cost no more for them to hurl happiness. We were in the middle of the most flowery park in France. I waited for roses. I prayed God to alter his intention just a little, to make a false movement so that the children, ceasing to hate me, would love me. They would have gone on

with the game . . . but with their hands full of flowers, for it would have taken so little for love to enter Van Roy's heart instead of hate. Van Roy had invented this punishment. But as the big shots grew more and more excited, their gusto and high spirits began to gain on me. They moved closer and closer until they were very near me, and their aim got worse and worse. I saw them spread their legs and draw back, like an archer stringing a bow, and make a slight forward movement as the gob spurted. I was hit in the face and was soon slimier than a prickhead under the discharge. I was then invested with a deep gravity. I was no longer the adulterous woman being stoned. I was the object of an amorous rite. I wanted them to spit more and thicker slime. Deloffre was the first to realize what was happening. He pointed to a particular part of my tight-fitting pants and cried out:

"Hey! Look at his pussy! It's making him come, the bitch!"*

Perhaps torture is a means for providing even certain sadists with spiritual and religious values—who knows? However, the testimony of the British Colonel Sparkers in his *Experimental Lecture* (1873) sounds more down to earth. According to this educator, sensual pleasure is achieved by arousing the strongest possible feelings in a person. Now pain is the strongest of all feelings, he continues, and its effect is certain and unmistakable. Thus, he says, the man who is able to make the strongest impression on a woman, who can drive the female organism to the absolute peak of excitation, can be assured of reaching the highest degree of sexual lust himself.

All kinds of oddities thrive in the sado-masochistic am-

* Jean Genet, *Miracle of the Rose*, translated by Bernard Frechtman, Grove Press, 1966.

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bience. Hirschfeld relates the case of a man who could get an orgasm only while watching a woman butcher a chicken. Some men employ a servant, whose task it is to throw them out when they visit their mistresses. Others achieve complete satisfaction only if they are allowed to stand shackled to the wall in their true love's bower for a certain time, without any actual intercourse. There are masochists who visit brothels demanding to be mutilated or castrated. Some even ask to be hanged, because they have heard that this method of execution causes an erection. It is not unusual for women to dream about having their breasts cut off.

Anyone interested in drastic cases may be referred to Hirschfeld's *Sexual Pathology*,* which yields a rich pornographic harvest. There one can read, for instance, this confession provided by a cultured lady of society:

Best of all, I would like to play "horsey" with him. He should lean forward, both his hands on a chair, so it would seem he had four legs. He has to be naked, of course. I would put a table behind him, and a chair on the table, and then I'd sit down on that chair. I would take the reins, which he has to hold in his hands or in his mouth, and pull them and smack my lips. If I wouldn't get the horse moving in this harmless way, I would take the whip; he has to get going, but I want to decide the pace myself.

Female "confessions" of this kind abound in the literature. Even if they are fictitious, they have a strong pornographic effect on masochistic males.

It is doubtful whether one ought to give any credence to the cases of female vampirism related in sexological literature. It is, in any case, certain that there are women

* Magnus Hirschfeld, *Sexual Pathology*, Emerson, 1939.

who refuse to engage in fellatio because they are afraid they could bite through the penis. More specialized expressions of sadism are the urge to destroy statues (*pygmalionism*) and *defloration mania* (the urge to perforate the hymen). It is said that there were brothels in England which specialized in procuring virgins to satisfy this urge.

Active algolagnia is the only erotic deviation I do not want to encourage without reservation. This hesitant attitude is based on a self-evident utilitarian motive: acts of sadism contain an element of danger that cannot be *wholly* ignored, even if one rarely encounters their victims in emergency wards. In addition, the results of such acts cause suffering to the object, except for those cases where the partner is a masochist with a complementary urge pattern. However, I do not believe that suppression would be the best course of action with regard to an already established sadism. We know that frustration breeds aggression, and if a sadistic tendency is frustrated, this aggression may in certain cases add itself to the sadism. Thus a suppression of purely erotic sadism could at least theoretically lead to the development of a more vicious brutality.

Therefore the sadist should be helped, in my opinion, to achieve his special brand of happiness, provided that his wishes are not too bloodthirsty. The most suitable place for this is the brothel, where the execution can be controlled. Such a safety valve for this energy ought to be valuable both to the sadist and society. It could be argued that if one habituates the sadist to such satisfactions of his urge, one might thereby create a sexual compulsion, with unfortunate consequences. The sadist could always get into the predicament of not having enough

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money to afford a visit to the brothel, just when the urge makes itself felt. But I think we ought to take this risk, considering the values of human happiness that lie in the balance.

Our censorship institutions and our legislators tend to give the sadistic voyeurs a rather hard time. I don't think that the cruelties we are served up in newspaper items and gangster movies are capable of giving any sexual pleasure, but this is sheer guesswork on my part. I suppose that this urge is to a certain extent provided for by prize-fights and (during that season in Spain) also by bullfights. It is claimed that the dangerous element in sadistic pornography is that it wakes dormant instincts of violence in people whose moral inhibitions are insufficiently developed. I admit that this is theoretically possible, but again, this speculative risk ought to be weighed against the great usefulness pornography of this kind could have.

It goes without saying that the masochist ought to be assisted to achieve his sexual pleasures. The safest way would be to have the punishment meted out by an indifferent specialist in a brothel, where adequate instruments of torture and trained staff would be provided. Many of the "massage institutions" advertised in the daily press are exactly that, camouflaged brothels for masochists. However, certain individuals require the executioner to be sexually excited also: such cases one would wish to introduce to suitable sadists, as this could result in an excellent symbiotic relationship. Some such contacts are made through the advertisement columns in pornographic and homosexual magazines. The inclination is indicated by the phrases "disciplinary problems" and "educational"—expressions usually tolerated by the authorities.

How frequently does it happen that sadists commit sex murders and rapes? What the papers call "sex murders" is a very heterogeneous category of violent crimes. Mostly very trivial motives underlie those deeds of violence leading to death, not at all dark urges rising from the depths of the soul. Sometimes it happens that a mentally retarded rapist wants to silence the victim who lies there moaning after the deed is done. With his limited intelligence, he is not able to judge the consequences of his brutality and thus applies force in a way that is either excessive or misplaced. Everything seems to indicate that sadism rarely plays a part in these murders. Now and again one hears reports of a mass murderer raging about somewhere in the world, armed with a hatchet or some other implement. In such cases it is obvious that the murders provide the man with some feelings of lust, but is there any reason to assume, a priori, that these are of a sexual nature?

Among rapists, a rough distinction is made between two groups. There are those offenders whose objective is ordinary intercourse, and who pay no heed to the resistance put up by the woman. The other category is fascinated by the idea of rape as such: their enjoyment consists of the conquest of another being defending herself tooth and claw. I don't know how common one or the other type is. In many cases of relapsed rapists their actions have a ritual, stereotyped character. This may indicate algolagnia, though this is by no means certain. Legal psychiatrists who have examined these relapsed criminals claim that they suffer from an extremely powerful and anxiety-tainted sexual compulsion. Good results have been achieved by treating these individuals with female hormones, or by castration.

In our culture, an aggressive strain is an accepted com-

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ponent of normal male sexuality. Without fear of being considered a pervert a man can openly admit that he enjoys sexual intercourse more if the woman puts up a fight. The psychoanalysts—who share this evaluation—explain male impotence and other “sexual neuroses” by saying that the aggressive component of the urge has become inhibited. Conversely, the healthy woman is expected to enjoy her subjection to brutality. Thus a reasonable degree of ill-treatment as an ingredient of intercourse has become accepted as a normal psychological phenomenon, even approved by sexual reactionaries, especially if it takes place in marriage. Naturally these valuations, arbitrary as they are, influence human behavior during intercourse. If for instance biting had been regarded as an abnormality, most people would have abstained from this pleasure.

The refinement of being taken by force, one that many women treat themselves to, puts the man in a difficult position: he is required to retain his powers of observation in a state of sexual excitement. Many women amuse themselves by going through all the preliminaries to intercourse, but then, unexpectedly, tell their partner to stop. At this point the man has to be able to tell real resistance from pretense. This problem will become even more acute when the law on rape within the marriage comes into force in Sweden.

The myth of the “male initiative” causes a great deal of suffering. Thus many married women write to the Misses Lonelyhearts of the newspapers, bitterly complaining that their lawful husbands do not fulfill their marital duties. And the Misses say: Well, well, there are men you know who don't last very long. I would like to give these ladies some advice which might enable them to be

more helpful in the future. There are men whose aggressive instinct is inhibited to such a great degree that they experience every sexual advance to a woman as an act of violation. Even such a trivial matter as telling her their sexual difficulties is seen as a form of rape. If these men ever take an initiative, they fail to get an erection, and therefore they pretend to be impotent. They suffer from their self-inflicted abstinence and are often irritated for no apparent reason. If these men are to fulfill their sexual functions, the woman has to take the initiative. Sometimes even this isn't enough: she has to approach the man in a brusque manner, to give him the opportunity to show ceremonial resistance. Only then can he feel assured that he has not made any improper advances, and only then does his sexual ability appear. There are cases where such men can have intercourse only if the woman gives them unmistakable verbal orders.

Homosexuality

When all is said and done, the homosexuals are the most privileged of the erotic minorities. Theirs is the only group of sexual deviates which has created clubs and organizations to represent their interests. In the homosexual press they can advertise for friendships (the Danish journals *Eos* and *Vennen* are available in many Swedish news-agent's shops), and they have their own meeting places, bars, parks, urinals, etc., where they can meet like-minded individuals. Homosexual advertisements can be seen in certain public toilets. From time to time polemical books and pamphlets appear, containing pleas for the human rights of the homosexual minority. There are indications of a growing opinion in favor of this group (although there also are signs of potential development in the opposite direction), and more and more people admit, in theory, that the homosexuals have a right to satisfy their sexual urge. But all of these are favors granted exclusively to the homosexuals. Other groups with deviating urges—exhibitionists, pedophiliacs, necrophiles, etc.—are in a much worse position.

Nevertheless, the situation is far from favorable, even for homosexuals. In most civilized countries—Britain,

Germany, Austria, and Israel, to pick a few examples out of the stack—homosexuals are thrown into jail; in certain places (Georgia, Ireland) they may be imprisoned for life. In England life sentences are stipulated only for a certain type of homosexual act (“buggery”—anal coition). Despite these nauseating violations of a minority’s rights, Sweden keeps up diplomatic, commercial, and sporting relations with these countries, and there isn’t a single student in our land who would voice a protest (as he does for instance against the regime in South Africa). Swedish tourists ought to be advised of the risks they run abroad, and of how many years’ imprisonment they can be given in each country. Would this not be an appropriate task for the travel agents, or the passport officials?

If there is anyone who believes that the prejudices against homosexuality are dying out in our country, I advise him to read the polemical book by Pallesen previously mentioned in these pages. It is a somber and moving testimonial to the difficulties human beings are able to create for each other. Its author predicts that things will take a reactionary turn: the new penal code openly disparages homosexuals. It has not been considered enough to retain the unpleasant and strongly criticized special provisions that are used to discriminate against these people: *new* special provisions have been introduced, of a kind that will render them almost defenseless against blackmailers and robbers. And according to Pallesen our police force has acquired plainly fascist methods in its dealings with homophiles.

It isn’t difficult to point out the reason why the homosexuals suffer persecution in our civilization: *Christianity*. In Lev. 20:13 we find the following statute: “If a man also lie with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of

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them have committed an abomination: they shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them." The suffering this horrifying commandment has caused mankind is, probably, unsurpassed. Saying this, I am not just thinking of all the acts of physical cruelty the Christian church committed against the homophiles in the Middle Ages and a long way into more modern times, torturing them, mutilating them, and putting them to death in a disgusting manner (such as burying them alive in earth). I am certain that the mental torments are, and have been, even worse: the infernal soul-pains, the fear of blood-guilt, the horror of eternal damnation, the suicides.

When the Swedish bishops, in a letter addressed to the clergy of the Church, declare in 1951 that whoever "engages in homosexual activity breaks the commandments of God," we know very well what bloody tradition they are upholding. Now it is soon time for a new encyclical. Reverend Sirs! Consider that there still are homosexuals who believe in what you say, strange as that may sound! Remember that you still have the power to cause suffering! Has not Christianity created enough hell on earth for homosexuals? Would it not be a good deed, acceptable in the eyes of God, to lighten the burden of guilt these poor individuals have to carry?

The whole area of homoeroticism may seem too well known to necessitate a more detailed study of its sexology in this context. There are, besides, excellent and readable books about it in the Scandinavian languages (Finn Grodal, *We Who Feel Differently*, Pallesen, *The Deviates*). But as people nevertheless tend to persist in their preconceived notions, I should like to point out a few simple facts and, above all, describe the gaps in our knowledge of homosexuality.

Most people have had both homo- and heterosexual impulses at some time, and it seems as if a person completely lacking in one of those tendencies would be a rarity. We do not know whether any statistical connection between heterosexuality and homosexuality exists, whether, in other words, an individual with strong heterosexual needs, for example, has stronger or weaker homosexual needs than the average person. If a person shows an exclusive preference for heterosexual contacts, it is probable, though not certain, that his heterosexual needs are greater than his homosexual needs. It is interesting to find that there apparently are bisexual persons with a periodicity in their urge life: during certain periods they desire sexual intercourse only with members of their own sex; during other periods, exclusively with the other sex.

The frequency of homosexual acts is enormous. In spite of the fact that homosexual intercourse is a crime in most of the states of the United States, 37 percent of all white American males have at one time or another experienced orgasm through homosexual manipulation (Kinsey). The method used with the greatest frequency is mutual or detached masturbation. Another common method is to orally excite the penis (fellatio) or the vulva (cunnilingus). Coition in the anal tract (pedication, pederasty, buggery) is considerably rarer. No statistical correlations are known to exist between homosexuality and other sexual deviations. The general impression is that individuals with a predominantly homophile urge direction seem more often than others to have sado-masochistic interests, but there are no numerical data to support this assumption.

Very little is known of the causes of homosexuality, and of homosexuals' physical and psychical traits in gen-

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eral. This lack of knowledge appears in curious contrast to the cocksure pronouncements people tend to make on these matters. There is nothing to prove the idea, for instance, that homosexuals suffer from hormonal disturbances more frequently than heterosexual people. Attempts to cure a male homosexual with injections of male sex hormone result, at best, in a strengthening of his homosexual urge. No one has been able to establish correlations between anatomical type, pilosity (hairiness), etc., on the one hand, and erotic inclinations on the other. In actual fact it would seem that all conceivable combinations of physical make-up, psychical traits, and choice of sexual objects exist. A man with virile looks and a robust psychological make-up may quite often have a passive, feminine, masochistically homoerotic urge pattern. Many individuals take a fetishistic interest in the genitals of their own sex, while otherwise maintaining a heterosexual attitude.

Considering all this, one understands how meaningless it is to call an individual "homosexual," without a closer definition of what it is one wants to convey.

The influences of heredity (constitution) and environment on the formation of homosexuality have been discussed ad infinitum. The jurists, in particular, have participated in this discussion on a remarkably primitive level. It may be of interest to note that the Swedish penal reform of 1944, in which homosexuality was de-criminalized, came about only because the legislators held completely erroneous views on the causes of homosexuality (the preparatory documents of 1941 make tragi-comical reading). Thus it seems that superstitiousness can at times turn out to the advantage of humanitarianism.

The claim that homosexuality is a form of conditioned

behavior does not exclude the possibility that hereditary factors also play a part in it. What we inherit is a greater or lesser disposition or tendency to manifest a particular sexual need. Some homophiles might have developed homosexual habits in almost any environment, whereas in other cases more specific environmental influences are needed to create this mode of behavior.

An American, Kallmann, has made a study of 40 homophiles, all of them identical twins, and in 37 cases the other twin also turned out to be homosexual.* Of course, one cannot draw any certain conclusions from this result: not only do identical twins have the same genetic make-up, in most cases they also have identical environments.

There has been much speculation on the environmental influences that are supposed to encourage the formation of homosexual tendencies. Cultural factors have been pointed out, such as the high valuation given to martial and manly virtues in our civilization, the segregation of the sexes, puritanical attitudes, etc., and references have been made to certain primitive peoples among whom homosexuality is nonexistent. Interesting in this context is Kinsey's conclusion that homosexual behavior is most common in a middle-class milieu—where the sexual taboos also are strongest.

The psychoanalysts—who, by the way, disregard the school of experimental conditioning completely—believe that they have positive knowledge of the social stimuli that give rise to homophilia. They have built into their system a rich hoard of mythological terms, Oedipus (Electra) complexes, castration anxiety, penis envy, etc.,

* Franz J. Kallmann, *Heredity in Health and Mental Disorder*, W. W. Norton, 1953.

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and by permutating these terms they are able to construct a virtually infinite number of explanations. I had the pleasure of attending the "ecumenical conference" of psychoanalysts in the summer of 1963; the number of hypotheses was almost equal to the number of speakers—with only one thing common to all: the evaluation, the dogmatic assumption that homosexuality is a *defect*, and that this defect appeared to lodge in some kind of mystical entity called the "ego." The psychoanalysts are probably right in saying that parental attitudes play a part in the formation of homosexuality, but why does it necessarily have to be a "deficient interplay between parents and children," as a medical man recently expressed it in a newspaper article?

When Pallesen's polemic first appeared, the newspaper columns allowed a number of doctors to show their sexual fears. Some of them claimed that homosexuality was, in any case, a "pathological deviation" (Cl. A. Crafoord, *Expressen*, May 15, 1964). Dear colleagues! By using methods of complex sophistry it is of course possible to propagate a devaluation of this kind. But what's the use of it? Let the Swedish bishops take care of that sort of sexual hygiene, they do not require your assistance.

To make any sense out of discussions on the nature of homosexuality, a precise distinction has to be made between two attitudes that are commonly confused with one another. These are 1) that an individual feels attracted to members of his own sex, and 2) that the person in question is sexually frigid toward the opposite sex. It is not self-evident that both phenomena have the same originating mechanism. Even if the frigidity were a psychopathological phenomenon, this would not necessarily

mean that the inverted attraction couldn't be a normal psychological trait.

The Siwa people in the Libyan desert are blessed with a sane view of things; among them it is considered abnormal not to be bisexual. And from a strictly biological point of view, bisexuality would indeed seem the most valuable state; provided that the environmental conventions are not too troublesome, the bisexual person is able to use members of both sexes as his sexual objectives.

In connection with the penal reforms of 1944, homosexuality ceased to be a crime in Sweden. But even before this date the homosexuals often escaped punishment, because they were regarded as "sexual psychopaths" and therefore *non compos mentis*. The homophiles are still subjected to special treatment in our laws. While the lower age limit for heterosexual intercourse is fifteen, a person is permitted homosexual contacts only after reaching the age of eighteen.

The intention of this particular paragraph, our legislators inform us, is to protect the young boy from homosexual seducers during the period in which his sexual life has not yet become stabilized. According to the legislators, such a seduction to homosexual acts could lead to permanent homosexual needs, which in their turn lead to conflict and maladjustment in a heterosexual society.

Many decisive counter-arguments have been marshaled against this reasoning and against the special paragraph in general. First of all, it causes the homophiles greater suffering than would appear at first sight. Youths between fifteen and eighteen are often the most attractive and most available objects for the homosexual urge. And that isn't all: interviews have shown that the homophile prefers to

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choose boys younger than eighteen "because he is afraid of being beaten up and mugged by the older and stronger boys." (*Social Bulletin*, 1954, No. 11.) And the youths the paragraph was supposed to protect have in many cases used it to their advantage when robbing and blackmailing homosexuals.

Second, it is very doubtful whether a seduction can cause the formation of a permanent homosexual urge. The important workers in this field, Kinsey, Carlberg, Grodal, etc., unanimously deny the existence of a demonstrable risk of this kind. Occasionally, seduction may become the starting point for a homosexual career, or it may happen that the homosexual person blames such an event, back-dating the first appearance of homophile impulses to it. This is not, however, sufficient for the conclusion that the "seduced" person would not have become a homosexual if that event hadn't taken place.

And, third, even if a homosexual seduction should have the effect postulated by the legislators, would this necessarily mean that it is to the disadvantage of the individual in question? Quite the contrary, could not this conversion prove to be a most fortunate event in his life? He is, after all, broadening the range of his ability to pleasure, and a whole new sex is suddenly put at his disposal. Perhaps the seduction saves the youth from lifelong misery as an impotent husband. We know that the ancient Greeks believed a love relationship between a youth and an older man to be favorable to the former's spiritual and social development. Who knows, this may be true.

The claim that the homosexual becomes a maladjusted part of society is based on a strongly biased selection of facts. The only cases we know of are those where homosexuals get into trouble with the police or seek medical

treatment: it goes without saying that these individuals are in a worse situation than others. In actual fact, we do not know a thing about the degree of maladjustment experienced by the great majority of homosexuals. It is quite probable that they tend to get into difficulties, but these are caused by the harassment society subjects them to. But it does seem strange that our society, by means of legislation, intends to protect people from misfortunes which consist largely of the discriminatory laws passed against them by society.

And in the fourth place, if a group of people suffers from legal discrimination, this encourages the conservation of prejudices against them. This is a particular danger in a country with a highly developed formal sense of justice such as Sweden.

In spite of all the criticism directed at the special provision against homosexuals, it has been allowed to remain unmodified in the new penal code. Not content with that, the legislators have introduced additional paragraphs which are apt to worsen the situation. They have decided to copy a paragraph that has been in force in Denmark for a couple of years: there, it has proved itself fatal for the homosexuals, causing a wave of blackmail, robbery, and suicides, as well as a violent increase in venereal diseases. We shall see what happens in Sweden, when the bill is law.

Anyone who wants more detailed information on this sinister subject should read Pallesen's book, *The Deviates*.

Scopophilia

In this context, *scopophilia* (voyeurism) refers to the sexual peculiarity in which the chance to witness certain events has become a *sexual* need. For some people this actually is their only outlet for the sexual urge. Thus, even though most men find the sight of naked women titillating, and would enjoy watching others engaging in intercourse, they are not scopophiles according to our definition. If one can give credence to Kinsey, women very rarely find any pleasure in looking at the nude male body. But not very long ago a Swedish evening paper published a call for pornography for women—and this plea was made by a woman.

For many scopophiles the sight of a strip tease act or of a full-scale exhibition of intercourse is their most highly valued source of sexual pleasure. Others find themselves dependent on special stimuli, such as urination, sodomy, Lesbian exhibitions, grotesque and sado-masochistic performances, etc. Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, had his own peculiar tastes. For his banquets, he ordered dwarfs of both sexes to be stripped naked and then baked into enormous pies. On an agreed signal they then burst forth from the pastries and danced about on the tables, to the

great consternation of the European ambassadors. Sometimes the stimulation does not even have to be of a sexual character: there are, for instance, men who can reach orgasm when they see galloping horses.

In some cases the "peeping" itself provides sexual release; in others, perhaps especially in individuals with a weak sexual urge, it seems to be a means for excitement to release by other methods.

Some people demand of good pornography that the sexual act itself should only be hinted at. This type of voyeurism need rarely lack stimuli. Others want an explicit description giving a great deal of realistic detail. These individuals hunt for coarse verbal and visual obscenities. Many of them however arrive at the insight that it is not all that exciting to watch a film showing only the sexual act, no matter how many intimate details it contains. Sexual excitement often grows more intense in a public cinema, where the act of intercourse, even if it is only hinted at, is shown in its narrative and psychological connection to various formal and emotional relationships between the participants.

Those scopophiles who depend on coarse stimuli do not stand much of a chance of satisfying their urge in present-day Sweden, where prosecutors and pornography laws are designed to turn their sex life into a wasteland. In this respect Sweden is an underdeveloped country. Is it not remarkable that, for example, a citizen of Stockholm has to travel all the way to Malmö (near the Danish border) to be able to see a genuine strip tease act? There are, it is true, a couple of small cinemas in Stockholm, which claim to show "sex films"—but this is a form of cruel deceit, practiced on the scopophiles, who are compelled to endure two hours of American gangster (B)

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movies and similar miserable entertainment, in order to get a fleeting glimpse of a pair of female mammaries. Belly dancers are mythical figures in this country. The magazines on sale in the tobacconist's shops are a pitiful substitute. Now and then attempts have been made to improve the pornographic quality of these publications, but the forces of organized society have in each case countered these moves by confiscation and prosecutions.

There are a number of jurists and police officials who devote themselves with great energy to making life miserable for the scopophiles. Veritable manhunts are organized against those who try to satisfy their legitimate needs. In connection with the discovery of a so-called pornography syndicate, a couple of years ago, the following comments appeared in *Dagens Nyheter* (one of the largest Swedish dailies): "Commerce with pornographic pictures and films is suspected to be so extensive that the police in Stockholm and the neighboring counties are now considering the establishment of a special investigation committee under the chairmanship of a public prosecutor: this committee would devote itself to a clean-up operation of the particular 'swamp' from which pornographic material is distributed, both within the country and abroad."

Reading such things makes one wonder why people find it necessary to make life so difficult for one another. But the situation is not entirely without its hopeful aspect, and I should like to cheer up my voyeur readers with the following. Despite the constant threats uttered by the legal powers, there are people working for your cause. Films on coition and similar subjects are being produced in various parts of the country, and fortunately only a fraction of this material ever falls into the hands of the

police. The only problem is to establish contact with the persons who merchandise these articles. The best advice I can give you is to leaf through one or the other of those trite girlie magazines: they carry a number of advertisements for "sexy photographs," nudist films, etc. If you reply to one of these, you will find that the advertiser has other and considerably more interesting articles for sale, but he wants to make contact with you first, before offering any of these. Giving the reader these pointers actually makes me guilty of incitement to illegal action, but this is a risk I am only too pleased to take.

The latest beach fashions certainly open up exciting vistas for the scopophiles. I suppose most of them have raised silent cheers. Perhaps other voyeurs take a more hesitant attitude—as they would like to retain a certain framework of festivity and ceremony round the exposure of female attractions.

On the European continent the voyeurs are in a much more favorable position. The brothels which make it a point of honor to satisfy needs of various kinds are often equipped with peepholes in the walls. On the Herbertstrasse in Hamburg one can see Lesbian exhibitions, for a reasonable admission fee (about fifty German marks), such as for instance intercourse between two females by means of a dildo. By way of information, I would like to point out that this is a purely mechanical re-creation of Lesbian activity, and it does not in the least engage the actresses' personal erotic feelings. But it could be a rewarding experience nevertheless. Paris has had a severe falling off in standards, which is surely a consequence of the criminalization of the brothel professions.

From a common-sense point of view, scopophilia is, of course, as legitimate and respectable as any other expres-

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sion of our urges. But if one is a peeping Tom, and has had the misfortune to be born in a country with legal restrictions such as Sweden's, one is compelled to resort to illegal ways and means in order to satisfy one's urge. In this country, scopophiles are constantly chasing after visual experiences. They are capable of variously complicated and risky measures and actions in trying to peep through windows or to sneak into public baths. The scopophile wanders in darkness, equipped with a flashlight, ready to expose couples courting in parks, and on the beaches a pair of binoculars is his cherished aid.

Many scopophiles also have exhibitionistic impulses, which hardly improve their relations with jurists.

But our society does not only have guardians of justice, it also has curators of human care. What efforts have the latter made to help the scopophiles get on in life? Well, if they present their problem to a doctor, they risk being told that they are infantile, and that doesn't really get them anywhere. Not so long ago a scopophile wrote in to Lis Asklund (a Swedish "Miss Lonelyhearts") for advice. He was a happily married father, in a good social position, and his problem was that he felt a strong need for pornography, which in turn caused severe guilt feelings. The letter received a reply from Yngve Holmstedt, the legal psychiatrist, who apparently thought he could alleviate the man's guilt feelings by apostrophizing his sex life as "warped" and by claiming that it existed on a "childish level."

Admittedly, Holmstedt is not so much concerned with social care as with the upholding of justice, but it is nevertheless indecent to provide such comments. Calling the man's sexuality warped only lent authority to his own worst fears and added to his load of guilt. Holmstedt's

comment is impertinently irrelevant, as there isn't the slightest indication of what Holmstedt claims is the case. He has quite obviously read too much psychoanalytical trash, and at the same time he expresses a genuinely hostile attitude to sex. The Freudian dogma fits his puritanical views like a glove.

Thus, the peeping Toms are still regarded as inferior creatures, with the psychiatrists blandly endorsing such a view. This intolerant attitude made a sordid appearance recently, in a newspaper article dealing with the suggestion that impotent males should be provided with pornographic films on medical prescription. Maj-Brith Walan, a midwife and an apparently much-acclaimed lady in sex-education circles, gave a strict warning against allowing scopophiles to attend these films (showing what? intercourse?): "We have to consider that there are men with misguided or otherwise deviant sexual patterns, and they could well be attracted to such things. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to define the indications for such treatment with great strictness, and to restrict it to married men."

No, my dear scopophiles! Believe in the legitimacy and respectability of your sexual needs, express them without fear, and, above all, never believe what superstitious authorities—even if they are doctors—try to insinuate into your minds!

Other sexual deviations

Strictly speaking, there are as many types of sexual deviation as there are urge patterns, that is, human beings. Every human being is sexually unique. Grouping various deviations under headings here, I am only going by broad and superficial similarities and dissimilarities. The categorization of "perversions" undertaken here has no pretensions whatsoever, and is not based on knowledge of their etiology or phenomenology.

Transvestism, for instance, is not a unified type of behavior, only a general designation for all those highly divergent inclinations that express themselves in a wish to wear the clothes of the opposite sex. In most cases, it is a sexual need, and the transvestite experiences sexual excitement when dressing up in this way. But that does not apply to all, and in some cases men switch to feminine garb only in order to *escape* from the pronounced psychological discomfort caused by male clothing. There are hetero-, homo-, and bisexual individuals among the transvestites, but there also are some who prefer not to enter into any sexual relationship with another person.

A specific and not very uncommon category are those men who have become totally identified with a feminine

role. These individuals, physically, hormonally, and genetically a hundred percent male, want to be accepted as women and to receive compliments from men. In most cases they do not feel any sexual attraction to their own sex. Despite the fact that they mostly satisfy their urge through masturbation, they feel disgust at the sight of their own genitals, and their great life goal is to have an operation removing penis and testicles. The results of such surgery are mostly successful, and the individuals lead a more harmonious life after their operations; some of them later marry men.

Many heterosexual males feel compelled to put on brassieres or women's panties in order to be able to have intercourse. Among the respectable gentlemen we meet in the street, dressed in charcoal grey and carrying briefcases, there is a small number who wear female lingerie next to their skin. Particularly coquettish and extravagant are the "queens" of homosexual clubs, who are usually surrounded by a retinue of devoted cavaliers. Otherwise the majority of homosexuals tends to wear impeccably conservative clothes, as they are concerned not to attract any attention. The feminine touches in the garb and hair styles of young male prostitutes are due merely to their desire to attract customers.

Our civilization is hard on the transvestites. Even when they aren't insulted, ridiculed, denied entry to restaurants, or actually prosecuted for indecent behavior, they are regarded as curiosities and fair game for the popular press. Most of these people (though there are exceptions like Christine Jørgenson) only want to be left in peace and do not wish for any attention beyond that other citizens receive. In this respect our wisdom and tolerance is considerably less than that shown by most so-called primi-

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tive cultures, among whom transvestism is accepted as a wholly natural affair. Our attitudes are more akin to those of the Siberian tribes which, according to Ruth Benedict, credited the transvestites with supernatural powers.

Now and again the transvestites receive punishment for "insulting decency and morality so as to cause public offense." I have tried to discover the circumstances in which such action has been taken, but there aren't, unfortunately, any jurists who would know where to look for these sentences in the criminal archives.

As usual, the reasons for persecution are found in the Bible: "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God" (Deut. 22:5).

For the sexual inclination called *autoeroticism* (narcissism) the person's own body has become a sexual object. A person with this type of urge need never be afraid of suffering deprivation. Seeing himself in a full-length mirror may be enough to give orgasm, though at times ejaculation occurs only after he has touched the mirror with his penis. There are men who can have intercourse only in halls of mirrors. The deviation is often connected to exhibitionism, and certain of these individuals enjoy circulating nude photographs of themselves. Beyond that, most narcissists do not seem to have any extraordinary personality traits. The case literature however claims that many of them are eccentric, escapist, egocentric, and lacking in social instincts (whatever that may mean). There are two theories on formation mechanisms, both of them mere cloaks for our ignorance. According to one, these people have not received enough love in their childhood; according to the other, they have received too much.

Other sexual deviations

Masturbation is hardly regarded as a perversion any more, provided that the masturbator does not prefer it to sexual intercourse. This sexual habit has at all times caused its practitioners great misery, and the damage is due entirely to the horrific threats uttered by Christian educators. Anyone who wants to acquire an idea of the inferno these apostles of morality used to prepare for young people in bygone times is recommended to read *The Sneaking Enemy* by E. J. Ekman, published in Stockholm in 1887. In this epistle can be read that the habit of "self-pollution" is apt to transform a young man into a "destroyed and emaciated ruin, swaying toward either the grave or the madhouse cell," and to make him sink into the "dark and bottomless night of insanity." The same terrible vice also causes the child's "growth to be interrupted, while the development of the muscular system, the voice, the growth of the beard, courage, and energy, all are slowed down, if not completely stunted"—and that isn't all; it furthermore destroys "the brain, the nervous system, the spinal marrow, sight, intelligence, wit, the vital energy in general, in all its forms." So that is what people believed, only a few decades ago. Maybe some fanatic still sits preaching this doctrine, in one of the thinly populated provinces.

Nowadays, as the medical superstitions have lost their usefulness, the sexual reactionaries have immediately appropriated the superstitions of psychology, in order to prop up their prohibitions.

In actual fact, masturbation is even less dangerous to health than normal intercourse, as there is no risk of contracting venereal disease. Like all physical activity it should not be practiced excessively, to the point of exhaustion. Masturbation tends to excess, and some mas-

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turbators go for their genitals as soon as they are left alone with themselves. This is probably due to the fact that the masturbatory act does not give them an adequate release of sexual energy.

For quite a large number of masturbators onanism seems to be a purely physical need, equivalent to the need to urinate. Others again tend to indulge in extensive fantasies while masturbating, and the manual operations become only a small appendage to erotic daydreams. People with less imaginative power have to make use of pornography, but they are mostly reduced to the pitiful items of printed matter which are on sale in the open market.

The masturbator's fantasies often have an extremely obscene and drastic character, but generally speaking he never makes any attempt to realize them. Quite the contrary: In typical cases he poses as a moralist and apostle of decency, regarding his environment with an exaggerated attitude of asceticism. Such people obviously have extremely powerful sexual inhibitions. The fact that many onanists are incapable of complete sexual intercourse does not allow the inference that masturbation causes impotence.

Many become masturbators as a consequence of physical handicaps, an invalid state, etc. If we cannot help these people to a better solution than onanism, we could at least, in the name of humanitarianism, provide them with adequate pornographic stimuli. In any case we should not, as we now do, legislate against such activities.

Fetishism is a comparatively tame expression of sexuality, in its common forms at least. It provides the individual with a chance to satisfy his sexual urge through looking at or manipulating objects of various kinds,

such as female underwear, high-heeled shoes, pieces of fabric, bicycle seats, feces, various parts of the body, etc. Hirschfeld tells a story about a man who in one night managed to shear off and take home the tails of twenty-four horses. When women's fashion decrees high-heeled boots, many men walk the streets with a permanent erection. The American cult of superdimensional breasts is an interesting example of fetishism among a civilized people. In many cases an inanimate object, a former possession of a loved being, is a fully adequate substitute for the person, at least as a sexual object.

A number of highly refined fetishists specialize in abstract objects, such as for instance the violation of a taboo. But people who claim to cultivate this sophisticated inclination often enough confuse cause and effect. Byron believed that he offended against sexual conventions only because he wanted to feel "sinful": this is of course possible, but all his actions in this area could also be seen as motivated by the fact that the sexual act he really yearned for (incest with his half-sister Augusta) happened to be forbidden by taboo.

The legal psychiatrists, at least the Swedish ones, believe that all cases of exhibitionism have their roots in taboo-fetishism.

The fetishist supporters of sexual taboos are of course eager to preserve all sexual prejudices. It is probable that many severe puritans belong to this group, and that they are conscious of their motivations to a greater or lesser degree. The wish to preserve the magical power of this fetish, in order to be able to use it, like the primitive peoples do, on appropriate occasions, for ritual debauches, is in fact the only motive I would be able to respect in a sexual reactionary.

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Whoever feels desire for shoes, clothes, or other articles can feel perfectly safe in this country. Legal history does not know a single case in Sweden where anyone has been prosecuted for making sexual use of an inanimate, concrete object (with the exception of necrophilia). Even though fetishism can be the reason for a certain type of theft, it is by its nature wholly distinct from kleptomania, which according to the depth psychologists also is of sexual origin.

For the *necrophile*, the adequate sexual object is a corpse. According to the views cherished by legal psychiatrists, all necrophiles without exception are individuals suffering from grave mental disturbances. This, anyway, is the way it is put in a summary of legal psychiatry included in the required reading of medical students. How can this be known? The material available consists only of cases where the individual was caught in the act.

It is of course impossible to say anything at all about the frequency of this inclination among the general populace. It does not, however, seem unreasonable to assume that there are a considerable number of respectable persons who indulge in fantasies about satisfying their sexual urge with dead human bodies. It should not be necessary to point out that people take care not to mention any such inclinations in interviews of the Kinsey type.

Brothels are not infrequently asked to provide a woman, made up and shrouded like a corpse, laid out on a bed surrounded by candles and flowers. During the act, the "corpse" is then required to lie stock still, in a state of nonresponsive apathy.

Any individual who begins to notice necrophile tendencies in himself probably will suffer from initially severe guilt feelings. Then he turns, in all likelihood, to what

technical psychiatric literature is available—not daring to go and tell his doctor about the urge. Whereupon he finds out that he is a “menace to society,” a “vermin” that ought to be “confined to an insane asylum.” That, at least, is what the Danish psychologist Paul Thorsen says, in his book *Variations of Sexual Behavior*, published in 1953(!). Invective and threats of this kind won't do any good for anyone.

That our sexuality can become intertwined in our imagination and above all in our subconscious with the idea of death, should not seem all that strange to modern man: the connections have been demonstrated in various contexts, not least by the Freudians.

The necrophile is punished for crimes of desecration, if he attempts to satisfy his urge. The provision reappears in the new penal code.

Sexual intercourse with animals, *sodomy* (bestiality, zoophilia), is a common type of human behavior, not just something out of the undergrowth of ancient anecdote about Roman emperors and other historical personages. Sodomy has been a ceremonial feature in acts of religious worship in many cultures, such as classical Greece. This kind of sexual intercourse is practiced most frequently in regions where people suffer from sexual deprivation for religious and social reasons; for instance southern Europe and the Near East.

In America, Kinsey has shown that sodomy is a common type of transitional behavior among country youths, and 17 percent of rural males have at some time experienced orgasm with an animal. Sodomy is also practiced by women, but much less frequently. The most commonly used animals are calves, sheep, dogs, cats, geese, and hens. The commonest form of sodomy is coition; the most fre-

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quent alternative is that the animal licks the young man's penis and anus. The case material also contains a few instances where the youth has orally excited the animal's genitals. Sometimes regular love affairs occur, with touches of erotic passion and reciprocal fixation. For many scopophiles, acts of sodomy are highly desirable viewing, and in certain capital cities (Cairo) the brothels provide exhibitions of coition between women and mule stallions.

In our culture, moralists and jurists have been roused to anger by the human urge to use animals for sexual pleasure. The worst kinds of cruelty have been committed against the zoophiles. Thus some of our old rural laws punished sodomy with animals by burying the offender alive. To use animals as sexual objects is still punishable in most of the countries we regard as civilized; for instance Norway, Germany, Holland, Austria, and Israel. In Sweden punishment was abolished in 1944, but we still haven't learned to respect this form of sexual intercourse (which naturally must not involve any cruelty toward the animals).

That members of different species copulate is quite common in the animal world, perhaps especially among the more advanced mammals (*National Research Council Conference on Mammalian Sex Behavior*, New York, 1943). Why then regard this behavior as degenerate when it occurs in *Homo sapiens*? There are no biological or medical grounds whatsoever for a devaluation of this kind. Historically, the judgment is a lingering remnant of a sexual taboo which originated among a pre-scientific people, out of fear and superstition. In Lev. 20:15, one may read: "And if a man lie with a beast, he shall surely be put to death: and ye shall slay the beast."

Is it not time to rid ourselves of this moral yoke? Kinsey

tells us about many remarkable men who had their lives destroyed by the more or less constant fear that their youthful escapades in zoophilia might be discovered by society. I have met a tragic case myself, in which the fear of the judgment by others probably was a strong contributory cause for the patient's sliding into a grave state of psychical insufficiency, with a doubtful prognosis for the future (*sensitiver Beziehungswahn*). Is this really necessary, in a modern society? Couldn't we, as befits conscious and fair-minded human beings, try to curb our own primitive moral reactions?

The only radical remedy would obviously be to surround sodomy with animals with the same, in principle positive, preconditions we have given the act of coition between man and woman.

When the sexual urge is directed toward old people, this is referred to as *gerontophilia* (from *geron*, old man; and *philos*, loving). This special interest, which can have a heterosexual or homosexual tendency, seems to be particularly common among male adolescents, and usually disappears as they grow up. This is of course due to the fact that the sexual urge is so strong in those years that *any* sexual object is acceptable—it is the same age group that engages in sodomy. However, I have found that it is, in certain cases, an anomaly in the urge itself: old people are preferred to fresher partners. Considering this, it is a little saddening to think of all the old-age pensioners who have retained their sexual urge and would like nothing better than to make the acquaintance of young people. How miserably we all arrange each others' lives!

Many people I know socially consider sexual intercourse among or with old people as definitely in bad taste, and claim that one ought to abstain from such things once and

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for all when those silver strands appear among the gold. If the humanitarian attitude hasn't progressed any further than that among today's Swedish youth, the future looks grim indeed. The ancient Greeks found nothing tasteless in sexual relations between the generations, between let us say young boys and old men. On the contrary, they believed that this was the best foundation for a deep and constructive togetherness. But our jurists find such things so repulsive that they even create special laws against them.

Sexual collectivism or group sexuality indicates that three or more persons participate simultaneously in a sexual act. Ethnography and history supply us with many instances of sexual events with a great collective of participants. Such events were included in the religious behavior of many so-called primitive peoples (before the Christian missionaries destroyed the custom). Sexual mass orgies took place in connection with fertility rites and initiation ceremonies: they were social institutions and public occasions, and in many cases everybody was allowed to take part. The ancient Greeks and Romans also cultivated group sexuality, particularly during the frolicsome processions in honor of Venus, Bacchus, Priapus, and other gods.

In our world, sexual life is hedged around by an impenetrable taboo of bashfulness, and our society has no sense of the values individuals might find in being allowed to challenge this modesty from time to time. Christianity has to be blamed for this: it is a religion that allows no room for sexuality in its rites. Only a few notorious sectarians have devoted themselves to group eroticism (Hellfire clubs, Laestadians). There also are some secular coteries which

include sexual collectivism in their program, but they lead a private and hidden existence.

If one is interested in group sexuality, it is not easy to get to cultivate the inclination in our welfare democracies. But one can always reply to certain advertisements in semi-pornographic or homophile magazines, since some people advertise in them with the intention of forming erotic collectives. As always, the best thing is to be lucky: it is not uncommon to find drinking parties ending in collective sexual acts which have in no way been planned beforehand. Such impulsive orgies which occur as a surprise to everyone are often the most successful.

Individuals with exhibitionistic, voyeuristic, and bisexual traits in their sexual make-up should find group sexuality very rewarding. The risk of complications such as jealousy or grave guilt feelings is according to all experience comparatively small. So many well-established persons have confessed to me that they have at some time in their lives participated in a collective orgy, or in some escapade where sexual modesty was at least endangered, that I have started to wonder whether such experience is not the rule rather than the exception. The experience tends to be of a preponderantly positive nature, intensifying vitality, excitement, and sexual pleasure. The orgy may be followed by a few days' moderate repentance, of a kind that does not as a rule cause any permanent worries. The event tends to become a shining jewel in the treasure chest of memory, something one "honestly wouldn't have wanted to miss."

It goes without saying that this type of eroticism makes considerable moral demands on its practitioners, if it is to bring happiness to all who take part. In every case a cer-

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tain amount of discipline and capacity for sexual altruism is necessary; unfortunately, some collectivistic relationships get destroyed by the men, who often are ruthlessly egotistic in the expression of their sexual urge and try to squeeze out a maximum of pleasure for themselves without any regard for the other participants.

When three persons take part in the sexual act, this is called *troilism*. It is a very popular type of social sex. To engage a third person in sexual intimacy is a none too uncommon method of adding to the erotic temperature of many marriages. The third person is either assigned a purely spectatorial role, or he (she) is given various oral and genital tasks to perform. The number of technical variations possible in troilism exceeds by far the number of coital positions given in the Indian manuals of eroticism. The arrangement usually satisfies all participants, and complications based on jealousy are rare, in my experience. In principle, one ought to advise troilism in all marriages in which the sexual relationship has degenerated into routine. This type of sexual intercourse is an ideal solution for the bisexuals, who can satisfy both the heterosexual and the homosexual components of their personality when taking part in it.

In sexological literature, sexual collectivism and troilism receive very summary treatment. This seems odd, as they are common types of behavior.

Pyromania (persistent compulsion to start destructive fires) is a generalized term for a number of highly divergent abnormal psychical states. In most cases the motivations for apparently meaningless actions of this kind are of a non-sexual nature. But in some, the act of setting something on fire is seen, in individuals with severely inhibited aggressive instincts, as compensatory for the sexual

Other sexual deviations

act to a certain degree, these individuals receiving a kind of release from tension.

* * *

The sexual urge can become attached to countless ceremonies and objects, and one could go on describing "perversions" forever. Certain individuals find it absolutely necessary to have certain elements in the sexual prelude, for example that they are allowed to pay for intercourse. Others require certain characteristics in their objects, such as that they be invalids; others again want muscular women, etc. Some reach orgasm only when they can witness such things as traffic accidents, thunderstorms, etc. In his story "Island of the Doomed" Stig Dagerman tells us about youths who could experience orgasm only when they kept the auto engine running.

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It would seem reasonable to assume that the legal experts feel sufficiently concerned to inform the public about which sexual acts are punishable under existing Swedish law. This would serve the cause of crime prevention, and it would also save the legal authorities the unnecessary trouble of—for instance—those pornography cases that arise out of simple ignorance. But as the jurists do not seem interested in providing the public with these facts, I, as a layman, feel obliged to describe here what legal opportunities the sexual eccentric has in this country, after all.

In the *Rules for the Judiciary* with which the Swedish code begins, a utilitarian and humanitarian principle finds expression in the sentence: "*Whatever is found to be to the advantage of the common man is to be regarded as law.*" However, it also says, in the same paragraph, that a judge should keep in mind that he is a "*Servant of God.*" The statutes on morality in our existing penal law consist of a sort of compromise between these two incompatible points of view.

Unfortunately enough, the same dualistic vacillation between divine demands and profane utilities reappears in

the new penal code starting the first of January, 1965. It does seem as if the legislator attempts to take the people's interest into account when he says that "the regulations regarding statutory offenses have been defined more consistently than in existing law as applicable to sexual offenses against children or youths, or to attacks on a single person's integrity in a sexual respect." But when he declares, in the same breath, that it is a question of being able to take action against relations which "are grossly offensive in public opinion," he has once again given in to the spirit of pious servility, even if he tries to camouflage this by renaming the divine demands as "sense of decency."

As far as sexual offenses are concerned, the only major change caused by the penal reform is in the realm of terminology. In practically all of the existing paragraphs the main term used in describing the crime is a term of abuse borrowed from the Old Testament: "*lewdness*." In the new phraseology this has become "*sexual intercourse*," but the legislators haven't found themselves able to dispense altogether with the old invective. Even jurists (Per-Erik Fürst) have stated that not only the terminology but even present-day legal practice is influenced by the Mosaic Scriptures. The new code our welfare society will have to endure for an indefinite length of time still permits individuals with original sexual characteristics to be sacrificed to the greater glory of Jahveh. Through its chosen servants the Swedish nation has accepted this state of affairs, and the paltry criticism that was voiced when the bill was passed affected its only meritorious feature—to wit, the acknowledgment of the married woman's physical integrity.

What does anybody who is planning any kind of sexual event do in order to find out whether he or she does not

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become guilty of a criminal offense when realizing the plan? First of all, it is useful to be aware of the fact that the question whether an act is criminal or not is in the final analysis an empirical and sociological one, depending on the reaction pattern of the legal authorities. What we need to know, or to predict, is how the local court of justice is going to react, if the sexual escapade comes to its attention. The ability of laymen to make such prognoses is, in fact, of fundamental importance to the security of law in any society. To make this possible, the courts have to allow inspection of their activities, and second, the results of such inspection must indicate more or less consistent practice.

Neither of these conditions for the security of law can be said to exist to a sufficient degree in our present-day constitutional state with regard to, for example, pornography cases. When a person sets about making a film on an erotic subject, he ought to be able to find out what previously filmed scenes have been accepted or condemned by the tribunals. But laymen are not allowed to consult such material. Thus, the filmmaker has to go ahead with his work without any lines of guidance, and to wait for the legal reaction.

Aren't there any short cuts at all to a knowledge of which sexual activities are permitted? It is sometimes said that certain juridical texts and commentaries can be used as aids to prognostication. The legal text itself is in any case completely useless to the layman. With its Biblical terms of abuse, it is practically worthless for descriptive purposes. It would be a gross distortion of truth to claim that our jurisdiction on pornography is based on the application of written laws. Many jurists consider *Stjernberg's Commentary on Penal Law*, Chap. 17-18, to be a

guide for the courts.* This document, compiled thirty-five years ago, actually is cited repeatedly in pleadings. The conception of the content of sexual legislation expressed in this commentary is based partly on a certain number of precedents and official statements, and partly on a study of the legal wording, in the manner of a logical analysis. In addition, the document contains a number of medical superstitions and moral evaluations of the Victorian type, but these do not seem to influence the interpretation to any considerable degree.

It is also possible to interview competent jurists. I myself have had extensive discussions with two public prosecutors in Stockholm, and they seemed very willing to oblige. Most of these gentlemen are however so strongly involved, emotionally, in questions of morality that there are serious reasons for questioning the scientific validity of their statements, even though they have considerable knowledge of various statutory cases.

Seeing that our legal practice is so loosely connected to the letter of the law, our laws governing sexual matters might seem a matter of indifference. But that is a too hasty conclusion. The sex laws are of paramount importance in that they fixate the moral prejudices in the men appointed to pass judgment on us. Unfortunately, there are no grounds for hoping that the new penal code will inspire the jurists to a wider and more tolerant view in sexual matters. No, the erotic minorities are discriminated against with the same inexorable consistency as in the present code.

In connection with the various sexual deviations, I have already discussed the obstacles the law puts in the way

* Nils Stjernberg (1873-1943), professor of criminal law at the University of Uppsala.

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of individuals with specialized urge patterns. Any person who feels drawn to incest, or who is a necrophile, pedophile, or exhibitionist, is totally prevented from satisfying his sexual urge by the existing laws. It is true that the parent who takes an interest in his child's psychosexual development will not, after 1965, be punished for incest, but for "lewd behavior"; on the other hand, the definition of the crime has been sharpened with regard to exhibitionism and pedophilia. The special regulations pertaining to homosexuality have not only been preserved intact, they have been extended by the addition of supplementary provisions.

There is a legal paragraph in our country which renders it practically impossible for individuals with specialized erotic interests to establish contact with other persons who could satisfy their sexual urges. This is the notorious procurement paragraph (18:11) in the present penal law: "Whoever habitually, or to gain profit therefrom, seduces others to, arranges, or in any other way furthers lewdness, will be sentenced for procurement to between six months' imprisonment and four years' hard labor."

The formulation reappears almost word for word in the new penal code. It is exactly this paragraph that prevents the establishment of brothels. The provision does not affect the sexually privileged caste in our society, that is, the orthodox heterosexual persons who are moderately enterprising and do not suffer from any considerable physical shortcomings. But for people with sexual deviations or different kinds of handicaps, such as illness, invalidity, congenital malformations, physical repulsions, exceedingly strong inhibitions, etc., it is a catastrophe. These individuals cannot benefit from the dance halls our society provides us with so generously. They are often more timid

and less secure than others and do not dare to express their wishes. For many of these, a procurer or a brothel would be a blessing. The ideal solution would probably be a bureau staffed with psychiatric experts, who could arrange sexual contacts for such individuals. But as we have seen, our society regards such care for fellow humans as a crime, and will go on doing so even under the new penal code.

The personal advertisement columns in our newspapers could be one medium which the heterodox could use to establish contact with each other. The daily press would have an important mission to fulfill. It is actually possible to state one's special erotic interests in an advertisement, without offending against "decency and morals" in a legal sense. A prosecutor has given me his word that no legal action would be taken if a daily paper carried the following advertisement: "Exhibitionist wants to meet scopophile." Unfortunately, the newspapers have taken it upon themselves to act as guardians of authoritarian morality, even those dailies which call themselves culturally radical.

For the mentally diseased or retarded, there is one law for men, another for women. According to present law the women are disqualified from sexual intercourse of any kind, the men only from homosexual activities. Our legislators obviously find that it is not enough of a burden for these people to be mentally disturbed; the burden is made even heavier by denying them their sexual pleasure. A good deal of homosexuality is spontaneously created in mental institutions. In practice, it depends on the degree of the head nurse's bigotry or power hunger, whether any expressions of homosexuality are tolerated or not. The doctors do not, for some reason, take any interest in the problem.

For the benefit of those who are not familiar with these

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conditions, I would like to point out that modern drug treatment has succeeded in rendering many schizophrenics free of symptoms. Thus a great number of such patients are returned to society, where they live a normal professional life and seem psychically healthy. But—whoever engages in sexual intercourse with such a person runs the risk of up to four years of hard labor, according to the letter of the law, unless he can prove that his act was one of self-denial, intended to give the insane person a measure of happiness. Because, if anyone had the positively crazy idea of providing a mentally diseased human being with sexual pleasure, he would—I am told by a representative of the prosecuting authorities—be himself regarded as mentally deranged, and therefore not liable to punishment.

Fortunately, our new legislators have realized that this legal standpoint is untenable. They have decided to punish only cases of sexual intercourse with mentally diseased or retarded persons where “undue advantage” has been taken of the concerned person’s condition—though it remains to be seen how this will be interpreted in practice.

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The paragraph jurists use to make life difficult for the voyeurs reads as follows (18:13):

Anyone who distributes or offers for sale or gives away written matter, paintings, drawings, or pictures which are offensive to decency and morality, shall be punished by fine or imprisonment. The same applies if decency and morality are offended against by any other action, in a way liable to cause a public nuisance or the danger of another person's seduction.

How a picture has to be composed so as to offend "decency and morality," the aforementioned Mr. Stjernberg leaves to the discretion of the courts. A prosecutor has provided me with a rule of thumb: It is indecent to present the genitals in a manner which reminds the spectator too pointedly of their natural function. An exception is made in the case of medical literature, where the authors have the right to show what an erected penis looks like. Similar exceptions are made for works dealing with the history of culture. But if girlie magazines show the slightest degree of ambition to fulfill the function for which they have been designed, they run the risk of prosecution.

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The municipal court in Borås sentenced the publisher of *Photo Parade* and *Modell Naturell* to the payment of fines totaling 750 kronor* (April 4, 1962). Two years later, on April 4, 1964 the periodical *Qvinna*** was sentenced to fines totaling 2,000 kronor by the court of appeals. I have gone through the confiscated material, and I can see no difference between these and other similar magazines which have not been prosecuted. The prosecuted material contained no pictures of several participants, no sadistic touches, and the men appearing in the picture had their penises in a modestly drooping position. A few of them struck slightly provocative poses, and one of the ladies had been ill-advised enough to smile at the camera. But none of this is any different from what one can get to see by purchasing a magazine in any tobacconist's shop.

To illuminate the legal chaos prevailing in this field, I quote from two documents, both of them from the case against *Qvinna*. Defense counsel Lars Bergmark demanded acquittal on the following grounds:

It seems that the judgment with the most detailed motivation is that given by the municipal court in Malmö on September 28, 1959. In the verdict it says:

"For a considerable number of years, many publications containing pictures of naked persons have been distributed in Sweden. These publications do not serve any scientific or artistic purpose, their sole aim being to influence the erotic feelings of their readers. The depicted persons strike provocative and sexually titillating poses, and in many cases the pictures have been composed specially so as to give prominence to the sexual organs. In fiction, we find detailed

* Approximately five to the dollar.

** Old spelling of *Kvinna* (woman).

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descriptions of sexual activity between human beings, and of human sexual reactions in general. Verbal and visual presentations of this type are openly distributed in great quantities. Practically no public action is taken against them. Thus they have to be regarded as generally accepted."

Later, on December 13, 1963, the municipal court in Malmö pronounced verdicts in two cases, one against *** and the other against ***. In the first-mentioned case it was claimed that the magazine *Berwe:s Modellstudier*, in its entirety, was offensive to decency and morality. The jury decided that only one picture could be regarded as offensive. The municipal court did not, however, share this opinion, and it decided against the prosecution.

In the second verdict the court's decision was similar: the jury found three pictures indecent, but the municipal court would not go along.

The municipal court in Göteborg pronounced its verdict in the case against ***, on November 21, 1963. From the prosecutor's side it was claimed that the publications in question, *Album Artists* and *Studio Modeller*, were offensive in their entirety. At a later stage, it was claimed that at least certain pictures were offensive to decency and morality. The jury and the municipal court found only one picture which could be regarded as indecent.

The pictures in the magazine *Qvinna*, which the court of appeals has to decide on in the present case, are of such a type that only in a few instances can they be regarded as depicting models striking poses which could perhaps be taken as provocative and sexually exciting. Depending on how the reader himself interprets the visual material, it could conceivably be claimed that in a few isolated cases the pictures have been arranged so as to give prominence to the models' genitals.

It cannot, however, be said that any individual picture goes further than those the municipal court of Malmö was

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concerned with in its verdict of September 28, 1959. This judgment, upheld by the higher legal authorities, defines the pictures in question as "to be regarded as generally accepted."

The other judgments show how difficult it is to decide what is offensive to decency and morals, and what is not. The same material receives different evaluations from different groups of people. This seems to be mainly due to the fact that the concept of pornography is subject to constant fluctuations.

At present, attitudes have developed to the point where society accepts films which show scenes of sexual intercourse.

As a motivation for the sentence passed in this particular case, City Attorney Otto Meijer quotes the following principles, which are applied by the court in Malmö:

4. A picture of a naked woman, arranged, with regard to the model's posture and surroundings, in such a way that the model can not only be regarded as provocative or sophisticated, but inviting to lewdness in an unmistakable and obtrusive manner, is offensive to decency.

According to the principles of articles 2 and 6, the appeals court has found certain photographs, color slides, and photo negatives offensive to decency and morality. In the pictorial material under scrutiny appear a number of pictures, which—though they cannot be conclusively classified as belonging to any of the categories given in paragraphs 2 and 6—are composed in such a strikingly *unnatural* and *distasteful* or *humanly degrading* manner in the prominence given to the model's sexual organs or for the achievement of some special sexual effect, that they have made an immediately *repulsive* impression on the municipal court, and are *for that reason* regarded as indecent by the court.

It is, obviously, a matter of chance which pornographic magazines get prosecuted: there are no directives given by higher authorities to indicate when a picture is offensive to decency and morals. The verdict depends on the judges' moral (and esthetic!) prejudices. Different courts act in different ways, and every one of them has its own procedure. And yet, under these chaotic conditions, a person who produces magazines for use as pornography is expected to be able to decide what is illegal and what is not. In order to be competitive, he has to achieve the same level of pornography as his fellow publishers. This means that he is compelled to provide visual material of a kind which gets prosecuted and punished in certain courts, yet is regarded as inoffensive by others. If he does not prefer to go bankrupt, he has to accept this continuous risk of prosecution. Is it still possible to speak of "security of law," when the courts act in this capricious manner?

It is not illegal to possess indecent pictures or films, nor has it been illegal to manufacture them, at least not until 1965. We also have the right to screen films depicting sexual intercourse and to show other pornographic material in our homes, to a circle of adult friends, no matter how offensive the films may be to decency and morals. Certain clubs have the same right. No "public nuisance" or "danger of another person's seduction" is seen to arise from this. On the other hand, it is not permitted to establish a club for the purpose of screening pornographic films.

According to the information I have gathered, actual exhibitions of nudity are judged on the same grounds as pictures. Thus, most of the strip tease shown on the Continent would not clash with the laws of our country, either. Yet there are no strip tease shows in the restaurants of,

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for example, Stockholm, that reputedly so unprejudiced city. Do the restaurant owners regard their customers as so prudish that they would not tolerate floor show turns of this kind? A rumor that the controlling authorities have issued an order of prohibition has no foundation in fact—or in any case the director of that particular bureau knows of no such order.

Anyone who wants to manufacture and market pornographic films has two paragraphs to contend with: first, the procurement paragraph (18:11), and second, the paragraph quoted at the beginning of this chapter (18:13). The following loopholes exist: scenes of sodomy (bestiality), which are of high pornographic value, can be filmed without any conflict with the procurement provision. If one wants to shoot a sequence showing coition, one is, for the same reason, advised to use married couples as actors. A greater risk is involved in the production of Lesbian films: there, one has to make sure that the participants live in a permanent intimate relationship. Collective sexual acts cannot be filmed without risk of prosecution under the procurement law. Whatever one does, it is unfortunately impossible to avoid paragraph 18:13, but the sentences stated therein are relatively lenient compared with the punishment accorded to procurers.

In the new penal code the provisions with regard to pornography have been intensified.

16:11 If anyone offends against decency and morality by visual or written representation, or by marketing, exhibiting, or otherwise distributing such visual or written material, he shall be sentenced for offenses against decency and morality to the payment of a fine or up to six months' imprisonment. The aforesaid applies likewise wherever any-

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one offends against decency and morality in a public place, or otherwise in public, by word or action.

16:12 Whoever spreads, among children or youths, written or visual material which by its contents can have a brutalizing effect or otherwise cause grave danger to the moral development of the young, shall be sentenced for the seduction of youth to the payment of a fine or up to six months' imprisonment.

The above may serve as an illustration of the fact that it is a sex-hostile older generation that writes our laws. At first sight, the future admittedly looks dark—but we cannot know, yet, how the laws are going to work out in practice. Will it become a criminal offense to show films depicting sexual intercourse? Paragraph 16:12 has been formulated in a strange manner. Rationally speaking it ought to mean an increased danger for thrillers and gangster story magazines, but it can hardly be expected that our legislators think in such advanced terms. Violence cannot have a brutalizing or morally corrupting influence, only sex can: this is an axiomatic view held by our legal authorities.

Obviously, all that is left to scopophiliacs from now on is to sneak around at night and peep through other people's windows.

We have, in this country, a provision regarding the freedom of the press which allows the authorities to confiscate obscene literature and to imprison its author. A layman jury is to decide whether such material is offensive to "decency and morality," and its verdict does not need to be motivated. This jury is also expected to use both its moral and its esthetic faculties of judgment. Gross obscenities can be tolerated in literary texts that have artistic

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merit or intention. It may be of interest to note that the film censorship authorities operate on the opposite principle. If one reads their report on the film *491* closely, it becomes obvious that precisely the artistic qualities of the film rendered it dangerous and impossible to show in an uncut version.



I would now like to quote a few paragraphs from prosecuted literary texts, and compare them with permissible ones to give the reader an idea of how arbitrary the verdicts are. The quotes are taken from two novels, both of which were pronounced obscene by the municipal court in Stockholm in the beginning of the Fifties: *I Was A Master of the Art of Love* (sentence passed 1950), and *My Love Was for Sale* (1952).

I Was A Master of the Art of Love is a paean to sensual eroticism. Its keynote is lyrical, but there are a number of orgiastic and dionysiac touches. There are no sadistic elements at all, neither do obscene words such as "cock," "cunt," "fuck," etc. appear. Even if the poetic images are not always all that felicitous, the literary quality is still miles above the style of popular girlie magazines. Those passages which aroused the prosecutor's wrath have been marked in his copy of the book by vertical lines in the margin—such as for example the following description of a car ride:

I sat in the back seat between the young women. Manne sat in front with the driver. I put my hand around Elsa's shoulders and smiled at her. She moved closer to me, and suddenly, as when the light comes on at the turn of a switch, our mouths met in an impulse fast as lightning. Strong tongues wrestled with each other, flickering like flames in

our mouths, mouths that wanted to devour the entire body. It was as if I had suddenly got a hundred shots of stuff into my system. Wild waves of lava closed above our heads. Agneta started to pant, drawn into the radiation of our excitement, and twisted and turned in the pain of being left out of it. The automobile shook and swayed, but nothing could tear our lips apart.

I felt Elsa's strong, hurried fingers under the thin jacket, speeding like a hunted beast, wildly searching for its lair, running up along my thighs, tearing at the closed gate, senseless in their will to clutch the proud knight. And there, in there, he stood, hard and rooted fast, like an oak in a hurricane. The hand had pulled the gate open wide and liberated the struggling prisoner—who yearned for a warmer and more joyous prison.

"Oh didn't I know it," Elsa panted through half-open lips. "He's so wonderfully big and lovely." And she squeezed it with her fingers as hard as she could. "You feel it too, Agneta," she went on, carried on by the same wave of excitement. "You put your hand there too. I want us to hold it together."

Immediately I felt Agneta's hungry hand, ready to pull the foreskin back and forth in a steadily mounting rhythm. At the same time I felt the short, hectic spasms vibrating from her own body. Between the partly unbuttoned overcoat flaps I saw a glimpse of a pair of shining white thighs, spread apart, and high up between them the fingers of her other hand, eagerly picking away like birds' beaks in a downy nest.

When Henry Miller tells us about a wild ride in *Sexus*, he can permit himself the following passage, without risking prosecution in Sweden:

The men in the rear seat wanted to swap, it seems. That really frightened her. "The only thing I could do was to

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pretend that I wanted to be fucked by the other one first. He wanted to stop at once and get out. 'Drive slowly,' I coaxed, 'I'll give it to you afterwards . . . I don't want them all on me at once.' I grabbed his prick and began to massage it. It was stiff in a minute . . . even bigger than before. Jesus, I tell you, Val, I never felt a tool like that before. He must have been an animal. He made me grab his balls too—they were heavy and swollen. I jerked it fast, hoping to make him come quick . . ."

"Listen," I interrupted, getting excited by the tale of the big horse cock, "let's talk straight. You must have wanted a fuck bad, with that thing in your hand . . ."

"Wait," she said, her eyes glittering. She was as wet as a goose now from the massaging I was giving her all the while . . .

"Don't make me come now," she begged, "or I won't be able to finish the story. Jesus, I never thought you'd want to hear all this." She closed her legs on my hand, so as not to get too excited. "Listen, kiss me . . ." and she ran her tongue down my throat. "Oh God, I wish we could fuck now. This is torture. You've got to get that tended to soon . . . I'll go crazy . . ."

"Don't get off the track . . . Now what next? What did he do?"

"He grabbed me by the neck and forced my head down into his lap. 'I'm going to drive slow like you said,' he mumbled, 'and I want you to suck that off. After that I'll be ready to give you a fuck, a good one.' It was so enormous I thought I'd choke. I felt like biting it. Honest, Val, I never saw anything like it. He made me do everything. 'You know what I want, he said. 'Use your tongue. You've had a prick in your mouth before.' Finally he began to move it up and down, to slide it in and out. All the time he held me by the neck. I was nearly crazy. Then he came—ugh! it was filthy! I thought he'd never stop coming. I pulled my head away

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quickly and he shot a stream of it into my face—like a bull.”

By this time I was on the verge of coming myself. My prick was dancing like a wet candle. “Clap or no clap, I’m going to fuck tonight,” thought I to myself.

She went on with the story after a lull. How he made her huddle in the corner of the car with her legs up and poked around inside of her while driving with one hand, the car zig-zagging back and forth across the road. How he made her open her cunt with her two hands and then turned the flashlight on it. How he put his cigarette inside her and made her try to inhale with her cunt. And the two in the rear leaning over and pawing her. How one of them tried to stand up and shove his prick in her mouth, but too drunk to do anything. And the girls—by this time stark naked and singing filthy songs. Not knowing where he was driving or what was coming next. “No,” she said, “I was too scared to be passionate. They were capable of anything. They were thugs. All I could think of was how to escape. I was terrified. And all he kept saying was: ‘You wait, you lovely bitch . . . I’ll fuck the ass off you. How old are you? You wait . . . And then he’d grab himself and swing it like club. ‘When you get this inside your cute little twat you’re going to feel something. I’ll make it come out of your mouth.’”*

If one wants to describe collective sexuality without running the risk of prosecution, one has to observe certain rules of the game, not always that easily come by. A description of the following kind, from *I Was A Master of the Art of Love*, is criminal (three months’ unconditional imprisonment):

Now let’s take him, yelled Elsa. And the crazy girls jumped on him, dragged him into the room, flung him down on the

* Henry Miller, *Sexus*, Grove Press, 1965.

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couch, tore shoes and trousers off him, then the shirt and the long underpants. While Agneta pulled the little pale-blue vest over his head, Elsa ran to fetch a clothesline with which the girls then tied him to the couch. Then dresses and lingerie flew about, and stark naked the intoxicated girls began a war dance the like of which has rarely been seen.

This is one dance it's best to join in right from the start, I thought and stripped down, too. Help, help, Manne groaned. You're a traitor. And what a fantastic big one you've got, he said, his fright turning to delight as he saw me naked with my yardarm up. And what had withered to a pitiful stalk on himself during the rough treatment the girls had given him arose now to a new life.

The girls understood that it was a matter of minutes, and they took their chance. Agneta bounded up on the bed and stood above Manne, her legs spread wide. Elsa hurried to grab the asparagus stalk with a sure hand, to insert it into the canning apparatus Agneta so willingly offered as she knelt down in a riding position. The redhead bent forward and over the bed, exposing herself completely from behind. With her left hand she took hold of my trembling phallus, led it caressingly along the perineum and into her deep honeyed cave. I felt my muscles stiffen like those of a rearing horse. My hands closed around her narrow waist. Pulled. Shot forward along her arching chest. Caught two heavy breasts, which then rested in my cupped palms like fiery coals. I could feel the erection in her raspberry-pink nipples against the thin skin between my fingers. The whole world was rocking, the blood sang in my ears, I was drowning in roses and syringa. As if through a curtain of smoke and mist I heard the two women's voluptuous groans and hoarse yells, mingled with Manne's pitiful complaints.

Elsa slid down on the floor, on elbows and knees. I followed. Agneta got off her saddle-sore horse and climbed

onto my red mare. Her taut, white thighs, now straddling Elsa's waist, moved in an excited dance. She pressed her gently rounded belly forward, bent back, pulled at her abdomen with her fingers and showed me voluptuously her young girl's womb, the golden-yellow pubic hair, the thin, moist, pink, opened lips, the clitoris, so wondrously and rarely swollen. She moved it closer to my face, so as to let me see all of it. Then, gently, but trembling with passion she inserted her two middle fingers, deep, bearing down. Carried away, she let her fingers fly out and in, like the shuttles in a loom. Her sex was like an overripe tropical fruit, streaming with juice. The whole lower part of her body was now working rhythmically, like a happy bitch on her bridal night. When her pleasure drew close to the climax, she stuck one of the fingers of her other hand into her anus. The explosion came. Her body shook with convulsions. A yell rose out of her open mouth. Her face was hardly recognizable, so contorted was it with pain and joy. Like a crucified being who sees the kingdom of heaven she let the dew of her lust fall onto Elsa's back.

The male sex organ is called "phallus," "yardarm," "it," etc.—with a prudishness that is nowadays considered *passé* by serious writers. But this measure of caution was to no avail. A similar description (also found offensive) of sexual collectivism can be found in *My Love Was for Sale*. Here is the juiciest passage from this book, condemned in 1952, which caused its author to be sentenced to three months' imprisonment with a conditional discharge. Some sex-hungry girls get a male visitor:

But Ingrid couldn't stand it anymore, she rushed up, threw her arms round the man's neck, entwined her body with his and pressed her lips against his mouth. Her whole body was taut as a bowstring, her fingers curved like claws,

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tearing long scratches on his brown skin, hurrying across his broad back, over his arms, down to the belly and over the thighs. Finally she forced him down on his back on the floor and sat down on him like a rider on a horse. It was a wild ride, after the suppressed yearning of many months. I have never seen such devouring passion. It was a voluptuousness to the point of destruction, a desire in those bodies to be torn apart. For us who watched it it was a natural phenomenon of a most fascinating and exciting kind. Dagmar tore at herself, dug her fingers into her own flesh, yelled all the vulgar words in the language and behaved like a maniac. At last, she threw herself on the loving couple, tried to pull them apart, clawed and tore at their bodies, pressed herself down on the man while embracing Ingrid, tearing her hair, driving her fingertips into her armpits, and biting her breasts. The scene had become orgiastic, a primitive, passionate rage. A hunger for copulation in its highest possible degree, without the shadow of any inhibition. . . .

Maj-Britt was caught up in the devouring flame, the insatiable crescendo of vital energy, and threw herself on top of me like a man, pressing her abdomen against me, biting my lips so hard she drew blood, trying to suck my eyes from their sockets, trying to copulate with herself. Her body shook with orgasms, her hands were like suction cups on my breasts, as if they wanted to drink mother's milk. There was no clear consciousness in her eyes any longer, only a wild hunger and the joy of being, of realizing yourself in your most violent urges. She flowed out over my body, flickering like a flame in the wind, poured out her body's juices over me, tried to penetrate all openings of my body. The insensate spark flew across into me, and I met her with a similar abandon. We pushed closer to the ecstatic trio next to us, saw their unveiled sexuality in close-up, felt their bodies' rhythms against our own, sucked each other's fingers, pretended that our breasts were penises. We fought for the

man's favors, urged him on with words and gestures, called for his seed and showed him off to each other.

In this way the orgy went on for hours. Our strength seemed inexhaustible, and we nurtured the man's ecstasy with all conceivable tricks. We drank all of his body, tried to devour him, pulled out his hair, whipped him with our palms, sank our teeth in his muscles, showed him all the secrets of our bodies, licked him with our tongues, caressed him with the fiery tips of our fingers. All of us were forced to experience the highest degree of ecstasy, and we felt prepared to die, if necessary, because we now had a knowledge and an experience within ourselves that surpassed everything else.

Miller's prose never reaches such heights of sexual romanticism. His description of group sexuality is more down to earth and obscene in detail. In addition, he indulges in popular sex words, "prick," "fuck," etc., and thereby increases the pornographic effect. The following orgy of exhibitionism and scopophilia is described in *Sexus* and published in Sweden without legal action:

. . . without waiting for an answer she bent forward and reaching for my cock, placed it in her mouth. After a few moments she withdrew her mouth. "Now . . . let me watch!" She gave me a little push, as if to hurry me on. Maude stretched out like a cat, her ass hanging over the edge of the table, the pillow under her head. She twined her legs around my waist. Then, suddenly, she untwined them and slung them over my shoulders. Elsie was standing beside me, her head down, watching with breathless absorption. "Pull it out a little," she said in a hoarse whisper, "I want to see it go in again." Then swiftly she ran to the window and raised the shades. "Do it!" she said. "Go on, fuck her!" As I plunged it in I felt Elsie slipping down beside me.

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The next moment I felt her tongue on my balls, lapping them vigorously.

Suddenly, utterly astounded, I heard Maude say: "Don't come yet. Wait . . . Give Elsie a chance."

I pulled out, pushing my ass in Elsie's face in doing so, and tumbling her backwards on the floor. She gave a squeal of delight and quickly sprang to her feet. Maude climbed down from the table and Elsie nimbly placed herself in position. "Couldn't you do something too?" she said to Maude, sitting bolt upright. "I have an idea . . ." and she sprang off the table and threw the blanket on the floor and the pillow after it. It didn't take her long to figure out an interesting configuration.

Maude was stretched out on her back, Elsie squatting over her on bent knees, her head facing Maude's feet but the mouth glued to Maude's crack. I was on my knees, giving it to Elsie from behind. Maude was playing with my balls, a light, delicate manipulation with the finger-tips. I could feel Maude squirming around as Elsie licked her furiously and avidly. There was a weird pale light playing over the room and the taste of cunt in my mouth. I had one of those final erections which threaten never to break. Now and then I took it out and, pushing Elsie forward, I sank down farther and offered it to Maude's nimble tongue. Then I would sink it in again and Elsie would squirm like mad and bury her nozzle in Maude's crotch, shaking her head like a terrier. Finally I pulled out and pushing Elsie aside I fell on Maude and buried it in her with a vengeance. "Do it, do it!" she begged, as if she were waiting for the axe. Again I felt Elsie's tongue on my balls. Then Maude came, like a star bursting, with a volley of half-finished words and phrases rippling off her tongue. I pulled away, still stiff as a poker, fearful now that I would never come again, and groped for Elsie. She was terribly gooey, and her mouth was just like a cunt now. "Do you want it?" I

The pornography laws

said, shoving it around inside her like a drunken fiend. "Go on, fuck, fuck!" she cried, slinging her legs up over my shoulders and dragging her bottom closer. "Give it to me, give it to me, you bugger!" She was almost yelling now. . . .*

I do not know whether the quotes given here can provide any guidance for anyone who intends to become engaged in the praiseworthy task of writing pornography. I suppose that the best way to avoid the long arm of the law is to be talented—as Bengt Holmqvist wrote in *Dagens Nyheter*,** reviewing Miller: "If a writer is good enough, he enjoys a kind of license from the normal judgment of intentions, even when he challenges it outright. In the final analysis, punishable obscenity is untalented obscenity. The definitive measure of what can be regarded as offending against decency and morals becomes—an esthetic evaluation!"

* Henry Miller, *op. cit.*

** Principal Swedish morning daily.

Sexual reforms

Regrettably, the process of aging almost always appears conjoined to the development of reactionary views on sexual matters. The older generation sees the danger and forgets the lust. The politically powerful belong to an older generation: they were brought up to regard sexuality as a hostile force. Out of such attitudes, no reasonable sexual reforms can be expected. But if a group of unprejudiced people should ever happen to reach positions of political influence—against all expectations—I would like to suggest the following measures to be included in their program.

- 1) Put your money on education and information, so as to counteract the rise of bigotry and obscurantism in the long run. Parents should be taught to encourage their children's sexual curiosity, to be pleased with their offspring's sexual activity, and never to show any repulsion or embarrassment when sexual matters are discussed. Enlightenment is the best antidote for intolerance. In the sex instruction given in the schools even sexual deviations ought to be included, and these should not be described as diseases or abnormalities, but as fully legitimate methods of satisfying the sexual urge, fully equal to heterosexual coition. When people who have received an ed-

ucation of this kind become parents themselves, they probably won't damage their children's sexual lives, always provided that they do not fall prey to some religious fanatic.

2) If a state church, or religion, cannot be dispensed with, try at least to educate its functionaries to regard sexual hygiene with friendlier eyes. The priesthood still has not lost all power to influence public opinion, and its members can still cause considerable damage.

3) Establish bureaus to act as agencies for making sexual contacts. These may well be under state supervision, but their activities should be directed by trained staff, doctors, psychologists, etc. Their aim should be to arrange meetings between persons with complementary urge patterns. Such an agency would be of particularly great importance for erotic eccentrics who do not otherwise stand much of a chance of finding suitable partners. And if a person, as is often the case with exhibitionists and scopophiliacs, depends on sexual group activities for the achievement of maximal sexual happiness, or, in other words, needs several others to participate simultaneously in the sexual act, such an agency would be in the position to arrange suitable groups. A prerequisite would be the deletion of the procurement paragraph.

4) The press should introduce special personal advertisement columns for "perverts." At present, there are such advertising outlets for homophiles, sadists, and masochists in the homosexual magazines. But no one with more complex sexual interests will now get his advertisement accepted, however carefully he may formulate his requirements.

5) Establish clubs where exhibitionists are allowed to expose themselves to a select audience.

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6) Send impotent and frigid people to competent doctors, so that these can coax latent "perversions" out of them.

7) Improve the pornographic social services. Scopophiliacs should not have to sit and suffer through hours of, say, *The Silence* and other depressing things in order to get a glimpse of a scene of intercourse. Pornographic films could be shown in specialized cinemas, and if one finds it necessary to protect the young, all that needs to be done is to institute an age limit and require pertinent proof from the visitors. My personal opinion is that the young suffer less damage than those "authorities" stricken with sexual anxiety, who now sit there and decide on questions of pornography. The films should deal with masturbation, coition, Lesbian manipulations, sodomy, collective sexuality, etc., so that all inclinations would be satisfied. It would be a good thing to provide facilities for masturbation in some of these establishments.

8) Tell the homosexuals where to look for contacts, provide information on clubs, bars, and other meeting places, and also on homosexual publications. Lack of such trivial knowledge shouldn't make life difficult for the homosexual. Great numbers of books have been written on the techniques of heterosexual intercourse, but we are still waiting for an instruction manual of homosexual techniques. When will the first one appear? What do the official sex advice authorities think?

9) Establish brothels. The illegalization of these is one of the greatest stupidities of our time. By permitting brothels one would not only diminish sexual starvation in society and the number of illegitimate pregnancies, one would also achieve better control of venereal disease, and above all, one would avoid the creation of that highly

developed criminal network which streetwalking prostitutes require for their existence. The pimps would lose their market, and no one would be able to demand exorbitant prices for sexual pleasures.

Thus brothels have an important function in terms of social hygiene. It would be best if these institutions were supervised by doctors and social welfare officials, and if the Ministry of Health were given overall control of their activity. By organizing the brothels in this manner one would get reasonable guarantees of fair working conditions and terms of employment. Many young people of both sexes would be only too pleased to enter the ranks of this humanitarian profession. By rational methods the price level of sexual commodities could be reduced considerably; adolescent boys and people without an income should be allowed reduced rates. For the unmarried person the brothel would be a time-saving factor, at least in cases of strong sexual urges, and he would have more time to pursue his education and training. Sexually fatigued wives would find relief by sending their husbands to these houses of joy, and they would not have to worry about any complications. Erotically exciting parties and dances are social forms we accept in our civilization; after such preliminaries, a visit to the brothel would be a natural measure of hygiene, and the guests would not have to ruin the party by the desperate search for a sexual partner.

The most important function of the brothel, however, would be to alleviate the misery of those who for various reasons cannot provide for themselves sexually, such as the handicapped and the perverted. There should of course be homosexual establishments for both sexes.

I understand that there is a great demand for sadistic youths among the homophiles. As the homosexual often

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wants to be reduced to a helpless state, for instance by being bound hand and foot, it is obvious that he runs a great risk if he is forced to rely on street prostitutes. The young male streetwalkers (hustlers) are often tainted with criminality and morally uninhibited. I cannot see that this serious inconvenience can be rectified in any other way except for the establishment of homosexual brothels.

There are sexually active women in their fifties, sixties, and seventies who would like nothing better than the chance of meeting young boys; for such contacts, the brothel ought to be a natural rendezvous. All kinds of perverse inclinations should be satisfied in these dream establishments which would have adequate equipment and trained staff.

In addition, there ought to be mobile brothels to provide for hospitals, mental hospitals, and institutions, paralyzed, housebound patients, and old people, as well as individuals who are too inhibited to visit such establishments themselves. All these would be grateful for the most straightforward manipulations, such as masturbation or a strip tease performance. The employees of these mobile brothels should be called *erotic Samaritans* and held in great esteem. One would wish that cheerful, generous, talented, and ethically advanced persons with the knowledge of the joys of giving would feel attracted to this humanitarian profession.

In our hospitals and nursing homes there are a great number of permanent patients who are condemned to spend the rest of their lives in these institutions. They receive excellent material care, and as a rule they also have access to a hospital clergyman who is able to satisfy their need for Christianity. But in the midst of all these philanthropic efforts there is a great gaping void: the personnel

does not in the least care for the sexual needs of these long-term patients. This lack of interest is quite explicable from a historical point of view, as the hospitals carry on the work of convents, and in these, sexuality was seen as an invention of Satan. Sexual charity is a blasphemous idea in the eyes of Christianity—except when it is practiced within marriage, that blanket excuse for everything. A couple of years ago a novel came out here in Sweden in which one of the characters, a nurse, helped a seriously stricken polio patient by masturbating him. Unfortunately, it is merely a work of fiction and fantasy, and one cannot hope that anything of the sort ever happens in reality. In this context, the tetraplegics seem worthy of particular attention. Most of these are young men who have, while diving into shallow waters, hit the bottom head first and torn off the spinal cord in the neck: in the worst cases they become totally paralyzed and numbed in their arms and from the waist downward. Their sexual capabilities suffer in varying degrees, and in some cases erection, ejaculation, and orgasm become impossible. In spite of the deplorable state of these people the doctors have had the moral courage to investigate what partial sexual functions remain, in order to have something to write about in the medical journals. When that's done, they leave the patient to his fate as a sexual cripple. Here the erotic Samaritans could perform a labor of love. Even if all physical components of sexuality have disappeared, the psychical lust experience remains, and I am convinced that many tetraplegics would find pornography, strip tease, and other sexual performances rewarding. And even if the penis has gone totally numb to the touch, I still think that the patient is able to enjoy the ceremony of masturbation visually.

Puritanical counter-arguments

There is no question about it, something has to be done to create more tolerable conditions for the sexual deviates. Anyone who has the welfare of his fellow men at heart has to accept the great potentialities for happiness that are contained in what we call "perversions." The reforms I have listed in the preceding chapter may not be the very best ones. Perhaps there are even better solutions. However, I cannot find any fundamental flaws in these proposals. That they are "immoral" or contrary to the divine commandments seems utterly irrelevant to me.

What I would like to know is: are there any pragmatically moral counter-arguments? Could my reforms be considered liable to cause damage? Do they jeopardize the citizens' safety of life and property? Will people become even unhappier, if the reforms are put into practice?

Even if a certain amount of damage were caused by them, this is not an effective argument against the reforms. Practically all societal measures have a number of negative side effects. To make this utilitarian argument work, one would have to compare the deleterious effects with the advantages: if the latter appear clearly preponderant, the reform has to be regarded as successful.

Puritanical counter-arguments

In order to give the "perverts" effective help toward their sexual fulfillment, a considerable number of our sexual taboos need to be demolished. This is incontrovertibly so, no matter what practical solutions are chosen, no matter what the reform proposal looks like in detail. Now the puritans have certain counter-arguments intended to prove that it can be dangerous to rid ourselves of the sex taboos too fast. I shall comment on the most central of these arguments.

To begin with, I would like to deal with a certain type of false utilitarian argument, often used by the reactionaries, in which the "harmful effect" means nothing else but the discarding of Victorian values. Such tricks are easy to show up, simply by asking these persons to enumerate the alleged harmful effects in plain language.

When our legislators oppose a reform of our sexual laws on the grounds that it would clash too violently with the existing norms, this may sound like an expression of authoritative knowledge. There is also a popular variation of this argument, advanced among others by Torsten Frey, who believes that the existence of any norm is in itself sufficient proof of the validity of this norm. However, this attitude permits one to defend any number of crazy ideas, and makes it impossible to achieve any progress in matters of morality.

In the final analysis, the idea that we ought to hold on to our norms may be based on utilitarian ethics. Comparatively often one hears it said that a stable societal structure absolutely requires a solid system of rigorous rules. The formulation or rational validity of these rules is seen as unimportant: it is only necessary to see that they are adhered to.

It is conceivable that the historians of some future age

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find themselves in the possession of sufficient material to prove a general proposition concerning the relation between a loosening of norms and a general decline of the societal body. As it is now, the experts classify this kind of loose talk as "philosophy of history." If, in the course of history, a political deterioration has appeared chronologically conjoined with loose sexual mores (the decline of the Roman empire, the French Revolution), it is still not possible to draw any conclusions from these events. In our present situation it would seem wildly speculative to assume that a planned, and consciously undertaken, social action to abolish selectively certain sexual taboos would shake the foundations of our socialist welfare democracy. We have, don't we, a great many other norms besides the sexual ones: are these so utterly useless as binding matter in the social structure?

One of the most important objections raised against sexual liberalization on principle is based on the reactionary belief in the malignity of mankind. Our nature is seen as bestial, *au fond*, and to be held in check with intensive sexual inhibitions which are created through upbringing and strict rules of taboo. Our whole civilization with its norms and values is nothing else, it is said, than a machinery designed to hold these brutal passions in check. Perhaps it would not be so dangerous to abolish certain sexual taboos, if all the world consisted of well-educated moralists. But the common people tend to pour out the baby with the bath water, and a liberalization of sexual mores would inevitably unleash the brutal passions, thus increasing, for instance, all crimes of violence.

I imagine that there is a concrete core in this reasoning, even though I believe the pessimism to be exaggerated. The myth of sinfulness is a Christian invention and

has little to do with reality. But, theoretically speaking, it is just conceivable that the increase in sexual temptations within society, which would follow upon extremely radical sexual reforms, could lead to the actualization of latent urge impulses in individuals who cannot control their actions effectively. It would not be wise to ignore this danger completely, even if it is a speculative one with no empirical proof of its existence.

There are, however, two decisive objections to be raised against this line of argumentation. In the first place, it is highly arguable whether sexual inhibitions have any prophylactic or curative effect on violent passions. The experience of legal psychiatrists generally indicates the reverse, that brutality often stems from sexual inhibitions. The greatest number of serious sex crimes of violence have been committed by neurotics suffering from a compulsive anxiety complex, caused by unduly severe taboos. The other objection is that the advantages have to be weighed against the negative effects. The reactionaries content themselves with stating what harm could be caused by reforms they find undesirable. But the theoretical risk needs to be seen against the considerable values that would be gained.

Psychoanalysis has provided the puritans with a couple of useful arguments. Actually, this is not very surprising, as psychoanalysis itself is a branch on the great tree of puritanism. One of those arguments amounts to the claim that the taboo regulations of society protect us from anxiety. According to the psychoanalytic view, most people accommodate perverted impulses without being aware of them. As long as these impulses are suppressed into the realm of the unconscious, they do not bother us. But sometimes they threaten to rise up into our consciousness,

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and this we experience as anxiety. This can happen if we meet with adversities or sexual temptations. Many people are unable to cope with this anxiety on their own; they require the support given by society's sexual taboos. If society would permit perverted sexual acts, these individuals would live in a state of permanent anxiety. In other words, the prohibitions are needed to reinforce their repressions.

Another psychoanalytical objection takes the strange theory of sublimation as its starting point. By sublimation the psychoanalysts mean the procedure used to transform sexual energy into a force serving the utilitarian interests of society. Without sublimation, they claim, we would all become indolent and unfit, and society would sink. In order to permit sublimation, our perverse inclinations have to be suppressed, by means of upbringing and taboo rules.

These psychoanalytical concepts lack all empirical support. The ethnographers have been unable to find that nations with a great number of severe sexual taboos are more capable of achievements in art, technology, or social organization, though possibly they excel in the martial virtues.

The puritans will certainly be able to find many more implications, derived by formal logic from psychoanalytical postulations, to advance their cause. This may no doubt be an amusing intellectual exercise, but it has nothing whatsoever to do with reality.

To sum it all up: If we remove those sexual taboos that prohibit "perverse" sexual pleasures (a thorough purge is obviously necessary), certain harmful effects are to be feared. These harmful effects, in so far as they can be given a concrete formulation, are of a very uncertain and speculative character, and they are immediately rendered

negligible in qualitative comparison with the great and unquestionable potentialities for happiness that would be released in all individuals with deviant sexual inclinations.

I have chosen an example near at hand to demonstrate how society tends to reason in such evaluations of merit. Alcohol is considered a stress-relieving drug, or it does, at least, provide many people with pleasure and happiness. Thus, it is a poison with certain merits. On the other hand, its harmful effects are enormous. It has been calculated (Blomberg, *Juvenile Delinquency in Sweden*) that 40 percent of all individuals sentenced to terms of imprisonment were under the influence of alcohol at the time of their crime, and drunken drivers haven't even been taken into account in this figure. For grave crimes of violence the percentage becomes considerably higher. However, the crime statistics reflect only a part of these damaging effects; we also have to take into account the nonprosecuted instances of physical violence in homes, the damage caused to family life, the cases of delirium tremens, etc.

And yet, there are only a few extremist groups in our society who consider it less than respectable to intoxicate themselves with alcohol. In Sweden the production and marketing of this poison is, in fact, a state monopoly. I do not know whether this is sheer irresponsibility on the part of the authorities, or if it has an underlying profit motive. In any case, the deleterious effects of alcohol would seem many times as serious as anything "perverts" might cause, no matter how great a license they enjoyed in sexual matters.

It is hard to believe in the sense of responsibility of a society which markets a poison of such malign and *statistically proven* negative properties, and at the same time

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compels sexually original people to total abstinence in order to avoid highly speculative and, quantitatively speaking, surely negligible dangers. I leave it to the reader to draw his own conclusions.

We certainly need ethical rules in our society, but shouldn't we restrict ourselves to such norms as are likely to *facilitate* human interplay? Many of the norms we now consider necessary were not established in order to make life bearable for terrestrial beings, but in order to please various deities. Is it reasonable to retain these rules, if they so obviously make life difficult for many of our fellow human beings?

Bertrand Russell once noted that the rules of taboo derive from an age when people were, on an average, more cruel than they are now, and thus they tend to preserve various kinds of inhumanity the moral consciousness of our time would otherwise outgrow.

Many of the norms that are used for discrimination against the erotic minorities are indefensible from a utilitarian, legal, or humanitarian point of view. They stand in opposition to all our basic values and to the spirit expressed in the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights.

All that ye wish . . .

Let us be done with the society of sexual privilege. I would like to raise the call: Erotic minorities of all categories, unite! It is only too easy to realize why this exhortation stands less of a chance of success than the Marxist battle cry. The sexual deviates are too embarrassed and too guilt ridden to dare to challenge public opinion. The initiative must come from another direction.

The sexually orthodox have always brainwashed the deviate into believing that his inclinations are shameful. Therefore it is now their moral duty to put things to rights. And I am not calling for that comfortable, passive, noncommittal tolerance, the indolence, most repulsive in this context, that expresses itself in the phrase "let everyone become happy after his own fashion." Such verbiage does not help the perverts in the least. What we need is active commitment.

It is a deplorable and astonishing fact that the comparatively intense public debate on sexual matters which has been raging in Sweden these last few years is mostly concerned with a single subject, namely the right of the caste of the already sexually privileged to enjoy their sexual activities. I wonder why this horde of scribblers,

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who apparently consider it important that no potentialities for sexual happiness be neglected, have so obsessively concerned themselves only with the healthy, favored, heterosexual young. There is no reason to worry about them, their sexual interests are taken into account. It would be a matter of far greater urgency to strike a blow for the sexually handicapped, for those who are never given a chance to satisfy their sexual urge.

Great potentials for happiness are at stake. I cannot understand why these should be wasted. I have suggested a number of reforms which would help the "perverts" to lead a happy life. Perhaps there are better solutions. But something needs to be done. There is no excuse for leaving this potential untried by forcing people to total abstinence. I would like to ask those among my readers who are sexual purists: How would you react, if you were forced to completely abstain from sexual intercourse for the rest of your lives? A pretty desolate outlook, isn't it? We ought to do what lies in our power to create bearable conditions of existence for each other, tolerantly.

"All that ye wish others to do unto you, do ye likewise unto them." An admirable thought. But through the baneful influence of Paul and the Church Fathers, the idea of serving others sexually was brought into discredit—an absurdity that is still taken for granted in our days. Even to modern people the expression "erotic Samaritans" sounds more offensive than beautiful. In sexual matters we accept only an egotistical point of view!

No reforms in the world can alleviate the sexual deprivation of the "perverts," if we do not, all of us, become more generous in our views on sexuality. The "perverts" are dependent on sexual assistance, on the cooperation of their fellow human beings, in order to be able to satisfy

their sexual urge. At times they may need several participants and special arrangements. Could we not, now and again, make a self-sacrifice for the sexual happiness of these people, by accepting their requests—even if we do not find them erotically rewarding ourselves? Encourage them to express their wishes. As often as not very little is required—perhaps only that we should be present when they masturbate, or that we should say a few dirty words.

Of all forms of sexual intercourse the heterosexual kind certainly is the most dangerous, having the greatest potential risks in social consequences. Yet this act is hedged about with fewer restrictions than several other sexual expressions of a far tamer kind. Nevertheless we consider it a happy and healthy state of things that people satisfy their sexual urge in this risky manner. Would it not be better if we encouraged people to “perversions” instead, and taught them to condition their sexual secretions to other rites and stimuli besides heterosexual coition? Would it not be in the interest of the whole world to provide such education, which might, in the long run, prove a solution to the problem of overpopulation?

May my final argument on behalf of the erotic minorities be imbued with a measure of pathos. We human beings are minuscule creatures, surviving in an enormous cosmic universe, on a small planet, without knowing the reason why; and sooner or later we will all be annihilated. The conditions we live in are hard, and despite all religious public conveniences, all of us are prey to painful anxiety and fear—fear of the dark, the nothingness, the infinity at the beginning and at the end of this short episode we call life. These are the dark surroundings mankind exists in. Our only certainty is that we all share the same miserable conditions. We have one another, we have

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a little company, to carry us through the episode of life. And also, we have been given the ability to experience happiness. One of its sources is our sex, and the happiness stemming from this source is of such drastic power that it at times even allows us to forget the prospect of annihilation for a while.

Why should we, then, finding ourselves in this predicament as human beings, make our mutual existence even more difficult? Should we not rejoice, instead, that we have been provided with various potentialities for the experience of joy, and help each other to achieve it in our various ways, even if these should happen to be of a sexual nature?

I cannot see but that we should feel reverence for the sources of sexual joy, even if they have been acquired through emotionally damaging experience.

Glossary

- algolagnia* From: *algos*, pain, and *lagneia*, voluptuousness. Sexual desire for violence and pain (*see*: sadism and masochism).
- ambivalence* Simultaneous attraction to and repulsion from a phenomenon.
- anal coition* Introduction of the penis into another person's anal tract.
- anamnesis* Comprehensive description of a patient's illness.
- anilingus* To lick the anal region, sometimes for one's own pleasure, sometimes in order to create sexual excitement in the partner.
- autoeroticism* Sexual eccentricity in which the person's own body has become the object of erotic feelings (*synonym*: narcissism).
- bestiality* Sexual attraction to animals.
- bigotry* Prudishness exalted to the level of doctrine.
- bisexuality* (*biphilia*) Sexual interest in members of both sexes.

Glossary

- castration anxiety* Fear of castration. The term has a key position in psychoanalytical mythology, and is used in an entirely incomprehensible way.
- collectivism* Here: several persons participating in a sexual act simultaneously (*synonym*: group sexuality).
- compulsive neurosis* A psychoneurosis that expresses itself in the urge to act out, or think about, certain often unpleasant things.
- coprophagia, coprolalia* Desire to eat feces, often in order to experience sexual pleasure.
- cunnilingus* To kiss, lick, or suck the female sex organs.
- defloration mania* Sexual eccentricity in which the overriding interest lies in piercing the hymen (deflowering).
- ejaculation* Emptying-out of the seed, not necessarily in connection with an orgasm.
- Electra complex* Psychoanalytical term, devoid of descriptive content. Female equivalent of male Oedipus complex.
- erogenous zone* Part of the body reacting to touch with feelings of sexual pleasure.
- etiology* Science dealing with the causes of illness.
- exhibitionism* Sexual need to show one's penis to others.
- eugenic* Concerning race hygiene. The expression "eugenic indication" refers to the sum total of any reasons which indicate, in certain cases, that a person's offspring would be of an undesirable nature.

- fellatio* To take another person's penis in one's mouth and suck it.
- fetishism* Sexual excitation at the sight or manipulation of various inanimate objects.
- flagellation* Achieving sexual pleasure through whipping. Eccentrics of this kind are called flagellants.
- frigidity* Inability, in a woman, to enjoy (or experience orgasm in) sexual intercourse.
- gerontophilia* Sexual attraction to old people.
- homosexuality* Sexual urge directed preponderantly toward one's own sex.
- impotence* Sexual inability in a man.
- incest* Sexual intercourse between close relatives; in the Occident, mostly between members of the same family.
- infantile* Term of abuse cherished by psychoanalysts.
- inversion* Homosexuality. (*Adjective*: invert(ed)).
- kleptomania* Compulsion to steal things one has no use for.
- latent* An impulse (urge) is called latent when it is not part of the conscious mind, or has not achieved immediate behavioral expression.
- Lesbian* Female homosexual.
- libido* Sexual urge.
- masochism* Sexual desire to feel pain or to feel humiliated.
- masturbate* To satisfy the sexual urge by manipulating one's own genitals (*synonyms*: onanize, jerk—or toss—off).

Glossary

- narcissism* The same as autoeroticism.
- necrophilia* Sexual attraction to corpses.
- Oedipus complex* Subconscious guilt feelings in the male caused by his erotic desire for his mother. A key term in psychoanalysis, used to explain all sorts of psychopathological phenomena. Mostly applied in a totally incomprehensible manner.
- paranoid* Suffering from persecution mania.
- pathogenesis* Cause of illness.
- pederasty* 1) Homosexuality, esp. love for boys. 2) Anal coition.
- pedication* Anal coition (*British synonym: buggery*).
- pedophilia* Sexual attraction to children.
- perversion* Used, here, as an equivalent for sexual deviation. A term of honor.
- phobic* Person who experiences anxiety in certain commonplace situations, e.g. in elevators, subway trains, on open market squares, at the sight of knives, etc. The state is called phobia, and is commonly counted among the psychoneuroses.
- projection* Psychological mechanism which enables one to ascribe one's own impulses and traits to others.
- psychodynamics* Just another name for psychoanalytical philosophizing.
- psychosomatic* Physical defect with psychical causes.
- puritanism* Moralizing asceticism.
- pygmalionism* Sexual desire to destroy statues.

- pyromania* Incendiarism.
- regression* A psychical mechanism, permitting one to revert under various stresses to childlike behavior. Psychoanalytical term.
- sadism* Sexual desire to cause psychical or physical pain to others.
- saliromania* Sexual desire for dirt, disgust, ugliness, grotesqueries, abasement, etc.
- scatological* Having to do with excrement.
- scopophilia* Sexual need to watch others undress, to see sexual exhibitions, etc., or to enjoy sexual descriptive matter both verbal and visual (*synonym*: voyeurism).
- sodomy* Has been used with two connotations: 1) homosexual acts and 2) zoophilia.
- transvestism* Need to dress in the garb of the opposite sex. Sometimes, but not always, of a sexual character.
- tribadism* Form of intercourse among female homosexuals: one partner lies on top of the other and rubs her outer genitals against the other's.
- troilism* Simultaneous sexual intercourse among three persons.
- urophilia* Sexual desire to soil oneself with urine (*synonym*: piss-loving).
- urolagnia* Sexual need to smell or taste urine.
- vampirism* Predominantly sexual desire for the blood of the sexual partner.
- voyeur* Peeping Tom (*see*: scopophilia).
- zoophilia* Sexual attraction to animals (*synonyms*: bestiality, sodomy).

Laws of the United States

American law on the subjects covered in this book is hard to set forth in a few pages because there are fifty different state codes. The laws prohibiting certain types of sexual behavior vary as to definition, extent of penalty imposed, and application. Law enforcement authorities have it within their discretion to impose criminal sanctions under a number of catchall statutory categories such as lewdness, vagrancy, corrupting the morals of a minor, indecent exposure, and sodomy. These terms can be and are stretched to cover a multitude of offenses. For example, sodomy is commonly defined to cover cunnilingus, fellatio, bestiality, buggery, and necrophilia.

Sodomy. All states have statutes prohibiting sodomy. The definition and penalty vary greatly from state to state. Some states include masturbation under their sodomy statute; most do not. In Georgia one can receive a life imprisonment term upon being convicted of sodomy. In New York, when the partner is over eighteen years of age and has consented, the maximum sentence is one year. However, when the partner has not consented, a sentence of twenty years is possible in New York. In addition some

states impose a fine for a sodomy conviction. Fellatio, cunnilingus, necrophilia, and zoophilia are usually all punishable under the sodomy statutes.

Incest. Every state has a statute prohibiting incest. What is defined as incestuous intercourse in one state is not in other states. For instance sexual intercourse or marriage between first cousins is not prohibited in New York, California, or the District of Columbia. It is prohibited in Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Washington. The penalty varies from one year's imprisonment to fifty years' imprisonment. Some states impose fines up to two thousand dollars.

Homosexuality. No conformity exists among the various states in dealing with homosexuality. Most prosecutions of homosexuals take place under statutes prohibiting lewdness, vagrancy, indecent exposure, and sexual perversions. For some reason the word homosexual is not used in the statutes.

The punishment received by a homosexual is usually much greater if his partner is a minor. Very seldom are female homosexuals (Lesbians) prosecuted.

Pedophilia. An individual can be prosecuted for using a minor as a sexual partner or object of sexual satisfaction under any one of many catchall statutory prohibitions against sexual offenses such as impairing morals of a minor, public indecency, or indecent exposure. Such an individual may also be prosecuted under the sodomy statutes.

The choice of statute under which a prosecution is brought, a choice made by the local district attorney, very often influences the penalty imposed.

Voyeurism. Alabama, California, Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee have specific statutes against voyeur-

Laws of the United States

ism with the maximum penalty for conviction a one-year sentence and a one thousand dollar fine. Other states prosecute peeping Toms under various catchall statutes.

Exhibitionism. Exhibitionists are prosecuted under statutes prohibiting indecent exposure. The maximum penalty is three-year imprisonment and a thousand dollar fine (New Jersey).

Pornographic Films. In addition to state statutes prohibiting pornographic films, there is also a federal statute prohibiting the use of the mails for pornographic films, carrying a five-year term of imprisonment and a five thousand dollar fine. For motion pictures to be judged obscene and not protected by the First Amendment, the material must be judged utterly without social importance, must appeal predominantly to prurient interest, and must be patently offensive.