DR. EDWARD BRONGERSMA

LOVING BOYS VOL. 2

INTRODUCTION BY
VERN. L. BULLOUGH

A MULTIDISCIPLINARY
STUDY OF SEXUAL
RELATIONS BETWEEN
ADULT AND MINOR MALES

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GARRETT-EVANGELICAL AND SEABURY-WESTERN
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

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akb 4856

Also available:
Brongersma, Edward: Loving Boys, Volume 1
Published December, 1986, 335 pages

Cloth-bound library edition:
ISBN 1-55741-000-3
Soft-cover student edition:
ISBN 1-55741-001-1

Printed by Krips Repro Meppel, Netherlands

Global Academic Publishers
80-50 Baxter Ave.
Suite 500
Elmhurst, NY 11373
U.S.A.

European Editorial Office:
P. O. Box 22167
NL-1100 KD Amsterdam
The Netherlands

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First edition published in April, 1990

Cloth-bound library edition:
ISBN 1-55741-002-X
Soft-cover student edition:
ISBN 1-55741-003-8

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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LOVING BOYS

VOLUME TWO

ДЛЯ ГОСТЕЙ

Chapter 4.

Negative Aspects of Man/Boy Relations: Presumed and Real

Introduction

A Cautionary Tale

Once, long, long ago it was customary for men to sleep with boys and have sexual relations with them. All the men did this, and the real boy-lovers among them did it with even greater joy than the others.

Then the Christians appeared on the scene and told everyone that it was a very great sin to sleep with boys. And from that moment on whenever the Authorities managed to get hold of them, boy-lovers were burnt alive, strangled, drowned or beheaded.

That went on until the French Revolution, when a new breed of philosopher began to say that penal law should be used only to protect society and prevent individuals from being illegally harmed, not to enforce morality.

The boy-lovers took heart; they started sleeping with their young friends again, and nobody bothered them.

But it wasn't long before some people began to preach that this kind of activity was enormously harmful to the child, for children were pure, innocent creatures who were quite unaware of such a vile thing as sex. So once again boy-lovers were hunted down, and when the authorities got hold of them they were ruined and cast into prison.

Then came Freud and his followers who affirmed that children weren't asexual creatures at all. He even went so far as to call them "polymorphously perverse".

Boy-lovers, of course, had known this for centuries; once again they took heart.

But along came the medical doctors, the same ones who had been busy telling everyone that masturbation caused horrible illnesses and brought on premature death; now they said that any boy who had sex with a man would invariably be turned into a homophile himself, and would remain one for the rest of his life. Legislators listened to these expert opinions and they made the laws much

tougher; now men were sent to prison for having sex not just with pre-pubertal boys, but with adolescents and even young men.

Then some psychiatrists were able to demonstrate that this was all nonsense and gave rise only to misery and injustice. In several countries the old harsh laws were repealed.

But now another group of scientists started to maintain that it may very well be true that children were sexual from head to toe, and it may be quite healthy for them to have sexual play among themselves, but this by no means proved that they wanted to play in the same way with adults. Children had not matured enough for that. So the boy-lovers whom the police had managed to catch stayed in their prison cells. Moreover, as the aggression of society grew stronger and science progressed, they were subjected to torture by brain surgery and aversion therapy.

Now a group of researchers came forward with many examples of boys who wanted to establish intimate relationships with adults because adults could give them a feeling of security and protection which friends of their own age simply could not.

Once again, the boy-lovers began to take heart.

But the traditional psychiatrists and psychologists immediately raised the objection that in this kind of relationship the partners weren't equal: the adults dominated the boys. There was, of course, nothing wrong with dominating boys as long as it was done to teach them their lessons, send them to church, discipline them and bring them up properly, but where sex was involved, it was absolutely impermissible. And so boy-lovers caught by the Authorities continued to go to prison.

Then one psychologist came up with the crazy idea that even this concept of the man dominating the boy needed to be investigated. He studied in detail a number of such relationships and how the balance of power actually was held. And in none of them did he find any evidence that the man dominated the boy. On the contrary, in several instances it was the boy who dominated the man! In each case the boy wholeheartedly consented to the relationship, including all its sexual aspects. Boy-lovers once more began to take heart.

Then, however, a psychiatrist who had evidently studied the work of Jung rose to declare that when children involved in such relationships say "yes", what they really mean to say is "no".

"And when they say 'no'?" the boy-lovers asked hopefully.

"Then they also mean 'no'!" the psychiatrist replied.

So when the police managed to catch boy-lovers they still went to prison, and stayed there for years on end.

And the universities began to enlarge their medical faculties enormously, for wasn't it evident that, in the future, every child had to be provided with his own individual psychiatrist? Otherwise who could tell his parents, teachers and

pedagogues what he really meant when he said "yes" and what he really meant when he said "no"?

But now a group of scientists came along doing follow-up studies of individuals who, as children, had consented to sexual activity with adults. These researchers agreed that they could find no trace, even after fifteen years, of damage resulting from their youthful sexual experiences.

Once again the boy-lovers began to take heart, but almost immediately the psychiatrists answered that the lasting damage done by early sex with adults might take *longer than* fifteen years to become apparent.

The boy-lovers shrugged their shoulders and asked for proof. And, lo and behold, along came a physician who shouted triumphantly, "It's not up to us to prove there *is* damage; it's up to you to prove there *isn't!*"

Now this threw the boy-lovers into considerable confusion. No researcher had ever been able to prove that sexual relations with a boy were harmless, nor had it ever been satisfactorily established that sexual relations with *anyone* were harmless—nor, for that matter, that travelling in a train was harmless, nor the eating of green peas. And we all well know that under penal law every man is guilty until acquitted, that in this world everything is forbidden unless one's government specifically permits it.

The situation became even more confused when another psychiatrist (Fraser, 1981, 41) proposed that we should ignore entirely any data or arguments submitted by people showing even the slightest trace of paedophilic desires themselves. The principle in itself seemed sound. Only bachelors should be allowed to write treatises on marriage; all sexological books should be compiled by scholars utterly devoid of sexual feeling. Never listen to the man with personal experience, never listen to the man who comes to the defence of something you don't like, for isn't that the essence of mental health?

The problem with this proposal, however, was that sexologists had long ago established that there was a bit, and sometimes more than a bit, of paedophilia in every human adult, thus *all* discussion of boy-love would have to cease immediately. How, then, could you send boy-lovers to prison if you couldn't even talk about what they did? So this idea had to be dropped.

For a brief moment boy-lovers thought they again saw a glimmer of light at the end of the tunnel when a few psychiatrists declared that any kind of sex in which a child willingly engaged was in itself completely benign, but then their hopes were dashed when these men of science added, "Such activity, however, brings the child into conflict with the standards of his environment and the society in which he lives, and *that* is very detrimental."

So the boy-lovers, half-crushed already, surrendered. They were well aware of how powerful the standards of society were. In Hitler's Third Reich a Jewish girl was in deep trouble if an Arian became enamoured of her. In South Africa a black youth is lost if a white woman takes him as her lover. So the boy-lovers

ran weeping to the psychiatrists, begging for help, for it isn't only in Soviet Russia that psychiatrists are called upon to adapt people to the standards of society.

But the children didn't give in. They continued to seduce nice adults and called those who reproached them for this silly fools. For in the meantime they had learned a bit about psychoanalysis. They said, "For every objection they were forced to abandon, these stupid men and women immediately produced another. Could it be that, though they don't realise it, they are just trying to hide the secrets of their *own* innermost souls? Aren't they simply a little bit afraid of sex itself?"

But nobody bothered to listen to what they said, for how could truth ever come from the mouths of children?

The Usual Objections

Boy-love can occur in both casual and more enduring relations. Just as in all relations between human beings, it has its pleasant and unpleasant sides. In this chapter we will concentrate on the unpleasant aspects, leaving the pleasant ones to the next.

Many of the unpleasant sides of boy-love exist only in the imagination and have no basis in reality. We gave a few examples in the introductory satire. Others, unfortunately, do exist, but we must be careful to make the proper distinctions. Some—as, for example, prostitution—are common to sexual relations of every kind and are therefore not peculiar to boy-love. Others— as, for example, the fact that the sexual attractiveness of the younger partner is linked to a particular period of his life— are specific problems of boy-love.

"The Child is Not Yet Mature Enough for Sex"

Under contract from the Swedish government, child psychiatrist Elsa-Brit Nordlund studied between 1944 and 1949 hundreds of cases of sexual contacts involving children which had resulted in criminal trials. She came to the conclusion that the sex itself didn't cause any harm to the child, providing the adult partner didn't use any violence (Ullerstam 1964, 56-57).

Since indecent assault and rape will be discussed a little later in this chapter, we will here consider only those activities which do not come into conflict with the boy's will.

The outcome of Nordlund's research is hardly surprising. How could any activity which is so clearly a part of human nature ever hurt a child? (Bendig 1980, 157) People may say that the child is not yet mature enough for it, but precisely what kind of maturity are they talking about? Certainly he is mature

enough to experience feelings of lust; the frequency of masturbation in babies and orgasm in toddlers clearly shows that a child is ready for these feelings from the moment of his birth (von Stockert 1956, 10, 24; Borneman 1978, 114). As for the objection that he is not yet mature enough to have the "deeper" experience of being emotionally related to the partner, boys may well be unable to have certain feelings yet which adults value highly, and therefore certain potentials of a relationship won't be understood or even noticed. This is quite normal and quite common in youth. Why should this suddenly be viewed with such intense concern if it happens in a sexual setting? (Pieterse 1978, 67; Möller 1983, 26).

In the first chapter we saw that there are different aspects of sexuality. For the aspect of lust, of pleasure, the child is prepared from the moment he is born; to the aspect of love he will gradually develop receptivity from infancy on; for the aspect of a dionysic union with the forces of primordial nature he might have to wait until puberty; to participate in its procreative aspect he will probably have to attain adulthood in his society.

Once the boy reaches puberty the objection that he is not yet mature enough loses conviction even in the minds of those who offer it. Fifteen-year-old Achilles in his love for Patroklos, boys in history showing their willingness to sacrifice their lives for the men they loved (Dover 1978, 191), or the Jerome whose diary we have already quoted (No. 37)—one would have a hard time convincing any of them that they "weren't old enough".

"The Child Cannot Give Informed Consent."

But already a new objection is being raised: the adult in having sex with the child places him in a situation over which he has no control and of which he cannot forsee the consequences (Wolfenden 1963, Sect. 71).

This objection is rather surprising. First of all, in raising a child parents and others close to him are constantly bringing him into situations over which he has no control. They force him to make decisions or impose decisions upon him, often of the greatest importance for his future. There is the choice of school and professional instruction, of a job, of joining some youth group, music lessons, swimming classes, sports, hobbies. Can the child forsee the consequences of engaging these activities? (CAPM 1980, 26) Is he able to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of baptism and confirmation, of going to church, to confession, of being inculcated with a religion? Is the seven-year-old in command of the situation when he receives holy communion for the first time, or the twelve-year-old when he takes the oath on renewing his baptismal vows, or the sixteen-year-old when he volunteers for years of military service, or the twenty-year-old when he marries? If all these important things are

accepted by society as a matter of course, why the sudden worry when sexual activity is concerned?

Abel *et al*. (1984, 94-97) build their attack on children having sex with adults entirely upon this issue. Their conceit is to define ''informed consent'' in such a way that almost no form of human interaction could pass the test: complete understanding, awareness of community standards, knowledge of all possible consequences, participants of exactly equal power positions.

The objection that the child is put in a situation over which he has no control would only make sense if it could be contrasted with an adult entering into a sexual relationship entirely in control and aware of all possible consequences. This, however, can only happen if we limit our view of sex to its procreative aspect. Here there are very real rational considerations (contraception or not, and, if so, what form?) and predictable consequences. But all the other aspects of sexuality—as a source of pleasure, expression of love, uniting with primordial nature—are quite mysterious and not at all subject to rational argument. Even the most sensitive and intelligent adult will find himself lacking in real insight (O'Carroll 1980, 145, 170).

In man/boy relations, procreation, of course, is impossible, so only the other aspects are present. A child knows just as well as an adult whether some activity is pleasurable to him or not. A baby readily shows, if only by the expression on its face, whether he likes someone or finds him unsympathetic. And the experience of abandoning oneself to the primitive forces of nature might well be more clearly perceived by a young mind than by an older one.

And the consequences for the boy in engaging in a sexual activity? They will mostly be limited to the satisfaction of his sexual appetite, just as in masturbation, with the same feelings as an adult experiences. Moreover, one result could be that he feels increasing love for his partner, so it is an enriching experience. Another result could be loathing and disgust—a pity, but it is precisely through such experimentation that mankind gains understanding and learns how to avoid certain unpleasant situations in the future. Nothing is irrevocable here, nothing irremediable.

We are discussing—and this must constantly be kept in mind—the consequences of the sex *per se*. If later a boy is disturbed, to a greater or lesser degree, about his earlier sexual activity, it is never because the sex itself harmed him, but because it has collided with the ethical standards of the people about him. This collision with social morality will occupy us elsewhere in this chapter.

So I think we can dismiss the objection that a child cannot give informed consent. It is badly formulated and superficial. It is based upon sex-negative superstition, the conviction that any child has an underlying loathing of sexuality, that he is afraid of it and is then dragged along by the adult into an unknown domain where horror follows horror, from which there is no return. The psychiatrist De Levita, for example, in his blanket condemnation of all

paedophile activities, proclaims that "children are taught to do disagreeable things with pleasure" (quoted by Sandfort 1979, 138). This learned man evidently is projecting his own feelings of sexual distaste upon the children. Quite without justification! In Chapter Three we saw how far removed this superstition is from reality. (Let us not raise the issue of the number of parents who discipline their children to do disagreeable things with pleasure. This seems to be considered damaging only where sex is involved!)

"A World Where the Child Doesn't Yet Belong"

Our discussion in Chapter Three bears on a new objection: that sexual contact with an adult brings the child into an unsuitable realm of existence, one where he doesn't yet belong. Sexual activity, therefore, should be reserved for adults. If a child samples prematurely the forbidden fruit he will get into trouble because in so doing he will sever his connection with childhood and his relations with peers will be endangered. Those children who are happy in their sexually expressed relationships with adults are abnormal and need psychotherapy (De Levita, quoted by Sandfort 1979, 138; Socarides, quoted by Kessler 1981, 92).

But, as we have already seen, nature doesn't recognise a closed domain for adults only and in which children are prohibited. Every new-born child is receptive of sexual sensations; he enriches his understanding of them by acquiring new elements of cognition. Where his comprehension fails a sexual activity will simply go unnoticed. Give a pornographic photo to a toddler and he will put it in his mouth or tear it up and not be emotionally affected by what it represents. Adults are all to prone to project their own feelings and responses upon the childish mind. It is simply impossible to induce in a child feelings he is not yet mature enough to have; one cannot force him to enter a sexual domain which he is not yet ready to perceive.

In this context we must stress that adults in our culture usually underrate by far the maturity and capabilities of the child (O'Carroll 1980, 134-135). Only a few centuries ago European boys married at the age of twelve, thirteen and fourteen (Taylor 1953, 35). In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance there were competent thirteen-year-old army commanders and cardinals of the Roman Church, fourteen-year-old fleet admirals, fifteen-year-old governors. In his "School on Boats" Léonid Kameneff (1979) discovered that contemporary boys and girls are capable of surprising achievements, provided they are entrusted with all the responsibility. A nine-year-old cook dealt competently and faultlessly with all the meals for a group of travellers, from purchasing the food to its preparation. Two fourteen-year-olds steered a sailing ship through a heavy storm along a rocky coast.

Thus it is not unreasonable to suppose that children possess far greater capacity in the realm of sexuality than adults commonly suppose. Until about

two hundred years ago boys simply participated, and nobody thought twice about it (Matzneff 1977, 145). The essential truth—as we have seen—is that any problem here is imaginary: you cannot elicit from a person something that is not yet inside him (Sengers 1969, 22). A child who doesn't yet have the capacity to experience everything an adult might in a sexual episode will simply not experience it completely.

A man making love to smaller boys is usually quite aware of this and adapts his behaviour accordingly, limiting himself to kisses, fondling, cuddling and the like. A psychiatrist like Van der Kwast (1968, 55) is thus more concerned about the infantile level on which the adult must act than the adult level to which the child is supposedly forcefully brought.

Certainly it would overburden a child to demand from him fully grown-up and responsible behaviour in a love relationship (Schillemans 1983, 139). Any adult too stupid to recognize this may well hurt his younger friend by demanding he accept a load too heavy for his mind and, like certain kinds of religious instruction, crush it. But what causes the psychological damage in this case are the unreasonable demands, not the sex itself.

When it comes to enjoying sexual activity, it is well to keep in mind that Freud (1920, 102) called the child "polymorphous perverse", referring to the child's almost unlimited capacity to be sexually excited in many ways closed to grown-ups. Nobody is less sexually "innocent" than the child: he displays a far greater and more varied capacity for sexual pleasure than the adult.

How a boy reacts to adult orgasm and ejaculation will depend upon his own developmental stage and how he was raised. He may perceive it as strange, unsavoury, or he may think it is nice and important (Sandfort 1981, 191). One boy-lover confessed to me that for years he never let himself climax while making love to his beloved boy because he didn't want to shock the child.

"The Child Will Be Traumatised"

During the time when people in Europe believed sex was something sub-human, bestial, dirty, disgusting and sinful, and the child was pure, innocent and asexual, it was self-evident to them that if the angelic child was confronted with this dark aspect of human existence the initiative could only have come from a criminal adult and the effect on the child of such an encounter would be disastrous. At first the supposed damage was thought to be primarily moral. Later, as the medical profession gained more and more social influence, psychological and/or psychosomatic traumatisation was presented as proven fact (Killias 1979, 186).

Physical damage, or pain inflicted by violence, during a sexual encounter is extremely rare in the case of boy-victims (as it is not in the case of girls). We will return to this point later in the chapter. Hurting or even wounding a boy,

it seems, is in the opinion of the average citizen, and even of many judges, much less objectionable than in having sex with him (Baurmann 1983, 225).

What are the reported symptoms of this supposed traumatisation? Baurmann in his study published by the West German Ministry of Justice, gives an extended summary of those claimed by different authors. Covering the literature only of the past thirty years, and eliminating symptoms which only girls could have, mention is made of depression, guilt feelings, learning difficulties, bossiness, sexual promiscuity, running away, somatic complaints, anxiety, disturbed sense of reality, regression, hostility, sexualisation of object relationships with both men and women, asceticism, repeated sexual delinquency, paralysis of the will, embarrassment when thinking about childhood, lack of adaptability, sleeplessness, bragging and general showing off, telling friends of experience, sexual deviance, symbolic thefts, exhibitionism, neglect, tendency to prostitution, fear of the perpetrator, fear of males in general, fear of the locality where things happened, appearance or reappearance or increase of neurotic symptoms or infantile behaviour troubles such as stammering or compulsive behaviour, oedipal regression, seduction of other children (1983, 197-198). The reports of the Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission moreover mention difficulty in eating, sleep-walking, possible self-destructive behaviour, drug or alcohol abuse, self-mutilation (1980, 113). Nicholas D. Groth is quoted (1983, 218), adding headaches, stomach aches, poor social behaviour while in school, decline in grades, increase in fighting with peers, arguing with family members, refusal to attend church, withdrawal, nightmares, talking in one's sleep, mood swings. Taken all together it seems a rather curious hodgepodge, and Baurmann rightly observes that many authors claiming these effects fail to distinguish between those which manifested themselves before the sexual encounter or encounters and those which appeared afterwards—and moreover fail to establish any causal link between the sex and its supposed consequences (1983, 409).

Groffmann (162, 153) wrote that the damage inflicted on the child showed up as "disorders in the balance of the personality which in the short term adversely affect the social abilities of the individual or later cause anomalies in the evolution of his personality." Baurmann (1983, 202) wrote: "Damage as a result of a sexual encounter is a reactive disorder on the sexual, social, psychological or physical level culpably inflicted upon the victim. The disorder may either be subjectively perceived by the traumatised individual himself, or diagnosed with the help of expert scientific methods."

In his own analysis of 8051 criminal cases (7181 concerning girls, 870 concerning boys under 14 years of age) he found evidence of serious damage sustained by the victim in about 34% of the cases, lesser damage in about 18% and no damage at all in about 48% (1983, 415). All boys, without exception, fell into the "no damage" category (1983, 397). This suggests that the whole

concept of traumatisation through sexual activity with adults is applicable almost exclusively to girls and not to boys. In this chapter we will see much more evidence and many other instances of boys reacting quite differently than girls in sexual situations. It is, then, rather dangerous to talk about ''children'' in these matters. Conclusions which may be valid for girls may be entirely invalid where boys are concerned.

To the people of the Victorian Age it seemed self-evident that a child, that innocent being, would be hurt by sexual contact with an adult. Thus it was not until 1926 that Goroncy in Germany attempted to investigate the fate of women who had been raped in their childhood. He could discover no mental diseases resulting from the assaults (Baurmann 1983, 171). This research was followed in 1934 by the Norwegian psychiatrist Augusta Rasmussen, who limited her sample to 54 females who were raped before their fourteenth birthday. Despite this extremely unfavourable sample, she too concluded: ''Mental diseases resulting from the acts they were subjected to were not demonstrable in any way, and it seems that the lives of the victims were hardly affected in any other respect by these affairs...'' (Rasmussen 1934, 432).

Laurette Bender who, with A. Blau studied in 1937 a group of 16 children 5 to 12 years of age having had sexual contacts with adults, examined the same group 16 years later with A. L. Grugett and found ''no problem which she felt could reasonably be attributed to the sexual experiences'' (O'Carroll 1980, 62; Baurmann 1983, 174-175).

Over a period of four years, from 1951 to 1954, Judson T. Landis, using an entirely different technique, carried out a much larger investigation among some 1800 students of the University of California. 30% of the males and 35% of the females had been sexually approached while they were children. After a careful analysis of 500 such cases, Landis declared, ''In general, the great majority of the victims seem to recover rather soon and to acquire few permanently wrong attitudes from the experience.'' (1956, 108)

Dr. H. Brunold, once again following in the footsteps of Rasmussen, investigated 62 child victims of ''substantial sexual abuse'' (50 girls and 12 boys aged 5 to 15) 15 to 23 years after the event. Lasting psychological traumatisation was rather infrequent and where it occurred was often more due to the reactions of the victim's social environment than to the sexual events themselves (1962, 970).

Prof. Reinhart Lempp, a doctor of medicine at Tübingen, published in the *Neue Juristische Wochenschrift* of 1968 a paper on ''mental traumatisation of children as victims of non-violent sexual criminality''. He personally examined 97 such children (1963, 2267). He observed: ''If we take into account the positive attitude of the children at the beginning of the indecent activities, this alone makes primary traumatisation by the activities themselves highly improb-

able. It becomes even more doubtful when we recognise the frequency with which such indecencies occur.'' After emphasising their frequency he continues with his conclusions, ''Most of the contacts remain undiscovered and thus the frequency of these indecent assaults must be assumed to be very high. This makes it impossible to claim as self-evident that children involved in these activities will always be psychologically traumatised. We can in no way assume that such a large number of people have been permanently and considerably hurt in their psychic evolution. My own investigation of 97 children involved in 93 criminal affairs did not establish clearly in any single case that traumatisation of the child had been directly caused by the sexual activity.''

McCaghy (1971, 24) wrote, ''An incident of molesting is not likely to be traumatic for a child unless the parents themselves make it so.''

Dr. Frits Bernard, a Rotterdam psychologist, began an investigation in 1971 which in 1979 he described as ''still in progress''. (This is probably why exact data are lacking about his ''around 30'' subjects, their age and sex, and his sample selection—data normally provided by researchers.) His tentative conclusion is, ''We cannot confirm a traumatising influence, nor the development of fear of adults.'' (1979, 51)

Another Dutch psychologist, John M. H. Corstjens, published in 1975 the results of an enquiry among students of the Catholic University of Nijmegen, yielding completed responses from 224 males and 215 females. 13% of the males and 18% of the females said that as children they had had sexual contact one or more times with an adult. At the end of his report Corstjens wrote, ''We have demonstrated that there is no evidence of any influence of such contacts on later sexual experience.'' (1975, 122; 1980, 282)

Youth counsellor Father Michael Ingram, an English Dominican friar, reported in 1977 at the Swansea conference on ''Love and Attraction'' that he had studied 91 pre-pubertal boys who had had sexual experiences with men. ''There is no evidence that sexual contacts with adults do any damage, psychological or moral, to the children any more than the 'rude games' that many of them play.'' (1977, 5) ''The activity itself evidently performs some function for the child, or fulfils some need, or is a passing act of little significance.'' (1979, 517; 1981, 186)

An extremely fine piece of research was carried out by the English psychologist Lindy Burton in 1968. She compared 41 children (6 boys, 35 girls, ages 5 to 15) who, according to police records, had been involved in sexual delinquency with adults with a similar group of children who had had no such contacts. She concluded, ''that sexual assault of children by adults does not have particularly detrimental effects on the child's subsequent personality development.'' (1968, 169) Even a noticeable acceleration of the child's sexual evolution, as might well have been expected, was not empirically observed (Kirchhoff 1979, 294-295).

IV. NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF MAN/BOY RELATIONS

Research is commonly complicated by other factors: children involved in criminal cases often come from problem families. Burton observed ''that the item which discriminated most significantly'' between her subject group and its control population was ''the affection seeking'': ''these sexually assaulted children certainly showed every evidence of needing affection of this sort'' and the sexual experience with an adult often served ''to satisfy unconscious personality needs'' (1968, 122, 169, 161). Since these were not satisfied at home, the children sought for affection with adults outside of the family. A fairly large percentage of such children are psychologically traumatised by their living conditions (Gibbens and Prince 1963) or by the unbalanced reactions of their social environment and/or police interrogation (Burton 1968, 168). Thus it is most remarkable that Rasmussen, Brunold, Lempp and Burton, working with samples of especially unfavourable cases, arrived at the same conclusions as the other researchers.

A close study of the relevant literature and his own experiences as a child psychologist made K. J. Groffmann propose the following hypothesis: ''Mentally sound children and adolescents who find both support and understanding in their human environment will generally not be permanently troubled in their evolution by sexual assault.'' (1962, 178)

Prof. Ernst-Walter Hanack of Heidelberg told the annual meeting of German lawyers in 1968, ''In general we can assume in any particular case—always excepting the most violent executions of this crime—that the psychological damage inflicted upon a healthy child will not be particularly serious and certainly will not disturb the child permanently—if, in fact, (and this would be most exceptional) there is any damage at all. The contrary view, however generally accepted it may be (...) is based largely on the mistaken assumption that the child is a non-sexual being, and we should treat it with the utmost scepticism, particularly in the interest of the children themselves.'' (1968, 95)

The Dutch psychiatrist Zeegers wrote in 1970, ''A great many children have sexual experiences at a young age without sustaining any harm.'' Pondelickova (quoted by Powell & Chalkley 1980, 70) wrote, ''It is not very probable that pedophile behavior causes psychic trauma to the object.'' Dean Challot wrote, ''in a vast majority of the cases no appreciable harm resulted from such contacts.'' (1972, 9)

Dr. Eberhard Schorsch after analysing the relevant literature, made this summary: ''There is no evidence of a direct causal link between such experiences and a misdirected evolution of the personality. Empirical research forces one to accept the fact that permanent damage does not occur.'' (1974, 24) See also Goldstein (1974, 31). Dr. Karl-Heinz I. Kerscher of Hamburg University and the Evangelical Professional Academy seconded this opinion (1974, 564) and in the same year Dagmar Potrykus and Manfred Wöbcke wrote in their book that ''it has become impossible to sustain the assumption that

negative consequences generally occur'', adding ''Among the authors who claim that the sexual activity itself has negative effects, not a single one presents the slightest empirical base for his assumption. They generally produce their allegations uncritically, as premises, moralistically, without mentioning conflicting data and arguments.'' (1974, 70-71). This is also the position of the Swiss researcher Killias (1979, 184). For a fine example of such theorising unsupported by any data, see von Stockert (1956, 54).

In 1975 this view was voiced by:

a) Philippe Graven, Professor of Law at the University of Geneva: ''Disastrous short-term or long-term consequences of non-violent contacts—in reality by far the most common form—are unsubstantiated. As far as we can tell at the present time, any later disturbances which may occur cannot be blamed, either in whole or in part, upon the sexual activities.'' (1975, 289)

b) The Austrian criminologist Dr. Walter Hauptmann mentioned several examples ''of the common absence of serious psychological troubles after paedophile contacts.'' Even among boy prostitutes ''there was no evidence of any link between hetero- or homosexual experiences of the child and later deviancy.'' The ''commonly accepted fiction of nearly omnipresent 'lasting damage' and 'aftereffects' from sexual experiences'' has ''for a long time now no longer been acceptable.'' (1975, 42-43)

c) The American youth psychiatrist D. R. Walters calls the theory that ''psychologically, the sexually abused child is permanently damaged'' a myth (1975, 113).

The Swedish government appointed a commission, presided over by Chief Justice Kjellin, to prepare suggestions for the reformation of the sexual offences section of the penal code. Summarising a number of publications on the subject, the commission concluded: ''Possible sexual contacts between children and adults often pass over a child without any apparent negative effect on his psychology.'' (1976, 80)

In 1978 the distinguished Austrian psychiatrist Borneman wrote, ''The negative effect of youthful sexual intercourse with adults have been exaggerated by the press. The results of research by youth psychologists, forensic physicians and sexologists are almost completely the reverse of what the layman takes as truth.'' (1978, 1011) And in San Francisco Prof. Haeberle declared, ''By no means all of such contacts are harmful, and it seems irrational to punish them all in a summary fashion.'' (1978, 444). Geiser (1979, 87) came to the same conclusion.

The Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission, a body one would hardly suspect of any leniency toward paedophiles, said in a report to the Illinois General Assembly (1980, 113) that, ''the effects of sexual molestation of children can be devastating. They need *not* be, depending on many variables,

not the least of which is how the victims are treated within the context of the system that investigates and may prosecute an offender.'' In other words, if there is damage it is not caused by the sex but by a secondary factor, the police examination. The Commission quotes as confirmation the opinion of Leroy G. Schultz, noting ''that, in and of themselves, non-violent sexual assaults do not usually have a serious effect on a child's personality development.'' In another report published in the same year the Commission observes, ''It has been demonstrated in the literature that a completely mutual consensual relationship between a young man and an older usually does not result in deleterious effects on the younger of the two.'' (1980, 205) See also Fraser (1980, 56); Powell & Chalkley 1980, (59, 68-69, 71, 73-75).

Sam Janus, PhD (1981, 232) quoted with approval the opinion of one of his colleagues: ''In my experience a child who is pretty well together in other respects and is doing well in the world, getting along with his parents and in school, will not be permanently harmed.'' Larry L. Constantine in the same year reviewed 30 independent investigations on this subject. Only five of the researchers concluded that there could be some long-term negative effects, but in these cases the subjects had been juvenile delinquents and psychopathic and it was therefore difficult to distinguish between cause and effect. Where the sample studied was selected from the general population, no mention was made of negative results. Six of the researchers commented on positive long-term effects (1981, 220-225, 259)

Baurmann in his analysis for the West German Ministry of Justice of 8058 criminal cases, wrote that the prevailing view of the dangers to children of sexual contacts with adults has simply been copied by one author from another without any empirical base. What is advanced as scientifically established is in reality no more than individual prejudiced opinion. Or, as in the case with Geisler, the whole sample was taken from a selected, disturbed group so that the outcome was determined in advance. Baurmann himself shares the opinion of such investigators as Landis and Lempp quoted above (1983, 169-70, 176, 195, 484, 486).

Wilson and Cox, although adverse to legalising paedophile activity, conclude, ''Numerous empirical attempts to demonstrate that lasting psychological harm is done to a child through sexual contact with adults (e.g. changing his sex orientation, or making him impotent) have generally failed to adduce any such evidence. Most researchers seem to be agreed that except in the case of physical assault against an unwilling child (tantamount to rape), no lasting harm to the sexual or social development of the child 'victim' can be detected.'' (1983, 129)

Monique Möller likewise writes, ''Neither scientifically nor statistically has the harmfulness of paedophile relations been demonstrated.'' She continues with the wise remark, ''No relation is in itself either beneficial or harmful, regardless of whether it is between adults, as in professional or married life, or

children, or between adults and children. Sexuality in itself, of whatever kind, does not render a relation between people desirable, undesirable, good or bad. The people themselves are of more importance than what happens between them. They define the atmosphere in which the events occur by their personalities, their capacity to sympathise with others, their respect for their partners and their willingness to love one's neighbour as themselves.'' (1983, 98-99)

When we consider all the horrible consequences which public opinion ascribes to sexual experiences with adults, it is amusing to read the account of Dutch psychologist Rouweler-Wutz (1976, 14). While studying paedophilia she contacted nine pedagogical and orthopedagogical institutes requesting them to provide her with cases which demonstrated harm. Every one of them replied that they had never actually seen any ''victim'' of consensual contacts.

Even if in Western societies the incidence of adult/child sex is lower than in Hindustan, where it is the general custom for adults to caress the sexual organs of children (Möller 1983, 35), there is no reason to suppose that the number of ''victimised children'' in the West is insignificant (McCaghy 1971, 24; Zeegers 1970, 44; Sandfort 1979, 242). A number of reports, on the contrary, point to rather high figures for children involved.

The most conservative estimates are given by Rennert (1965, 362): 12.4% of all girls and 8.9% of all boys; and by Van Ewijk (1983, 66): 20% of all girls and 10% of all boys (also used by Rush 1980, 246).

Corstjens (1975, 127) found that among students at the Catholic University of Nijmegen 13% of all males and 18% of all females reported sexual experiences as children with adults.

Hertoft (1968, I-239, II-69) found that among 400 Danish recruits 9 had had sexual experiences with women before the age of 12, 51 had had sexual experiences with men before the age of 15, making a combined total of 15% of the recruits.

Walters (1975, 116) reported that among 412 American students 21% were approached by men before they attained puberty, which led to sex in 17% of these 412 boys.

Kinsey reported that 24% of his female subjects had had, as pre-adolescents, sexual experiences with adults. The Kinsey figures have proved to be valid for countries other than the U.S.A. as well: Baurmann (1983, 216); Italiaander (1969, 138). West (1981, 252) however thinks that Kinsey's 24% ''underestimates the true position''.

Wolters (1982, 16) said that 25-33% of all boys have sexual experiences with adults; the same percentages are given by Mrazek (quoted by Fraser 1981, 50).

Gibbens (quoted by West 1977, 217) said 33% of his boys, both those with heterosexual and homosexual tendencies, had been sexually approached by adults.

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The Dutch newspaper *De Volkskrant* (14 June, 1984) referred to an investigation of "intimacies" in secondary school. Of 68 boys, 22 had been "molested" by their own teachers; 5 claimed to have liked it.

Landis (1956, 93) reported that 30% of the male and 35% of the female Californian students he studied had had such experiences as children. Robin Badgley of the University of Toronto interrogated 1000 minors and found that 33% of the boys had been the victim of undesired sexual activities *(Journal de Montréal,* 19 Feb 1985). Of 1800 New England children, mostly from the middle and upper classes, 33% had been "sexually abused" (Geiser 1979, 10).

Schofield (1965, 58, 122) found that 35% of 15-19-year-old English boys claimed to have at least once been the subject of a man attempting sex.

The highest incidence is given by Kirchhoff (quoted by Baurmann 1983, 106): 37% of females and 45% of the males had had as children sexual experiences with adults.

Thus it is clear that sexual contacts between older and younger partners are rather commonplace occurrences and that the number of cases reflected in criminal statistics is only a faint echo of what really goes on (Beyaert 1982, 97; Frisch 1971, 7; Möller 1983, 12; Taylor 1981, xv; Pieterse 1982, I-35). In an article in the weekly *Intermediair* (1975) I estimated that only one in 3,000 sexual events of this kind comes to the attention of the judicial authorities, and Léonard des Sables (1977, 43), using an entirely different method of calculation, arrived at exactly the same result. The total number of such sexual events in any one year in any one country are not to be estimated in hundreds of thousands but in millions. We are faced with the same situation our forebears faced with respect to masturbation: it was only possible to claim mortal danger from masturbating as long as the universality of this practice could be kept hidden. After the publication of the Kinsey reports nobody could spread the old masturbation scare stories with a clean conscience. Likewise, no one who is acquainted with the relevant research proving the frequency and universality of sex with children can any longer promulgate in good faith the myth of its traumatic consequences.

If parents really loved their children above all else they would be happy to see science prove that something which they had feared, regarded as threatening or horrible, was really quite harmless. But most people appear to be more attached to their sexual phobias than to their children, and so they cling compulsively to the myth of traumatisation. This reluctance to give up old terrors is especially to be deplored since the myth itself may really hurt children.

First of all, the myth creates fear of the evil stranger who decoys children with candy and promises in order to torture or kill them. Instead of teaching young children never to go away with anybody (including uncles and grandparents) without checking with his parents first—a comprehensible, clear and non-frightening instruction—they are made mortally afraid of all strangers. "The

danger of creating paranoid and xenophobic (fear of strangers) attitudes can be more damaging to child-rearing in general than pedophilic occurrences.'' (Mohr & Turner 1967, 362; Baurmann 1979, 108; van der Zijl 1976, 183). This practice, in fact, is not very effective in combating sexual approaches, since in 80 out of 100 cases (with boys, 84 out of 100 cases) it is not a stranger but an uncle, a neighbour, a family friend, a teacher or a youth leader who attempts to have sex with the child (Baurmann 1983, 251, 375; Righton 1981, 33; Taylor 1981, xiv). Moreover, sexual contacts with a stranger tend to be much less intense and frequent and of a more ''harmless'' nature than those with acquaintances or family members (Baurmann 1983, 144, 251, 262-275, 468, 477).

Considering that 30% of all boys will at some time or another be approached by a man for sexual contact, in only 6%, then, of all boys will this be by a stranger. Thus in order to protect children from a supposed threat which may affect only 6%, the practice of inculcating in children fear of the wicked stranger inflicts real damage on 100% of them, a damage, moreover, which child psychologists consider far worse than the actual sexual activity which the parents seek to prevent. This can hardly be considered wise procedure! ''It may well be a fact that scare techniques that induce panic cause more widespread interference with children's psychosexual development than do overt abnormal sexual experiences.'' (Rabinovitch, quoted by Karpman 1954, 556) The psychiatrist Zeegers even says that this kind of sexual education could better be characterised as sexual offence against the child (1970, 52). Neill, the famous headmaster of Summerhill, justly remarks, ''to introduce fear into a child's life is the worse of all crimes.'' (1962, 217) I once saw a delightful spoof of harmful sexual nonsense plastered on a German car: ''We are the people our parents were always warning us about!''

Secondly, the legend of the wicked stranger is one of those self-fulfilling prophecies. Sexuality in itself is not harmful, but when it is connected to the taboos with which parents fill their children's heads, it may well become so (De Wind 1969, 12). If a child, as a result of sexual mis-education, panics at the approach of a stranger, this may trigger an even more dangerous panic in the man who, in *his* fright, may commit some kind of violent or even murderous act.

In the third place, experience shows that scare stories about the wicked stranger are highly ineffectual. In small children they give rise to great confusion and misunderstanding (Janus 1981, 190). When it comes to older boys, who are most concerned in these matters, it is interesting to read an account of what happened in Atlanta, Georgia when some years ago no less than 30 black boys were being killed by a mysterious murderer: ''The city's schools, press, TV and radio having scarily warned children of the dangers of even talking to strangers, two plain clothes men conducted an experiment. In an unmarked car they drove

slowly through a black area one night, at intervals asking boys of 9 to 15 if they'd like to get in and earn $10. The danger discounted, the urge for money, excitement and fun paramount, the activity expected from them thoroughly understood and accepted, every single boy approached was willing.'' (Personal communication by D. W.)

So we can see that the legend of the wicked stranger is very dangerous. Nonetheless, many a caring parent continues to spread it. These are the same caring parents who do a more thorough job of distorting their children's sexual evolution than any child molester could have done. ''Instead of simply asking what damage is inflicted upon the child by having sexual contact with an adult, we should ask as well what damage is inflicted upon the child by frustrating his sexual needs. Putting it even more generally, what damage does he suffer in his non-sexual relationships with adults?'' (Rouweler-Wutz 1976, 73)

Léonid Kameneff, founder of the ''School on Boats'', describes cases where sexual contacts could have released boys from psychic isolation—contacts which failed to materialise, however, because of legal prohibitions and the realisation that breaking the laws could have imperilled the very existence of the school (1979, 96).

Even today, in some places, we hear echoes of the horrible anti-masturbation campaign fought for almost two centuries with such dedication and enthusiasm, and with such disastrous results, by doctors, the clergy and pedagogues. How many boys did these experts bring to the depths of despair? How many boys had their entire youths made miserable?

It is not even necessary to mention extreme cases, such as the French physician Meignant cites from his own practice of boys committing suicide after reading moralistic books about human sexuality (1974, 106-115). The incidence of adolescent suicide is always high: traffic accidents are the most important cause of death among 10- to 18-year-olds; suicide comes in second place (Wolters 1981, 449-451). No less than half of these suicides are attributable to sexual difficulties (Deschner 1978, 373). A radio programme on homosexuality produced by the Dutch ''Evangelical Broadcasting Service'' in 1974 directly caused eleven young people to put an end to their lives (Van Spreeuwel 1975, 4).

In opposition to all of this, I would like to quote from a personal letter I received some years ago from an Austrian correspondent: ''I love boys with every fibre of my being. How could I ever hurt one of them? If I weren't unshakeably convinced—and experience has proven me right—that the boy also enjoys it and suffers absolutely no harm, I would renounce all sexual pleasure and suffer myself instead.''

So the question really is, Who threatens children the most? Somebody who denounces boy-lovers for traumatising their young friends and brings up his son along traditional lines is like a burglar shouting 'stop thief!' The Sioux Indians

who teach their sons how to masturbate seem to hit the mark when they call the conventional sex education methods of the Pale Faces "simply barbaric" (Schérer 1974, 163).

We will have more to say about this in Chapter Five. For the present we will limit ourselves to observing that the only acceptable and effective way to protect a boy against unwanted physical attentions by an adult is to give him honest and ample information about the possible dangers, to increase his self-confidence and to teach him that he and only he must decide who may touch his body in an intimate way (Lamping-Goos 1982, 117; Baurmann 1983, 276, 480-481). Children taught to hold adults in awe and always obey them, who come from families with very rigid views about sexuality and who enjoy less freedom than the majority of their peers have proved more liable to hurt and traumatisation by sexual offenders than those with a more liberal upbringing (Baurmann 1983, 454).

"The Boy Will Be Turned Into A Homophile"

For years everyone believed that if a boy had sexual relations with a man it would make the boy homosexual, and he would remain homosexual for the whole rest of his life. Obviously, then, boys should be protected from such contacts.

Despite the finding of Bell & Weinberg that, even in as desperately homophobic a society as that of North America, homophiles on the whole do not feel less happy than heterophiles (1978, 432), it is not unreasonable to suppose that a young man would prefer not to belong to a minority with a considerably higher suicide rate (Baudry 1982, 82; Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1978, 402; Ell 1979, 140; Tielman 1982, 168; Siegfried 1979, 94; Wagner 1979, 141; West 1977, 198), which is discriminated against, rejected and persecuted in every society which has been heavily influenced by Christianity (Masters & Johnson 1988, 254). It is pleasant to read in Ford and Beach (1968, 139) that homosexuality is considered a quite normal phenomenon in 64% of the cultures which they investigated, but neither the European, nor the North American, nor the Soviet powers belong to this cultural majority of theirs. In many countries homophiles have no legal rights and so are at the mercy of their rulers, as in Cuba and in China (Haeberle 1978, 385-386), and this does not seem to cause undue worry to those idealistic people among us who claim to be fighting for human rights. Thus it is quite understandable that parents prefer their sons to grow up as heterophiles rather than homophiles.

That a boy could be "converted" or "perverted" to homosexual preferences had already been proposed in Greek antiquity by the peripatetic school of philosophers—not in the absurd form it assumed later in the nineteenth century, but in teaching that passivity in anal intercourse might become a preferred

sexual technique if continued over a long period of time (Buffière 1980, 440; Bullough 1976, 104; Wagner 1979, note 39).

It was left to a more enlightened age to promulgate the blind belief that a single ''seduction'' by a man would make the poor boy ineluctably and inevitably and forever homophile. No honest heterophile could ever have invented this absurdity, for it presupposes that the homosexual experience was so fantastically wonderful that in one single sexual cataclysm all the effects of heterosexual indoctrination to which every boy is subjected by society for years on end is eliminated. Whoever has drunk but once from the source of homosexuality will ever after long for a repetition, so weak is the heterosexual impulse in comparison!

Such a *testimonium paupertatis* of heterosexuality was, of course, not invented by real heterophiles but by homophiles standing trial for homosexual ''offences''. To excuse their ''criminal conduct'' they claimed to have been victims in their youth of homosexual seduction. Perhaps they thought if they were going to be prosecuted by idiots it would be best to put forward an idiotic defence. But the sword they used cut both ways. Judges and public prosecutors gullibly swallowed the argument, only to conclude that they must fight all the harder against homosexuality as a corrupting influence on youth.

In reality the sequence of events is quite the reverse. If a boy reacts positively to a homosexual approach the reason is the presence within him of homosexual tendencies which, at least at the time, are strong enough to allow him to become sexually aroused (Hanry 1977, 117-120; West 1977, 54). In which direction his sexual preferences will gradually evolve is either inately determined or determined by environmental influences active during the very first years of his life—certainly before he goes to school (De Batselier 1967, 444; Baurmann 1983, 72; Bieber 1962, 173; Bleuler, quoted by Wolfenden 1963, Sect. 68; Churchill 1967, 214; Hart de Ruyter 1976, 143; Harry 1984, 122; Hoult 1984, 125; Klimmer 1958, 93; Van der Kwast 1968, 118; Sengers 1967, 144; Wyss 1967, 44-45). All fear of ''homosexual propaganda'' or ''homosexual proselytising'' is therefore groundless. It is as senseless to propagandise for homophilia as it is to propagandise for redheadedness, left-handedness or having crossed eyes.

At the time when I was writing *Das verfemte Geschlecht* this problem of ''seduction to homosexuality'' was still central to all discussions about penal law reform. I thus devoted many pages to the issue, pointing to the shift in position of the Dutch psychiatrist Tolsma who as late as 1948 energetically supported the traditional seduction-to-homosexuality thesis but who was so laudably honest that when later he was confronted with conflicting fact he confessed that he had been mistaken and had altered his professional opinion. Thus in the 1963 edition of his book he wrote: ''Permanent homosexual orientation is in our culture only to be found in individuals with a predisposition

to it, that is to say in those in whom the tendency is already present before the seduction.'' (1963, 141) As sharing this point of view, I quoted from Naecke (1905), Havelock Ellis (1915), Moll, Placzek (1919), Hirschfeld (1926), von Krafft-Ebing, Schwarz, Rozanoff (1935), Doshay (1945), Bender & Grugett (1952), Berg (1954), West (1955), the Roman Catholic committee presided over by the English cardinal Griffin (1956), the official British committee presided over by Sir John Wolfenden, Coon (1957), Klimmer (1958), Westwood, Rainer (1960), Schlegel, Freund, Bieber (1962), Schofield, Marmor (1965), Sengers (1966), Churchill, de Batselier, Bräutigam (1967), Trimbos (1968), the Dutch official commission presided over by Prof. Speijer (1970). We may add Abraham (1969, 209, 237), Gagnon (165, 226), Geiser (1979, 92); Harry (1984, 118); Langfeldt (1981, 41, 71-72); Powell & Chalkley (1981, 71); Righton (1981, 38); Zeegers (1977, 205); Everaerd (1980, 11); Haeberle (1978, 176). It seems unnecessary now to cite all those passages which show how the seduction-to-homosexuality theory is nothing more than ''an old wives' tale'', as Hanack, law professor at the University at Heidelberg, and Bräutigam, his medical colleague there, called it (Hanack 1968, 151). Every so often we still hear its echoes, unfortunately not only from old wives but from the likes of Dr. Johannes Pohlschneider, bishop of the diocese of Aachen, who in 1976 repeated it with complete peace of mind in a treatise called *Ethics of Christian Sexual Education*.

A most convincing witness to its lack of veracity is the experience of the Sambia boys in New Guinea, as described by Herdt. In their tribal villages the Sambia segregate the sexes as much as possible. Men and women each have their own paths and meeting places. The boys have no contact whatever with the girls. The initiation process for them begins somewhere between ages 7 and 10. During the first phase, which lasts until they are about fifteen, they are expected to suck the penis of a mature boy every night and swallow his sperm. Without regular ingestion of male seed, the Sambia believe, boys will never grow up into strong, mature men. At first some of the boys dislike having to do this, but gradually all come to enjoy it and often strong ties of friendship are formed between the sucker and the sucked. After puberty the boys enter the second phase of initiation: it is now their turn to provide seed for the benefit of the younger ones. They do this until, at around age 22, they marry. Marriage terminates the young man's homosexual life, since once his penis has penetrated a woman's vagina it is no longer considered clean and it would be dangerous for any other male to touch it. What is of especial interest to us at this point is that after 10 to 15 years of exclusive homosexual activity carried on by 100% of the young male Sambia population, the incidence of adult homosexual orientation is only 5%—exactly the same as in Western society (Herdt 1981, 2-4, 233-234, 238, 280-282, 288, 319).

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Homosexual activity before or in the first years after puberty is neither cause nor early evidence of adult homosexual orientation. At puberty a boy needs to experiment with his sexuality, just as he has to try out his other physical and mental capacities, until he has found what suits him the best. This is the normal way every human being learns. Boys who have not been warped by their upbringing but are healthy in their psychosexual development will be observed experimenting with homosexuality, animal sex, exhibitionism, voyeurism (being peeping Toms) and fetichism (Karpman 1954, 53). As long as boys, in their sexual activities, respect the rights of others, there is not the least cause for concern. Such experiments will never hurt the youngsters themselves, only the possible panic reactions of the people around them (Rabinovitch, quoted by Karpman 1954, 556).

We might ask ourselves whether only adults should be allowed their exhibitionistic pleasures, to dress up and pose, to take voyeuristic delight in spying on the intimacies of others in the pages of the yellow press, to sadistically enjoy acid criticism and biting jokes at the expense of absent persons, to derive sexual pleasure watching strip shows or looking at porno magazines, to experience homosexual sadistic excitement at a boxing match or auto races with the greatest chance of lethal, bloody accidents. Is not all of this veiled mental perversity far more symptomatic of a sexually traumatised personality than the adolescent boy's open experimentation with sex could ever be?

In having sex with a peer or a man, the adolescent boy tries out the homosexual possibilities of his mental makeup instead of repressing them. Repression means not having them under control, and that could result in being obsessed by them. The man who in his youth has had his fling expressing his homosexual component, and then put it all by, will feel less driven as an adult by homosexual impulses than the man who didn't. He will also find homosexuality less disturbing, view it with more understanding, because it is, for him, no longer a skeleton in the closet.

Of beautiful Alcibiades the story was told that as a boy he drove all husbands mad with love and enticed them away from their wives, while as a man he drove all women mad with love and enticed them away from their husbands (Buffière 1980, 468).

"The Partners are So Unequal"

If it were really true that a man becomes paedophile because he did not receive enough affection when he was young, then all the tenderness bestowed by the boy-lover on his young friends would tend to prevent them from acquiring tendencies deviant from "normal" heterosexuality. Boy-love, then, would be a "normalising" rather than a "perverting" influence upon boys!

The Usual Objections

But immediately the objection is raised that in paedophile relations the partners are grossly unequal. Even if we agree with most present-day authorities "that sexual experimentation among children the same age is normal, healthy, and perhaps even to be encouraged" and "to say that it's bad is to deny children an essential part of their growth" (Janus 1981, 318-319), the situation changes completely as soon as an adult enters the picture. Sexual play among children is permissible but an adult will spoil it (Sebbar 1980, 292). Wolters (1982, 13-14), for example, describes all sexual activities between adults and children as "sexual abuse" because "1) the relationship is unequal; 2) the adult has all the power on his side; 3) freedom and opportunity of choice are limited; 4) the older partner is strongly motivated by the desire for satisfaction of his own personal sexual desires." Writers like Wolters and A. Nicholas Groth who begin with the assumption that all adult/child relationships are due either to sexual pressure or sexual force exerted by the man (Howells 1981, 82) have from the very start made it impossible for themselves to gain any real understanding of the phenomenon. They are acting exactly like those feminists who consider every form of sexual activity, even if it is mutually consensual, rape if the partners are in some way unequal (Califia 1981, 137-139).

If only those human relationships where the partners are equal were morally and legally permitted, few indeed would exist. "It is a glib notion of power, however, that assumes that equality in all things is either strictly possible, or that assumes absolute equality is necessary for fairness and genuine reciprocity." (Reeves 1983, 12) It is not inequality which makes a relationship objectionable, but the exploitation of this inequality by one partner at the expense of the other. Such exploitation may occur, but it doesn't have to. There are good parent/child, good husband/wife, good employer/employee, good doctor/patient relationships despite the obvious inherent inequality in all of them. And so there are also good man/boy relationships.

On the other hand all human relationships can deteriorate, or be poisoned from the start. Things may occur between a man and a boy to which all of our objections would apply. To the worst of these, such as rape, physical violence or abuse of authority, we will return later in this chapter.

In this section we will limit our discussion to those friendships which obey the fundamental conditions demanded of any sexual relationship: they be free of force or compulsion and of any abuse of dominance. The younger partner should never be considered a property of the older; he should be freely consenting not only to the sexual contact but to the form it takes and under what conditions it will proceed. And at any moment—even in the middle of the sexual activity—he should be free to withdraw his consent (Duvert 1980, 112).

If such conditions are met it should be evident that this very inequality between man and boy may deepen and enrich the relationship between them.

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For the man is usually the more experienced of the two, is more knowledgeable and uses these advantages not to dominate his young friend but to help him. The boy on the other hand has the complementary gifts of spontaneity, freshness and curiosity. Each benefits, and learns, from the other.

The English poet Auden makes the lovely observation, ''A girl of eleven (or a boy of twelve)... can be a most remarkable creature. No longer a baby, she has learned self control, acquired a sense of her identity, and can think logically without ceasing to be imaginative. She does not know, of course, that her sense of identity has been too easily won—the gift of her parents rather than her own doing—and that she is soon going to lose it, first in the Sturm und Drang of adolescence and then, when she enters the adult social world, in anxieties over money and status. But one cannot meet a girl or a boy of this kind without feeling that what she or he is—by luck or momentarily—is what, after many years and countless follies and errors, one would like, in the end, to become.'' (quoted by Fraser 1976, 182)

An objection to be taken much more seriously is that if a boy becomes too intimately involved with his adult friend he may deprive himself of necessary and beneficial relationships with his peers. Where this happens the man egotistically sacrifices the best interests of the boy to his own pleasure (Bernard 1979, 19; Nichols 1976, 75). Sandfort, carefully analysing 25 man/boy relationships, concluded that this sort of situation was far from universal, at least in his small sample: a number of his subjects maintained at the same time as their paedophile friendships strong, positive relationships with their age-mates (1981, 97). Nevertheless, this must be recognised as a possible danger.

If the relationship continues over a long period the man often acquires considerable influence over the boy (De Brethmas 1979, 98). The boy is at an age when the body and its capacities are of overwhelming importance. In their shared intimacy the naked bodies of the man and the boy speak to each other in their own wordless language which has such deep significance to the evolving youth (Krist 1976, 45). The boy finds something here which he cannot find elsewhere; ''elsewhere'' is even denied him. An adult abandons himself to him, reveals himself to him, confides in him as to no one else. Confidence evokes love, love evokes tractability.

In itself this powerful influence of the adult is neither negative nor positive; it all depends upon how the man uses it. The adult has a greater propensity for good as well as for evil than the child (O'Carroll 1980, 166). In the archives of the Brongersma Foundation there are notebooks in which a 30-year-old man carefully kept score, in order to show his affection for his 12-13-year-old friend, of all the shop-liftings the boy was busy committing. In this man's mind his sharing in this way in the boy's thefts cemented their close alliance as well as expessed their mutual love of adventure, their dexterity and their courage; in so doing he praised the boy for his thievery. The total value of items stolen

over the years was quite high. When finally the two were caught the court, quite justly, blamed the man for his complicity.

In a healthy society where man/boy relationships didn't have to remain hidden and could be openly revealed, parents would evaluate and judge the man who was in love with their son and, if necessary, reject him. They would have the right to veto his association with their boy—not, of course, because of its sexual element, for this they would consider quite normal and healthy, but because of some character defect in the man which they felt would be detrimental to the boy. In such a world the real power of parents would be much greater than it normally is now, when many boys have to keep their relationships secret.

At present the oppression of a morally condemning society often makes boy-lovers—compelled as they are to hide their sexual inclinations and so driven to promiscuity, threatened as they are with arrest and loss of livelihood—to become nervous, unbalanced and full of internal conflicts, in other words, less able to play a constructive role in the boy's growing up (Matzneff 1977, 142-143). When they are caught and brought to trial, society blames them for the unfortunate personality traits for which itself was responsible. "The day we are free to show openly our affection for the boys and girls we love, we will love them better." (Matzneff 1977, 143).

How much more desirable it would be if society took advantage of the enormous pedagogic potential of boy-love!

188 "A school social worker in a large Northern city was astonished when four brothers all under sixteen years old—young hoodlums, the eldest of whom had been arrested 81 times for stealing, mugging, and other violent offenses against elderly citizens—suddenly calmed down and behaved themselves for two months running. They started attending school regularly and doing good work while there. The social worker reasoned that the explanation must be that some dominant personality had become involved with the young delinquents. Her investigation found that a 'boy-lover' (her term for pederast) had entered into a relationship with the family which was transforming the boys into good citizens. The social worker asked herself: 'Shall I ask the police to tail the man, who is the first constructive influence the boys have let into their lives in two or three years? How important is it to have this type of sex offender arrested, when the result may be a new reign of terror for the elderly of the neighborhood?' " (Rossman 1976, 19-20)

189 In another American city, a man, acting as social worker for the court, achieved miracles in making decent people out of delinquent boys. The community threw a party for him, and at it he was asked to reveal the secret of his success. He was acutely embarrassed, and later he told his wife, "How could I say to them that so many of these boys had been made aggressive and turned criminal by sexual frustration, and that they began to love and trust me only when I began to meet their sexual needs?" Some months later, however, the secret was out. The social worker was sent to prison and the boys resumed their violent activities. This true story was told by an American

professor at an international congress of psychiatrists and lawyers at The Hague in 1981, and it is quite similar to another case cited by Rossman (1976, 55).

How many judges of juvenile courts and non-paedophile pedagogues have been able to make boys quit their criminal gangs and throw away their stilettos, as has Jacques de Brethmas and others like him despite being branded by society as "child molesters" and "corruptors of youth"? (De Brethmas 1980, 42)

190 A German surgeon was aware of the fact that his son was having intimate relations with a youth leader, but he did not interfere. When the boy was about 19 he began to show more interest in girls. These, however, did not have a very good influence upon him. "In the old days when he slept with you he behaved much better," the father complained to the youth leader. (Personal communication)

At an age when the boy is still finding his way in life, he easily patterns his behaviour after the man he loves. Therefore the man should carefully consider what the younger partner (the more unsettled, the more vulnerable) may expect of him. There are boys who, in their contacts with paedophiles, are looking only for the joys of sex, and thus are less inclined to enter into a steady relationship with a man. In such cases there is no good reason why the man, if he is similarly inclined, shouldn't pleasure the boy and make love with him. The boy might very well know that, under these circumstances, the adult will the very next day be similarly united himself with one of his comrades. The boy himself will probably be doing the same thing.

But there are also boys seeking to establish deep companionship in love. Sex, although indispensable, is then of secondary importance. If the man feels unable to respond to the boy's deeper needs he should say so at once. It is dishonest for the man to profit from the willingness of the boy to share his body if he is unwilling to share love with him, too, and give the boy what he is seeking. In such cases the boy's disappointment can be extreme (O'Carroll 1980, 172).

In boy-love, too, the nefarious double standard is sometimes encountered: the man insisting that the boy be sexually faithful, creating terrible scenes of jealous rage when he suspects that the youngster isn't, while at the same time permitting himself all kinds of "adventures" on the side. Here the partners really are unequal in their sexual life, just as with heterosexual couples, especially in former times.

The choice as to whether they will have sex just for pleasure or for both pleasure and love should be considered carefully and made consciously. It should be agreed upon by both partners and be equally binding on each.

The common image of the man subduing the child by the force of his adult dominance in order to "sacrifice the child to his lust" is simply ridiculous, especially in the case of bigger, older boys. Modern youths are hardly docile

and are certainly not easily compelled to perform acts which they consider repellent. If the child doesn't like the situation he is getting into, he just stays away, or runs away (Pieterse 1982, II-53). Even very young children know perfectly well that one word whispered in the ear of their parents, or to a teacher or to the police would put an end to the man's attentions at once. In no way is the child wholly without power.

But in most cases this word is never spoken. Why? Let us turn for explanation to the report of the Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission (a body to whom boy-lovers are ''suspects'' and ''offenders'' and their young friends ''victims''): ''The suspects gave the children attention and affection which was often lacking in their homes because of parental indifference. More than one victim referred to a suspect as his 'best friend...' in fact, often the relationships established with the offenders seemed, at least at the time, to be the only valid relationships many of the victims ever had had.'' (1980, 7) Therefore these ''abused'', ''dominated'', ''piteous'' children don't try to escape from their plight. Therefore, on the contrary, they often bring their comrades to the home where they are welcome (Pieterse 1982, II-22). Therefore, rather than reporting, they hide these relationships from their parents and teachers and refuse to talk to the police.

The fact that children like these relationships is not sufficient, of course, to prove they are beneficial (Möller 1983, 100-101). This point we will take up in Chapter Five. Here our concern is simply whether the child feels happy and free in it or dominated and coerced.

In the case of long-term relationships, where deep friendship exists between man and boy, it is unknown for the boy to complain to a third person (Hennig 1979, 162-163; Schult 1978, 120)

191 The same youth leader mentioned in example 190 told me, ''During the course of my life I had sex, I believe, with about 800 boys. They are all grown up now. Not a single one of them has ever complained about our intimacies or tried to stop my work with young people. Some of the boys in my group rejected my advances, and then, of course, nothing happened.''

In fact only people who do not accept such a refusal and persist in their advances run real risk of having the boy make a complaint. If he does, for the most part it will be his parents he will go to, and parents are the main source of complaints lodged with the police. Otfried Albrecht, analysing ''indecent assault'' upon children from trial records, found that charges were brought by the child's parents in 57.6% of cases, by the police itself in 16.7%, by eye-witnesses in 6.1%, by youth protection authorities in 4.6%, by colleagues of the accused, mother of another child, neighbours, school staff, each 3%, finally by the child himself or his brother, each in 1.5% of the cases (1964, 272).

IV. NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF MAN/BOY RELATIONS

Only rarely do conditions reach the point where the child is forced to physically resist. A child knows perfectly well when he is being humiliated and exploited (Rush 1980, 122). Under certain circumstances a child will tolerate on-going abuse of authority, usually because the man who is supposed to protect him is also the aggressor. We will return to this matter later in this chapter; for the present we must stress again that we are dealing here only with relationships which are carried on with the free consent of the boy.

Is it, then, true that the adult man is invariably the most powerful, the dominant partner? Surely this can only be the case when it is the boy who insists the more strongly upon sexual intimacies. But aren't these exactly the conditions which make the sexual activities in no way objectionable? If it is the man who most desires sex, then one should recall a poem by the Arab Shihab Al-Abchichi:

I'm totally in love with a beggar boy,
But a beggar boy who is so beautiful
That his face is a treasure.
He tells me I'm lowering myself.
This isn't true: it is I who am poor
It is I who begs—for his love.
(Leyland 1977, 128)

The boy is much more in command of the situation than the man (Hannon 1979, 26). A direct or even scornful refusal is very painful. He who needs the contact most has the least real power (O'Carroll 1980, 147, 173).

192 Theo (13 years, 9 months) said that he sometimes misled Bert (35 years, 9 months) and sometimes coerced him when they had sex. In response to the question of when he did that, it appeared that he realised that he could withhold the sexual contact from his older partner and that sex as such could be a tool of power.

"When do you mislead Bert in your love-making?"

"Well, let's say he wants to suck me off or something, and I say it hurts; then I'm tricking him."

"Because it doesn't really hurt?"

"No."

"You also said you sometimes coerced him when you are making love."

"Yes. He'll say, 'Come on, we're going to bed,' and I'll go watch TV or something, and then he'll turn the TV off. And I say, 'If there's no TV I'll go sleep by myself,' and then I get to watch TV a little longer.
(Sandfort 1982, 48-49)

The idea of the helplessly overpowered child, however, was never substantiated when confronted by real research (Sandfort 1981, 57). "Only a person with no experience with children could talk about a youngster's one-sided dependence upon the boy-lover." (Schult 1982, 76)

193 A 12-year-old: "When I'm not in the mood I just don't do it, and then he stops, too." His adult friend: "Of course. I love him too much to do anything else." (Berkel 1978, 27)

194 A ten-year-old in a broadcast interview: "Sometimes I'm not so much in the mood for it, and sometimes I am. Sometimes I am thinking, 'I don't really want to do it.' And then I can just say so and he won't do it." His mother: "He knows quite a bit about sex; when it comes to making love he's quite aware of what goes on. So he's perfectly capable of deciding how far he wants to go, and I believe he really does decide how far he'll go or not go. I don't need to interfere." (Sandfort 1979, 125)

195 (Continued from 94) Conny, looking back at the long-standing relationship which he, at 12, had had with Jan, said later, at age 16, "I felt quite free when we were together. I could do, or not do, just what I wanted. He never condescended to me. I saw him as the kind of friend you'll never find again." (Fuss & Goslinga 1976, 72)

196 (Continued from 155) Thomas gives a good explanation of how his relationship with his young friend was shaped: "Yes, we played tennis a lot, we went to movies, to concerts. I was very tractable. A little bit of a grandfather. He decided what we were going to do, because to me it was enough just to be with him. To be with him anywhere where he felt fulfilled and was happy (...) I always let them be completely free, just so I can be with them and they are happy. I let them carry on any activity they want."

"Did you ever feel that these decisions limited *your* freedom?"

"No, because actually the choice is always mine. If, for instance, he tells me he wants to see a movie, I choose the movie. And if I want to go to a concert I take into account his tastes and my tastes both and choose accordingly.

"Do you choose or does he?"

"We consider both of our tastes. He decides the kind of thing we are going to do and I decide how we're going to do it."
(Hennig 1979, 143)

Sandfort analysed 25 cases of 10-16-year-old boys involved in sexually expressed friendships. They associated with their relationships such affective concepts as "fine", "jolly", "content", "free", and, slightly less often, "safe". Negative feelings were seldom associated with the sexual activities, and when they were they related to fear of discovery, etc., never to the sex itself. This fear, incidentally, tends to make man and boy feel like accomplices and increases their sense of equality (Schérer & Hocquenghem 1976, 34).

The ancient Greeks had a far clearer idea of what happens in such relationships than many a modern child psychologist worrying about the oppression of the boy. They conceived of the beautiful boy as a lion and the man as his prey (Dover 1978, 58). Plato confessed he felt this way (Koch-Harnack 1983, 200). On Attic vases the loving man "is nearly always represented as a supplicating figure standing with bent knees in front of the boy he admires and gripping the boy's chin and genitals entreatingly." (Koch-Harnack 1983, 52, 68) Some of these drawings show the boy apparently

accepting the man's courtship and exhibiting his naked beauty; some, on the other hand, show him refusing, with such written comments as ''Leave me alone'' or ''Stop'', with the boy covering his genitals (Koch-Harnack 1983, 53, 72, 75-76). Zeus may have been frequently unfaithful to Hera but he never was to Ganymede; in fact he never dared contradict the boy (Buffière 1980, 357). On a stamnos in Oxford Ganymede, opening wide his cloak, exhibits his naked body to Zeus who is kneeling devotedly in front of him (Koch-Harnack 1983, 233-234). Xenophon deplores the boy's presumptuous attitude which stems from the youngster's sense of superiority (Koch-Harnack 1983, 220). There are many epigrams about a man being enslaved by the boy he loves. We will cite just one, by Meleagros:

> ''I was still untouched by love, but suddenly Myiskos, with his eyes, shot his arrow straight into my heart, and cried, 'See how I break his pride, and the fierce regal wisdom of his face I trample in the dust with my feet!' When I could breathe again I said, 'What do you want of me, my beloved? Didn't Eros make even Zeus step down from Olympus?' ''
> *(Anthologia Graeca xii, 101)*

Two thousand years later we hear this echoed by the English poet Nicholson rhapsodising about his beloved Victor: ''I can be his slave, and he'll behave as Prince with charming grace.'' (D'Arch Smith 1970, 128)

''The boys usually control these relationships. Both in initiating them and in continuing them. They control what kind of sexual acts are performed, they control when the sex will take place, and they have just as much control as the man over when the relationship will end. These are probably among the most democratic of all relationships, despite the age disparities and the risks for the man,'' says Thorstad (1981, 21), a founding member of NAMBLA. In a case study published by Wilson & Cox (1983, 78), the man declares, ''All my kids have one word they can use with me, 'no', and if they say 'no', that's it, and they know this. They can use the veto if they want to.'' Sandfort's research in many instances confirmed such assertions. Some examples from his research into what adults told him:

197 Jan: ''Sometimes I'm in the mood to have a nice session in bed with him. But when he's not in the mood, then, of course, it doesn't happen. However, when he's in the mood and I'm not, I do what he wants.''

Frans: ''I propose and he decides. He sets the limits.''

Mark: ''What takes place depends on the child.''

Ton: ''He basically decides what will happen and how far we'll go. I can try to persuade him, at least very cautiously, like, 'Maybe we can go just a little farther...' But if he says 'no', it is no.''

''Isn't this hard on you?''

> "No. Well, yes, at times, in certain situations, I have the feeling he's deceiving me a bit. But I respect it. It's his choice. I think you just have to adjust to this."

So it is the boy in such relationships who decides whether sex will take place and, if so, what kind of acts he wants, permits or rejects (Sandfort 1980, 190, 194). It is of utmost importance that the boy be able to order the man to stop doing something he doesn't like.

198 John Valentine, an American boy-lover, says on this point, "Every time I have ever been offered genuine resistance, I have withdrawn. Whenever I have been told, 'Stop that'—alas—I have stopped. I'm easily deterred. I suspect this is true of most people, certainly for most people in my field. A resistance that doesn't stop *me* needs redefining." (1972, 22)

The reader who keeps in mind what was said in Chapter Two about the paramount importance for the boy-lover of the boy's pleasure in sex will understand how any other response would be in flagrant contradiction to this. If a particular sex act disgusts the boy and deprives him of all the pleasant feelings he should be experiencing, the act is not suitable for the loving man to perform. This is another guarantee of the younger partner's freedom of decision.

Sandfort found that the picture he formed from the adult partner, and had confirmed later by the boy, of their sexual contacts did not in the least coincide with the usual picture psychologists and psychiatrists have drawn for us in their professional reports. It is a pity that these people (and all others who present the theoretical figments of their imaginations as fact) are never present when a man and his young friend go to bed together. A look at what happens there, and how it happens, could dispel a lot of mental fog.

Modern youth is not so sweet and docile as to put up with everything adults want to do with him. "They have bad manners and despise all authority. They don't respect older people. They would rather chatter than learn. At home, children today are tyrants rather than servants." This complaint was made by Socrates, who died in 399 BC (quoted by Hoffmeyer 1971, I-232). It would seem that youth (and it's elderly judges) have changed little in the course of 23 centuries!

The criticism of dominating the child and restricting his freedom, made so unjustly of boy-lovers, should be turned instead against those who utter it. With all of their laws and prohibitions, they undeniably protect the child's freedom to say 'no' to any sexual approach—and we cannot criticise them for that—but they deprive him of the parallel freedom, the right to say 'yes'! They have given the child freedom only in a negative sense (Baurmann 1983, 53-54). "It is simply assumed that children cannot give consent to a sexual act and that any such act is always harmful. However, this view is irrational and oppressive."

(Haeberle 1978, 355) Parents are not allowed to cut off their son's hand, so why are they permitted to cut off his sexuality? (Duvert 1980, 126)

"It is incredible. In our society a 14-year-old is forbidden to make love with whom he wants, and if, despite the prohibition, this accidentally happens, everything is done to persuade him that he was coerced by a wicked man and that, in order to punish this criminal, he should report him, lodge a complaint and sue him for damages. If laws are to be consistent they must be logical too. If a boy is incapable of giving his consent, why, then is he capable of refusing his consent? Why won't people listen to him when he says, 'I wanted it,' just as they listen to him when he says, 'I didn't want it'?" (Boulin 1977, 183-184)

The child under the legal age of consent is not free; he is subject to anti-sexual force. When boy-lovers fight to set him free, to emancipate him, they are accused of being hypocrites, of not really caring about the child's freedom, only their own freedom to seduce children without being threatened by the law. This accusation is hardly based upon reason, for the emancipated child is much more capable of rejecting an unwelcome approach than is the "properly educated", disciplined child who has been brought up to obey and so doesn't dare cross his uncle, the family friend, his teacher, scout master, football coach (Duvert 1980, 169-170; Constantine 1981, 240; Wright 1980, 107. 109; Geiser 1979, 163; Baurmann 1979, 106).

An experienced psychiatrist, Dr. Maas, once observed in this connection: "I believe that children, in knowing what is beneficial to them, err less than adults. I also believe that most children experience these things without being compelled. Compulsion and aggression do exist, of course, but they are in no way characteristic of paedophilia." (Rogier 1973, 48)

Not all of his colleagues would share his opinion. There are psychiatrists—and lawyers who prepare legislation have taken their side—who claim that consent by the child is impossible and so this possibility does not have to be taken into consideration. The child is simply not able to give consent; any *apparent* consent he might give is invalid, thus sexual activity with a child of any kind is equivalent to rape. One could even say that it's worse where the child actually gives what he believes to be his consent, for this proves to what extent the poor victim has been mentally corrupted by the perpetrator. It is not denied that children often actually seduce adults and solicit sexual activity, but this only shows to what an extent they must already have been traumatised, manipulated. No child really wants sex with an adult, according to these psychiatrists; even if the boy says 'yes' what he really means is 'no'.

At this point the discussion becomes rather comic. First, the child *couldn't* have said 'yes'. Then, when it appeared that he actually had said 'yes', he *couldn't* have been expressing his real feelings (Sebbar 1980, 291-292). And the child is subject to all this disbelief only so that he might be honoured and his liberty defended. Out of our profound respect for the child we cannot believe

anything he says. Only when he accuses a man is the child speaking the truth. When he is a witness for the defence he lies. So we can see that every declaration of the child is manipulated by such psychiatrists in order to make it conform to their preconceived theories. And they call this defending the child against the manipulation of his consent!

One psychiatrist of this species quite seriously said that in a perfect world every child would have at his side his own psychiatrist to interpret what he said (Dolto 1979, 71, 74, 80-81, 84). An ideal world indeed... for psychiatrists!

"The Child Is Manipulated"

This is not to say, however, that children cannot be manipulated. They can, even grossly so. Research shows that young people often just copy the opinions on many subjects of their parents. A majority say they are in favour of the family system, even when their families oppress them—and a few even say that their parents give them too much freedom and they would like to be subject to more discipline (Schérer 1979, 148-150; Instituut voor Toegepaste Sociologie 1977, 101). In Chapter Three we have already described sex-negative indoctrination and the feelings of anxiety it causes. There are few things sadder than the sight of children cruelly and systematically battered by their parents declaring that they brought the punishment on themselves by their bad and annoying behaviour. Certainly in bringing up a child a great deal of manipulation is used, and this is generally accepted. Only when the manipulation concerns sex is it suddenly perceived to be so detrimental to his well-being.

And yet nowhere else may it be so unsuccessful. Research by the American psychologist Joan Esserman on the effectiveness of television programs showed that children were not so easily influenced in matters of taste. The enormous popularity of Popeye never induced many children to like spinach. Similarly it is not possible for a man to convince a boy that sexual contact with him would be pleasant if the boy doesn't already think so himself. He would either find it to his taste, like ice-cream, or not so, like spinach. No ruse, no manipulation will be successful in changing his taste.

199 Jean-Claude (34 years old), one of Leonetti's subjects, declares: "I have had sex with about 150 boys. With some my friendships extended over ten years. I can state unequivocably that none were one-sided. You always hear—this is pure pretence on the part of psychiatrists, doctors and judges—that the children are subjected to pressure. Based on my experience I can say this is absolutely untrue. Even if you are a teacher, as I was, and you invite a pupil over to visit you, he may come one time, but if he doesn't like it there he won't come back. If he does return it is because he feels a need to do so. Children experience their sexuality in a passive manner, and thus the sexual relationship enables them to discover their body and their sexuality. If you respect this,

> you limit yourself to fondling them, because they really desire nothing else.'' (Leonetti 1978, 163-164)

Wilson and Cox quote Rex, a boy-lover: '' 'Children know instinctively what is good for them, and therefore a paedophilic relationship is hardly likely to be psychologically damaging. The child must be respected and allowed to take any initiative he wants to.' Rex views the child as a person rather than a 'mere child' and the paedophilic relationship as a two-way situation with both parties contributing and benefiting.'' (1983, 73)

In everyday life adults frequently show little enough concern over whether the child will consent to something or not. They say, ''You're going to do this!'' ''Parents especially are prone to confuse their right to voice their own convictions with the right to impose these upon their offspring; their right to live according to their own convictions with their right to compel their children to live according to them too. With no other alternative than to live with their family, subject to parental control, parental will, parental ethics and life style, dependent upon family circumstances, culture, religious beliefs, ideals, prejudices, hatreds, intents, children see themselves permanently subject to unlimited compulsion. Were they not under such pressure, threatened with deprivation of love or food, blackmailed about their futures and given an occasional box on the ears, what really would be left of one's right to bring up one's children in the way one would wish?'' (Duvert 1980, 122)

Modern education, Duvert says elsewhere with biting sarcasm, maintains ''that in a democracy everybody is entitled to the free development of his own personality, but that—if you wish to be happy and develop yourself properly—it is better to behave just like everyone else. A twisted mind like mine, however, turns up a number of interesting implications of this truth. If a man whose tendencies deviate from those of the others is rejected by them, this means that such properly developed people (going along with the crowd) enjoy persecuting those who behave differently. A curious demonstration of their proper development! Consequently it is necessary for happiness to destroy others and to value a person as the better developed, balanced and normal to the degree that he is intolerant, malevolent, discriminating and stupid. Is it because the majority really has discovered the key to happiness that you have to behave like everybody, or simply because of its brutal dominance that an outside position inflicts more suffering than a position within? The educators keep silent on this question. But they use words like equality, health, justice, liberty, wisdom; they tell us on which side you'll find these virtues; they tell us which side has the unexpected right to treat other people brutally and without mercy; but they don't tell us that the key to human happiness, in any society where you may live, consists in belonging to the least intelligent crowd, in howling with the worst wolves in the wood, and in rallying to the side of the strong. They don't

dare say this openly, but their pupils understand them well enough.'' (Duvert 1976, 209-210)

Jacques de Brethmas dreams of a children's revolution: ''How many lashes of the whip, how many blows, how much more caning will there have to be before this happens? How much thrashing, go-to-bed-without-your-supper, don't touch your thing!, how many hostile teachers, long hours of being kept after school or even of confinement, of being ordered to stand at attention 'in shorts in the snow', of fingers cracked with a ruler, of early masses before day-break on an empty stomach in a cold chapel, of being tortured by having to kneel on a ruler, of having to make humiliating confessions, of degrading penances, of 'Don't do this; don't do that!', of 'Do what your father does,' of 'Get your hair cut,' of 'Can't you behave like other people!', of 'That's for grown-ups, not children,' of 'Say good morning nicely to Mrs. X,'; how much more moral crippling, injured self-respect, humiliation, abuse of power?'' (1980, 180)

Rousseau was the godfather of our pedagogical thinking. In his *Emile* he told teachers, ''Let the child feel that he is weak and that you are strong, that because of his circumstances and yours he is of necessity entirely at your mercy; let him know this, let him learn this, let him feel this, let him experience early in life upon his resisting shoulders the hard yoke nature places upon mankind, the heavy yoke of necessity under which every mortal being must toil...; a 'no!' should be a brass barrier against which he may waste his energy five or six times trying to defy and then never try again.'' (quoted by Schérer 1974, 21-22)

Would things be different after the decline of the bourgeoisie, the fall of capitalistic society? It is said that Makarenko, the leading pedagogue of Soviet Russia, based his educational principles entirely on prison regulations (Schérer 1974, 46).

René Schérer says modern middle-class society put together a concept of the child as a mixture of infantilism, subjectivity, cruelty, arbitrary behaviour, complacency, forcing senseless tastes upon others and manic repetition. And so this pedagogic philosopher distrusts the motives of those who work in this disagreeable field: they are either people luxuriating in their power or dominance over lesser and immature creatures, or child-lovers. Sometimes they are both. ''Any desire to educate is a perverted paederastic desire.'' (1974, 192, 195)

To what extent is the liberty of the child respected at home, at school, in religious instruction, by the law? The child is often ordered about in the cruelest way (Kameneff 1979, 93). Children are perceived and treated as their parents' property, even if the father no longer has the right, as he did in Roman antiquity, to sell them into slavery or to kill them (Borneman 1978, 1032, 1042). It is only in his relationship with a loving man that the boy can say, ''I don't want to know you any more.'' ''Inside the strictures of the family and the state the child has no power of consent or dissent. (...) Yet they can cry 'abuse of power'

at an adult with whom the child can actually choose to see or not to see, to know or not to know, to love or not to love. A strange logic.'' (CAPM 1980, 25)

It is always supposed that an adult involved in an educational association with young people is able to maintain his superiority in a responsible way. Only where sex comes into the picture is this thought impossible (Sandfort 1980, 195). Why? Perhaps because the relationship of the heterophile adult to a boy is always one of dominance; therefore such an adult simply cannot imagine a situation in which a loving man can deal with his young friend without resorting to power (Duvert 1980, 144).

Young people themselves are less concerned, even in situations where the adult partner has considerable authority over the younger and might easily abuse it. In an inquiry among French grammar school pupils it appeared that over 78% of them saw no objection to love relationships between teachers and students (Schérer 1979, 103).

200 Twelve-year-old Frank said: ''The swimming instructor had touched my penis several times under the water. Later he came into my cubicle and locked the door from the inside. We took off our swimming trunks and compared our penises. His was larger; he showed me how it looked when he drew back the foreskin. Then he asked me if I knew how you 'did it' with yourself. I told him not exactly. So he showed me how you rubbed your penis with your hand in order to make it come. I tried that, but nothing came out. I was real disappointed, and he told me he couldn't understand it because I already had hair down there. Then he took me to his home. There we undressed and he started doing it to me, and suddenly I came. I was glad and I asked him to do it again right away. But he laughed and told me you couldn't come again so soon afterwards. He now wanted to put his penis in my arse; I wouldn't let him do that, but I did let him put it between my legs until he came (Stieber 1971, 52).

201 Vincent, a 19-year-old German boy who spent his whole childhood in youth homes, wrote, ''I was beaten often, right up until I was sixteen, but even worse was the humiliation I endured at 13 or 14 from the Sisters. Sister Theresa, the head nun, always watched when I took a shower. The hot water usually gave me a quick hard-on, and then her face would go red. She always checked me over for dirt. One time she found some—I hadn't washed my neck—and she took me to the bath tub, with me thinking, 'Just like a little boy!' There she gave me a good scrubbing—after locking the door. She was just horny because I had a long cock. Afterwards she grabbed a sponge. 'Stand up, boy!'—I can still hear her saying it. She kept rubbing me with this real soapy sponge between my legs. She was doing it from behind me and she kept touching my thing, and it went stiffer than hell. Then she said, 'Now, turn around, boy!' I found this terribly embarrassing. 'Come on, turn around. You don't have to be ashamed, not when you're in a home.' I turned around, and when she saw my long hard-on she ran away, crossed herself and roared, 'Now into the shower! Right away!' Even after I'd rinsed off her face was red with fear. Then she asked me whether I had unchaste thoughts and whether I did it to myself very often. I didn't want to answer. So she gave me a beating. I just accepted it. Because I thought if I fought back they'd just send me to another home, which would be worse and a long ways away from my

friends. She made me hop to her like a frog. She said, 'Come here. Quick!' I was still naked. She took up a thick stick and said, 'This will drive away your sins.' I had to bend over the bathtub and got ten cuts on my bare arse. I'll never forget that shitty nun. Afterwards we got male teachers. They couldn't control us without beatings, either.''

Vincent gives some examples of this treatment and we will return to them later in the chapter. Finally a new teacher came to the home. ''He became my friend. We called him Timmy. He was the one who set me free. When he had dormitory duty one night he took me from my cubicle and led me to his room. I was just 16 but I'd never had any experience of this sort, so I was enormously curious to see just what he would do. It was love right from the beginning. We immediately started kissing, fondling. I promised not to tell anyone, and he promised my life in the home would be better from now on. Pretty soon he told me, 'Vincent, I love you so much, will you do something for me just out of love?' I said I would gladly. Then he said, 'I would like to see you completely naked.' He was wearing corduroy trousers and he made me sit naked on his knees. He fondled me and said, 'You have a nice long cock, my boy.' He wanted to suck it, and that was very sexy. We had from one o'clock to five to ourselves. He went to the bathroom and returned with a handful of cold cream. He kept asking, 'Do you love me? Can you keep a secret?' Then he really started in. 'Kneel upon my bed, with your head down and your behind in the air.' I did as I was told. He saw some weals on my buttocks and said, 'You'll never be beaten with the stick again.' This was all terribly exciting to me, and I wanted to abandon myself to him out of love. Since I had just turned 16 and was still really naive, he went about it very carefully. (...) I felt exactly how Timmy spread my buttocks with two fingers and put one finger of the other hand into my opening, getting everything nice and greasy. This was terribly exciting, very sexy, and it went on for quite a while. I had to keep my arse high, and this was quite a turn-on for him. He whispered, 'Don't worry about anything. Just think about love, Vincent, my dear pupil!' I'll never forget that night. I saw my teacher also had a nice long cock, for suddenly he too had undressed. Then he put it into me, whispering, 'Oh, my dear, dear boy, sweet lad, oh how I love you! How I love fucking you!' It was a delicious experience. I'll never forget it. He repeated it twice, once with me bending over, once with my legs over my head.

It happened another time when I had to clean his room. I now had love instead of lashes, and my first friend. From then on everything went well for me in that home. Isn't this maybe one way to teach? If the teacher is acting with love he won't have to beat his pupils very much; if he has love he won't need a stick. After this happened with Timmy I became a model student. He passed the word to all of the other teachers, and nobody hurt me any more. They didn't have the faintest idea how he'd gotten the result he had. I was completely under his spell—and he fucked me many, many times! Being fucked made me come, too—and very nicely. It's all a great mystery, but I remember it with enormous pleasure, this teacher who was so good to me. He took me under his wing, and then everything went O.K. I did everything I did out of love for him...'' (Personal Communication)

Such relationships, however, can create substantial problems. If a youth leader starts a love affair with a boy who is a member of his group and the two of them are unable to hide their feelings, the other boys can become so angry and

jealous that they turn on their mate and make his life miserable, and the leader, too, can experience a lessening of his authority. Such situations in educational institutions, borstals, reform schools, etc. require a great deal of discretion. The inmates are for the most part starved for affection; they long for tenderness and love. An encounter with a boy-lover teacher may, as Straver and Geeraert (1980, 111) affirm, "be, for them, a positive experience, a rich educational experience." On a daily basis miracles occur: boys long regarded as problem children suddenly start behaving, going back to school, regaining their sense of confidence, becoming happy, losing their aggression—only because they have found a man responsive to their need for tenderness. But the group leader is faced with the problem of how not to neglect the others and not let the beloved boy manage to dominate him in a dangerous way. Many make the mistake of treating their loved ones either too leniently or too strictly. Long neglected boys loose the capacity to establish proper human relationships; they simply cannot deal with such a situation; they are liable to act in ways that appear to adults as guileful and disloyal. For how can anybody be loyal who has never experienced loyalty?

We have seen, then, that the usual blanket objections to man/boy relationships are invalid. There are, nevertheless, situations which can render them risky or even undesirable. We will now examine a few of them.

Circumstances Which Cause Concern

Incest

A special case of problems arising in connection with authority is incest: sexual relations with members of the family. Incest is often called the last and strongest taboo. Yet all students of the subject agree that in the real world it is not all that rare (Geisler 1959, 5; Wegner, 38; Righton 1981, 30; Taylor 1981, 11). But there is often only silence surrounding its occurrence. This silence favours its frequency and impedes its detection (Geisler 1979, 47; Walters 1982, 56; Maisch 1968, 63; Baurmann 1963, 656-666; Linedecker 1981, 94-95; Janus 1981, 128; Hearings of Subcommittee on Crime 1977, 362).

This phenomenon was recognised as long ago as in Greek Antiquity. The poet Strato addressed a handsome boy:

Hello! Who crowned you with roses?
Your lover? How fortunate, then, he is!
Or was it your father?
Well, he too has an eye for beauty!
(*Anthologia* XXII, 189)

"The number of undiscovered sexual relations between kindred is very high. Incest may be taboo, but it is a taboo violated on all social levels to an enormous degree." (Stieber 1971, 1960; Nelson 1981, 164, 172) American statistics have unveiled the fact that 25% of all children have incestuous contacts in their homes (Kurier 13 Jan, 1984).

Where, as in contemporary society, the family as an institution is so hotly defended and such bitter struggles are fought for its preservation, the reason might well be that it is the last refuge where a sensual relationship with a child is still possible (Schérer 1979, 175). For many adults it is absolutely necessary to be tender with children, and here it is permitted. Children respond avidly (Summit & Kryso 1981, 113). In the beginning they see no difference between culturally acceptable expressions of tenderness and sexuality—simply because they have no well-defined concept of sexuality. "The consciousness of being a desired sexual object by no means always upsets children or makes them ashamed," is the opinion of many psychiatrists, says Stieber (1971, 162). Actually a child just doesn't see himself as a "sexual object". He becomes aware that he is "desired", and that is sufficient. Nor is it true that parent-child incest indicates a breakdown of family discipline. Theoretically the one would seem to follow the other, but in the real world this fear has proven to be unfounded (Symonds 1981, 160-161).

Let us summarise Stieber, omitting his description of the emotional aspects, as he follows the usual evolution of an incestuous relationship. 1) Seduction, playful caresses, initiating all kinds of sexual activities up to complete sexual intercourse. 2) A pause of one to three months. Renewed impulse to come together again, resumption of sexual activities which become less inhibited even if there are still moral reservations. 3) A short pause, during which both parties desire a resumption of activities; when this happens the child for the first time participates actively. 4) Ever more frequent activities, desired by both partners. The child is now sexually conscious and satisfied. 5) Ever greater intimacy and often real love-making, until all acts are explored. This close relationship may last for several years. 6) The child finds a "normal" lover and suddenly turns away from the partner, who becomes obnoxious to the child in scenes of jealousy. Finally there is betrayal; often a complaint is lodged; it may even end in murder or suicide (1971, 164-166)

If we reflect for a moment on this recital, we are struck by the fact that nowhere is the situation considered tragic or horrid except in the final phase. But here Stieber is caught in his own contradictions: if, as he maintains, there is "an enormous amount of incest on all social levels", there would also be, assuming phase 6 is commonly reached, a deluge of jealous fights, complaints, murders and suicides. Actually statistics show no great quantity of such complaints. So it is best to confine ourselves to an examination of phases one to five.

Again, there is nothing horrid here. And so we can understand why, during the international "Symposium on Family Sexuality" held in 1980 at the University of Minnesota, researchers James Ramey, Warren Farrell and Joan Nelson advocated a revision of traditional opinion on this matter and said it was not realistic to put every case of incest on par with child abuse. Their research had shown that 80% of the people concerned had positive memories. An American sexologist told his colleagues he was very disturbed to discover in his research that many benefits, in fact, ensued from incestuous relationships. Recent research, then, shows that there is no reason to view incest in itself as very different from any other kind of sexual relationship; it is neither more nor less damaging than intercourse with persons not belonging to the family; everything depends upon the conditions under which it all takes place (Constantine 1981, 238).

It is rather the *fear* of incest which creates havoc. Helmut Ostermeyer, a judge from 1952 on, juvenile judge for ten years and, since 1977, a judge for family affairs, wrote: "lack of sexual knowledge and inhibitions between adults and children result from an age-old tradition of suppressing impulses. Masturbation is no longer prohibited, but the natural physical tenderness and attraction between parents and children is still universally repressed and put under the incest taboo. (...) If we don't eradicate the taboo on the incest complex we will never have a trouble-free sexual evolution." (Ostermeyer 1978, 126). We have already cited Wainwright Churchill's opinion (1967, 160) that the emotional coldness and hardness of American boys is due to the homophobia of American men; fathers are fearful of touching, let alone hugging, their sons and so giving them the tenderness they need to grow into loving, feeling human beings (cf. Gundersen *et al.* 1981, 51).

And yet "it is quite common and probably normal for parents occasionally to have sexual feelings for their children. The younger they are, the more most children need, and provoke, loving physical contact, which at moments may become eroticised for the parents." (Janus 1981, 105; Martinson 1981, 4) "All parents, at some time, and at some level of consciousness or unconsciousness, have experienced sexual feelings toward an opposite-sex child." (Hass 1979, 164) Wolters, a Dutch psychologist, thinks it is of utmost importance to make it clear to parents that they may have physical and sexual sensations in their daily contact with their children (1982, 24). Françoise Dolto, a well-known French psychiatrist, states as fact that many mothers (and at times the grandparents or the father) can, strictly speaking, be called pederasts in their behaviour towards their offspring (quoted by Schérer 1978, 42). It is not rare for mothers to experience complete orgasm from their babies' breast-suckling; many feel troubled and guilty over this quite normal phenomenon (Haeberle 1978, 87; Möller 1983, 19; Bieber 1962, 52; Cohen-Matthysen 1982 37;

Presland 1981, 77). Freud caused a scandal by declaring that he saw little difference between parental love and sexual love and by describing the child's affection for those who attend to his needs as essentially sexual (Borneman 1978, 514; Freud 1920, 92).

The interdiction of incest is strongest against parent-child relations and weakest against sexual contacts between brothers, a very common occurrence (Barrington 1981, 125-126). In the Yankowski research not less than 62% of the male subjects reported having made sexual experiments with a brother (1965, 93). Only 22% of a sample of boys reported it as unpleasant (Finkelhor 1981, 139). The best description in fictional literature of such a love between older and younger brothers was given by Agustín Gomez-Arcos in his novel *L'agneau carnivore* (1975). See also Wood and Geasland's *Twins* (1977).

202 Wegner (1953, 38) reports the case of a 17-year-old boy who performed anal intercourse upon his 10-year-old brother in the presence of their 13-year-old sister. The girl then asked him to do the same to her, and he had intercourse with her while the younger boy looked on.

203 In the February 1982 issue of *Fag Rag* a 35-year-old married man, father of a 13-year-old son, told of his early sexual experiences with five of his six brothers. The first time was when he was 12 years old. His 19-year-old soldier brother was taking a shower and caught him peeking. "His cock was the biggest I'd ever seen—over 13 inches long and 8 inches around. 'You tryin' to get a look at my dick?' I said nothing. I was pretty scared by now. He stared at me for a few minutes before I realised that he was getting hard. He then straddled my face, sitting on my chest and pinning my arms with his thighs. His dick was just touching my face without him even moving forward. He rubbed his dick across my lips, telling me to open my mouth. I refused and he gently but firmly put his hand behind my head and pushed my face into his groin. I remember how clean but special (unique?) the aroma was. His cock was roaring hard by now. He pulled my head back and pushed his cock in my mouth. I didn't resist this time. I could only get a few inches in my mouth. He stroked it just a few times and suddenly came in my mouth. (...) I loved it and wanted more. (...) After the 1st sexual encounter, he was warm and protective. Before the sex he was indifferent."

Melanie Klein, the famous child psychiatrist, thinks that sex play between siblings has a positive influence on their further evolution (Baurmann 1983, 168). This is confirmed by Finkelhor (1981, 143) and Symonds (1981, 157).

There are few reliable data on sex between mother and son (Baurmann 1983, 65; Geiser 1979, 43), but its frequent occurrence in fiction shows its general appeal. It is an important part of the cults of most matriarchal religions and of Greek mythology (Borneman 1978, 665, 670, 809, 810, 891, 892). Janus (1982, 134) mentions a "case of a father forcing a son to copulate with his mother while the father watches." The Amsterdam Children's Telephone over a period of 29 weeks in 1984 had 675 emergency calls about incest, 27 from boys. Of

these, 12 had been abused by their mothers, 11 by a sister and one by his father (Scheepmaker 1985). Louis Malle's movie *Le souffle au coeur* (1971) portrays mother-son incest as a tender secret and wonderful initiation of a 15-year-old boy. In an inquiry into cases of incest in upper-class families, 26 instances of mother-son relations were reported by the 109 subjects (Symonds *et al.* 1981, 154).

This form of incest was common among the nobility during the Middle Ages (Armand 1931, 158), and in some parts of Indonesia (for example, the Kalang on Java) and Africa (Taite) it still receives moral approval (Van Camp 1983, 81; Bloch 1912, 56).

"For the very reason that she is the original love object of all her children, it is easy for a mother to go on to bind a young son close to her in an erotic liaison which appears to be 'normal' mother love." (Janus 1981, 94) In a famous English court case, the mother declared, "If it is necessary for a boy to do such things, it is better that he does so at home." (Borneman 1978, 667) In other instances mothers have justified their relations with their 14-year-old sons as "sexual instruction". (Symonds 1981, 160)

204 Walter, a 16-year-old, told how, as a very small child, he was given to his grandparents to bring up when his mother, after her divorce, remarried and went to live in Australia. She returned to Germany on leave at the time of his 15th birthday. "My mother at first seemed like a stranger to me. She looked very young despite her 40 years, but we liked each other right from the start. The first night we slept in the same room at grandmother's house and she whispered to me to come to her bed. I got up, went to her and asked what she wanted. She then embraced me and kissed me. I kissed her, too, without thinking about it, just as any boy might do who hadn't seen his mother for such a long time. But suddenly she drew me to her under the covers. Her hand sought my member. She caressed me there over and over again, until I completely lost my self-control. We had intercourse, and I did it three times. From then on I lived with my mother like husband and wife—and without my grandmother having the least suspicion. Neither my mother nor I ever forced each other. Quite the contrary: by afternoon we could hardly restrain ourselves. Finally it would be night and time for bed. (...) Throughout her entire visit, which lasted about nine months, we did it with each other... how often?... nearly every night."

Ultimately the affair was discovered and the mother was sentenced to two years of imprisonment. (Stieber 1971, 35)

If a mother is deeply involved with her child this is generally thought to be in her child's best interest. The moment, however, sex is involved, everybody is convinced of the opposite. Why this exception? (Bendig 1979, 11) The child for his part often responds to his mother's care with overt sexual excitement.

205 "I started masturbating when I was ten or eleven, and I remember clearly getting

erections in the water while my mother and aunt were bathing me, and yet it didn't bother them.'' (Janus 1981, 97)

206 ''I can remember once when I was very little lying in bed with my mother, holding her, and feeling myself get an erection. (...) I wasn't even ten years old, but she didn't seem to mind at all; she just hugged me and kept me with her that night the same as always.'' (Janus 1981, 101)

The taboo on mother/son incest is stronger than on father/daughter relations (Borneman 1978, 669; Fraser 1981, 48). In some cultures the latter is a legal obligation: the father has to deflower his daughter before marriage (Maisch 1968, 24). For the purposes of this book, relations between father and son, doubly tabooed, are especially important. They are generally held to be much less frequent (Fisher & Howell 1970), but a distinguished student in this field, Prof. Van der Kwast, believed they were less rare than is commonly supposed (1970, 93). In Germany 5% of reported incest cases fall into this category (Geiser 1979, 45). This opinion is shared by Dixon (Fraser 1981, 49-50; Barrington 1981, 108). An analysis of 100 child abuse cases in California revealed that 14 of them concerned boys, and 12 of these boys had had relations with their fathers or stepfathers (Linedecker 1981, 98).

For some fathers the gender doesn't seem important. In one case a father had sex with all of his seven children: three sons and four daughters, their mother being fully aware of all that went on (Van Camp 1983, 90). But the father/son relationship is in general markedly different from father/daughter incest, for in the latter the girl is usually a substitute, which points toward a pseudo paedophile situation (Lochtenberg 1981, 4; Sandfort 1980, 185). If we overlook his biased terminology and emotive judgements we could agree with Stieber when he writes: ''No father freely abandons his incest victim. There is a real difference here with other seducers of the young who, after a certain length of time or upon the young person reaching a certain age, show no further interest in their victims.'' (1971, 166) Few fathers or mothers are real paedophiles, therefore the sexual attraction inspired by their offspring will tend to increase with the opposite-sex child's growing up. Father/son incest, on the other hand, might more often be caused by real boy-love and will thus lessen as the son grows older. This may have been the case with the erotic attraction Thomas Mann felt for his 15-year-old son Klaus (Nugteren 1983, 71).

Dr. Bernard quotes a 12-year-old who told him, ''If my father did it with me I wouldn't mind at all, but I wouldn't like to do it with my mother.'' (1979, 18) A highly intelligent, sturdy and sport-minded German 15-year-old told me that he would like to have sex with both of his parents, since as far as he was concerned this was the most wonderful expression of love.

Some examples:

207 A Los Angeles father fought against his increasing desire to have sex with his son. He resolved his conflict by visiting a boy's brothel and, while satisfying his needs, fantasised that it was his own son he was embracing.

208 G. A. Awad saw a Canadian 14-year-old whose father had sex with him three times over a period of a month and a half. The activities varied from fondling of the genitals to anal intercourse, which the boy permitted. Each time the father had been drunk; with the loosening of his inhibitions, long-repressed sexual tendencies asserted themselves (1976, 78).

Another instance is Barrington (1981, 26).

209 Fraser (1981, 43) mentions a case in which a father had anal intercourse with his 10-year-old son, who had crawled into his bed, as well as an older son. Geiser (1979, 70) cites a case of a boy being anally used by his father and five brothers.

210 Ernest discovered the following graffiti in French public toilets: "I am a widower, 33 years old. For the last three years I have been sleeping with my son; he is now 14. In bed he is truly a woman." "I'm 34. I jerk off and suck off my 14-year-old son. He comes into my mouth four times a day. I swallow every bit of it. Yesterday I fucked him." Whether fact or fiction, such texts bear witness to real desires (1979, 198).

211 An English Lord was prostrated with grief when his beloved wife died in an auto accident. Their only child, a 15-year-old boy, returned from his school for the funeral. The next night the son was unable to sleep, so he stepped into the bathroom for a glass of water, and there he heard his father sobbing. He went to his father and crawled into bed and tried to console him. Both habitually slept in the nude so both were now naked. In the tenderness of his son's embrace the father found himself becoming sexually aroused—and so did the son. Their caresses became more and more intimate and impassioned until they finally climaxed in orgiastic fusion. This experience was so enthralling for both of them that they regularly repeated it, so forging a closer than ever tie with each other. (Personal communication)

212 The initiative may come from the boy. The Swedish monthly *Revolt* (July 1972) wrote about a 15-year-old boy who always tried to creep into his father's bed in order to grasp the man's penis and suck it.

213 One of Stekel's patients remembered how, when he was a boy, "his father jumped from his bed to discipline one of his brothers. His father's imposing genitals swung to and fro while this was going on. It impressed him deeply." The man wrote: "I now remember often having had the burning desire to play with those genitals, to take the big phallus in my hand and fondle those giant balls which rolled back and forth so neatly and easily. To me my father's genitals were absolutely enormous, things to be admired..." (1925, 516-517)

214 Among the Parisian graffiti (see example 210) were a few written by sons: "When

I was 15 I let my father fuck me.'' ''My father has been fucking me for ten years. I'm now 20. Has this happened to anybody else?'' (Ernest 1979, 198)

215 In example 102 in Volume One we told about the relationship between 17-year-old Bernard and his father. Bernard related how he had been having intercourse with his father, who held down a good managerial position, since his 11th year. ''A little later I had, in addition, relations with a teacher. My sexual intimacies with my father are now coming to an end, since I am getting too old for his erotic tastes. I still sleep with the teacher from time to time, but less frequently than before. This is because I become more and more involved with girls. I've already petted with a girl, but not gone much farther. There's never been any question of fucking. I consider my experiences with my father and that teacher completely beneficial. They made me turn to girls at a later age than did my schoolmates, but that's certainly no disadvantage.''

''Didn't this sexual relationship weaken your father's authority over you? Weren't there ever any clashes with your father, as is common at puberty?''

''Yes, of course. I wasn't always the good, hard-working boy, and sometimes my father got really mad at me. I don't think my reactions then were much different than any other boy's when his father is furious. I shouted back a lot. But I had to obey him. And that was one beautiful aspect of our relationship: we never were mad at each other for long. At night, in bed, we celebrated our reconciliations with sex, just as married people do. It was marvellous. I was never overly interested in sex. As a little boy I fooled around a bit sexually with my friends, but later I never did. I went into puberty at 13. Jerking off seems to me to be a good, healthy habit. My needs vary a whole lot. At times I do it every day; a little later once every two weeks is enough. Sometimes I buy a porno magazine—heterosexual—and I like reading the stories. I hide them from my father. I had great fantasies about what sex movies would be like, but they turned out to be a disappointment. I think it's a good thing that men who love boys are banding together, but it's unfair that there's nothing for us boys. We need some sort of a club where we can talk about our experiences and exchange views, where we can give somebody help if the police threatens to break up a relationship. It also ought to be made a lot easier for boys to get really good books full of sexual information, where everything is explained. A sexual relationship with an adult man is a fine thing for every boy, and it should be supported. I wish every boy had had one, like me. It's such a shame you can't talk openly about it.'' (Personal communication)

Once again we find it is a female author who draws a moving, romantic picture of a father/son relationship with keen sensitivity to the complex situation: Lolah Burford (1974) with her historical novel *Edward, Edward*. The relationship between the Earl of Tyne and his bastard son Edward, set at the beginning of the 19th Century, is strongly impregnated with feelings of love-hate and sadomasochism. The boy is torn apart by feelings of guilt even though he experiences the utmost ecstasy during sexual intercourse. An admirable book.

As for myself, I believed that sexual intimacy was incompatible with authority (see Voestermans 1983, 148-149) until my observation of some actual incest relationships convinced me that this was not necessarily so. It is always difficult

for the legislator to decide just where he should intervene. In the first place, it is impossible to set the limit beyond which a tender caress of a loving father becomes a forbidden incestuous act. Second, the legislator should have no right to interpose himself between parent and child when they freely engage in intimacies which make them both happy. Brutal interference with this secret understanding, an interference which leads to highly upsetting examinations of the child as a court witness, will always be traumatic for the boy and lead to the destruction of his family. In all likelihood incestuous relationships are rather frequent; of course they seldom come to the attention of the police since both partners wish to hide what they do together from other people. Discovery and conviction, then, is arbitrary and accidental, striking down one relationship in a thousand. Thus there are many reasons why the legislator should abstain from enacting penal laws in this area.

As head of his "School on Ships", Léonid Kameneff saw horrible examples of parents sacrificing their children to their own selfish interests. He wonders why this cannot legally be punished, why police and child protection authorities are so tolerant of it, while if sex becomes an issue they immediately intervene. Is the father who deprives his son of a proper upbringing so much better than the father who sometimes helps his son to orgasm?

It would appear that the incidence of incest is especially high in nudist families, but the younger partners in such cases are later quite willing to repeat the experience (Smith 1981, 96). The effects of repressing incestuous desire may well be worse than expressing it. "To stunt passive homosexual feelings for a father can have serious repercussions upon a boy's emotional development and can produce unsatisfying yearning-rebellious feelings towards male authority. (...) It can hamper the boy's ability to accept and learn from his father much that would enable him to achieve a sense of male identity. It robs him of the feeling of being sexually accepted by his father. (...) This acceptance does not involve actual sexual acts but does have a basis in sexual feelings and appreciation." (Lambert 1976, 85) "Some fathers contend that incest within an endorsing family can be nontraumatic (Bender & Blau 1937) or even beneficial (Rascovsky & Rascovsky 1950) to the child's emotional growth." (Martinson 1981, 273; Summit 1981, 124; Tsai 1981, 202) "Contact between parents and children can sometimes offer the child a well-rounded introduction to sexual functioning in a secure and nonthreatening environment." (Symonds 1981, 161) "When I was a child I experienced an ongoing incestuous relationship that seemed to me to be caring and beneficial in nature." (Joan A. Nelson 1981, 163) In her study of 137 incestuous relationships, 53% were described as positive, by the male substantially more (62%) than by the female. Of non-exploitative incidents, more than 75% were valued as positive (Nelson 1981, 166, 168, 171; Constantine 1981, 228).

Prof. Leroy G. Schultz of West Virginia University wrote in 1979 that sometimes incest "may be either a positive, healthy experience or, at worst, neutral and dull." (quoted by Janus 1981, 126) We must keep in mind, however, that despite all the possible benefits to the child, there are incestuous relations where really terrible forms of physical child abuse take place. Since sexual violence against boys is rather rare, victims are characteristically daughters rather than sons. But fathers may abuse children of both genders in more subtle ways that are deeply traumatic, humiliating, horrifying and pregnant with potential disaster. It is much worse, much more damaging and traumatising, to be compelled to accept sex passively (for in the family there can be no escape!), to be made to say "Yes, I will" when all your instincts and feelings cry out "No, I don't want to do that!", to be, in effect, treated as a slave, than to fight against a sexual attack and be subdued by sheer physical force (Fraser 1981, 56) which at least permits the child to retain his self-esteem, his sense of dignity (Constantine 1981, 235-236). The real twist of the knife in these situations is that it is precisely those people in the child's intimate environment to whom he looks for care and protection that commit the crime against him or show no concern while he is being molested. Whenever such sad cases come to light society certainly should be allowed to radically intervene. Penal law, however, often harms more than it protects. Is it helping the child to send his father to prison, deprive his family of its income, subject his family to the contemptuous gossip and scorn of its neighbours? Fear of this happening often prevents the mother from taking action on behalf of her child. The police, then, should not automatically be called in; better the doctor trained in matters of child abuse, or the child protection agency, or the social worker. They should co-operate in finding an acceptable solution for both father and child, and use the law only as a last resort.

If children were better informed about sex, if they were more aware of what they had to accept and what they could reject, if the system of child-help telephone lines was everywhere available and children knew how to use them, we would see a real diminution in children's sexual misery and injustice. As things stand now, the child's trauma is often increased rather than mitigated by the intervention of the authorities.

Prof. Frenken told a symposium on incest at Utrecht in 1983 that the trauma results more from the child's sexual education than from the incestuous activity itself. At the same symposium it was pointed out that one cannot extrapolate from data on incest involving girls to incest involving boys. In retrospect, at any rate, girls tend to respond in an overwhelmingly negative manner, while boys have much more positive feelings. This is in agreement with Nelson's findings (1981, 168).

IV. NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF MAN/BOY RELATIONS

Sexual Activities and Remuneration

It would have been a simple matter to head this section "Prostitution", but that would involve an untenable simplification. Real life offers endless variations on this theme; situations can be enormously complicated. Let us begin with a few concrete examples which are far from imaginary.

216 *Case One*. Mario, a European tourist in a Third World country, meets a 15-year-old boy by the name of Curro. Mario takes Curro to his hotel and has sex with him, and afterwards he invites the boy to have dinner with him in a restaurant. The man is so pleased with Curro that he asks the boy to stay with him for the next few weeks. Gradually loves springs up between them. Mario buys new clothes for the boy, a wrist watch, shoes. He learns that Curro has a difficult life. He used to go to school, where he was a good and happy student, but when he was 13 his father was paralysed by a cerebral haemorrhage and as a result Curro had to quit school and go to work in the rice paddies in order to help support his family. Mario goes to Curro's village home and talks with his mother and the principal of his former school. He undertakes to pay for Curro to continue his education as well as send him monthly sums for food and clothing. Curro is extremely happy and works hard in school. Mario isn't rich; he has to make some economic sacrifices in order to save money for Curro. Every year he returns to spend some weeks with Curro. Their sexual relations are most passionate. Curro is a pious Roman Catholic; every night he says his prayers before joining his friend in bed, and after that they make love until they both are exhausted. Then Curro prays once again, thanking his God because their love-making had been so marvellous. (Perhaps he sees God and His intent more clearly than does the Pope, who also visited Curro's country and told the people that a husband looking with lustful desire at his own wife was sinning.) After his prayer of thanks, Curro lies down in Mario's arms and falls blissfully asleep. (Personal communication)

217 *Case Two*. The story Peyrefitte (1979) relates about Roy, son of a Los Angeles millionaire, is not altogether fictitious. In all countries there are boys from well-to-do families who, in order to have more pocket money, or buy expensive sport equipment or musical instruments, or who are simply searching for adventure, make a game of seeking out men to whom they can sell their sexual favours. Some are very fastidious in their choice of only the most attractive clients. Often they aren't in the least ashamed of this game and brag about their conquests to their peers, telling them how they slept with some well known artist or athlete, how they received an extraordinarily generous remuneration.

218 *Case Three*. Leo, whom we have already met in example 2 of Volume One, was, like his brothers, badly neglected by his strictly religious and wealthy parents. Not only did he receive little affection, he didn't even have proper clothing, having to make do unhappily with cast-off and hand-me-down coats and trousers. All the other boys at the neighbourhood school were better dressed than he.

One day when he was thirteen a man standing beside him at a shop window in downtown Amsterdam told Leo he would pay him twenty-five guilders if he would come along with him. Now, Leo had already heard about men like this from his

age-mates, and he was curious. Moreover, the sum of twenty-five guilders seemed enormous, for never in his life had he had so much money in his possession. The man took him home and Leo found he thoroughly enjoyed what then ensued. Thereafter he repeated the experience over and over again. One of his clients told me years later, "That Leo was a really horny boy! Did he ever enjoy doing it!" Leo was now always neatly dressed.

As soon as he finished school Leo left his parents and went to live with a friend. He supported himself entirely with the money he made by going with men. The sex he found pleasant, even if his own preference was for boys his own age. To meet potential clients he haunted certain bars but, because he was handsome and had a fine muscular body, he could afford to be choosy: he only went with men he liked. And sometimes his earnings were unexpectedly large: one night an American officer took him to a hotel room, had him strip and lie down on the bed naked. The officer never took off his own clothes, only knelt and sucked him off—and for this "service" Leo received $200!

At about the age of seventeen, Leo found his profession increasingly unpleasant. In his free time now he not only sought out handsome boys to have sex with but occasionally a boyish-looking girl. And he discovered he liked working on autos; more and more of his income came from repairing cars. He continued, however, to dress well, and his home was always immaculate. Eventually he broke off all connections with his former homosexual life, became a company representative and now lives with a young woman. (Personal communication)

219 *Case Four.* Joey is 15. His parents are divorced and his father has disappeared. After almost continuous conflict with his mother, the Child Protection Authorities sent him to a "home". It seems to have been a good one: Joey was happy there, the boys had a great deal of freedom and it was located in a town where Joey had many friends.

Then the home was closed and Joey dispatched to another, this one far away in the countryside and where discipline was severe. Joey thought his treatment was cruel and unjust. He knew from the other boys that at the railway station you could always find men who liked to go with boys, so, at 14, he ran away and had sex with his first client.

By now, a year later, he estimates he has had fifty more. At first he was entirely passive but with time he learned to participate in all kinds of sexual practices. Since if he doesn't find a client he has to sleep on the street, he is forced to accept many clients and acts which he himself finds repulsive. Sometimes he steals from the men he sleeps with. He does not like this way of living, for his own preference is for girls; frequently he is unable to get an erection when it is a man who is fondling his penis. He finds the whole situation humiliating but sees no other way to earn money. (Personal communication)

220 *Case Five.* In some countries conventional hospitality requires you to provide your guest with a boy. Daniélou went on an expedition to Afghanistan in 1932. When they came to a village the inhabitants, to accommodate the soldiers who were accompanying the expedition, "brought to the market place a bed of braided ropes, a blanket and a young boy. A soldier and the boy went upon the bed, the blanket covered them, there were the well-known movements, and after a while it was the turn of the next soldier." (1981, 92)

IV. NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF MAN/BOY RELATIONS

> There are, especially in Third World countries, still boy brothels. Parents sell a little son to the owner and the boy is then systematically trained to satisfy the sexual appetites of men. Such schools for boy prostitution are often called ''peg houses'' from the supposed practice of making the boys sit for hours on benches fitted with wooden pegs which extend upwards into their anuses (romantic description by Tony Duvert, 1973, in his *Paysage de fantaisie)*. Gradually, it is told, the boy has to sit on ever thicker and longer pegs until his opening, after such systematic stretching, is able to accommodate the penises of even the most ''well-endowed'' men (Back 1910, 749; Bullough 1976, 305; Borneman 1978, 739; Armand 1931, 322). The prostitute boy must accept all clients including the ugliest and most disgusting and accede to all their desires. If there is a crowd, as on holidays, he will be used by many men, one after the other, until he is so worn out he is no more use (romantic description by Pierre Guyotat, 1967, in his *Tombeau pour cinq cent mille soldats)*. Most of the money goes to the brothel owner; the boy receives only a small fraction.

Five different situations, with an endless number of transitional cases between. We have made no mention of call-boys who receive visitors in their own homes or can be summoned by telephone; most are slightly older: youths or young men. But our five examples, if nothing else, show how impossible it is to reduce ''prostitution'' to a single categorical phenomenon. Each concerns a boy who, in exchange for remuneration, satisfies the sexual desires of a man or men. Often the clients are strangers, there are many of them, and the boy's own sexual preferences are irrelevant (Redhardt 1968,2).

Even more simplistic is the tendency to make no distinction between girl and boy prostitution despite the fact that they are actually quite different and have only the one common denominator of sex being exchanged for money. Except in the brothels, there are almost no pimps in the world of boy ''hustling''; it is less commercial, less organised, with few pick-up bars, peep shows, strip-tease acts, etc. While violence inflicted on girls by customers and pimps is very common, it is rare in the case of boy prostitutes. Quite the contrary: there are many instances of boy hustlers attacking and robbing their clients, something girl prostitutes seldom do (Geiser 1979, 138). Most important, when a boy goes with men for money it is almost always a side-line, a passing phase, a way to earn a little something extra; it seldom dominates his existence. This lends it a distinctively different coloration.

We must therefore recognise that in prostitution (just as in incestuous relationships with parents or older brothers and, as we will see later in this chapter, in posing as a nude model for the making of erotic photographs) boys in general feel much more positive about their participation than do girls (Walters 1978, 303). Findings and conclusions applicable to the one sex should never be extrapolated to the other. ''Studies show that many teenage female prostitutes have a poor self-image and do not enjoy their lives as prostitutes. (...) According to a recent study on adolescent male prostitution, some teenage

gay-identified male prostitutes claim to enjoy prostitution and have a positive self-image.'' (Subcommittee on Select Education, U.S. House of Representatives 1982, 10).

There are people who, innocent of any first hand experience with the different ways of living and thought patterns of foreign cultures, weep copiously over the ''scandalous prostitution and exploitation of children'' in Asia, projecting abroad their Western horror of sex. They should better concern themselves with the widespread prostitution of children in their own countries, or, better yet, ask themselves to what extent their own moralistic repugnance of sexuality and the laws it inspires have contributed to the Third World prostitution they so heartily despise and the abuses inherent in it. ''Sex tourism'', in the final analysis, is simply symptomatic of a kind of social pathology rampant in most of the rich countries. Western laws make it unacceptably dangerous for many a boy-lover to establish with a boy at home a relationship satisfactory for both. That is why, in order to experience any sexual satisfaction at all, he must travel half-way around the world to enjoy a brief encounter with a paid partner in a more tolerant social setting (O'Carroll 1980, 184).

The battle against ''sex tourism'' is also a bit hypocritical. Boy prostitution is traditional in parts of Malaysia, the Philippines, India, Indonesia and Indochina (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1979, 130), which means that it is there viewed by parents, boys and the people around them very differently than it is in the West. The African, South American or Asian boys who on occasion sleep with tourists are markedly more exuberant, happy and healthy than the hundreds of millions of poor children in these parts of the world who, without earning a single tear from the virtuous crusaders against ''sex tourism'', are slowly withering away or becoming crippled for life by back-breaking labour. Sex, sometimes at least, can be tender and enjoyable; work on Third World municipal rubbish dumps or in child sweat shop factories never is. But since no sex is involved in picking through garbage or working 16 hours a day in a garment factory, some people find it preferable...

We should fight against the exploitation of children not because (and only where) sex is involved, but because (and where) children, without respecting their freedom and personal feelings, are compelled out of need to do things which they find repellent. *That* is where the line must be drawn, the distinction made.

As soon as money enters the sexual equation, corruption is liable to be imminent. No one expressed this better than Michael Davidson: ''It's the money that corrupts, not the sex: the money which, combining with sex in a kind of psycho-chemical way, produces on the growing mind a condition in which sex becomes inseparable from money. Sex by itself is quite innocent. Money by itself, unfused with any of the agents in combination with which it generates power (and sex is one), is merely a useful thing to have. But money acting

upon sex can destroy the capacity for happiness; it adulterates and sophisticates the emotions that make sex a principal vehicle of happiness. (...) There can be no harm, surely, in linking a gift with any sexual transaction—corruption begins when the idea of 'gift' turns into one of buying-and-selling and becomes a habit of mind.'' (1971, 93-94)

221 (Continued from No. 40.) Onno, whom we have already met, often received generous gifts and substantial sums of money from the men who slept with him. He claims, however, ''I never lent out my body for the sake of money; I never would have given myself to someone I didn't like just for monetary gain. I never asked for money nor made it condition for sex. If men spontaneously, out of their happiness, made a gift to me afterwards, and so expressed their enthusiasm and satisfaction, it not only made me happy but also turned me sexually on.''

This is quite acceptable. It isn't whether sexual activities are accompanied by gifts or not that determines if we are dealing with true prostitution but whether the material gain becomes more important than the pleasure. As far back as Greek antiquity we hear complaints that boys were demanding gifts for their sexual services. In one of Aristophanes' comedies, gifts actually sing a chorus: ''Thanks to us, boy-lovers will persuade many a sweet lad to open his thighs.'' In another comedy, Hercules, just back from a descent into Hades, tells of having seen there a man who was being punished for having used a boy without paying the youngster's price. The tourist who fell in love with a statue of a young athlete was more honest. During the night he secretly made love to it, and next morning the guardians of the sanctuary not only found the statue stained with semen but at its feet the four drachmas which was the usual payment then for such services (Peyrefitte 1977, 199, 549, 548). This story was so popular that it occurs in many different versions (Buffière 1980, 484).

222 We see the same kind of thing happening in Arabian culture. ''The friend of a boy-lover once asked him, 'I'm amazed at the number of beardless ones who come to you of their own free will, who do what you tell them to do and how fast they run up when you call. What is your secret?'

'' 'I'll let you see my secret with your very own eyes,' said the boy-lover. He touched his head with his hand, and from the folds of his turban he took a bag of silver coins and showed it to his friend. Then he detached from his belt a piece of cloth which hung from it and was knotted together at its four corners and was full of cakes and dried fruits. Then he went down still farther and brought out yet another object.

'' 'No!' cried the friend, seeing what he had. 'Stop, my brother, or I too will be tempted to let myself be seduced by you!' '' (Tifachi 1970, 133-134)

What makes boys surrender their bodies in exchange for money?

In cases like the second and third examples described above, it is not unusual for the boy to demand money in order to hide from his peers (and at times even

from himself) the pleasure he experiences in these sexual contacts. Homosexual acts are regarded with contempt, thus a "real boy" would never want to perform them. He is excused, however, if he only does them for money (Wilson 1982, 48).

> **223** In an American West Coast city an outspoken 17-year-old girl bragged about her boy-friend to a social worker: "Sure, Jimmy sucks cock. I think it's a blast. Any time we need five or ten, we take a walk down by the park and before I know it he's over in the bushes with his cock up some old guy's ass or getting it himself. He made forty dollars one Friday while we were out... You think he's a goddamn gay? He sure fucks me good..." (Blake 1970, 71)

"A great many youths of today ironically do not in the least mind being considered hustlers or part time male prostitutes so long as no one considers them a 'faggot'. Many of these youths will go to bed with another man and indulge in the most eccentric sexual behaviour without a qualm, but would be very disturbed by the social consequences that might ensue if they had a close, intimate friendship that did not involve overt sexual acts." (Churchill 1968, 159) Such an attitude is obviously perverse, the result of morbid homophobia.

Boys like this do not feel any guilt, nor do they really consider themselves whores (Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission 1980, 256). The number of boys willing to engage in such practices is rather substantial. In Sorensen's extensive research among American adolescents he asked his male subjects how they would react to the following situation: "It's just possible that sometime, if I really needed the money very badly, I might have sex with a man who would pay me for it." Of the 13-15-year-olds, 13% said they agreed and 5% were undecided. Among those who had had heterosexual intercourse, 14% were willing; most of them had also already had homosexual experiences (Sorensen 1973, 289, 395). Rossman claims that one in every six boys would do it (1976, 84). Drew & Drake (elsewhere a somewhat dubious source) declared that in some junior high schools in the suburbs of New York more than half of the pupils occasionally prostitute themselves (1969, 156).

But money is not the only, and often not even the main reason. The real driving force, which even the boy himself may not realise, often has more tragic roots: he longs for an adult to take an interest in him and pay attention to him. Prostituting himself may be felt by the boy as a kind of protest against his parents. He wants to be the object of desire, of affection, and at home he is not (Bullinga 1982, 120; Matzneff 1974, 84-85). This is the case with the fictional Kevin in Wallace Hamilton's fine novel of the same name (1980). Many such hustlers come from broken homes and thus "unconsciously seek by their sexual surrender and prostitution to be cared for and loved as they never or only occasionally were during their childhood." The simple fact that customers want to have sex with them proves that they "are desirable" (Schickedanz

1979, 107-108). Elisabeth Müller-Luckman, a German psychologist, said about 10- to 13-year-old boys in Munich and Stuttgart, "The children find in hustling some human communication which at the same time somehow enlivens their otherwise very anonymous surroundings." *(Du & Ich,* Sept 1979; Hennig 1978, 75)

Others are just looking for adventure and excitement (Bullinga 1982, 96).

Strangely enough, in those countries which do a booming trade in "sex tourism", curiosity, play, enjoyment of tenderness, sexual pleasure and lust for money are inextricably interwoven in the minds of many of the younger hustlers (Duvert 1976; Franco 1980; Hennig 1978, 99-100; Hervé & Kerrest 1980). "Even on his first visit to the land of the blessed the traveller is struck by the extreme facility and admissibility of making love with quite small boys. (...) I was impressed especially by the natural nobility of these boys, their physical and moral charm. Poor they may be, but they often behave and move like young princes. They can be penniless, but never petty or stingy. Their honesty is spontaneous, I might even say pure." (Matzneff 1979, 130) And "a tourist" writes, "Every day I go about the city with dozens of 12- to 15-year-old children, and I always bring four or five of them up to my room. I have never detected in them any expression of surprise of displeasure. It is understood that we will have sex, and this is considered quite normal. The boys, laughing and dancing, are completely willing. In this culture boys are respected as independent beings who need neither special protection nor to be turned into fetishes. If a 13-year-old boy I know presents himself at the hotel reception desk ten times a day, I am called on the telephone and always, invariably, I am told, 'Someone wants to see you.' I'm not told, 'There's a *boy*', or 'There's a *kid*', as would certainly happen in France (and in such a nasty tone of voice!). 'A boy is a person here, and he is for anybody and like anybody. He is not a fetishised being held in tutelage." *(Recherches 37* 1979, 124-125)

It is noteworthy, too, that such a boy isn't embarrassed by his occupation and doesn't feel humiliated performing it. He may negotiate with a customer while his comrades are standing around, or a small group of friends may come with him to the hotel door knowing perfectly well that in a few minutes he will be in the naked, passionate embrace of a man. A Danish tourist was walking with a group of boys on Galle Face Green in Colombo, Sri Lanka, when one of them asked him, "You want a boy?" "No," the man said. "Why not?" "I prefer girls!" "If you go with girl tonight, you go to hospital tomorrow, but if you go with boy tonight, you come back tomorrow!" (Rovsing 1959, 184)

It is, alas, not to be denied that situations like this can easily be poisoned by thoughtless or unscrupulous sex tourists who believe they can do anything to anybody they want—and do it whenever they want. Or, wishing to be generous, offer their loved ones for one hour of pleasure far more money than

their fathers earn in a week of heavy work. For a brief time they spoil the boy with luxuries, tear him out of his environment, and at the end of their holiday let him sink back into his former destitution. A few such men make extravagant promises about the boy's future, raising the boy's hopes, promises which are forgotten the moment they step on board the plane for home. Others assume the boy must do everything they want simply because they are paying him. Some scoundrels ply their boys with alcohol and drugs in order to subdue and abuse them. Where this kind of infection becomes endemic, the boys lose their natural charm, become calculating, come to despise and hate foreigners, rob their customers the first chance they get. The good man who follows after can only suffer—and he would have liked only to create a nice relationship with a nice boy within which they could amuse themselves for a time together, please him and leave him with pleasant memories.

The sordid sort of sex tourism, of course, has been treated at great length in the press, but I would like now to turn to another kind of foreign traveller, a man who really wants to build up a relationship with a Third World boy, pays the lad's school expenses, provides enough money to feed and clothe him, and returns every year to see him again and love him.

Such cases our Western journalists and television reporters usually ignore. Neither do they observe that casual commercial sex contacts with boys are hardly limited to Third World countries but are most likely taking place close to their own homes as well.

224 In 1983 one Francis N. Hardy was sentenced in Atlanta, Georgia for sex with under-age white boys. A 31-year-old resident of the community told a reporter at the time that sex with Hardy was a local tradition among boys. "I've lived here most of my life and I did it, my brother did it and my dad did it. Everybody we knew did it. The men who pay young guys whatever amount for a little play are usually well-known by not only the boys involved but by their families—who are generally grateful for the extra financial help and the opportunity to get their kids out of their hair for a time." *(Gay News,* April 1, 1983, 6)

225 An Englishman, having heard extravagant tales about another large American city, wrote me after his visit: "I was here for four days and met nine separate and very beautiful creatures that 'did'. And this was not through anything I did! I drove into town and my eye was caught by a golden blond. Our eyes met. I winked, and I had an immediate passenger in my car. The next day, by luck, I found a family of white blonds. The oldest, twelve and a half, is an anal intercourse specialist, who only (!!!) goes out with English people who drive cars registered in Hollywood! I qualify to add to this strange coincidence, he has twin blond brothers of eleven. One is an oral intercourse specialist and the other uses his fingers and toes in an incredible tickling routine. I managed to get a few pictures after pleading and bribing and I hope to meet the parents next time I visit and become an officially approved friend. Apparently both parents know what is going on and once a week father makes the sons strip and then inspects their bottoms to ensure that there are no injuries or diseases, and that the lads

> are not doing it too often!!! I find this hard to believe, yet each, independently, confirms it. Additionally they are uncircumcised, which is almost unheard of in America, and they always have clean socks and wildly attractive T-shirts, tight across their sturdy chests.'' (Personal communication)

Priscilla Cummings writes about Baltimore: ''A lot of the boys have fathers who did it and grandfathers before them.'' *(Baltimore Magazine,* June 1982, 79)

''To many of the (American) twelve- to fifteen-year-old boys, a fling at streetcorner hooking is as natural as country-music. Their friends do it, their older brothers did it, and even their parents accept it. One mother bragged to a social worker that her boy brought more money into the family on weekends than they acquired from their welfare payments. She did not consider him to be a homosexual.'' (Linedecker 1981, 172) And right she was. Most hustlers have their girlfriends, or go to (female) prostitutes for sex (Redhardt 1968, 70, 83).

In many European and American cities there is a small but flourishing trade in ''boys for sale''. In New York, in fact, the boy hustlers seem to outnumber the under-age hookers by five to one (Geiser 1979, 135). On the other hand, one must not exaggerate the numbers, as is done in the sensationalist press with its stories about ''sex rings'' and international white slave networks. Dr. Judianne Densen-Gerber suggested at a U.S. Congressional hearing (1977, 40) that there were 300,000, perhaps as many as 600,000, such boys in her country. The Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission, a body unlikely to be inspired by sympathy for boy-love, found, however, absolutely nothing to substantiate such a claim (1980, VII, 14, 204, 209, 224, 229, 253, 267, 282). This commission extracted the confession from Dr. Densen-Gerber that she ''had no concrete evidence or personal knowledge'' of the things she told Congress (1980, 225). The press, nevertheless, distorted her ''facts'' even more and, despite her admission that she didn't know what she was talking about, made no effort to correct the wrong impression she had left with the public. There is no organised crime syndicate earning millions of dollars by coercing young boys into prostitution. ''This is a figment of someone's overactive imagination,'' the Illinois Commission stated (1980, 277). But if there is no million-dollar child prostitution and pornography industry, there definitely are hundreds of millions of dollars to be got by child protection organisations (and top salaries for the people who run them) which upset the public and the authorities by churning out distortions and biased reports.

Nearly everyone who has honestly studied the hustling scene has come to the conclusion that the majority of these boys have a heterosexual orientation. At their age, however, homosexual stimulation, too, will usually make them physically respond. Made to perform acts which they find repellent, older boys especially may react with outbursts of violence. On the other hand, the sexual

activity may so coincide with a boy's repressed desires, producing a shatteringly intense orgasm, that, indoctrinated as most are with our society's homophobia, he is not able consciously to accept the pleasure he experienced and so, likewise, erupts into insane fury. Something like this may well have been at work in the murder of Pasolini, the famed film director. Another example will be given below.

Sexual attraction to mature or older men is only felt by a small minority of boys. These, of course, make the best and most passionate partners.

Reformatories, borstals and the like are the most successful schools for boy prostitutes. There they learn how to get money for sex, how to find clients and how to behave with them (Schult 1979, 180; West 1977, 224; Redhardt 1968, 75, 76; Hennig 1978, 47, 74-75). Victims of parental and social neglect, they start at an early age masturbating, having intercourse with girls and making homosexual contacts. Schickedanz quotes a reformatory boy's account, saying it is "quite typical" of the conditions in such institutions:

226 I was eight when I came to the home. It was a reformatory. I was put in with older boys, in my group there were even boys of 16. And as a little boy you are dominated by them. For example, you had to jerk off the group chief. You know, it's the strongest that rules. Yes, and that went on for years, until they sent me to another home. And I, too, got older, and then I started doing the same thing to the younger boys. Just like they'd done to me. Some of the older boys, of course, had had experience, they'd been hustling themselves. They taught us a lot, secretly: how to treat clients, what clothes you had to wear—trousers as tight-fitting as possible, so your cock showed, etc. And then, too, we had some *teachers* who were gay. They always seduced the boys they were keen on. For example our sports instructor started doing it to me in the showers. I was always a little slow. I came too late to practice and I was the last to leave. I always stood a long time under the showers—with a hard-on. Suddenly one day the sport instructor opened the shower curtain and saw how I handled my prick. He couldn't control himself and sucked me. I felt really horny and shot off in his mouth. But afterwards I felt so disgusted I wanted to kill him. How can I explain it? Liking it at the time and later being disgusted. I could have thrown up, letting him do that to me. And this nauseating shame I projected onto him. When I looked at him, this silly forty-year-old man, this sport instructor, I could have at that moment murdered him. I found it so disgusting, so nauseating. Later when I went into the dressing room I found fifty marks with a note pinned to it saying, "I'm inviting you to go with me on your next day off." (Schickedanz 1979, 148-149)

Of the boys who run away from such reformatories, 80% are approached by men in the first ten hours (Rossman 1976, 149). We don't have to approve, but boys who are moved by necessity to sell their sexual favours are certainly better off than those who take refuge in drugs, alcohol, crime or suicide. West, the leading English criminologist, rightly observes, "Prostitution has always provided easy material for moralising; yet the trade does fulfil some very real human needs, and ought not to be condemned out of hand. The corrupting

influence upon the young hustler of an undisciplined life of tax avoidance and quick gains, inevitably based to some extent upon pretence, has to be set against the fact that a certain proportion of these unsettled adolescents do eventually manage to find their feet, some of them indeed with the help and advice of the older men to whom they sold their sexual services.'' (West 1977, 226-228; *Youth Liberation* 1981, 49; Hennig 1979, 31) A French social worker (Bertrand Boulin), gives examples: ''I have personally received many letter from men and women, now well placed in society, respected and often married, who had prostituted themselves while children. On average they were neither more nor less unhappy than the children who lived in homes. But on their coming of age they could establish themselves with the money they had gained.'' (Boulin 1977, 145-146) By engaging in high-level boy prostitution with influential customers, these boys were enabled to see horizons, and to realise what life can offer to those with education. Having a goal in life, they went out for the better jobs that they now knew about, often helped in this by their men-friends of the past.

Ackerley's father always spoke very highly of the rich lawyer, a married man with four children, who had ''maintained'' him when he was sixteen. He said that he owed this man all his knowledge, his self-discipline in matters of education; he had, in fact, been the ideal after whom Ackerley's father had tried to pattern himself (Ackerley 1971, 27).

Most commentators on boy prostitution link it to criminality. The theory runs that after years of luxurious living and earning easy money for little work which requires no professional training, they start secretly stealing from their clients and later, when the ageing process robs them of their fresh young charms and thus their customers, turn to full-time theft. Schickedanz (1979, 40, 189, 202, 210) and Schmidt-Relenberg (1975) examined this theory and found it false. It is true that there are young delinquents who discover that prostitution is a less risky means of earning money and give up their criminal activities for a time (cf Redhardt 1968, 73), but who later resume them when they are too old to attract clients. But non-delinquent hustlers usually turn to other means of livelihood later and often become solid family men. If there is any criminogenic factor in boy prostitution it is the tendency of society to despise these youths and treat them with contempt.

227 Peter Schult, author of a fine autobiography *Besuche in Sackgassen,* knew quite a few prostitute boys and followed their careers. ''It has always been my experience that the boy who forms a relationship with a man, be it sexual or platonic, rather than starting criminal activities, will tend to give them up. This shouldn't surprise us, for it is well recognised that theft is often a substitute for insufficient love. I believe that juvenile delinquency is very common now in Germany, so this country is a veritable Eldorado for the interested observer. To put it even more strongly, I know from my

own experience that it is just these young delinquents who are the most difficult to make contact with. Some years ago I came to know, quite by accident, a family in Neu-Perlach, a district of Munich where many down-and-out people live. There was a mother and three sons aged 13 to 27. The oldest two had already been in prison several times. The youngest, at 13, continued in this pattern and stole with zeal—everything from taking bicycles to taking part in organised expeditions through department stores, always with age-mate accomplices. He is now 16 and has already been sentenced several times. Stealing has become an essential part of his life. I tried to get through to him but found it impossible; likewise with his friends. I was successful in establishing relationships with some of the other boys who were only on the fringes of this group, and they succeeded in disassociating themselves from the gang. I had similar experiences in the district where I lived. Those who came to me stopped stealing; those who never returned to me are now in prison—and this in spite of the fact that all of these boys, when I first got to know them, were stealing. It is usually the quiet, sensitive boys who want and are looking for contacts with a man; they are more likely to listen when he warns them that they will soon go to prison if they don't behave. And they are well aware that the man who is telling them this is not a teacher or a priest or a parent or one of those people who are always talking about what you shouldn't do. That kind of man the boys don't seriously listen to any more; they remain obstinate and antagonistic to everything he says. The boys feel he is talking only out of his own selfish self-interest, while their adult friends are genuinely concerned with the boy's well-being. These are observations I made over almost 30 years. The hippies generation was much more approachable than the fighting rockers of today with their friends in the robber gangs. But it's not the real organisers that the public prosecutors see in court, for only about three or four out of a thousand thefts result in a trial. The prosecutors only see the hustlers, and it is from them that they construct their stereotypes. The prosecutors are blind to the fact that the hustlers come from quite another social setting and direct themselves towards males from quite opposite motives. I've known many hustlers and followed their careers. At first there is theft, burglary, then prison. In jail they pick up homosexual practices and these they use when they are free again. Almost every hustler I have known had first been in prison and only afterwards turned to men, and that was because he could earn more money that way and at less risk. When they aged out of their attractiveness to males they resumed stealing. These are the boys the prosecutor sees." (Letter from Peter Schult to the author, 20 September, 1981)

Boys for whom money is the main incentive may need it simply to put food in their mouths (as in John Henry MacKay's ("Sagitta's") novel *Der Puppenjunge* (The Hustler)), or they may spend it on luxuries they cannot obtain at home. Such luxuries can range from a piece of candy to a movie ticket, a bicycle, a motor-bike, a holiday trip, drugs, or payment for sex with a girl. In 1974 a Dane wrote, "The main problem among 13- and 14-year-olds in our country is prostitution. Boys of this age sell their bodies to get money for drugs." *(Revolt,* April 1974, 66) In France the number of boys engaged in this was estimated to be between 11,000 and 13,000 (Boulin 1977, 145, 214). In the USA it is believed that more boys than girls are doing it (Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission 1980, 277; Janus 1981, 158, 172-173).

228 The 13-year-old son of an Italian business executive had learned from his peers how to attract men. He would abandon himself to any sexual practice in return for money. He pretended to be disgusted by men, but needed pocket money to pay for whores. It all came out one day when his father discovered an unusually large amount of money in his pocket. The boy was furious at his father. ''He forgets I'm a boy and not a girl, and so I'm not taking any risk at all!'' The boy was big for his age and at school was known for his intelligence and hard work (Schachter 1969, 128-129).

In his speech against Timarchos, the Greek orator Aischines (343 BC) observed, ''A handsome boy enjoying fine and expensive food, mingling with the most exacting whores and squandering his money gambling, doubtless pays with his body for the generosity of his benefactors.'' (Buffière 1980, 601) Among the Danish prostitutes of our time, 85% spend their earnings on girls (Jersild 1956, 69; cf. Redhardt 1968, 70: nearly all the boys were regularly visiting prostitutes). Some men, wise to this situation, have, from ancient times, short-cut the intermediary of money and, in exchange for the boy's surrender, provided him the opportunity to sleep with a girl (Tifachi 1970, 204). Summit & Kryso mention a case in which a father used his own daughters to provide him with boys (1981, 123).

Agents, like pimps, are much more rare in the world of boy prostitution than in that of girl prostitution (Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission 1980, 285). They may have been more common in periods when boys were meeker. Around 1700 a certain Maurel de Volonne in Paris ''sold boys like horses and went to the pit of the Opéra to meet customers.'' (Daniel 1957, 35) But even today such people are sometimes encountered. Some hustlers, growing too old for their trade, recruit younger boys for their clients (Hennig 1978, 67, 70). In London there was once an old curiosity shop. Every night some boys were playing on the street in front of it. Clients entered, indicated the boys they wanted and the proprietor signalled the boy by taking a particular object out of the shop window. The boy came in through a back-door entrance off another street. Hervé and Kerrest (1980, 91-92, 94) observed pimps working with boys in the Moroccan city of Fez. Police crack-downs on boy prostitution were welcomed by the pimps because they drove prices up (Geiser 1979, 85).

The worst fate, of course, was suffered by very young children exploited by brothel owners who abandoned them without any protection to the unbridled lusts of their clients. But even in brothels there are distinctions. In 1909 Rolfe had a rather favourable impression of the Osmarin Club, first established in Venice and later in Padua. A Venetian youth told him about it:

229 He said that the club used to be open day and night; and ten boys were there always ready for use. The fee was 7 Fr. payment for the room and what you pleased to the boy, but you had to pay the latter in the presence of the steward and never more than 5 Fr. even though you stayed all day or all night, i.e. 5 Fr. and 7 Fr. for 12 hours.

> Beside the staff, any boy could bring a Signiore. And many did, chiefly school-boys at some of the public or technical schools who liked to make a little pocket money. (...) He himself began at 13 or thereabouts this way. One of his cousins being left an orphan suddenly came to live in his house and sleep in his bed. The cousin was 14 and, the bed being narrow, there was a certain mixture which pleased both. And suddenly both spat together (You'd shrieked to see his great black eyes and his big white teeth and his rozy young lily-fragrant face simply burst out laughing). This being very diverting, they hugged and hugged, belly to belly and did it again. So for many nights. (...) In a little while his cousin (they were both occasional gondoliers as I had suspected) heard of the Osmarin. A patron took him there. Amadeo Amadei, rather bucked, also went and asked for a job. They said, 'Bring a Signore'. So he went and prayed to the Black Madonna of Spain at San Francesco della Vigna and she sent him a Count. Then he began. Many Counts and Princes and illustrious Signiori had he served there, having much strength and ingenuity in finding out ways to give pleasure, all of which pleased him too, as well as filling his pocket. He found his patrons this way. His first, the Count, had spoken to him on the Giardinetto where he was by chance lounging one morning, being out of work, and his shirt being open as usual, because he was appassionated for the air, the Count had stroked his breast while saying he was a fine boy. To whom he said that he was as God made him and preferred to be naked. Upon which the Count took him to the Osmarin for the day. Thereafter, he always went with his breast bare, even in Piazza, and soon Signiori walked after him..." (Rolfe 1974, 29-30)

Venice had not always been so open to the exercise of this profession. In 1462 several boys were castrated and branded for prostituting themselves. Nevertheless, six years later there are reports of the "widespread existence of boys who engaged in acts of sodomy for profit". After 1500, pimps "who induced boys to commit sodomy" could be condemned to death (Murray & Kent 1983, 187-188; Cleugh 1963, 139).

Observations of boy brothels have been made in all parts of the world and in all ages. Every Greek city in antiquity had its *ephebeion,* a house where ephebes, adolescent slave boys, were available for sex. Socrates' beloved disciple Phaido, to whom Plato addressed his philosophic ideas about immortality, had been an inmate of such a brothel. Socrates met him there, liked him and persuaded one of his rich followers to buy the boy's freedom (Bullough 1976, 113; Borneman 1978, 994, 987). Later we hear about such brothels in pre-Columbian Mexico (Sutor 1964, 346). Wars have been waged, expeditions undertaken for the sole purpose of capturing handsome young slaves for such institutions. In 1804 a British dealer sold from Ethiopia 32 young man, 66 handsome adolescents and 40 sweet, girlish-faced boys to the owner of a brothel in Havana. In capturing such slaves, those with large genitals were preferred. At night they were exposed naked in the patio for the clients to make their selection (Klostermann 1968, 20). Boy-brothels in Amsterdam are mentioned in the beginning of the 18th and the end of the 19th Centuries (Hekma 1983, 262), in Paris in 1850 (Sutor 1964, 160), and in New York in 1890 (Bullough

1976, 608). London was shocked in 1889 by the sensational discovery that persons from the highest social circles, and even a member of the Royal Family, were among the regular customers of a brothel in Cleveland Street where young telegraph messenger-boys stood at their disposal (Montgomery Hyde 1976; Simpson 1976). The British were less prudish in their colonies, and in Nigeria, for example, it was at their instigation that brothels with black boys were established there (Italiaander 1969, 104).

More recently, we have many reports for Arab countries, and even as late as 1981 from the south Egyptian town of Assiut. Burton mentions brothels in the Near East (1885, X-205). Boy brothels were part of Chinese culture (Sutor 1964, 65, 70-71; Daniélou 1981, 133-134).

In Japan they were to be found in all cities and were officially subject to police control. Poor parents sold their sons to the owners of such institutions which usually had about five boys between 10 and 20 years of age on the premises. When the boy prostitutes grew up they usually became actors in theatres (Krauss 1969, 91; Italiaander 1969, 86-88).

230 A well-known Dutch author, an authority on the Far East, told me in 1966 that he had obtained the address of one such brothel in Tokyo. It was shortly after World War Two. A taxi driver brought him to the quarter where the house was supposed to lie. Unable to find the right street, the driver, with his Dutch client, entered a tea-house and shouted, ''This gentleman wants to visit the 'Cherry Blossom' boy-brothel. Is there anyone here who knows how to find it?'' Nobody seemed astonished by this question, and one of the guests kindly offered to show him the way. So he arrived at the brothel. The owner of the house produced an album of photos from which to make his choice. Moreover, he offered to arrange a ''live show'', but this was too expensive for the visitor. The assignation, however, was most satisfactory, and after a number of equally pleasant experiences, shortly before his departure, he decided to see the show. He was placed facing a curtain, and when this was raised he saw in the next room two boys in splendid ceremonial dress. With graceful gestures, each saluted his partner, then each started to undress the other slowly. Finally naked, they had sex in all forms in all positions. It was all performed with a great deal of grace, almost like a ballet. The performance lasted an hour and a half, was full of aesthetic beauty and charm and was one of the most enthralling shows he had ever seen.

231 In Bangkok in 1971 a former American army officer opened a hotel for this purpose with thirty rooms and its own swimming pool. There were always 15 to 20 boys, aged eight to sixteen, on the premises, often splashing around naked in the pool. Apart from lodging, food and clothes, they earned about 10 to 20 American dollars a week, plus tips. They were regularly inspected by a physician. The establishment had many clients; all rooms were fully occupied by the American military men on Rest and Recreation leave and rich Thai citizens. Bangkok boys would do almost anything to be employed there. At first they were systematically trained in oral and anal intercourse (and were given marks according to their skill), in erotic conversation, kissing and massage. Those who were most popular were allowed to refuse clients who did not appeal to them.

On average, a boy had to satisfy 6 to 10 clients a day. 70% of the men asked to suck or be sucked by a boy, with foreplay of kissing and massage; 20% to 30% wanted anal intercourse. The American correspondent of a newsletter for boy-lovers reported, "One of my boy-friends has worked there for a month and was already after three days one of the most appreciated. What he loathed, however, strongly was that these Americans were only obsessed by sex and that there was no other approach to them whatever. A young medical officer had manipulated and sucked him for a whole night long, incessantly, so that he had slept only for two hours and even this sleep had been interrupted. Immediately after this heavy strain, the man took him to a movie theatre, and during the show had still wanted continuously to play with the chafed member of the boy. The youth had earned nearly 400 dollars in tips within a month's time, as well as clothes, a wrist watch, etc. The owner offered him still more advantages if he would stay, but he had had enough of it. Elsewhere he afterwards met another American who offered him real affection and the comradeship he was longing for and which he needed. Originally the man didn't even touch him, waiting patiently until the boy began himself to be greedy for sex, and finally abandoned himself to his friend with magnificent passion." (Personal communication)

232 North America isn't far behind. "In the brawling, robust days of turn-of-the-century New Orleans, boys were easily procured for men with a lust for children of their own sex. At least one bawdy-house was staffed with young boys in drag." (Linedecker 1981, 74). Information was received in 1978 about a brothel in a smaller town where no less than 63 boys of 12 years and older did their work. The clients paid 30 dollars or more; the boys got 5 to 25 dollars for each turn, plus free marijuana, beer and pornographic film screenings to put them in the mood (Rose 1978, 17).

233 Jean Cocteau visited a brothel called the Satyricon in Toulon. There was a low-ceilinged room where the inmates played cards. "When the boss gave the signal they stood and lined up against the wall. The boss fingered their biceps, palpated their thighs, brought their less visible and most intimate charms into view and passed them out like tickets. The clientele knew exactly what it was after, wasted few words and less time getting down to brass tacks." (1957, 54-55)

In various European countries the press contains advertisements from "escort services" from which people can order a young companion for a single night or even for weeks of travelling, of "topless bars" where half-naked or completely naked youths act as waiters and are also at the disposal of clients wanting to "relax" with one or two of them in a separate room. This publicity, of course, respects the laws on ages of consent, but often special accommodations will be made for trusted and discreet clients. Wafelbakker (1983, 102) published one application form for job as a call-boy. Questions had to do with height, hairiness, penis size and whether circumcised or not, willingness to be anally penetrated, photographed, give live shows, participate in sadomasochistic acts, etc.

A Dutch youth described how boys are recruited for such houses. "You get involved in the most innocent way. A boy quarrels with his parents, doesn't

know where to go and then meets downtown a nice old man who invites him to visit. It turns out that the man has a brothel. You don't have to do disgusting things, the nice old man reassures him. You don't have to let yourself be fucked: you just have to engage in sucking and jerking off and be nice to the gentlemen. So two years go by. The boy is now seventeen; there are already other boys of fourteen and fifteen. What's left of the boy? Nothing.'' (Bullinga 1982, 130)

In modern French literature Tony Duvert *(Paysage de fantaisie,* 1973) and Pierre Guyotat *(Tombeau pour cinq cent mille soldats,* 1967) described in detail the lives of enslaved, defenceless children who were mercilessly sacrificed to the lusts of their male and female customers. The boys are taught to behave as though they were totally unashamed of what they have to do; they are made to put on live shows with each other and even a large dog; they are tortured by sadists; they are ordered to beat one another until they bleed—all to amuse their spectators. It is not clear to what extent such things still happen in Third World countries.

Who are the customers of boy prostitutes? Prof. Osanka of Lewis University (Illinois) told a Congressional Committee that many of them ''are white, middle class, well-established men. They go to church; they are often pillars of their community; they seem to be concerned about matters of their community; they vote regularly; they earn good income...'' (Subcommittee on Crime 1977, 13). Cocteau reported the same thing about their Parisian counterparts (1982, 150). Recent research in Germany and Holland gives the same impression: the majority belongs in the 30-50 year age range; by far the most (70%) are married men coming from middle class homes; a not inconsiderable number of prostitute boys reported that they often had medical doctors, lawyers, important government officials, teachers and priests as clients. Many of them have children of their own (Schickedanz 1979, 90, 161; Bullinga 1982, 126; Pittman 1971, 26; Hennig 1978, 42, 252; Barrington 1981, 209-210). They are exactly the same kind of men who, preferring older partners, go to public conveniences in order to find quick, anonymous sexual satisfaction: conventional and conservative citizens, mostly husbands and fathers, socially advantaged, often faithful church-goers (Humphreys 1970; West 1977, 297). ''They defend God, country and American womanhood during the day and prowl the dark streets of the Tenderloin looking for boys at night.'' (Linedecker 1981, 179). Schickedanz concludes from these facts ''that this form of prostitution presents an extraordinarily important and necessary institution, and that it is undoubtedly due to its existence that at least the psycho-sexual equilibrium of a group of men, not inconsiderable in number, is kept in tact.'' (1979, 219)

It is rather unusual for a woman to pay a boy to have sexual intercourse with her (West 1977, 221). It appears from Juvenal (VI, 366-376) that in Ancient Rome young slaves were trained for this purpose. Some boys who had just

reached sexual maturity, and were thus at the peak of their sexual potency and salacity, preferably with large genitals, had their testicles removed or crushed so that their mistresses could enjoy them without risk of pregnancy (Hopfner 1938, 395; Spencer 1946, 411). The Romans were well aware that such castrates were capable of sustaining erection for long periods of time (Van der Werff ten Bosch 1983, 27; Burton 1886 XI-70; Ellis 1913, III-10). A male brothel in Paris around 1850 had one entrance for men and one for women (Sutor 1964, 160). A handsome 15-year-old bellboy in a Portuguese beach resort once told me how hard he had to work during the peak season: all day long slogging away in the hotel and every night having sex with the female tourists. Robida wrote a witty story (1958) about a young Sicilian wanting to buy a motor-bike because his girl-friend lived in another village and earning the money for it with an elderly English spinster. The owner of a Dutch brothel advertised in a newspaper that "young boys" were available in his establishment. (Actually they were 16 or older). He told me that he repeatedly had telephone calls from women and girls asking whether they could be accepted as clients too. They were, and the boys especially liked this part of their job.

Professional hustlers bent on satisfying several customers one after another often ask for more money if the client wants to excite them with his hand or mouth to orgasm. And this demand on the part of customer is rather common, since, as we have already seen, the main pleasure of many boy-lovers is to watch sexual delight coursing through the body of the boy (Wilson & Cox 1983, 44). The exigencies may be high. A London Dilly boy said, "The end of my cock sometimes gets quite sore because of the amount I use it and then I have to lay off for a few days, so then I usually just toss off the clients, maybe four or five times a day. If the punter insists I come about twice a day. A cock ring gives me a stiffer erection and my clients like the novelty. I have a six-and-a-half-inch cock when it's hard." (Barrington 1981, 38). One of Bullinga's subjects told him he used to have four ejaculations a day (1982, 131). Kinsey mentions a black hustler who averaged from his 13th to his 39th year more than three times a day "and at the latter age was still capable of 6 to 8 ejaculations when the situation demanded." "Some male prostitutes ejaculate five, six or more times per day with regularity over long periods of years." (Kinsey 1948, 216-217) Sexual excess, then, doesn't really undermine the health of these youths; if anything it is more likely to be the constant consumption of alcohol with their customers.

Extra payment is often exacted if the boy is anally penetrated. Mutual masturbation is the most frequent practice; next comes the boy being sucked by the client, since this allows heterophile hustlers to pretend they're not "queer" if brought to climax this way (Haeberle 1978, 241). The more macho types are mostly unwilling to take the man's penis in their mouths or anuses

(Schickedanz 1979, 177-178). As the hustler grows older, he usually engages in more and more practices.

At times hustlers have to deal with sadomasochistic clients who want to torture a naked boy, to tie him up, whip him; more often, however, it is the adult client who wants to be punished. Masochism is often a trait of domineering men, of executives and rulers (Borneman 1978, 352).

234 Borneman (1978, 827) mentions the case of a man who hired a number of boys to dress like butcher apprentices. They had to strip off his clothes and tie him up naked with ropes to a butchering block, whet their knives and cleavers and act like they were going to slaughter him.

The earnings of the more professional hustlers may be considerable.

235 A reporter for the *Chicago Tribune* (Committee of the Judiciary 1977, 432) interviewed Marty, 17, who had learned the trade at 14 from a friend of 13. "I make about $ 500 a week, tax free. I could make more. I only do two or three tricks a night. I like my life. But I'll be too old soon for this business. Most chicken hawks like 'em real young."

The competition is often merciless. An Amsterdam hustler said, "Friendship, camaraderie—no. Fighting for clients—yes. Hard-boiled assessment: my cock is still bigger than his. You may fuck me; he won't let you. But I never allow them to fuck me. Never." (Bullinga 1982, 130)

To summarise: generalised judgements are impossible. One can maintain—rightly—that the combination of sex and money is always regrettable and it would be far better if people only had sex to please themselves and their partners. But this would hardly create a sexual utopia. Male sexual appetite is imperious; this means that the demand will always surpass the spontaneous supply of responsive partners motivated solely by their own lusts.

Sex for payment is the only kind available in many situations. Mariners, travellers, tourists, the elderly (who are only attractive to the very rare gerontophile boys), will always try to couple with the young bodies they desire and offer money in return. One half of the healthy men between the ages of 72 and 77 are still sexually active; a fifth still are in their eighties (West 1977, 165). Likewise the timid, unworldly male can gain in this way a sexual satisfaction that he would otherwise have to do without.

236 A 19-year-old Belgian student who was too shy to take the initiative himself, said, "I've got a friend who's a homophile—or, rather, he loves boys. One day I was with him and his boy whore arrived. He let me have sex with him and asked me to pay him 50 francs for his services. The boy was about 14. I lay down in bed with the boy, both of us naked, in the dark, because I'd be ashamed to have a homosexual contact in daylight. I kissed him, fondled his genitals. I had some difficulty penetrating him from

> behind. I found it very satisfying and I'd like to have homosexual intercourse more frequently instead of masturbating.'' (Kruithof & Van Ussel 1963, 143)

Besides, there is another important factor which should always be kept in mind and which was nicely put into words by Erskine Lane: ''The whole question of sex. So many variables. First, no way to predict when it will be needed and when it will be superfluous or even unwanted. And then, when it is needed and wanted, so many different ways of wanting. Sometimes, to be satisfying, it has to be coupled with warmth and affection, long hours of caresses or just silently being together, whole nights sleeping embraced. At other times it needs to be purely physical, uncomplicated by emotions, a matter of a few minutes and then *hasta luego* or *adiós*. Sometimes even gently commercial, because the commercial aspect emphasises the lovelessness of it, and loveless sex is sometimes sexier. But not always. Just sometimes. And we can never say when.'' (1978, 100). Another factor is the preference of quite a number of middle- or upper-class men for lower-class boys (Weeks 1980/81, 121-122).

So there will always be a demand. And where money can be earned, there will be a supply, too. In all countries, East and West, there have always been, throughout history, many willing boys (West 1977, 213). They are mentioned in the Bible (Joel 4:3), they were there in ancient Greece and Rome, they prospered in the middle ages (Armand 1931, 174-175), there are plenty of them in modern times. They are willing because they want to have money, or because it is an adventure, or because sex offers them the means to be taken seriously in the world of adults (Hart de Ruyter 1976, 220). Sometimes it is an official institution, as with the Ovambos, a Bantu people, where some boys are trained from childhood to serve the whole tribe (Borneman 1978, 969). We shouldn't close our eyes to the possible tragic sides to all of this, but it is by no means always tragic. Generalising is impossible. There are other kinds of child labour that are morally and physically far worse. In our culture, boy-prostitution is mostly a part-time occupation, and the child psychiatrist, Prof. Hart de Ruyter is of the opinion that this ''in no way endangers the normal sexual evolution.'' (1976, 213) And, viewing boy prostitution as a kind of adventure, Leîla Sebbar, the French feminist writer, says, ''It is scouting, exploration. It is something wild, transient. There is nothing indecent about it. What *is* indecent is the way people think about it.'' (1980, 285)

Homosexual and paedosexual prostitution are just as ineradicable (and socially just as useful) as the heterosexual variety without which, according to both St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, society would go to pieces (Deschner 1978, 400; Cleugh 1963, 81). The number of sex crimes in a community is inversely proportional to the amount of prostitution in it (Vickers 1980, 119). We can also learn from heterosexual prostitution what factors tend to limit it. The ''sexual revolution'' made girls, and decent girls, willing to use their hands,

their mouths and their vaginas to give their young friends the sexual pleasures they so eagerly desired, and thus the once so common visits of young men to brothels diminished sensationally. In all periods of history when sexual tolerance increased, prostitution declined (Taylor 1953, 156). On the other hand, the only real effect of police crack-downs on boy prostitution is to increase sexual delinquency and raise the prices which, after a short time, attracts even more boys to the profession (Geiser 1979, 127). If there was more acceptance of homosexuality and boy-love, less people would "be inclined to cruise the anonymous, dangerous streets." *(Baltimore Magazine,* June 1982, 111)

Supply could also be diminished. Obviously all legal means should be pursued to eradicate those "peg houses" and boy-brothels where children are exploited and violated and treated as slaves. Fortunately they don't, and probably cannot, exist in Europe and North America. But in the West small children are sometimes offered by their parents through carefully worded advertisements in specialist magazines to well-paying customers, and these boys and girls are nearly as powerless. Unfortunately these affairs are not as rare as they should be, but are such parents really worse than those who train their 11- or 12-year-old (or even younger) children to run marathon races or to set other sporting records and in the process ruin their health for life? These children are sacrificed—to the craving for glory of parents who thereby gain only respect from society! In all these cases the authorities should promptly intervene. We have seen that in the process of making older boys into hustlers, borstals and reform schools are the most important training grounds and recruiting centres. Anything that can be done to save boys from these institutions, and anything that can be done to keep runaways from wandering around, miserable, hungry, cold and homeless, will be an assault on boy-prostitution.

In this way the worst excesses associated with boy prostitution could be controlled. It is sheer social hypocrisy for those who provide an indispensable service to be forced to operate in an aura of illegality and criminality. If we want to combat excess, sex work should be regarded as a profession just as any other serving our physical needs. Sex workers would then be less vulnerable to exploitation and bad working conditions. If sex commerce is seen as a useful profession, "sex workers would be more able to organise and agitate for higher pay, better conditions, greater control and less stigma. (...) Imagine, for example, that the exchange of money for medical care, pharmacological advice, or psychological counselling were illegal. Medical practice would take place in a much less satisfactory fashion, if doctors, nurses, druggists and therapists could be hauled off to jail at the whim of the local 'health squad' (Rubin 1984, 288). The most significant thing about prostitution is that it is work, not that it is sex.

But even if it were possible to eradicate the most scandalous forms of child exploitation, we would still be faced with the fact that certain boys, of their

own free will, are willing to be sex workers for payment and so serve a social need by their services. To despise such boys for this is as hypocritical as to despise their female colleagues without whom society would also suffer. One hustler justly observed, "Why should I see myself as worse or morally inferior compared to other people? It's my opinion that everybody has his faults and there isn't a single person in the world who hasn't sold himself to get something. People who work in show business, movie or stage actors and professionals in sports are selling themselves just like we do, only on another level." (Schicke-danz 1979, 210) And a young Parisian said, "Hustling is a vocation. You make your contribution by helping people, preserving their equilibrium. You are a safety-valve for society. All that energy men spend on us they won't use to beat up their wives and children. That's important, isn't it?" (De Brethmas 1979, 124) The boy prostitute ought to be respected, as he is in some "primitive" cultures.

The unjustified contempt of society doesn't just push hustlers toward crime—he who is badly treated will treat others badly, too—but tends to corrupt the customers as well. Many men simply assume they don't have to respect their promises to boy prostitutes: they needn't pay all or even any of the agreed remuneration; they can make the boy do things he thinks are disgusting or even make him suffer a great deal of pain during the act. A middle-aged customer told Bullinga, "To buy a boy is really to humiliate him. You pay and he has to perform. (...) Sometimes, after someone has robbed me, I go out on the street, full of anger, and I fuck a boy out of hatred, simply to humiliate him." (1982, 117-118) Other customers behave gruffly, displacing their own feelings of guilt onto the boy. Nicolas, who had hustled on the streets of Paris from the age of 12, complained, "They're all dull and boring; they're all like my father." (Matzneff 1977, 141)

No wonder, then, so many hustlers are unhappy and feel degraded by their job. Much, then, depends upon the client.

237 Jouhandeau, the French author, had slept with young Constant in a hotel where the boys were at the disposition of the guests. Afterwards the owner said to him, "I hope, sir, you were satisfied. In sex he is the very best, but allow me to tell you that while you were taking your pleasure with him, you were also performing a good deed. Yesterday Constant had to suffer a brute who hurt and demoralised him, but thanks to you he left here today happy. He said, 'It was like sleeping with a god!' You have overwhelmed him, but above all he was touched by the sensitive way you talked with him and treated him." Jouhandeau reflected, "How can you meet your obligations towards someone who gives himself to you body and soul? By trying to be unforgettable." (1981, 40-41)

It would be a mistake to generalise from worst cases and the most nasty customers and so assume that all these boys are miserable. Significantly, fathers

who had prostituted themselves during their boyhood are usually most tolerant of this activity in their sons.

238 Ronnie (14 years) is a Baltimore boy. ''His mother knows he hustles and doesn't like it. But Ronnie's father, curiously, acquiesces—maybe because he, too, hustled as a boy.'' *(Baltimore Magazine,* June 1982, 110)

Harris (1973), studying the ''Dilly boys'' hanging around Piccadilly Circus, discovered they had willingly chosen this profession. A social worker in Los Angeles observed, ''Now it might be that even if we had the intake centres where we could rehabilitate the boy, he would say to us, 'Go to hell, man, I like peddling my ass.' '' (O'Carroll 1980, 183) The Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission, a body certainly not in favour of such activities, concluded after three years research, ''Most children involved in prostitution are there because they want to be. They are, by and large, not being enticed by procurers or other unscrupulous operators. (...) It never will be possible to prevent a young runaway from prostituting him or herself if he or she wants to, nor will it be possible or even necessarily advisable to talk a 15-year-old out of a life of prostitution if that is what he or she wants.'' (1980, VIII, 233)

239 In a novel by Jacques Brenner, *Trois jeunes tambours* (1965), 16-year-old Jeannot throws himself without any hesitation into the embrace of journalist Patrice Verchon when the latter gives him a lift. Verchon does everything in his power to extract the boy from this world of prostitution in which he had moved, with his mother's knowledge and approval, for some two years. All Verchon's efforts are in vain. (Cf. Redhardt 1968, 81)

240 (Continued from 230) Rolfe wrote about the Venetian boys: ''They were not only willing but glad to do whatever was required.'' Rolfe himself was poor and didn't have enough money to pay the usual fees. He told Piero so, and the boy, regretting this, proposed to come with him nevertheless, on condition that Rolfe would recommend him to his friends. ''Then Piero and I went upstairs. I never saw anyone slip out of his clothes as he did, like a white flash. (...) He was scarlet all over, blushing with delight, his eyes glittered and his fingers twitched over my clothes with eagerness. As for his rod—lawks!'' Rolfe then had intercourse with him. Piero ''couldn't, simply couldn't wait his turn, and we clung together panting and gushing torrents—torrents.'' After this they slept, in a close embrace. ''I was awakened by a gentle voice, 'Sior, Sior, Sior, with permission!' And his rod was rigid and ready. I took him on me. 'Slowly, and as hard as you like,' I said. Oh, what a time we had. He took me at my word splendidly and laboured with the sumptuous abandon of a true artist, straining his young body to his very utmost but holding himself in control, prolonging the pleasure for the pure joy of it. (...) 'Oh, che bel divertimento!' says Piero, squeezing me as we spouted—'Oh, what a beautiful diversion!' ''

But even Piero didn't have quite the experience of Amadeo (example 229). Rolfe needed pages to describe how Amadeo exhibited his naked body to him and gave details

on all kinds of "incredible tricks for amusing his patrons". Piero was still in training. "You can't think what a beautiful creature he really is, young, strong as a horse, slim and lithe and supple as a serpent, magnificently virile, with soft downy skin and firm hot flesh, sweet as a baby's. I asked him about sucking. No, he had never done nor had it, but gladly would he from me. Did one drink? Yes. Oh, what a beautiful diversion. So you see what joys are in store." (Rolfe 1974, 15, 31, 51-53)

241 Erskine Lane spent a night in Guatemala with a small, very innocent-looking boy. When the man slipped his hand under his striped shirt, the boy became so nervous that Lane nearly didn't dare continue. But suddenly the boy suggested they take off all their clothes. "Naked in bed he rimmed me like no one else before or after—that seemed to be his special passion. Sucked me, fucked me, and then turned over to let himself be fucked. All with complete abandon. (...) During the heat of our entanglement he constantly murmured, 'Te quiero, mi amor, te quiero.' I love you, I love you. But most of all I remember his insistence that I believe him. 'Créeme, que sí te quiero. Dime que me crees. Dime.' Believe me, I love you. Tell me you believe me. Tell me. 'Yes, I believe you,' I told him, to put an end to his insistence. But then I had to reassure him. Again and again. It was almost dawn by then and he said he had to leave. 'When will you come back?' I asked him at the door. 'I only like to do it once with each person,' he said, as he shook my hand and kissed me goodbye." (Lane 1978, 35)

242 A 15-year-old American boy says, "I take money from these guys, and I like it. And most of the other kids I see that are in this, I can tell you they're really getting off on it, too. I have to admit there've been a couple of times when I'd give a guy a break myself when I thought he was good-looking. There are certain guys I can really get turned on to, you know what I mean? Most of the ones who come on me are fat, greasy old men in expensive suits, and I find them a drag, but business is business. I hardly ever turn anybody down, but some guys I just find awfully repulsive." Tony got several proposals to settle down and live with a client. "So far I've resisted because I really like the excitement of the cruise and the different faces, and I don't want to be tied down to one guy." (Janus 1981, 214-215)

243 Onno (Continued from 221) was sometimes invited to the home of his friend and there presented, naked, to some important guest. After a close inspection of his body he was dismissed, to be called back later in the evening. His friend would then tell him, "My guest liked what he saw. He's in the bedroom now. You go up there and let him take his pleasure with you in the way he likes best." To Onno the situation was already so exciting that even climbing the stairs he had a spontaneous full erection.

244 A 30-year-old German who had earned a living as a call-boy for several years in his youth, told me that the idea of going to bed with a stranger was so exciting to him that occasionally he had actually had an ejaculation ringing the doorbell at the home of the client he was to serve. (Personal communication)

Most people believe that sex is a simple, easy way for nice looking boys to earn money. This might be true for some hustlers, but for a boy who plies his profession with pleasure and dedication it can be quite exacting. Customers often

expect more than just sex, especially from boys who are a little bit older. Some hustlers are very intelligent and can be quite cultivated. "It's not only with their cocks and their bodies that they have to serve." (Bullinga 1982, 142)

Bisexual clients who have sex with call girls as well as boy prostitutes generally find that boys "will give them much more time, and a more friendly social contact, at all social levels." (Barrington 191, 211)

245 (Continued from 244) For years Onno had a steady relationship with a middle-aged friend, an important, wealthy business executive. They had met on the beach, and the man had taken him home and systematically and thoroughly trained him in all varieties of male/male sex, active and passive. Then he said, "You're not the kind of boy who can serve only one man." Other men were invited to have three-way sex with Onno and his friend under the guidance of the latter. Having thus perfected his sexual education, his friend, to whom he remained closely attached, put him at the disposal of others. Onno slept with guests and friends, served as a naked "slave-boy" at dinners, gave shows and nude dances for several groups and earned money as a model for photographers and painters. From the men who slept with him he often received, unrequested, large sums of money.

"At any hour day or night you should be ready for sex," his "master" had taught him, "fresh and clean, your supple body longing to be taken!" Looking back at this period of his life, Onno reported, "Every day, often several times a day, I had to do gymnastics, and to wash and shower my body. I trimmed my pubic hair carefully, shaping it in order to make my genitals still more attractive. I took great care of my hands and feet. My teeth had to be spotless. I had to watch my weight and eat with moderation. My friend served me food that was reputed to increase the production of sperm. I could smoke and drink only a little, although I enjoyed doing both. I played many sports, especially swimming. I was always willing to undress. But if you want to devote your whole existence to sexual service it's not enough just to have a perfect body. I took great pleasure in seeing older gentlemen desiring me, discovering precisely what would excite each individual, what parts of his body I should caress and how I could give my partner the most intense pleasure. When these men, many of whom were rich, powerful and socially prominent, were panting and shaking with delight under the onslaught of my hands and my tongue, imploring me, a mere boy, to liberate them and satisfy their desire which I had incited to a red-hot frenzy, then I was happy. When their seed was pouring over my belly, filling my mouth, injected deep inside my body, I interpreted this as veneration of my physical beauty and I was grateful to them for it. These were years of happiness and joy." (Personal communication)

The Depiction of Sexuality — Boys as Models and Observers

We have already noted many examples of the baleful influence of certain moralistic publications in the field of sexuality. In the next chapter we will go into this all much more thoroughly. Suffice it here to say that compared to this, erotic pictures—generally and incorrectly called "pornography"—are relatively innocent. The moralist tries to force his ideas upon others; erotic authors,

painters and photographers never dictate or coerce: they only depict what is there (Van Ussel 1968, 228; 1970, 90-91).

Artistic depiction may go far beyond reality, but most erotic pictures and movies are only a substitute for looking at a naked body or at sexual activities. The ''live show'' has a similar effect. When the Roman poet Martial enumerates the things which especially embellish his life, he mentions among them:

> *A big boy whose skin will remain smooth for a long time hence*
> *And a girl who allows him to make love to her.* (II, 48)

Such spectacles have always been enacted for the pleasure of people eager to watch. In imperial Rome there were secret societies where members could watch women having sex with each other and with a young boy (Borneman 1978, 626). In Chapter 2 we mentioned the way the Etruscans celebrated their festivals. ''During their drinking-bouts with friends and relatives the Tyrrhenians brought pages, prostitutes and handsome boys to adorn the feast and later would fetch adolescents in all their youthful vigour and watch them amusing themselves with the prostitutes and the boys.'' (Brusendorff & Henningsen 1963, 14). Subsequent ages developed their own variations on the theme. In Nineteenth Century London there was a rage for child prostitution. In a well-known brothel three girls under 15 years of age were working. On Saturday night ten or more boys of 10 to 15 were invited to have intercourse with these girls in the presence of paying spectators (Borneman 1978, 704). In an act in one of the famous cabarets in Berlin in the 1920s a young man and a very attractive young girl sang a song in a car about looking for another couple to have sex with, and how one of the girls would clean the penis of the young man after he had had coitus with the other. When they stood up afterwards to take their bows, they had an additional surprise for the audience: both were naked below the belt, but the man turned out to be a woman fitted out with a moustache while the girl was a boy who proudly displayed a big erection (Foral 1981, 369). In Bombay (1983) a tourist was offered a show in which a 15-year-old boy had intercourse with a girl of 12 (Personal communication). Jean Cocteau described a public bath-house in Paris where, unknown to the bathers, a visitor, for payment, could watch. ''Young members of the working class provided the show. (...) Standing in the tub (...) they'd soap themselves. The soaping would gradually turn into a caress. All of a sudden their eyes would wander out of this world, their heads would tilt back and their bodies would spit like furious animals. (...) The youngest distinguished themselves by climbing out of the tub and, off in a corner, wiping the tiles clean of the sap their careless stems had hurled blindly towards love.'' (Cocteau 1982, 151) Cocteau went there many times to enjoy the spectacle.

IV. NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF MAN/BOY RELATIONS

One German author amusingly observed that people who don't like to look at erotic pictures and movies should go either to a psychiatrist or an ophthalmic surgeon (Siegfried 1979, 29). As an "animal sociale", a social animal, man is himself emotionally swept up by what he observes in his fellow-beings. Television advertising agencies know perfectly well that the sight of people eating makes the viewer hungry, the depiction of drinking induces thirst. We laugh with the laughers and yawn with the yawners. The spectacle of beautiful bodies in the convolutions of sex arouses feelings in us of lust. It was said of King Louis XIII of France that he could only perform intercourse for the first time after exciting himself watching another couple in the act of coitus (Chardan 1970, 140). In the reported masturbation fantasies of heterophile males, looking at other people's sexual activities took third place—after sex with an unknown partner and rape (Masters & Johnson 1980, 186).

How one responds to such things depends upon how one really feels about sex. The man who has positive feelings about his own sexuality will enjoy the arousal erotic depictions produce. If "you believe people should be free to 'do their thing', then what could be more liberating and subversive than representations of people freely doing 'their thing'?" (O'Carroll 1980, 192; Barrington 1981, 7) Looking at erotic pictures will only make people more liberated and tolerant (Frenken 1976, 61). It is those, on the other hand, who respond with fear and disgust when confronted with this aspect of Creation, who we find campaigning for censorship and prohibition.

Throughout the first half of the 20th Century, a period of strong sex-negativism, it seemed self-evident that the depiction of sexual activity, even of the nude body, was enormously harmful and had to be prevented by all means at the disposal of society. Supposedly the circulation of obscene matter would, first, incite people to commit rape and other sexual crimes; and, second, encourage the growth of "perversions", especially homosexuality, paedophilia and sadism. Third, it was a particular danger for young people: on the one hand a brutal confrontation with sex would cause such ineradicable disgust in innocent, naîve youths that they would forever be impotent; on the other hand it would convert them into satyrs with raging, uncontrolled sexual impulses. Finally, fourth, it undermined moral sensibility and encouraged depravity.

Almost nobody contested these views. That doesn't mean there was no production and circulation of erotica. Quite the contrary. Where there is demand (heightened by interdiction), there is always supply. A black market flourished, with big profits accruing to those who supplied forbidden material. Artists of varying skills and talents created erotica for small groups of initiates. When slightly obscene texts were published, the authorities started criminal proceedings which often misfired from the point of view of the prosecutor, since the ultimate result was that the book became a great success for the publisher and

author. Books no one would have paid much attention to were printed and reprinted, thanks to the publicity generated by the authorities at the expense of the taxpayer. Incredible blunders made by the police and prosecutors, who proved themselves incapable of distinguishing between artistic or scientific works and vulgar, dubious products, created an increasing demand by the people to leave adult citizens free to decide for themselves what they wished to see and read. Since, as we will observe in the next chapter, all dictatorships are chaste, such demands are periodically suppressed by virtuous communism, by virtuous fascism, by virtuous national socialism, by virtuous Roman Catholicism—each considering itself divinely or historically elected to purify and protect from smut the proletarians, the nation, the race or the culture. When the power of such systems begins to crumble, the cry for freedom from censorship gains in strength.

In 1966 the Danish government appointed a commission to make a critical review of the existent laws on pornography. Shortly thereafter a similar commission started work in America. Denmark, being a small country, was content with a report of 69 pages; America, being a big one, needed 351 pages. But in their main outlines their findings were identical. Of the four kinds of alleged harm caused by pornography, not one could be substantiated by objective examination.

First of all, free circulation of erotic depictions does not result in a wave of sexual crime. Quite the opposite, in fact. In every country where the "sexual revolution" of the sixties led to more liberal attitudes, the number of sex crimes decreased, although the amount of other kinds of criminality increased dramatically. This cannot entirely be explained by a lessened willingness of people to lodge a complaint about such activities with the police. The Danish sociologist Berl Kutschinsky demonstrated this most convincingly. Violence against children, quite rightly considered the worst kind of sexual criminality, actually declined once erotic publications were allowed free circulation. In Denmark and Sweden they declined to one-quarter of their original number (Wilhjelm, *Information,* February 6, 1980).

Gebhard (1965, 673) observed that most sexual offenders were less susceptible to sexual representations than was the average citizen. He explains this by pointing out that a certain amount of imagination, sensibility and capacity for projection are necessary to be able to be excited by erotic material. In our Western society, cultured people usually possess these qualities to a higher degree than the more primitive elements, young people more than older people. Most sexual criminals are neither very cultured nor very young; they are susceptible only to rather strong stimuli. Perhaps this is a factor in their criminality; it is more difficult to excite them by erotic fantasies and pictures; in such persons lacking the lightning-conductors of erotic fantasy, aggression may build up to explosive strength. A marked interest in erotic pictures, on the

contrary, correlates with a low degree of sexual criminality (Borneman 1978, 1110).

Second: the supposition that erotic depictions might convert customers into homophiles, paedophiles or sadists has never been even minimally corroborated. An enquiry among Danish psychiatrists and psychologists revealed the fact that none had ever seen such a case. No wonder: an individual's sexual orientation is not moulded in the adult, not even in the adolescent, but—in so far as it is not hereditary—in the little child, during his pre-school years. Children of this age, however, show a marked disinterest in erotic books and magazines!

When in 1964 a judge decided that *The Memoirs of Fanny Hill,* Cleland's famous novel, was obscene and depraving, the publisher said he didn't want to harm the people who had bought his book; he was therefore willing to take back all the 82,000 copies that were then in circulation. Exactly five were returned. Evidently the other purchasers didn't feel the book would hurt them very much. The conceit of censors is really most amusing. If pornography actually has such a deleterious influence upon those who come into contact with it, the character of these good ladies and gentlemen who are professionally obliged to consume this poison in order to protect their fellow citizens from it must themselves be irretrievably corrupted. Their altruism, evidently, never makes them fear for their own souls, only the souls of others, especially of inexperienced youth (Armand 1931, 430). What they are really doing, of course, is projecting the sexual stimulus they experience themselves upon looking at erotic material upon the young. It is an implicit reproach against their Creator, that he should have equipped youth with such a horrible thing as sensuality.

The crusade against pornography has made victims among the protagonists themselves. It can hardly be coincidence that among twelve leading personalities of the American anti-pornography movement, six were later sentenced for abuse and rape of children. Jack Gregorio, chairman of the Parents' Union Against Porno and organiser of a huge meeting where he declared that the authors of sex books and homophile magazines should be burned alive together with their products, was shortly thereafter found guilty of raping an eight-year-old girl and a 17-year-old boy *(Revolt,* August, 1981). "The Reverend Richard Ginder once was a leading crusader against obscenity. He was a former associate editor of the nationally circulated Catholic weekly *Our Sunday Visitor,* and, later, associate editor of *The Priest,* another magazine. Then the clergyman, who had campaigned so enthusiastically against 'the tide of filth' and 'glut of sex stimulus', was arrested in his Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania apartment. Detectives reported confiscating narcotics, pornographic magazines, and 2,000 colour photographs of teenage boys and girls—and Father Ginder—all naked and engaging in a variety of sex acts." (Linedecker 1981, 70-71) Likewise, policemen who sit for hours behind one-way mirrors to spy on visitors at public

conveniences, hoping to see something indecent happen, are simply sexual delinquents, peeping Toms, enjoying their hobby at the expense of the taxpayer (Churchill 1967, 228).

Third: The perils for youth. Again, an enquiry established that no child psychologist or pedagogue had ever seen any case where a young person had been corrupted by looking at erotic pictures or reading erotic literature. What we *do* know is that many moralistic books have had a fatal and permanent influence on young people by inculcating them with anxiety and guilt about sex, and these books inarguably *are* a peril for youth.

Fourth: the undermining of a moral sense. This may seem obvious, but it simply is not true. An enormous amount of research has been done upon the public influence of the media, because this is of utmost importance to advertising agencies. It has been determined that shocking a person is the worst way to go about changing his opinions. Confronted with a brutal attack upon something people have long held precious, they will tend to withdraw into themselves and close their minds to argument and persuasion. You cannot convert a sentimental protectress of animals by taking her to a Spanish bull-fight. No one has ever been cured of prudery by an encounter with an exhibitionist.

Of all forms of erotic representation, real hard-core pornography thus poses the least danger to morality. Persons confronted with it, without preparation, will be shocked and disgusted, and so confirmed in their moral convictions.

The shock effect, however, diminishes rapidly, for there is little variation in hard-core porn, only a series of human acts repeating themselves endlessly. The original reaction ceases not because the spectator's ethical feelings have been undermined but because he becomes immune.

Far more dangerous to traditional moral convictions are well thought out and well written arguments cautiously and accurately setting forth its errors, risks and internal contradictions; just as religious piety has little to fear from the raging scorn of the militant atheist, it is much more seriously threatened by divergent theological writings and religious sects.

Freud effectively brought to an end Victorian prudery; much of the energy of the sexual revolution of the sixties was unleashed by Kinsey: thick volumes filled with rational theory, statistics, graphs, they overwhelmed sex-negativism. The porno explosion was their result, not their cause.

To be logical, the legislator has the choice between only two alternatives: total prohibition or absolute freedom. Prohibition should extend to all texts, photos, pictorial representations which deviate from contemporary societal standards of morality; and that is precisely what the Catholic Church has tried to do with its Index. To be really effective such a prohibition should be operative and maintained not just nationally but also internationally. If the choice of freedom were made it would be up to every citizen to decide what he wanted

to see and read. Provisions, of course, should be made so that people who dislike pornography would not have to be unwillingly confronted with it.

And youth? Shouldn't young people at least be protected from dangerous publications? If so, logically we would first have to determine just what sorts of things are really dangerous to the young mind. We will discuss this further in the following chapter. Also we would have to balance the pros and cons of any measures we might take.

Considering all sex dangerous for young people is caused by an unnatural, negative evaluation of sexuality. The American psychiatrist Walters does not deny that there are some children who might be hurt by seeing movies of violence or sex, "But on the other hand, children are emotionally abused in sexual areas every day because of repressive, guilt-ridden, punitive ideas that are transmitted to them under the guise of sex education." (Walters 1975, 131).

To small children a picture of sexual activity is meaningless because they do not understand it: it is as innocuous as an abstract painting (Martinson 1981, 29-31). Looking at a picture of sexual intercourse, one little boy only said, "Nude boys are nice." An 11-year-old when shown a photo of boys engaged in sex play together was not shocked at all but asked, "Can I do that, too?" (CAPM 1980, 55-56) From puberty on, boys react to such images exactly as do adults: sometimes with indifference, sometimes with disgust, sometimes with sexual excitement. Disgust is more often produced in younger boys by really hard-core movies (Lenders 1970, 61). Boys of the middle group, poised between childhood and adolescence, usually react in a more balanced way. On the other hand it is exactly this group which may become frequently and strongly aroused by matters and circumstances utterly devoid of sexual meaning for adults. Boys have been known to get persistent erections, leading to masturbation and even orgasm, by sitting in a church, riding in a bus, on a horse, being chased by a policeman, watching a football game, listening to a military band, balancing on a beam, walking down a long flight of stairs, reading detective stories, even listening to the national anthem: in short by any situation which produces tension (Kinsey 1948, 164-165, 191). Even the most enthusiastic crusader against indecency would think it too far-fetched to ban for this reason churches, buses, horses, policemen, football, bands, beams, stairs, detective novels and national anthems! It would be far preferable to accept the fact that sexual arousal in boys is a very natural and harmless phenomenon.

In puberty and adolescence erotica can also have a good influence (Straver & Geeraert 1980, 111; Constantine 1981, 260; West 1977, 318). To discover that other people have exactly the same desires as you yourself can be enormously reassuring. Erotica are useful in sexual instruction and make fantasies accompanying masturbation more concrete and enjoyable (Gagnon & Simon 1973, 268). Thus in their book published by the University of California,

Goldstein and Kant advise gradually familiarising young people with erotic material. Boys are more susceptible to pictures; girls to written material (Gillan & Frith 1979, 463), although a Canadian father once told me his little daughters had been enormously excited by a movie of two boys having sex together, just as boys and men are often aroused by lesbian scenes.

Now we must consider a second point. What would be the effect of forbidding minors under a specified age to see erotic material? Certainly not the intended one of keeping such things out of their hands. Children do not live hermetically sealed off from the rest of the world. The photos which 14-year-old Jimmy could not buy for himself would be bought for him by his 18-year-old brother or friend. The interdiction would only strengthen his curiosity—and simultaneously give the possessor of such material high status among his peers. A rather high percentage of children between the ages of 11 and 13 have already seen x-rated movies (Janus 1981, 256).

The history of all legal measures against pornography has always been that they are counter-productive: they create a black market, and big profits. Pornography is just too popular. The Hite enquiry among American men showed that only 11% never looked at pornography and that 36% did so regularly. Of pornography purchasers, only one-fifth thought it was bad (Hite, Dutch edition, 1982, 881-882). The best way to fight pornography is to make it free, Schalken concluded in his doctoral thesis at the reformed protestant University of Amsterdam (1972).

Until receanntly we could have left things here. It is to the credit of the feminist movement that it called attention to another and forgotten aspect of porno production: the working conditions of the models and actors. Unfortunately feminist spokeswomen went on to make the wildest and most inaccurate claims: taking a photo of a nude woman was the equivalent of rape; all pornography was inspired by sadistic impulses and would incite the viewer to sadistic acts. Rumors were even circulated that women and children had actually been tortured to death during the production of porno movies, although official investigations showed that there was no shread of real evidence for these sensationalistic accusations (Linedecker 1981, 185-186). Nor was the feminist claim that male ''phallocracy'' dominated everything in this field ever substantiated. Will Wellen carried out research in The Netherlands (1981) about the kind of erotic material found in sex shops then: 5.1% dealt with children, mostly girls; 8.7% with violence and sadism against women.

Only a totally hostile attitude about sexuality could give birth to the strange notion that erotic pictures degrade the model by turning him or her into a lust object. People of both sexes (and not just the young!) try to do everything in their power to make themselves physically attractive, i.e. to excite the sexual response of the people they meet. If they are successful they feel flattered; it is a boost to their self-confidence. ''Every sexually well-balanced human being,

male or female, can think of few things more desirable than to be so attractive as to become the object of another person's lust.'' (Borneman 1978, 378-379) When a female photographer mounted an exposition of her work and called it ''Man as Sex Object'' nobody objected (Walters 1978, 317). There is no love relationship without an object as well as a subject of lust. To be liked by girls, to see his body admired by other boys, always makes a boy happy. To find that his portrait or a nude photo of his body is considered so beautiful that someone wants to reproduce it in a magazine can only increase his self-esteem (Nichols 1976, 52). That other boys and men should use his picture to enhance their masturbation fantasies is not in itself the least degrading. Quite sensibly, a 15-year-old Italian boy, who proudly gave me a photo of himself depicting a well-muscled body and a big, healthy erection, asked me to show it to pretty Dutch girls and give them his address!

''There is nothing wrong with responding sexually to the sexual excitement of another, providing this response is spontaneous and is not perceived as a limitation.'' (De Bruyn 1980, 151). For there are people for whom sexual intercourse is an act of such intimacy that they feel strongly that it should not be observed by anyone else. Such feelings are quite understandable and in no case should a person be forced to act against them. However, it must be clearly recognised that other people may have quite a different view. Knowing that he has an attractive body, seeing sex positively, happy to pleasure his partner with it, a person can quite reasonably allow himself to be seen by others, or even photographed, while engaged in sexual activities. People with a certain amount of exhibitionism in their make-up, who enjoy exposing themselves (a quality which is certainly less reprehensible than many other 'isms'!) will even find their pleasure increased.

246 In his book about his love affair with a boy named Robert, the French author Jouhandeau describes a scene in which his friend Henri watches while he and Robert make love. ''Through me as an intermediary Henri shares in the pleasure I give Robert and Robert gives me. When he hears us pant, or a cry escape our lips in the ecstasy and frenzy of our joy, he is more excited than any other onlooker would be. Like the guardian angel at the gates to Paradise, he protects the mystery without knowing it completely; he envies it, but without jealousy. It would be wrong to say that Henri has no experience of the voluptuous feelings Robert and I are experiencing. Perhaps our lust is even more precious to him than his own; he prefers it because it is more rare, more detached and he can cultivate and refine it according to his own wishes; in him it is never quenched, and can be continued endlessly. Robert and I offer him the spectacle he loves the most, and one might well ask which of us has chosen for himself the best part, although each part is inseparably linked to the other two. That he looks on while we're making love to each other is not unimportant, either to our hearts or to our senses. It excites them, in fact, and is a continuous invitation and obligation to double our passion and our brilliance.'' (1955, 84-85)

247 One of my young subjects knew an antique dealer who lived in a large house with many rooms in a Dutch provincial town. From time to time the man gave small intimate dances to which he invited young people on condition that they would undress completely. When my subject received such an invitation he was most eager to participate. It turned out there were eight girls and eight young men. They danced together naked while their host, in evening dress, looked on. Gradually the young people formed couples; later in the evening they retired to different bedrooms to have sex. The host went around from room to room with drinks and enjoyed the spectacle of his guests' intimacies. My subject said that the presence of his host agreeably enhanced his excitement. One night he persuaded his dancing partner to lie down in the hall where the others were dancing and have intercourse with him there and then with everyone watching. The spectators cheered the couple on. His orgasm, my subject told me, was extraordinarily intense (Personal communication).

248 (Continued from 245) Onno was taken by his friend to club gatherings at which he danced and posed in the nude. He enjoyed performing this way so much that he not only got an erection during his act but sometimes even had a spontaneous orgasm and ejaculated over some of the front-row spectators (Personal communication).

Many boys, especially during puberty or early adolescence, greatly enjoy showing off in front of a camera their developing bodies and newly won adult-sized genitals, and it takes little persuasion to have them pose as nude models for their friends or a professional photographer (Wilson 1982, 52). Girls are less likely to do this (Linedecker 1981, 28). Camera-owning boys not infrequently take photos of one another's erections (Martinson 1981, 91). "I can go on the streets of Chicago (...) and put a sign on me saying 'I'm a pornographer,' and I'll need a small regiment to protect me from those who want to be photographed. (...) It's very productive to the ego. Getting models is the easiest thing in the world. Some people are so sure of their lack of worth. They've been told they're a bunch of nogoodnicks, and they want anything to assure them that they are really worthwhile. That somebody thinks something of them, and will invest time and money to photograph them—this is such a build (sic) to their ego that they're ecstatic." (Linedecker 1981, 231-232 quoting a well-known producer of boy-sex movies)

249 In a Dutch provincial town, the owner of a photo studio which specialises in nude pictures for homophile magazines is always receiving offers from 14- to 18-year-old boys wanting to pose. Often they spontaneously get persistent erections and some are so excited that their penises become moist (Personal communication).

250 (Continued from 162) "A Belgian acquaintance asked me to make nude photos of his 15-year-old friend, since he himself did not have the necessary equipment. The boy, a grammar-school pupil, arrived at five o'clock, and while he was undressing I saw he already had a big hard-on. 'It's been that way all afternoon,' the boy declared. 'In class I was thinking all the time that pretty soon I'd be posing stark naked in front of two men, and this really turned me on.' " (Personal communication)

IV. NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF MAN/BOY RELATIONS

The great male nude photographers of the past, like the Baron von Gloeden (1856-1931) in Sicily (Barrington 1974; Leslie 1977; Peyrefitte 1949) and Hajo Ortil (1905-1983) in Bremen, were very popular with their young models. In a report to the Subcommittee on Select Education of the U. S. Congress (1982, 15) it is stated that children are " 'willing' participants" because the photographers "offer friendship, interest, and a concerned attitude the child is unable to find elsewhere." (See also Subcommittee on Crime 1977, 423 & 430.) The Illinois report (1980, 308) mentions that in seeing the results of their posing, the photos or movies of their naked bodies, many boys experience excitement. One photographer told me that he used this effect to get boys to return for another photo session.

251 (Continued from 84) "One day when he was fourteen Max came with his older friend to visit me. I had just bought a movie camera and Max was enthusiastic over the suggestion that we try it out on him. He was looking at a toy I had given him and I started the camera. 'Take off your shirt,' his friend suggested. Max did so immediately, and then asked, with his hand already on the zip of his trousers, 'Go on?' 'If you want.' Max then quickly took off all his clothes and pointed to the first pubic hairs that were beginning to appear around the base of his penis. He rubbed his penis in order to make it grow. And so we finished filming. Max remained naked, playing in the room, until it was time to go down for dinner. Three months later the two of them visited me again. Naturally Max wanted to see 'his' movie. The viewing excited him tremendously. 'That's really turning me on, looking at me naked on the screen,' he exclaimed. 'Feel how stiff it's got?' And he took my hand and put it on the front of his trousers. 'Can't we do it again?' he asked. I got my camera, turned the lights on, and in a matter of seconds Max had stripped off all his clothes. Now he wanted to be filmed masturbating, and when it was over he pointed proudly to the drops of sperm on his belly." (Personal communication)

What clearly emerges from these examples is that there was no question of the boys being made to do degrading, humiliating, disagreeable, perhaps even disgusting work. Like many other boys, they responded positively to the desire of boy-lovers to make permanent visual records of them during this period of their sexual evolution when change is so swift (Matzneff 1977, 148; Rossman 1976, 38-39; Schult 1982, 103). Many boy-lovers enjoy letting their acquaintances share in their happiness by showing them photos of their beloved boys—or even the boys themselves—naked. All parties concerned enjoy this; it is a part of their sexual pleasure. And not infrequently are the boys themselves thinking about the future: "We should take photos now, for later on. It will be nice then to see how we are now, what we do, what I look like."

252 (Continued from 195) When Conny was 18 he insisted on showing his fiancée the photos Jan and he had made, with a delayed-action shutter, of their sexual activities when he was only thirteen. (Personal communication)

The gravest fault, the most serious inadequacy, of commercial photo erotica is that they seldom reveal the real joy of sex. What one usually sees are paid models performing rather complicated couplings under the bright glare of floodlights with weary or bored expressions on their faces (Sebbar 1980, 287). It impresses one as a sort of gymnastic exercise with the sexual organs, executed on command. Amateur photographers, whose products are often technically less polished, sometimes come up with more enjoyable results than the professionals.

253 In the archives of the Brongersma Foundation is a series of photographs made by a Dane. One of his acquaintances had a love relationship with a big, handsome fourteen-year-old boy, but neither had any place where they could safely meet in private. The photographer put his one-room apartment at their disposal, with the intention of leaving the house himself for an hour or two. But both the man and the boy asked him to stay, since they weren't the least embarrassed about what they intended to do. So he remained. After a few subsequent visits they insisted that he take pictures, and they had sex before the camera in every possible way and position. The photographer concentrated less on their genitals (which nevertheless did plainly show) than on the expressions on the partners' faces. One can see how the boy virtually radiates with love; his expressions change between tenderness, raw joy, pleasure and finally happiness. This series of photos is a wonderful documentation of the physical expression of a love which is mutual, of the aesthetics of sexual conjugation.

The sexual union of two fine bodies is in itself neither obscene nor unaesthetic. Obscenity lies only in the eye of the spectator (Borneman 1978, 932). Since sex is a lustful activity, looking at it may generate pleasant lustful feelings. Sexual excitement automatically induces a stronger tension in one's entire musculature (Masters & Johnson 1966, 173), thus heightening the beauty of the naked body. "At this moment, when the culminating act of life is about to be accomplished, the individual thus reaches his supreme state of radiant beauty." (Ellis 1914, V - 166) Most impressive, symptomatic of the strongest lust, are the involuntary spasms—at times almost violent— of the belly muscles as orgasm is approached. The undulating, supple movements of the lower body and the tension in the buttocks every time the penis is pushed against or inside the partner should inspire aesthetic admiration. Equally arresting are the changes in facial expression, laughing, pleasurably excited, seductive during fore-play, vacant or even distorted as if in pain at climax, peaceful, relaxed, liberated after the wave of lust has rolled by.

The fact that the full visual beauty of sexual intercourse is revealed only seldom in amateur pictures, and almost never in their commercial counterparts, leaves us with the impression that most models perform before the cameras as though it were a difficult or even disagreeable duty rather than a joy-filled demonstration of their talents. This is regrettable, but not tragic. Everything we have said about sexual service exchanged for payment applies here. It is

just that the risk of being exploited, forced to do disgusting or humiliating things, is even greater in this business than in prostitution. A boy earning quite a bit as a photo or film model might fear losing his job if he refuses to do something he doesn't want to do. And the demands of dealers, who always try to offer their clients something new and surprising, become more and more exacting. Boy models, who often come from broken families or are victims of neglect, can lose their sense of dignity (Illinois 1980, 9, 205) and be deeply traumatised (Subcommittee 1982, III; Geiser 1979, 115). Younger models especially can be mercilessly exploited and hurt. "Streetwise boys 14 to 18" (Subcommittee 1977, 15) might avoid this particular danger, but still run the risk, upon publication of their pictures, of being recognised and then rejected by the people around them.

In this connection, the enthusiastically propagated myth that "kiddie-porn" is a million- or even billion-dollar industry (Subcommittee 1977, 61) is a real threat to youth, since it might tempt a number of greedy people to have a try in it. The Committee of the Illinois Legislature, after careful research, arrived at the conclusion that the rumours were entirely unfounded and that "kiddie-porn" neither is nor was big business (1980, 60, 167, 169, 203, 205, 227, 278, 283). They form part of the "child pornography panic" of which the American feminist Gayle Rubin rightly said, "Moral panics rarely alleviate any real problem, because they are aimed at chimeras and signifiers." In the struggle against sex, a kind of demonology is resorted to. "It presents most sexual behavior in the worst possible light. Its descriptions of erotic conduct always use the worst available example as if it were representative. It presents the most disgusting pornography, the most exploited forms of prostitution..." (1984, 296, 300)

Some countries have tried to resolve the "problem" of pornography by simply forbidding the production and sale of pictures of naked children. The effect might well be an increase in criminality. Kutschinsky (1970) demonstrated convincingly that erotic pictures are a kind of safety-valve for sexual aggression against children; thus, with prohibition, the number of assaults upon and rapes of children will be relatively higher. At the same time the illicit trade will continue—penal laws are not very effective!—but now in secrecy, as a black market for the wealthy, and out of control. The relatively cheap books and magazines which once gave pleasure to customers will disappear. The legal prohibition of pornography frequently serves the interests of the producers, since prices tend to sky-rocket. Producers have even been known to agitate against legalisation of their products, just as during the 1930s, when America was discussing the repeal of prohibition of alcohol, the moonshiners and distributors of moonshine liquor gave money to the Salvation Army and prohibitionist congressmen in an attempt to keep alcohol illegal (Daniélou 1981, 78).

A better solution might be found with greater safeguards for the liberty of all concerned. Subject to prosecution should be the publication and sale of photographs and movies without mention of the producer, and every distributor and retail seller should be held responsible for the veracity of these data. The producer should likewise be obliged to register the names and addresses of his models and be able to produce their written consent to publication. This consent should be counter-signed in the case of minors under fifteen by their parents. The professional producer should keep a register of all his negatives with a code number, the date they were taken and the names of the models, all of this to be periodically inspected by the police. If the police have cause to suspect, from the photographs or these registers, that a child is being exploited by his own parents, they should report this to the youth protection authorities (Cf. Subcommittee 1977, 445, 448; Geiser 1979, 86; Constantine 1981, 260-261). These ideas, as proposed by Prof. Constantine, suppose, of course, a society honestly concerned about the fundamental sexual rights of children.

Sexual Violence and Cruelty

All responsible writers agree that in man/boy relations the use of violence is very exceptional (Baurmann 1983, 111, 157,2212, 356, 422, 430; Rouweler-Wutz 1976, 11; Geiser 1979, 35; Wolters 1982, 98; Howells 1981, 81). While many ancient Greek pottery pictures show scenes of women being anally raped, there are nearly no similar depictions involving boys (Koch-Harnack 1983, 62). Homophiles, proportionally, kill fewer boys than heterophiles kill girls (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1978, 380; Geiser 1979, 77). Gebhard, who set up a separate category for men employing violence in each group of the sexual offenders he studied, did not have to do so for the group of men who had had sex with boys since their number was negligible (1965, 272, 788). It seems likely that in these exception cases the perpetrator was a pseudopaedophile, that is, a man who was using the child merely as a substitute for the more-desired adult partner (Duvert 1980, 167; Baurmann 1983, 304). Very occasionally a boy is raped by a woman. Most sexual violence against boys is committed by their peers (Baurmann 1983, 240).

The fact that boys are much more accessible to sexual approach than girls, and generally respond more positively, is certainly of importance here (Baurmann 1983, 180, 183, 320-322, 356, 378, 387; Rush 1980, 246).

Kerscher (1978, 148-149) gives a long list of traumatic reactions formerly ascribed by a number of authors to any sexual contact a child experienced, but it is probably applicable only in the case of acts imposed upon the child against his will. The list includes troubled sleep, crying in the middle of the night, an overall feeling of anxiety, stuttering, shyness with strangers, lack of confidence, fits of apathy, moods of depression, vexatious feelings of guilt, psychosomatic

symptoms, psychoses and attempted suicide. Non-experts in general assess the possible harmful effects much more severely than do those with professional sexological training. Moreover, research has revealed that even child victims of sexual violence may make a complete recovery from this bad experience if people afterwards treat them properly (Baurmann 1983, 328, 331, 175).

Throughout all of human history, not just girls and women, but boys, too, have been raped to humiliate or to punish them. In ancient Rome, rape was a punishment a judge could impose, and there is one story of a boy fettered naked on a bed being raped by a female prostitute (Bloch 1912, 637).

254 An American boy of 16 "was picked up hitchhiking by two women. They held a knife on him and forced him to have oral sex and intercourse with them. After taking his wallet, they let him out alongside the road." When he complained to the police they told him, "You're lucky to get it." (Geiser 1979, 18)

Attalos, army commander in the service of King Philip of Macedon, wanted to wreak revenge upon young Pausanias, and had him anally raped by ten slaves, one after the other. When Philip refused to punish Attalos (for Philip could not dispense with the services of his general) Pausanias slew the king (Peyrefitte 1977, 694; Renault 1969). The humiliation and loss of self-respect following rape can sometimes have a tragic sequel. In 1980 a 12-year-old American committed suicide after having been violently assaulted by a priest *(Revue de Presse,* Paris, 21 Dec. 1980). A boy of 14, after being anally raped by his 16-and 18-year-old brothers, turned to prostitution shortly thereafter (Van Camp 1980, 86).

Some authors claim that the after-effects are very severe, others say they are negligible (Tsai *et al.* 1981, 201-202; Geisler 1959, 8). This divergence of expert opinion only highlights the fact that all depends on the way the child is taken care of afterwards. One child psychiatrist equated the traumatising effects of sexual assault upon a child with the effects of an up-bringing in which the child is told that sex is dirty and sinful or is punished for masturbating (Marinkelle 1976, 299; Geiser 1979, 142).

In wartime, the rape of boys by victorious soldiers is a common phenomenon. Pearl Buck's novel *Dragon Seed* (1945) centres around such an occurrence during the Chinese-Japanese war; the victim afterwards leads a guerrilla band in merciless attacks upon the army of occupation. Guyotat (1967, 471) describes a similar rape of a young boy in *Tombeau pour cinq cent mille soldats.* Sometimes the psychology of the relationship between criminal and victim is very complex, as Ross Berliner so beautifully showed in his novel, *The Manhood Ceremony* (1978). It is a horrifying story of a 13-year-old boy kidnapped by a psychopathic sex-murderer who nevertheless, after being raped, follows the man even though he has chances to escape.

One complicating factor is that for some boys a bit of force is often not unwelcome; a few actually harbour masochistic desires to be raped.

255 The first case is well illustrated by an 11-year-old boy who described his contacts with an older man: "At first he used a little force, because I didn't know if I wanted to do it or not, but I'm glad he did, because I wouldn't have dared otherwise, although I was very curious." (Möller 1983, 71)

256 The second can be found in the masturbation fantasies of an American schoolboy. He imagines he has played basketball against an all-black team and won, which caused bad feelings among the losers. "I'm the last one to leave the showers, and on the way back I become lost in the maze of strange lockers. Then suddenly I turn a corner and I find myself in the middle of the black team, who are all drying off from the showers too. I quickly turn to leave but my exit is blocked. Their captain comes towards me and he tells me that I should be taught a lesson for beating them. First he tells me to dry off his whole body. So, completely nude, I do this. Then he stands up on the bench, spreads his legs and tells me to blow-dry his asshole, balls, and cock. I do this, too. When I start on his cock it starts to harden, and he orders me to go down on it. I willingly do this. Just about when it is about to come I feel a stiff prick going up my ass. This goes on until I've serviced and been fucked by all the team's cocks. With jism from a whole team dripping out of my ass and mouth, my arms and feet are tied. I am then made to get into a tall gym clothes-locker, then one by one the team members piss, then jack off on me, while calling me names. Then the door is shut and locked on me. Later my teammates come looking for me. They hear my calls for help, force the door open, and find me there, tied nude, abused, and covered with piss and come. The rest of the jocks agree that it was a vengeance against our team, which it was, but they'll never know how much I wanted it to happen." (Hite 1981, 797)

257 A 14-year-old told Reeves (1983, 1), "When the guys gang-bang a chick, I jerk off afterwards, and I make believe I'm the chick."

Such fantasies of being raped are particularly common in homophile males (Masters & Johnson 1980, 186-187, 198; Barrington 1981, 173). A subject of Barrington (1981, 53) wrote, "Sometimes I like to think of myself as being fuck-raped by a dozen naked men on a beach. I like my lovers to be athletic 'studs' 25 to 35 years of age, with lots of body hair and very big cocks. I like doing everything in sex that is possible and I do like to be hurt when I have sex."

With older boys, no man can succeed in effecting anal penetration if the victim puts up a real resistance. When an adolescent claims that his anus was penetrated during his sleep and that he only woke up when his violator ejaculated, this is quite impossible. He must either have been drugged or is lying to cover up the fact that he was more or less permissive (Hirschfeld 1920, III 109). The famous Arab poet Abu Nuwas tells in one of his poems how an attempt to rape a sleeping boy resulted in the boy beating him up (Wagner

1965, 106). Violent rape of an older boy is only possible with the assistance of several individuals, as in a so-called "gang-bang" (rape by a group). But a man operating alone may nevertheless impose his desires by criminally abusing his authority, as, for example, if one of the masters in a reformatory or boarding school threatens a boy with punishment or failing grades if he does not submit and rewards his compliance with privileges (Plummer 1981, 242). Photos still circulate in some English circles of orgies held on a training ship where the owner regularly abused his position and the bodies of the boys put in his care (d'Arch Smith 1970, 158).

258 In Hursty Richey's novel *Near Fatal Attraction* (1977, 358-360) there is a scene in which the Boy-Scout leader, Bertram, blackmails 15-year-old Tom into submission by threatening to reveal a serious crime the boy has committed. Tom is naked. Bertram is washing him. Tom implores:

"Please don't put your hand on me there! Not now, Mr. Bertram. Please, I don't feel like doing that, now."

"Just hold still. It won't take long. You'll feel better when it's over. Just hold still and relax. It'll all be over in a few moments."

"Please don't. It hurts me, now. Don't. Please don't. I got hurt inside the last time you done that. Please don't do it again. Not now, anyway."

"I'll take it real easy. If you'll just relax and hold still. It won't hurt. I promise. Just relax."

"Please don't. It'll hurt. After the last time (...) my underpants, they had blood on them."

"Hold still. It won't hurt. I'll do it easy. I've just got to. If you'll just hold still, I'll be easy. I promise."

"Don't. Please don't. Something got ripped inside of me the last time. I can feel it sometimes. If there's blood in my underpants or in the bed again, the Judge (his tutor) will make me go to the doctor. (...) Can't you do something else? I'll do anything to you—anything you want me to do. I'll suck it for you, like I done the last time. But don't do that. It hurts too much."

"I just got to. I can't help it. I'll be easy. Now, lay still. It'll be over a lot quicker."

"It'll hurt too much. If you don't let me alone, I'll tell the Judge."

"You won't tell anybody about this. If you do, I'll have to tell then about Luke's death..." (Bertram then enumerates all the evidence he has against Tom.) "Who do you think they will believe—you or me? When I tell them all that and Chad shows them those pictures, they'll just think you got hurt inside getting screwed by the other boys. They'll just believe you're a murderous little pervert trying to get somebody else in trouble for what you've done."

"I won't tell. But, please, stop doing that. It hurts too much. The last time something got tore inside of me and it hurts sometimes. Please don't. Yours is too big. It hurts me terrible. You can do anything! But not that!"

"I'm taking it real easy—real slow. Now, lay real still and it won't hurt. It'll all be over in a moment."

"Please don't, Mr. Bertram. Please stop! It hurts too much!"

"Lay still! Any time, any place, if I want you, you just better be ready! Any time, any place! Do you understand? I'll let you know when I want you. And if you ever tell or if you refuse me, I'll have to tell them the truth about you. You'll do it because you enjoy every minute of it! Don't tell me you don't. I've seen you with the boys. You didn't know I was watching. (...) I saw what you did—what they did to you—and you enjoyed it. You loved every minute of it! Don't try to tell me that's not true. I've seen you screwed up the ass too many times. Don't try to tell me different. Now, hold still! You'll hold still for me! Do you understand? I'll make you hold still."

"I understand. But take it easy. Please be easy. Stop! Stop! Not so far! It hurts! Please, it hurts!"

What was here obtained by blackmail, in other criminal cases is extorted at gun- or knife-point or by threatening torture.

259 "The victim in the Hodge case was a 12-year-old boy. Police reports indicate that the boy left his father's place of work and was walking through the back parking lot on September 17, 1978, when he noticed that a man was following him. The boy walked several blocks further on until he was approached by the man, who asked him to help him carry something from his car. When the boy hesitated, the man offered to pay him and produced a wallet, but the boy noticed that it contained no money. He then declined the offer and began to walk away when the man pulled a knife from his pocket and told the victim not to run away and that if he did he would 'get him'. He told the boy he knew who he was and where he lived and that he would get him one way or another. The man took the boy to a parking garage and forced him into a freight elevator. The man pushed the emergency stop button between floors, preventing the elevator from moving. Then the man told the boy to remove all of his clothes. When the boy began to cry the man pulled his knife out and told him to shut up or he would be stabbed. After the boy removed his clothing, the man stuffed a handkerchief in his mouth, removed his own clothing and performed an act of sodomy on the boy for ten minutes." After this the man threatened to kill him if he told anybody what had occurred. The boy, however, told his father and the father managed to find the man, who was arrested. (Illinois Legislative Commission 1980, 40)

260 Robin Maugham describes an 'approved school' in England. "In this particular school, this house master would make a kid come in, who had done something wrong, and say, 'Now look, it's either a whipping or you can let down your trousers.' And then he would *rape* them—and hurt them most terribly. Now, I was told this by one boy from this school, and from a completely different town in England from another boy who had been at the school, I heard exactly the same story." (1982, 144)

Senator Alan Cranston of California, investigating the use of Federal funds to finance child care facilities, "heard reports of children being strung up by the arms and legs in iron cages, held in solitary confinement in leg irons and handcuffs, tear-gassed and placed as punishment in dormitories with older inmates who sexually abuse them." (Linedecker 1981, 69)

That the "gang-bang" has a history of at least 25 centuries can be seen on an antique Greek amphora where gesticulating naked men with big erections queue up to satisfy themselves upon their victim, who is half-lying, half-kneeling on the floor (Koch-Harnack 1983, 217).

In the American prison system, it seems, such rapes of young inmates are as common as they are in male juvenile correctional institutions (Schultz 1973, 148).

261 One of my correspondents wrote, "The next time I got assaulted and misused was when I was seventeen years old in jail. I was in a tank with thirty others and I think all thirty of them got me."

262 In Los Angeles a teenager arrested for vagrancy, a completely "innocent" boy, was thrown into the county jail. "The very first night, many of us sleeping in cell-block s corridor due to overflowing cells, I feel the famous Stealthy Group. Dimly I perceive in the gloom two looming blacks, each roughly twice my weight and age, and heavily muscled, one with razor in hand. At once, razor is at my throat. I am turned over, stripped of underpants, sat on, informed that razor is now at my 'balls, baby'. My butt is raised, my knees spread, he is between them. Initial reaction to this point: incomprehension, disbelief, denial, immobility; in retrospect probably lucky for me. Thence what might be termed in court acquiescence, penetration of anus (the pure shock of it), incredible pain, two to three minutes of being fucked (precisely the appropriate word), then flashlight beam, guard. Attackers flee as he approaches. I remember more vividly than the rape, the *after:* shame, shame beside which the outrage and pain of the doing are nothing; guilt; longing for oblivion (...) need to pretend it never happened, could not have happened (and guards only too glad to go along) (...) What it did to the body was so very less important, torn flesh, bleeding and all, than what it did to the mind. (...) Nothing ever so damaged *me* as a *person,* nothing ever so violated the very integrity of my individuality, nor so truly *hurt* me as that rape." (Hite 1981, 768-769)

Such a crime is not primarily sexual; it is a crime of violence. It is "an act of violence which may use intercourse as a way of inflicting pain, its main aim being to humiliate and degrade the victim." (Roberts, quoted by Howells 1980, 23; Geiser 1979, 14-16, 19, 83)

263 In India, a correspondent told me, there are paedophiles who, seeing a good-looking prepubertal boy in the streets, accuse him of theft. The boy is arrested and, awaiting trial, put in jail. The accuser then bribes the guards to let him "interview" the boy, and takes advantage of the youngster's helpless position to rape him. Subsequently he might even hire the boy out to other prisoners. Thus before the boy comes to trial (and is inevitably acquitted for lack of evidence) he may have been abused by as many as 150 men. (Personal communication)

There can be no legal or moral justification for such disgusting crimes. A human act which in itself is only pleasant and good is perverted into a degrading

torture. It happens, as do other kinds of atrocities, but fortunately they are committed only rarely by paedophiles, who as a rule show little inclination to violence. Boy-lovers tend to be less aggressive, less dominant than the average male, some experts say (Fisher & Howell 1970, 623, 625; Wilson 1982, 27, 114). In one sample of 100 Dutch cases of sexual assault on children, 91 involved girls and only 9 boys (Wafelbakker 1983, 96). Of course we should not make the mistake of idealising boy-lovers and refuse to recognise that there really are scoundrels and mentally ill people among them, as does Sonenschein (1983). But the vast majority would agree wholeheartedly with Hieron, as quoted by Xenophon: ''As for sexual acts with a beautiful boy, those are sweetest which he willingly performs.'' (Peyrefitte 1977, 519-520) Gundel Koch-Harnack (1983, 243) makes the curious observation that in ancient Greek vase art the gods are decidedly more aggressive in their sexual advances toward boys than are human males.

Unfortunately moralistic, mendacious propagandists try to make the public believe that criminal acts like the fictional Bertram's assault on his victim Tom characterise all man/boy relationships. There is absolutely no evidence of this, no grounds for spreading such vicious misinformation, but it is easy to organise a crusade around this theme, financially profitable for its leaders, and it will always have the moralists' blessing. In truth there is no more validity to such propaganda than to the claim that wife-raping is universally characteristic of marriage.

Rather than spreading horror stories about child molesters, stories which neither help nor protect youngsters but only add to their mental burden, these moralists and propagandists should stop for a moment and consider how their activities increase the suffering of genuinely molested and raped children by making it more difficult for them to talk about their plights. Lacking all sexual knowledge, or fed only highly distorted moralistic information, children so deprived have, first of all, no way of understanding what the criminal really wants and so are unable to take appropriate action against it, and, second, they are afraid to tell their parents, or others who are charged with protecting them, frankly and without guilt exactly what happened. Just as with incest, an S.O.S. telephone service for children is a necessity.

264 Strangely enough, reality occasionally produces the obverse of the fictional Mr. Bertram. The January 1972 issue of the German magazine *Pikbube* carried an article about a 15-year-old boy from Hashude who forced two adult men at knifepoint to let him sodomise them.

Thus far we have been discussing violence as means to a sexual end; we now turn to cases where inflicting physical or mental suffering stimulates or increases

lust (sadism). "Beating, choking and degrading a child may enhance sexual excitement." (Howells 1981, 83)

265 In depicting the horrors of a colonial war, Guyotat (1967, 95) tells of a soldier in the occupying army torturing to death a young schoolboy; as he beats his victim with a stick, the man has a spontaneous orgasm.

266 The best known example from European history is the French nobleman Gilles de Rais (1400-1440) who killed a great number of boys between the ages of seven and twenty, and a few girls as well. He or his assistants would slowly strangle or bleed to death his naked victims, and as they were in the throes of their last agonies he would rub his penis on their bellies and there ejaculate (Bataille 1965, 196, 272-273, 312).

In these cases the sexual element is readily apparent, but often it remains hidden, even to the actor himself. There is, for example, flagellism in education (Wörenkamp & Perkauf 1932) posing as pedagogy. The deep emotions which recently surfaced in England, for example, justifying corporal punishment in schools shows that far more than dispassionate pedagogical philosophy was involved (Bullough 1976, 479-480; Bronslau 1968, 114-115). "Like the genital mutilations of the tribal ceremonies, this form of punishment—buttock caning—has always had a sexual flavour and cannot be disassociated from the phenomenon of Status Sex." (Morris 1969, 190) The evil is passed on from generation to generation, since such disciplinary education fosters sadomasochism in the educated (Hart de Ruyter 1976, 533). Worsley (1967, 46, 101-102) had long experience of British schools, first as a boy and later as a teacher, and there was no doubt in his mind about the sexual aspect of caning.

It has been noted that in English schools ugly and skinny boys are much less frequently caned than the more attractive ones (Dühren 1912, I-359)

267 Kraemer (1976, 18-19) tells the story of John who at sixteen "was made a prefect at school. He now had responsibilities for others and according to the rules he was expected to cane some of the boys. The other prefects made no secret of the sexual excitement which caning gave them, but John was astonished and even outraged by their frivolous talk." After his first actual experience, however, he found himself violently aroused and had to masturbate. Dühren also tells of an especially cruel teacher who always ran off to a brothel after a caning session (1912, I-397). And a German correspondent of mine who was brought up in a boys' home said it was common knowledge among the inmates that the teachers always got erections while administering corporal punishment.

This is the underlying reason why the right to punish is always advocated with such intense emotion.

268 In 1976 Jeffrey Campbell was expelled from a school in Glasgow because he refused to submit to a whipping as punishment. His crime was walking through the cemetery on the way home from school. All British authorities supported the decision of the school governors, so Jeffrey's mother appealed to the European Court at Strasbourg. On February 25, 1982 the court by a majority of six votes decided that Great Britain had been guilty of a violation of human rights. The English judge was the only one who voted against the decision. The National Union of Headmasters in Great Britain was appalled and advised its members not to change its practices and go on caning anyway *(NRC Handelsblad,* 26 Feb., 1982).

An English radio journalist asked me in an interview in 1977 if I did not think sex with children was disgusting and loathsome. I replied, "I do think that the form of sex with children which is most popular in England—the caning of boys and girls in school—is disgusting and loathsome. But the form which in England is strictly forbidden—tenderness and caressing—I fully approve of."

The case of Nicholas Udall, Headmaster of Eton from 1534 to 1541, is characteristic of a society which more easily forgives sexual offences when they are motivated by cruelty. Udall "gained a reputation for inflicting corporal punishment. In 1541, accused of committing 'an unnatural crime' with two students and a servant, he confessed his crime." While others in that century were commonly burned alive for similar offences, Udall was only kept for a brief time in prison and "eventually ended up as headmaster at another school, Westminster". (Bullough 1979, 142)

On the whole, however, children, and especially the smaller, more vulnerable boys and girls, fall victim much less frequently to sadistic child molesters—the great worry of the public!—than to violent treatment from their own parents. In The Netherlands, for example, between one and three children are killed every year by sex criminals, but during the same period 120 die from punishments inflicted by their own parents, 160 suffer permanently crippling brain damage, 1200 are seriously wounded and 12,000 less seriously hurt (Everts-Goddard 1972, 2). And these figures do not even include cases of intentional malnourishment, refusal to provide warm enough clothes, deliberate exposure to cold and rain, intentionally leaving small children at the edge of canals and highways, etc. (Clemens Schröner 1978, 100). This in a nation known to love its children. In West Germany in 1982 five children were victims of sex murder, 727 were killed in road accidents, 112 were murdered and 1500-2000 were seriously hurt by their parents (Baurmann 1983, 21, 276, 277, 479, 710). In the United Kingdom in eight cases of child murder, only one is related to sex (West 1981, 259). "It is a horrifying fact that physical abuse from parents has become the number one cause of child death in United States. Close to three million children have been abused every year for the past five years." (Janus 1981, 120). "Department of Health, Education and Welfare figures indicate that perhaps five children a day perish and 12 a day suffer permanent brain damage directly related to child abuse." "One million children at any given moment are in danger of their lives at the hands of their parents or custodians." (Subcommittee on Crime 1977, 27, 40). The family, in fact, emerges as the

most violent major social group in our society, after the army and the police (Beyaert 1982, 99). Nevertheless the press goes on making a great fuss about sexual crimes, simply because they *are* sexual and thus seem more horrifying and sensational.

Where fantasies about naked bodies convulsed by lust become taboo, the image of a semi-naked boy convulsed by pain under the lashes of a whip or the strokes of a cane may become an attractive sexual substitute—especially since flagellation can be morally exalted, pedagogically justified and supported by quotations from the Bible. The pleasant tickling in a bully's penis, or even its erection, is not something he is likely to spurn! And a special sting in the whole situation is that there is often some sexual reaction in the victim himself, since in puberty and adolescence masochistic feelings are hardly exceptional.

269 (Continued from 201) Vincent talked about his experiences in a German home for neglected youth. ''Later we had male teachers rather than nuns. Neither one of them could do their job without beating you. Why? A lot of the boys had already committed crimes, stealing from cars, etc. Caning was the only way to make them submit. You could often hear them screaming when 'the yellow uncle' went into action. It didn't matter if you were as old as 17—it was all the same to them. And all of them did it. Officially the punishment for disobedience, laziness or insolence was getting locked up in a cell for one or two days. But we all hated this. So the teacher would say, 'You want to be locked up? There's still an empty cell.' But I didn't want that, so he'd say, 'Then we'll discuss it the Spanish way.' In his room he'd yell, 'Hurry up, bend over, student! Way over. Hands on your shoes!' Until your arse was right up in the air and your pants were stretched tight. And then he'd fetch his 'assistant', as they called it. And down it came. Some of them made you take their caning kneeling on a chair. Or over the back of the sofa—not just the little boys but the older ones up to 16. All these men had to have your trousers stretched tight. Stupid, for we all wore jeans and jeans are always tight over your arse. If some kid resisted another teacher was called in to hold him, and then his pants were pulled right down and he got it on his bare behind. So the boys preferred to stretch their trousers. By the time I was 16 I was used to it; I didn't mind anymore. But when I felt my trousers stretching and the man had taken his cane out of the cupboard I was already starting to feel horny. Natural, isn't it? And often when the cane cut into my buttocks I had an orgasm, and the man would see and tell me, 'It looks like you need some more beating.' When I was allowed to stand up again I could see he too had a hard-on in his pants. Every night this one man caned three boys, one after another. He always found some reason. Now I'm convinced it really turned him on, and he'd jerk off afterwards.'' (Personal communication)

Apart from this kind of active sadism disguised as educational discipline, a number of boy-lovers indulge in conscious sadistic fantasies.

270 G. K. van het Reve, who received the highest Dutch literary award, wrote—in English—*A Prison Song of Love* in which a naked boy in jail is severely whipped until at last, after a brutal lash on his genitals, he breaks down and betrays his friend. About

the English author Ralph Chubb (1892-1960) we are told, "Pain and death involving boys fascinates him. In *An Appendix* he describes watching a bout between two boy boxers and his excitement at the thought that he is to sleep, that night, with the bruised and battered loser. In *The Secret Country* (...) a gypsy-boy suggests that Chubb tie him to a tree and whip him. Chubb demurs but in retrospect regrets that he did not accept the invitation for he feels sure both partners would have enjoyed the experience. In *The Heavenly Cupid* he varies the theme of the early *Sacrifice of Youth* in a poem which treats of the beating to death of a young Spartan in a form of ritual sacrifice." (D'Arch Smith 1970, 228)

Men who entertain such inclinations sometimes wish to tie up their boy-friends and photograph them that way. One artist who produced a large quantity of such bondage drawings always depicted the boy with an erect, even ejaculating, penis. His sadism is evidently coupled with supposed masochistic tendencies in the boy. However, those I have personally come to know have in reality been extremely kind and tender in their relations with boys and willing to make all kinds of personal sacrifices to help their young friends. We might recall the famous Marquis de Sade, who was a violent opponent of the death penalty, still writing books in which girls, men and boys are tortured and killed by the most ghastly means. De Sade, who never actually killed anybody, was reviled as a monster of cruelty and thrown in prison by morally outraged people who, themselves, had murdered hundreds of victims. De Sade may not have had what we would call a friendly personality, but he was certainly kinder than his bloodthirsty judges! (Fontanié 1981, 583-589)

Without doubt there is a mysterious link between sexual pleasure and pain. Plato had already observed the similarity of the body's reactions: sexual delight "convulses the whole body, makes it contract at times spasmodically; colour changes are extreme; arms and legs move in all directions; the breath is panting; there is a general over-excitement; there are mad screams." (Foucault 1984, 142) Especially around the age of puberty, boys are apt to respond to conditions of tension, stress and suspense with sexual excitement, expressed in erection and even ejaculation. Long before Rousseau wrote in his *Confessions* the famous passage about his voluptuous feelings during physical punishment, the Greeks were well aware that a beating on the buttocks was sexually exciting to boys. Whipping naked boys was part of a ritual in honour of the goddess Artemis (Diana), and, since this sacrifice was made publicly in front of the temple, there were always many spectators. Artemis goddess had an epithet, "the straight standing" (Orthia), and there was a ribald joke that this referred to the up-standing penises of the whipped boys as well as the whipping priests (Licht 1926, III 110-111; Borneman 1978, 609).

271 The novelist Peyrefitte paints such a scene: "Fifteen adolescents, entirely naked, their arms hanging down, presented their buttocks to the priests who were whipping

them bloody. Obviously some of the boys were responding sexually, as was said of the ritual whippings in Sparta. Their sexual organs, some very large, popped like pikes under the blows. They pressed their lips tight to stifle any outcry, and only opened them when a beating was renewed to shout, 'Pelops!' Their bodies trembling all over, their hair swinging over their shoulders, the rhythmic melody of the flute-player, the impassive faces of the whipping priests, the blood trickling down the boys' legs, the swinging, rising or shrinking genitals—all this formed as strange a scene as Panaenus ever painted. 'The spectators,' said Kleotimos, 'are looking for the boys who cannot hold back their sperm.' As soon as he said this a shout of joy went up around them: 'Io! Io!' A handsome ephebe had faltered as he called the name of Pelops, as the wave of ecstasy had broken within him. The girls ran to the temple of Juno to make there a vow in favour of their marriages, eyes wide with the auspicious omen they had just witnessed.'' Kinesias, the boy who had ejaculated his seed on this occasion, afterwards tells Alexander that he was twelve the first time he had been whipped by a priest, who had simultaneously inserted an artificial phallus into his anal opening. Ever since he had loved this kind of treatment.

Peyrefitte describes such an episode in Ancient Sparta. New boys being whipped for the first time are allowed to embrace from behind a friend. The bodily contact lessens the pain and increases masochistic sexual excitement. The whipping goes on until blood runs down the legs of the victim—and the boy's seed runs down the legs of his friend (1977, 28-29, 642-643, 660)

272 In Stöwer's novel about Antinous, Emperor Hadrian describes in a letter how his young slave Thrasyllus, a fine-looking black boy, was punished: ''They tied Thrasyllus's wrists together and hoisted them up to a roof-beam. Thrasyllus looked at me with his black eyes, fixed and unflinching. There was fear, helplessness, perhaps even devotion in them. (...) I gave the signal. At the first blow Thrasyllus screamed like an animal. All his muscles contracted, he writhed under his lifted arms. The second blow he suffered in silence. His eyes became moist, his mouth opened, and a strange excitement is now visible. Awaiting the next blow Thrasyllus's body curves, his breast arches forward, his hips are drawn back, and at the last blow his seed spurts from him. A protracted, plaintive sound accompanies this spectacle, which appals all of us. The strong body relaxes and hangs like those of the crucified along the road to Capua. I order him to be untied.'' (1967, 224)

273 Borneman (1978, 1151) tells of a doctor who, as a boy, asked his comrades to tie him up and then forcefully masturbate him, since when they did this he experienced such a marvellous orgasm. And one of Barrington's subjects, a black Jamaican, said (1981, 59): ''I don't like being handled too gently. I prefer being tossed off by someone with a pretty rough grip. I like to be held down when I 'come' and I like my partner to keep on pulling me violently throughout my orgasm and for several minutes afterwards. I struggle to make him stop but I'm disappointed if he does.''

274 Graffito from a Paris lavatory: ''I am 15. Who will fuck me in my arse and break me in with a whip?'' (Ernest 1979, 291)

Without going to such extremes, many boys enjoy a certain amount of roughness in sexual intercourse.

275 Jersild wrote about a 48-year-old man in Copenhagen who over the years had sex contacts with a great many 13- to 15-year-old boys, satisfying himself in their mouths or between their thighs. He also sometimes beat them repeatedly and sadistically, yet he never had any difficulty finding partners, who came spontaneously to his home, often bringing interested friends along with them (1964, 213-214).

276 (Continued from 248) Onno remembered with nostalgic pleasure how his friend, when they were play-wrestling in bed, used to squeeze his balls hard enough to make him yell in order to free himself. (Personal communication) In German there is even a special term (''dengeln'') for pinching the testicles during intercourse to heighten the man's lust (Borneman 1978, 186).

On the other hand, the boy, conscious of the power he possesses as a sexual object, may use it in a sadistic way against his partner.

277 One of Stekel's patients had had a sexual relationship with a 40-year-old woman when he was still a boy of 16: ''I ordered her to undress (entirely naked) and pose for me in all kinds of perverse positions. Then I fucked her until I saw she was just about to have an orgasm, when I withdrew and laughed at her and left her alone with her unsatisfied desire.'' (1925, 255)

278 (Continued from 276) Onno told a similar story about his relations with men, although he always, in the end, satisfied them. To take distinguished, important men and sexually excite them until they were mad with lust, convulsed with desire and writhing at his feet imploring him to let them attain their peak on his naked body, filled him with extraordinary joy. (Personal communication)

Sadomasochism is an acceptable variety of sex-play between willing partners who respect each other and fully agree to what transpires. In all other cases it is criminal.

Frustrated boy-love lies at the heart of much criminal sadism inflicted upon boys. Internalising the cultural taboo means, for some men, repressing entirely a strong desire to have sex with boys. Such a man will be irritated upon contact with any handsome boy who threatens to arouse in him forbidden feelings. Thus the redoubtable teacher whose severity with his pupils is in direct proportion to their decency and attractiveness. The handsomest boy is likely to become the disciplinary scapegoat of the whole class.

Since all men to a greater or lesser degree are drawn to children, and many of them are not insensible to the beauty of their own sex, the cultural repression of boy-love assures that cruel treatment of boys remains an omnipresent phenomenon (Rossman 1976, 228; Stekel 1925, 316). If the internal repression is complete, the connection between attraction and irritation is never made, and

the result, in the teaching profession, is one of those strict disciplinarians who boasts of his high moral purpose in thrashing his pupils. Somewhat more sympathetic is the teacher who acknowledges, at least to himself, his sexual attraction to boys, even if he vents on his young victims his inner feelings of frustration. He is a wretch, but at least he is a knowing wretch. He would still be a far better man if he could restrain himself!

279 One of Stekel's patients, a married physician, earned money as a student by giving private lessons to children.

"Did you cane your pupils?"

"I have to confess I often struggled with the temptation. (...) But I was firmly resolved never to do this, and I never did do it. I clenched my teeth and repressed my enormous sexual excitement."

"Who excited you the most—a boy or a girl?"

"(...) I think a boy. I imagined it would be the height of delight to have him naked and deeply humiliated... But I always fought against such fantasies and was ashamed of them." (Stekel 1925, 316)

It is possible that such a person might develop into a balanced boy-lover, not only conscious of his sexual desires but entirely accepting of them as well. Lost, then, will be his need to respond to boys with anything but tenderness and love. Most interesting, in this connection, is the artistic evolution of the French author Tony Duvert. His first novels, *Récidive* (1967), *Le voyageur* (1970) and *Paysage de fantaisie* (1973) are full of raped, tortured and murdered boys. When Duvert at last came to terms with his inner tendencies, this sadistic element disappeared and he was able to write that masterpiece of tender understanding, *Quand mourut Jonathan* (1978).

For the rest we can only say that sadism in men is in no way exceptional. Hunt found that 18% of men under 35 years of age indulged in fantasies of rape while masturbating, and 6.3% said they experienced sexual excitement when actually inflicting pain upon a partner. Among students, 18% said they would like to experiment with sadistic play (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 343). Since boy-lovers are just ordinary men, sharing common inclinations with their fellow-beings, none of this is alien to them. Of course there are among them people with sadistic inclinations. There is a market for films in which boys are castrated, burned, torn apart, broken upon the wrack or flayed. There is no end to what can be done with trick photography and modelling (Borneman 1978, 1186). People interested in adding fuel to the anti-porno hysteria went so far as to spread quite unsubstantiated rumours that children had been tortured and even killed during the production of such "snuff" films (Subcommittee on Crime 1977, 11).

Sadistic assault by peers or adults often focuses upon the victim's sexuality.

280 A Frenchman told me stories of his boarding school initiation which were almost identical to the following American example, which was reported as having taken place at the University of Texas in 1954. A competition was started among the new boys (''pledges''). ''The loser had to sit on the floor with his hands under his ass and head held up while all other pledges, one at a time, stripped and, facing him, jerked off on him, being told to aim at his face. He couldn't wash or change out of his cum-soaked clothes all night. (...) Periodically a pledge was ordered by a seated brother to come over and jerk him off (the brothers were in shorts or jocks, the pledges naked). This meant that the poor bastard who had lost the (...) contest had to crawl over and sit in front of the brother and get a load in the face. Then the pledge who had just masturbated the brother was required to 'show respect' by also jerking off on the loser. Towards the end, pledges were begging not to be forced to beat their sore cocks anymore, and after as much as a half-hour of pounding away only came a pearl of cum.'' The next day the pledges ''were herded into a room off the rec room and told to strip off. Then they told us to go into the rec room and line up facing the brothers. They sat on chairs and sofas in a sort of semi-circle all with their clothes on (...) We all had to stand there and work our cocks up and then go, one at a time, to where the pledgemaster was sitting. He had a tailor's tape and measured our cocks. He yelled out the lengths, circumferences (shafts and heads separately) and everybody jeered. After my cock was measured I had to get up on the table on knees and elbows, ass towards the brothers. The pledgemaster then placed the tape end against my ass (I should say *in* my asshole) and measured how far down my balls hung. Same for all the other pledges. Then we were lined up again and our balls were weighed by hand and visually compared and graded for size. Then some guy did a bit of figuring and announced the longest cock, fattest cock, biggest balls, biggest cock-head. (...) After that was over, they did Milk-the-Bull on us. We had to get up on the table again in the same position, one at a time. Then the pledgemaster and (...) two guys (...) took turns milking our cocks (jerking them off). They were timing us and said that the 'bull' who took the longest to 'cream' would have all the pledges' cum smeared over him from head to foot and have to sleep that way. We were told that, in order to aid our 'Helping Hands' to milk us so that we wouldn't be last, we could yell out 'suggestions' that might help us 'cream' faster. So I figured (...) this good-looking guy is standing by the side of the table reaching under me and jerking on my cock and I sure as hell don't want all these guys' cum smeared all over me, so why not tell him that I like the foreskin pulled all the way over the head on each stroke? So I did. But he said, 'What? I can't hear you.' So I really screamed it out. He started doing it right but then would stop, so I finally just kept screaming, 'Sir! Please pull the skin all the way over my cock!' I came into the pan fairly soon. (...) By the way, when we came we had to really scream, 'Coming, Sir!' and then bellow like a bull until we finished shooting. Some of the other guys yelled stuff like, 'Two fingers and your thumb... Faster... Slower... Hold it tighter,' etc. I was timed at 3 minutes 28 seconds. The loser took nearly 15 minutes and all three 'Helping Hands' had to take turns on him. In his desperation he kept yelling all kinds of different things for them to try. Mostly he kept yelling that his balls were being hurt by their fists, so one guy just held his balls up out of the way. They did smear all that cum from all 11 pledges all over the loser.'' The subject added that Milking-the-Bull was pretty common in Texas and that he had already had a version of it done to him in high school. He discussed some variations of this play *(Fag Rag* XII, 1982, 76-77) (Cf. Peyrefitte 1968, 411).

Where boys are forced to masturbate that way before onlookers, or be brutally and repeatedly masturbated, and submit to measurement and discussion of their genitals, all in an effort to humiliate them, they may experience a combination of lust and pain.

281 A teacher reported to Ellis (1915, II-79) that a 16-year-old boy, sent to London for his apprenticeship, said "that almost nightly, and especially when new fellows came, the youths in his dormitory (eleven in number) would waylay him, hold him down, and rub his parts to the tune of some comic song or dance-music. The boy who could choose the fastest time had the privilege of performing the operation, and most had to be the victim in turn unless new boys entered, when they would sometimes be subjected to this for a week. This boy, having been brought up strictly, was shocked, dased, and alarmed."

282 (Continued from 269) Vincent saw the cause of such abuses in the sadism of the teachers. "Those who were caned worked off their emotions in sex—and in the most brutal way. Boys overcome with these feelings grabbed a smaller boy, tied him up and jerked him off, or did equally swinish things. They would smear his cock and arse with shoe-polish, and woe be to him if he ratted on them. But one time they were caught, and then all ten boys from that dormitory were beaten. Each was laid over a chair and caned on his bare bottom, and those whose turn hadn't yet come had to watch. (Personal communication)

Even crueler and more humiliating is the "gang-bang", anal rape by a group of men, an atrocity which, as we have already seen, is performed with monotonous regularity in some prison and reformatory systems. A common element in almost all reports is that the guards did not interfere or that they deliberately let the culprits go unpunished. Thus something which if committed outside the prison walls with tenderness and love is severely punished is blithely tolerated when committed in the most brutal and sadistic way within the institution! (Davis 1968)

283 From a letter from an American correspondent: "I was in the seventh grade and this very masculine boy (our football hero) always watched me no matter where I was. One day I asked him if he would like to kiss and fool around and he told me he was only interested in getting sucked because he was in to girls. Being that he was a very handsome person, the pride of our school, I offered to suck him, and he had the rest of the team in there (9th graders), hiding, and they beat me up and raped me and left me tied to the plumbing under a sink by my balls, until a janitor came to my rescue. They had stolen my clothes and ran them up the flag pole, and this is why the janitor checked the rest-rooms. The next time I got assaulted and misused was when I was seventeen years old in jail. I was in a tank with thirty others and I think all thirty of them got me." (Personal communication; L. C. 9-7-84)

How cruel such gang-bangs are is shown in the cynical terms of prison slang: ''The 'wolf-pack' hunts a 'first-cop' (sexually inexperienced newcomer) to have a 'gang-splash' (group anal rape), the first, second and third rapists being 'welcome wagon, sloppy seconds and bloody thirds'.'' The victim is despised by everyone as a 'punk' or 'prison pussy' (West 1977, 152).

Forcing open the anal sphincter against the resistance of the victim is extremely painful. In ancient times people were punished by having a horse-radish pushed into their anus and then forced to ride on a donkey. Peyrefitte humorously describes how a 15-year-old school companion of the young Alexander the Great had this ordeal imposed on him for having seduced Aristotle's lover-boy (1977, 469-470, 480).

284 In one North African capital city, the police, when questioning a boy suspected of a crime, have been known to make him undress completely, since, stark naked, he is meeker. If he refuses to talk, a bottle-neck is introduced into his anus and he is forced to sit down on it. For a while he can hold himself up, but as his muscles tire he progressively impales himself on the bottle and his sphincter becomes more and more dilated. (Personal communication)

The male genitals, delicate and sensitive as they are, offer a tempting target to sadistic torturers. To them it is especially exciting to turn the very organ in which salacity resides into the centre of excruciating pain. The mildest form of this kind of torture is the medieval punishment of making the delinquent walk naked through the city led by a cord attached to his parts (Armand 1931, 205).

285 The same is still done by the Cewa of Central Africa as part of initiation rites. As soon as a boy has reached puberty his uncle informs the chief, who orders the initiation to proceed. The boy is taken to a secluded spot outside the village where he stays for about a week of harsh treatment. He is swung over a low fire, is dragged, face down, over the ground, is caned, thrown onto a nest of biting ants, rubbed with itching plants, made to eat faeces and drink urine, and is pulled around by a cord tied to his genitals (Ford & Beach 1968, 191).

The ancient Greeks whipped the genitals of disobedient slave-boys (Borneman 1978, 1198).

286 Isabella of Bavaria (1371-1435), who later became Queen of France, used 12-year-old nobly-born boys as her pages. At the slightest offence they were undressed and fettered, with arms and legs spread apart. Their penises were then beaten until they erected. A maid of honour was then ordered to suck the boy as a consolation (Foral 1981, 234-235).

287 In modern times other methods are used. An American told: ''In camp, age 12 to 13, our group had a ceremony called a 'washbah' in which a group of boys grabbed one of their friends, pulled down his pants, and poured all kinds of shaving cream,

aftershave, deodorants, etc., on his genitals. The idea was to make them burn.'' (Hite 1981, 58)

288 On holiday in France, a Dutchman got to know the director of a British reformatory who invited him to pay a visit to his institution. The Dutchman did, several times, and told his experiences to a German, who assured me that the man was reliable. The story was partly documented by photos but, even after the authorities heard of what had been going on and the director was dismissed, the story was never published. ''When the Dutchman came for the first time he saw on the Director's desk a 500 cc medicine bottle half-filled with a turbid liquid. He was told this was the sperm produced in the last week by 63 boys—12- to 18-year-old inmates of the school, all from problem families. The director would order a boy to come to his room, where he had to strip off his clothes—and if he didn't obey quickly enough his ears were boxed. Since in England corporal punishment was permitted in such institutions, the Director made frequent use of this liberty. There was even a special room in the attic for the whipping of naked boys, something the Director always did himself. In the dormitories, too, there were always whips at hand. There was a table on which the boy had to lie on his back naked and let his forearms and slightly spread legs be fixed with loosely-fitting straps to the table-top. Thus held, the victim was dealt with in various ways. Older boys, themselves naked, too, often served as assistants or took their turns as executor, or helped with various manipulations. There was an apparatus for administering electrical shocks. An electrode, one inch thick, was inserted into the anus of the boy. If someone took the second electrode in one hand and with the other seized the victim's penis, the current, which could be regulated at will, went through the penis to the anus. If contact was made with the mouth instead of the hand, the boys used to react violently. If seed was to be collected, as, for example, on the week of the Dutchman's first visit, a little tube with a plastic bottle at the end was inserted into the boy's urethra. Not infrequently a boy was ''milked'' several times in succession (as a punishment!), until he was dry. Other boys had to endure all sorts of manipulations for a very long time, with the Director, a guest and the well-instructed assistants taking turns or working together so that the tension in the victim became intolerable and, finally, he ejaculated his seed with violent force. Each inmate had a number, and this was inked large on his sport shirt. Guests were invited to go to the drill-hall to see the boys lined up in front of the female gym instructor—a lady who also liked to cane them!— and could make note of the numbers they preferred. The chosen boys were then told there was a physician from London waiting to examine them. The Dutchman had selected a 15-year-old of medium size and with black, curly hair. In white overalls, the usual dress for that special room, he examined the boy lying naked in front of him, first, for show, with a stethoscope, listening to his heart and lungs, soon, however, moving on to the more interesting parts of the boy's anatomy. The man was very friendly (this was quite exceptional, since usually not a word was spoken to the boys when they were subjected to these activities) and so the boy volunteered to come to him at night. Another guest was permitted to be present at the 'admission test' of a newly-arrived 16-year-old inmate. The 'result', i.e. the sperm drained from him, had to be taken by himself to the director for microscopic examination. When he met other boys as he was walking with his glass jar through the hall, they all laughed knowingly. If any reason at all was given for a boy to present himself at the special room, it could vary from medical inspection to punishment. If someone had come to the attention of the Director for his cheekiness

or aggression, he was subjected, by way of punishment, to 'intensive treatment', continued to the limits of his endurance and intended to quench his spirit. It was always done with severity and as though it was quite necessary. The whippings and canings, so easily imposed upon the inmates, were a horror. Often assistants had to put the naked sinner on the vaulting-horse and hold him down there. But other treatments were certainly not endured without sexual stimulation, otherwise they would not have resulted in the emission of sperm. A boy who knew what was in the making for him often betrayed his suspicion by the beginnings of an erection. Since these boys had no family or relations outside, the situation continued for quite a few years before it was discovered. Once the Director was assaulted in a dark passageway and soundly beaten up in revenge for his sadistic behaviour, but he must have had more friendly relations with at least some of his pupils, for he took one of them along on his holiday trips.'' (Personal communication)

289 During the Franco-Algerian war, a number of French soldiers, for their Sunday entertainment, tortured Algerian boys by administering electrical current to their genitals, always a favourite torture of some police forces (Alleg 1958).

Both of above cited masturbatory torture techniques have been reported elsewhere. The first—subjection of the penis to continued rubbing after ejaculation—has even been carried out with therapeutic intent, as we will see later. This can be most painful, since in many males the glans becomes hyper-sensitive after orgasm, and even the slightest touch to it is most disagreeable. The second—where masturbation is carried right to the brink of orgasm and then stopped—can be very exciting for some time but, as we have previously seen, eventually produces excruciatingly painful cramps in the testes and groin, cramps which can only be relieved by ejaculation (Masters & Johnson 1980, 153).

A special kind of sadism has even developed to punish people proved guilty of sexual misconduct. The culprit is subjected to sexual activities which would normally be pleasurable but which now are carried on with such frequency or at such length as to become a torture. In many cultures, for example, adulterous or unfaithful women and girls are punished by rape. Sometimes, to heighten the shame, it is carried out in public. In a ghotul in India a girl of 15 was used by five boys, one after another on order of the chief with the other girls looking on. In another tribe, girls who refuse to designate a boy as their steady companion are raped by a number of the bigger boys one after another until they give in (Elwin 1959, 157). With the Trobriand (Polynesia), a girl who dares to go to a neighbouring village and participate in a dance will be waylaid on her return by her rightfully betrothed ''owner'' and his friends and raped by him while the other boys hold her (Malinowski 1929, 186). Similar punishments were practised by the Mohave and the Mundurucu Indians, all the village men having to participate (Davies 1985, 101; Hulsman 1978, 50). In ancient Rome,

a girl of twelve "was thrown naked into a brothel as part of the routine punishment of 'outrage'." (Brownmiller 1975, 330)

In Rome rape was even used to execute adulterous women, just as, in our time, it is done by the Kanokas of New Caledonia. The victim is tied down with her thighs spread and adolescent boys are ordered to rape her until she dies, which reportedly happens after about 100 assaults (Sutor 1964, 336-337, 339).

The same can happen to boys and men. Anal rape may be used to humiliate them, as the Sybarites did in antiquity when they conquered the city of Carbina. Boys and girls both were exposed naked in public "and everyone who wished could feast his lust on the beauty of the victims while all were looking on." (Athenaios XII, 5) Tippu Sahib of Mysore, resisting British rule in the second half of the 18th Century, submitted captured European soldiers to public gang rape (Greif 1982, 164). Here, too, it can be used to kill. Young French soldiers were executed this way by the Berber warriors of the Atlas mountains (20th Century) in spite of their country's alliance with the Pasha of Marrakech (Hughes, 1973), and the Brazilian scientist Candido Chagas Furacachopos died a few years ago after having been raped 76 times in a cellar of the fascist Dead Legion in Rio de Janeiro (Walter 1986, note 111).

Squeezing the testicles, hitting or kicking them, is often used by "dirty" players in sports as a way of disabling their opponents.

290 In Brittany, at Audierne, a boy who wishes, after he has finished school, to become a fisherman is employed digging up worms in the mud flats to be used as bait. His customary initiation by the older boys is to be stripped of his clothes, have his body rubbed with grit and, with handfuls of worms, his testicles are squeezed until he faints (Schérer 1978, 131).

There may be a great deal of covert, or even openly expressed sadistic pleasure in those who execute ritual mutilations of the penis during tribal manhood initiation rites. Fritz John Porter Poole (1982, 127-128) observed that most of the initiators who tortured the Papua New Guinea boys manifested "sadness about the pain inflicted" but "there are a few men who become more zealous than others in performing this act. (...) Some men like to cut and pierce and burn the novices." Some initiation practices aim only at making the penis bleed and causing excruciating pain. Among the Banaro of New Guinea "the natives insert into the urethra two or three stems of a barbed grass. These are then suddenly pulled out so that the walls of the urethra are lacerated." "In Tonga a reed is first wetted with saliva and passed into the urethra in order to produce irritation and discharge of blood. Should the discharge prove violent, a double thread is looped over the reed before it is passed into the urethra. When the reed is felt in the perineum, an incision is made right down to it and

one of the threads is drawn from the aperture, so that when the reed is withdrawn, one of the threads hangs from the meatus and the other end from the perineal aperture, thus forming a seton. An issue is thus ensured. The thread is occasionally drawn backwards and forwards, producing great pain and much discharge of blood.'' Circumcision is then ''performed by tearing the prepuce with the fingers.'' (Ashley Montagu 1946, 427-430) In some regions of Papua New Guinea the boys' penises are covered with a moist gourd that hardens near the fire and tightens around the penis. Finally it is pulled off with difficulty, the aim being to stretch the organ (Poole 1982, 130).

In another tribe the penises are rubbed with nettles ''to make them grow long and have hair'' (Hays & Hays 1982, 215). In the Awa tribe several men lift the boy off his feet and hold him firmly. ''The foreskin is held back with a split stick, and an incision is made on each side of the glans with a bamboo knife. He is then released to bleed into the stream. One or more men may approach him, jeer at him for struggling or crying out in pain, and poke at his wounded genitals with a long stick.'' Bleeding the penis is explained ''as contributing specifically to the strengthening and development of male reproductive organs.'' At a later phase ''the glans penis is not simply incised, but small wedges of flesh are removed from either side, producing deep half-inch-long gashes that occasionally penetrate the urethra. The lacerated glans then is struck sharply and repeatedly with the blade of the bamboo knife (...) and also is rubbed vigorously with salt and nettles. (...) Inflicting pain on the penis at this juncture is specifically thought to induce the production of semen, making it 'boil up' in the genitals.'' (Newman & Boyd 1982, 254, 257, 275-276) In the Arapesh ''the boys' penes are lacerated with bamboo razors,'' and the penis and scrotum, of the younger boys rubbed with stinging nettles (Tuzin 1982, 338, 340).

Roger Moody, accused by the British police of ''indecent assault'' (and afterwards acquitted), observed in the diary of his case, ''Is circumcision an indecent assault? If not, why not?'' (1980, 39)

291 Some Roman emperors made no secret of the pleasure they took in observing or even participating in such scenes. Domitian had the genitals of his victims burned (Armand 1931, 151). Nero had boys and young men tied naked to poles; he then donned a bear-skin and assaulted them, roaring, lacerating their genitals with his hands and teeth (Suetonius: Nero, 29). We have already mentioned the Roman custom of castrating boys after they reached puberty in order to use them for sexual purposes. The Christian empress Theodora, wife of Justinian (527-565) liked to watch such operations and even experienced orgasm as she did (Churchill 1967, 205). Justinian himself ordered the execution of two bishops found guilty of having had sex with boys. Sharp reeds were inserted into their urethras and their penises cut off. Then they were dragged through the streets of Constantinople to their place of execution (Bullough 1980, 443). Castration was a common punishment in imperial Rome and during the middle ages for sexual offences. It was performed publicly for the amusement of the crowd, and the cruelest methods were used. While Alexander was campaigning in

Persia, eight page boys, linked in love relations, conceived a plan to murder the king, because he had had one of them publicly whipped by a slave for some small offence. When the plot came to light, Alexander turned the boys over to their comrades, well knowing that the executions would be cruel in the extreme. Since sexuality had played a role in the plot, the other boys first burned their victims' testicles, then cut off their penises, spread their buttocks and drove red-hot iron bars into their anuses (Peyrefitte 1981, 216). In medieval warfare, to terrorise the population, girls were raped and boys hung on trees by their testicles. Even as late as 1950 in America, the director of a reformatory in Kansas announced proudly that in that one year he had castrated 330 boys who now had become "stable and peaceful". (Banens 1981, 147)

292 Corll, the 33-year-old Houston mass murderer, had two 15-year-old helpers, Henley and Brooks, who were sent out to attract Corll's victims. These were typically handsome white boys between the ages of 13 and 16. Twenty-seven corpses were later exhumed. Corll tricked his victims into letting him handcuff them, stripped them of their clothing, gagged them, inserted glass rods into their urethras and broke the glass inside. He pulled out their pubic hair with pliers, penetrated their anuses with a 40-cm long dildo, ramming it rapidly and brutally in and out, and then sodomised them. Sometimes he cut off their genitals before eventually shooting them dead (Gurwell 1974; Olsen 1974).

Gacy, in Chicago, sexually abused and sometimes murdered slender-hipped, smallish youths, usually with light hair. They ranged in age from 14 to the early twenties. He employed a home-made torture rack. He was eventually caught and charged with the deaths of 33 victims (Linedecker 1981, 104, 188)

293 Jürgen Bartsch (Föster 1984) and Fritz Haarmann were famous sex-murderers in Germany. Between 1918 and 1924 Haarmann killed some 30 boys, usually unemployed runaways whom he met at the Hannover railway station and brought to his home. His sexual practice was to lie down on the boy chest to chest and, making the motions of intercourse, rub his penis on the boy's belly. The fate of the boy depended upon whether or not Haarmann reached orgasm fast enough: if he didn't, he ripped the boy's throat out with his teeth, and this excited him to ejaculation (Lessing 1925).

Such mass murderers always spring up after a major war (Plack 1967, 333). Fortunately they are very rare. Baurmann rightly concludes in his exhaustive study (1983, 430) that "For boys, the risk of violent sexual victimisation is very slight."

But there is not just physical abuse: there is mental assault, too, and we have every reason to suppose that this can be even more traumatising, its effects longer-lasting. When a boy's sexual experiences are discovered by those adults entrusted with his up-bringing, their reactions and possible ensuing examinations by the police may hurt deeply. For he is defenceless before them, helplessly exposed without any protection, and the pain is especially traumatic because it is the authorities who are pretending to help him who are inflicting the trauma. This syndrome is characteristic of a civilisation which considers sexual tenderness a greater evil than brutal violence (Deschner 1978, 295, 387, 435, 437)

and where parents will be quicker to forgive a third person's furious physical outburst against their child than a manifestation toward that child of love (Nationale Raad 1982, 28, 31).

If a boy, of his own free will, has cause to complain about the behaviour of someone who has approached him sexually in a disagreeable or impermissible way, or who has used violence against him, it is then, of course, the duty of the police and courts to help the boy, to support him in the freedom of his decisions, to punish the violator and, if possible, to frustrate any attempts to take away this freedom. Talking to the police can then be useful and beneficial.

An intelligent police officer can also intercede positively where parents react hysterically upon discovering their son has a sexual relationship with a friend. The boy then really does need help and protection from his parent's irrational horror, and if he is skilled, the officer can draw upon his professional experience and education to put the affair into perspective and soothe troubled tempers (Geisler 1959, 72).

But in our culture the judicial authorities do a great deal more. They interfere with the young person's freedom of choice, forbidding the relationship with the older partner. If a boy says he said "no" to the man, society will believe him (and the accused will be sentenced for assault); if a boy claims he said "yes" to the man, society will not take his statement seriously (and the accused will be sentenced for sexual abuse).

Such a legal situation enables—and in certain situations actually obliges—the police to examine the boy as a (potential) witness. Most boys and most parents are unaware of their right to refuse to be questioned. However, they can be obliged to appear in court and answer questions at the trial. Often the questioning by or in front of a judge is preferable to being examined by the police. This is something which all concerned must carefully consider.

Even writers who strongly disapprove of sexual activities with children are nearly unanimous in their opinion that questioning by the police and in court, physical examinations by police doctors, etc., are far more traumatising and inflict upon the boy far more lasting damage than whatever may have happened in the sexual field. The following list does not pretend to be complete; it cites just a few of the authors who have expressed this view:

In the English language: Anderson, Bender & Blau, Brunold, Burditt, Cohen, Farson, Finch, Gagnon & Simon, Gebhard, Geiser, Gibbens & Prince, Gutt-macher, Henriquez, Joint Council for Teenagers, Kinsey, Landis, Linedecker, McCaghy, Mohr, Moody, NAMBLA, Nichols, Peters, Rush, Schofield, Schultz, B. Taylor, Turner, Walter, Weeks, West, Wilson & Cox, P. Wilson, The Wolfenden Committee.

In the French language: Aron & Kemfp, Boulin, Carpentier, Graven, Schérer.

In the German language: Albrecht, Baurmann, Behrend, Bennholdt-Thomsen, Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, Borneman, Döring, Fisch, Frey, Geisler, Groffmann,

Hanack, Herren, Hirschfeld, Jacobi, Kaiser, Kentler, Kerscher, Killias, Körner, Lautmann, Leferenz, Lempp, Marbe, Mayer, Meinert, Messerer, Meyer, Mönkemöller, Müller-Hess, Müller-Lückmann, Nau, Schimmack, Schüler-Springorum, Siemens, Steinhilper, Stern, Störzer, Stutte, Vogel, Wyss.

In the Dutch language: Abspoel, Geradts, Hart de Ruyter, van der Kwast, de Leeuw-Aalbers, Möller, Pieterse, Rouweler-Wutz, Sandfort, Schwartz, Zeegers.

(Many of these are cited in the bibliography at the end of Volume 1; the remaining are quoted by these authors.)

In light of this overwhelming majority of opinion, the attempt by Arntzens (in a publication of the West German Ministry of Justice, as quoted by a female police officer, Mrs. Dierckx-van Lanen, 1974) to demonstrate ''that a child is not normally harmed in the least by police examinations'' is not very convincing. The error is in thinking that traumatisation only results from clumsy questioning by the police, against which precautions can be taken.

Actually even the most skilled psychologist or the most tactful police functionary cannot avoid establishing a link in the child's mind between his sexuality and criminality; when the most intimate acts have to be described in words they lose their splendour and become tarnished. Even if no reproach is voiced, the whole situation instils a feeling of guilt in the child: he has participated in something immoral and criminal, he has liked it or did not protest strongly enough. If the sexual contact had been casual, superficial, an easily forgotten affair with a stranger, the questioning will give it an importance it never would have otherwise had (Hanack 1968, 93; Parker 1970, 214). In cases of long-lasting intimate relationships between boy and man, the child is urged by people having enormous authority over him (parents, police, the judge) to betray an admired and beloved friend and plunge this friend into the deepest misery (Nichols 1976, 28).

The very structure of the situation, even where an investigation is conducted in a psychologically and pedagogically impeccable manner, is in itself sufficient to traumatise the child seriously. How much greater the damage where the police officer promises the boy that he will see that the case is dealt with so that nobody will be hurt, and where the boy later learns he has been lied to because the policeman had no control whatever over the way in which the records would be used. Or where examinations took place in frightening environments such as police stations and the court. Or on line-up procedures in which the child is confronted with a molester (Examples can be found in Illinois Legislative 1980, 32-36, 61, 65, 70, 73, 108, 122, 169). Or in common lies used while examining children (''Your friend has already confessed everything.''), threats (''We'll send you to a reformatory.''), insults, name-calling (''queer, faggot, pervert, filth''), etc. Formerly many policemen were not satisfied until they had made

the child state that he was enormously relieved to have at last been able to unburden himself of this terrible secret and have the pernicious activity put to an end. Certainly not all policemen are masters of tact and sensitivity. Not a few men who, like the author of this book, have had to read many records of many examinations of children have perceived the voluptuous curiosity of the examining policeman demanding the most intimate sexual details which were of no importance for the trial. One Dutch police commissioner told me he had found that records of sexual offences, unlike those of other kinds of delinquency, were circulated among his officers and assiduously read by everyone. "Nowhere else," he sighed, "is there a greater manufacture of pornographic texts than in a police station." The "protected" children are sacrificed to the interests of the prosecution and often also to those of the parents, who want to prove to their neighbours that their well-brought-up child was involved in a sex scandal only against his own free will. There are still many people who firmly believe that a child has no sexuality unless it has had a poor upbringing! (Von Stockert 1956, 1-2).

Intensive questioning of a child, moreover, often elicits unreliable answers. Under the stress of his own troubles, the inevitable ruin of his friendship—perhaps even blaming his friend for this catastrophe—the young witness begins to colour his statement of facts. Add to this his excitement, the novelty of the situation wherein he is the centre of adult attention, and it is not surprising if he loses his balance, begins to fantasise, enlarge, beautify his role in the affair. We should not blame the over-stressed youngster for this, rather our society which has placed this stress upon him (Nichols 1976, 27; Stern 1926).

Another important consideration in this connection is that the accused often has more to fear from a child with whom he did nothing, whose sexual advances he did not follow up, than from the young friend with whom he had performed all kinds of sexual acts. The child who is, or at least feels, rejected may accuse out of jealousy, or may even imagine that the embraces he desired had really taken place.

Sigmund Freud writes in his autobiography about how he was initially surprised to find that nearly all his patients told of being approached sexually by an adult during their childhood years. He later was convinced that the majority of these stories, even where the patient firmly believed in their truth, were really the product of their imaginations (Hanry 1977, 61-62).

On the other hand, brave boys of good character often put up remarkable resistance against police coercion. Robert L. Geiser, an American psychiatrist who is not in the least in favour of allowing children to have sex with adults, observes, "It is very difficult to get those boys who have been the sexual partners of older men to testify against those men in court, especially if the boys have been well treated, given presents, taken on trips, and given love and affection. The boys themselves do not feel that they have been abused. For

some, it is the first time in their lives that someone has treated them decently.'' (1979, 106) Lloyd Martin, the former Los Angeles police detective sergeant, who is said to have held a recalcitrant boy witness by his heels over a cliff, threatening to drop him if he did not make a statement, said at a Congressional hearing (1977, 64), ''In fact, the child molester or chickenhawk is usually the victim's best friend.'' According to Burgess *et al.* (1984, 661), the percentage of youngsters acting this way is substantial if the relationship has lasted for over a year.

294 West (1981, 257) mentions a boarding school where inquiries were made after a public scandal. ''It emerged that a high proportion of the boys at the school knew all about the sexual interests of their headmaster and one of his assistants and many of them had light-heartedly taken advantage of the opportunities presented. The one boy in the group who was really deeply involved in a pedophile relationship, to the extent of being taken on holiday by his lover and introduced as an adopted son, was the one who, perhaps wisely, steadfastly refused to admit to any physical sex acts and so avoided having to give evidence in connection with the ensuing prosecution.''

But the police do not easily give up. An American detective, Lieutenant William G. Thorne declared proudly, ''The problem is getting underage boys to testify against their male lovers. The interrogation can be intense. We've got to crack the boy and it's not an easy thing to do.'' (Ingalls 1984, 3-5) One wonders how many parents really want their sons to be ''cracked'' by such professional child molesters.

295 (Continued from 252) Conny, a 13-year-old Dutch boy, was made to confess to a police officer what he and his adult lover Jan had done together after an 8-hour interrogation in a room behind bars. The policeman had finally declared that if Conny persisted in denying everything Jan would have to be released for lack of evidence. But he also told Conny that the boy's father was waiting outside the police station and had sworn to kill Jan when he came out. So Jan would be dead and Conny's father sent to prison for 15 years as a murderer, all because Conny persisted in telling lies. The boy broke down, told all, and afterwards was so disturbed that he seemed to need psychiatric care. His sanity was saved when he obtained permission from his parents to send a letter to Jan in prison begging his friend's forgiveness for ''betraying'' him, and by the resumption of their friendship after Jan had served his eight months prison sentence. I talked with Conny seven years after these events, and their only lasting influence on him was a violent hatred of the police.

296 Paul, an English boy, wrote about his experience with the police. A few fragments: ''The next day two or three officers came to our home at about 8:45 a.m. and took us all in the same car to Bofors police station. We all waited downstairs for 5 to 10 minutes or so and then, one by one starting with my oldest brother and going downwards in age, they took us into separate rooms and started questioning us. I was interviewed by successive officers one at a time but I was frequently visited by the fat man. (...) I

was left alone in the room from time to time. They asked if Roger had done anything to me ever. I said, 'No.' (...) Coming up to lunchtime they started to pressure me, saying, he has made a full confession, he is downstairs right now and you will be helping him if you tell us. It will be quicker and easier. I thought, if Roger had admitted it himself, what is the use of my saying anything different? They went back into the holidays saying, 'Would you like to go through it in more detail now?' I did not say anything and they left me for half an hour. (...) They brought in a load of photograph albums belonging to Roger and asked me to name the people in the photos. Most of them I could name. (...) By now it was early evening. The fat one, the one I hate most, started by saying I had left bits out and I was not telling the truth; he would not let me go home until I told them, 'the other bit'. I did not know what he was on about. He insisted that I did. This lasted some time. I was getting frustrated and upset. He kept saying if I told him that one thing, he would let me back in the snooker room with my brothers. He said he and his colleague would go out of the room and leave me a pen and paper to write it down. They left the room. I wrote nothing much. They came in two or three times. Finally, they said they would try and boost my memory. They said, 'You wouldn't be like this if you weren't hiding something.' By then I was nearly crying. The long tall officer who looked like a lamp post had one more try to get me to say whatever I was supposed to say and then they let me back in the snooker room. Before I was crying, they kept asking me if Roger touched my dick or willie. I kept saying 'No', which was the truth, but it was getting me nowhere and they had told me Roger and Steve had told them about these things so in the end I just agreed. Once they asked me if he had ever put his willie up my bum. I said 'No'. They said, 'Could he have ever done it while he was sleeping with you in the caravan and such places?' I said no, definitely not. After going back into the pool room, the tall officer came and drove us home. They said if I was lying about this, a doctor could do a medical on us and find out the truth. They said he was already on his way, but 'We can put if off if you like and if you tell the truth.' I said, 'You can examine me if you like.' A few days later the police came to our home one night. There were two or three of them. We went over it again. I said a few damaging things in front of my father but even they were not true. I thought if I took it all back they would think I was lying again and I would have to go over it all again.'' (Moody 1980, 52-53)

Paul and his brothers wanted to tell the judge they had been forced by the police to make false statements. But they never had to appear in court. The accused was acquitted. Paul's father observed, ''The police did more harm in a day to my boys than Roger Moody could have done in three years.'' (Moody 1980, 23)

This threatened medical examination (See also No. 164) is sometimes really carried out. It only makes sense if carried out immediately after a violent rape, to document possible bruises, fissures or traces of sperm at the anal opening. For the rest of the anal area, the sphincter muscle is much too elastic to be permanently deformed by the relatively brief introduction of a penis. The myth of the funnel-shaped anus in cases of frequent anal intercourse seems to go back over a hundred years to Tardieu (1873) and is entirely imaginary.

297 The English youth counsellor, Father Ingram, saw a boy of 11 who ''was taken to the police station where he was told to lower his trousers. A doctor examined his penis,

> retracting the foreskin. The boy was made to bend down while the doctor put a lubricated rubber sheath on his finger which he inserted into the boy's rectum. (...) As a psychiatrist involved in the case put it, 'If he hadn't been buggered by the man, he certainly had been by the doctor'.'' (O'Carroll 1980, 65)

To talk in such instances about ''the respect due to minors'' is sheer hypocrisy (Duvert 1980, 33). A police surgeon of twenty-five years' standing stated ''that legal proceedings in most paedophilic cases do the children more harm than good, and he was honest and courageous enough to admit that the examinations of children he had been obliged to conduct over the years contributed much towards this harm.'' (O'Carroll 1980, 66)

The amount of time elapsing between the illegal sex activity and the trial tends to increase any resulting damage (Select Committee 1978, 121). Symptoms of psychological distress occasioned by judicial examination include, according to experts, displays of self-importance, inhibitions, timidity, shyness, bewilderment, anxiety, excitement, breakdown, attempted suicide. In one group of 33 children examined after police questioning by psychologists or psychiatrists in order to test the veracity of their statements, 31 exhibited such symptoms (Störzer 1978, 104). In another sample of sexually abused children, 56% of those who did not have to appear in court recovered quickly, in contrast to only 18% of those who were questioned by a judge (Gibbens & Prince 1963, 14). The psychiatrist Zeegers quoted his colleague Körner as saying, ''We might well ask whether the real crime of child abuse is not committed in the courtroom.'' In 141 cases he examined, Körner found that in 10% the child had suffered physical or mental harm from the sexual activity—and in 29.2% harm had been inflicted by the the interrogation (Zeegers 1978, 168).

In the affair surrounding the prosecution of photographer Guy Straight, one of the boys ''killed himself because he had to go to trial'' (Illinois Legislative 1980, 167). But not all the authorities involved in such a case show much concern when this happens. In another case the police told the man they had arrested, ''Your young friend has killed himself: it's probably the best thing he could have done.'' (O'Carroll 1980, 66)

Little wonder, then, that many men who really love their boys prefer to sacrifice themselves rather than see their young friends go through such an ordeal. A man might make a complete confession, or even admit to contacts of which he is falsely accused (Moody 1980. 47). We have already given examples of such heroic conduct. Police officers and judges are well aware of this pull on the man's heart and conscience and often use it to blackmail their prisoner.

More ethical and experienced authorities, however, are increasingly turning away from this way of proceeding where it is evident that the younger partner consented. At the same time they are moving inexorably against the perpetrator where violence or compulsion was used. The chief inspector of the Rotterdam

vice squad said at a congress on "Paedophilia and Society" (Amsterdam, 1977) that he had instructed his detectives never to interfere spontaneously in consensual affairs and only to act when parents lodged a complaint. If the parents did complain, he considered it the duty of the police to point out the risk of traumatising the child by the investigation and trial. It was then up to the parents whether or not they wished to expose their son to this risk (Kalma 1977). In *P.A.N.* Magazine (No. 9, July 1981) I told the story of two Amsterdam police officers who, on searching a home for illegal arms, accidentally discovered that the owner had an intimate relationship with a 13-year-old boy. Soon, however, they read a letter from this boy which clearly proved the boy loved the man and had entered into the sexual contact with his own free will, and they immediately stopped all further investigation. They explained that they had received some sound instruction about paedophilia at the police academy and had read a number of books on the subject.

If policemen doubt the advisability of prosecution, others share their feelings, too. Professor of Penology Hanack told a meeting of German lawyers, "After having studied these problems I can only agree with an opinion I once heard voiced by a high criminal judge, 'If my own children were involved in almost any of these activities, I would not lodge a complaint.' " (1968, 112)

Even people who consider themselves to have been victim of a very nasty crime tend to abstain from lodging a complaint if they have had prior experience of its consequences (Baurmann 1983, 16).

So much for the "child victim". Let us pass on, now, to the woes of the "offender". What I have learned about this, exchanging letters over the years with people in twenty different countries, can hardly be summarised in a few lines. I shall not speak here about the deep humiliations and wounds, the often irreparable injury, inflicted not just upon the truly brutal and violent child molesters but also upon men united in tender love to a loving boy—wounds inflicted by the police, the prosecutor, the judge, the prison guards and their fellow prisoners (Nichols 1976, 7). In many cases this results in total destruction of a man, confusing him and ultimately breaking him, or kindling in him a furious hatred against society and authority and so making him, now, truly dangerous. In order to appease its lust for revenge, a badly informed society cuts into its own flesh. As is typical for our civilisation, having sex with a child—which can be tender—is always more heavily punished than inflicting pain upon a child (McConley 1981, 96).

Penal Law

Slightly over a century ago, a new, previously unknown form of aggression began to rise in Western society: aggression against people who love children and want to expresses their feelings for them with bodily tenderness.

IV. NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF MAN/BOY RELATIONS

For men, especially, the situation had always been awkward, but for different reasons. In Ancient Greece, Rome, China and Japan, men loved boys and were highly respected for so doing, as they are even today in many societies which live close to nature. We have already written about them in Chapter Two. In other cultures, such as the Arabian and the Indian, boy-love might officially be frowned upon, but the activities themselves were considered a peccadillo. Wherever Christianity was in power, however, boy-lovers were killed, *but* (and this is an important point to emphasise) not because they had chosen a young partner. The boy was not considered a victim: he was punished along with the adult, for he, too, was guilty of the heinous crime of homosexuality. In 1504 the bailiff of Haarlem (Holland) demanded that a 10-year-old boy be burned alive (Fernandez 1984, 12). In 1731, 22 men and boys between the ages of 14 and 15 were strangled and burned in punishment of this crime in The Netherlands (Tielman 1982, 54). ''The willingness of Christians to kill homosexuals in the name of morality was often cited as proof of the superiority of Christianity over the religions it had superseded.'' (Crompton 1983, 240)

Circumstances were better, if not always optimum, for men who loved girls. There was nothing wrong, *per se* in having sex with a girl, but the girl was the property of her father, and this property was damaged if she was no longer a virgin. Thus, the father could sue for compensation. Moreover, the honour of the family (if the family had any!) was at stake and fathers and brothers might take revenge on the man who had seduced a daughter or sister. Questions of rank and social standing were of utmost importance in medieval society and long thereafter. Therefore much depended on the position of the seducer. A man of lower rank than the girl—a servant or a teacher— was punished or fined; a man of equal or higher status was left in peace. But—again it must be stressed—whatever difficulties a man might face after having sex with a girl, the reason never lay in her tender years (Killias 1979, 40, 53, 55, 61).

Women who had sex with boys passed unnoticed, unless they were punished for adultery. No mention was ever made of women having sex with girls.

Children simply were not placed in a separate category. The genitals of children were openly fondled by parents, friends and nurses, since children quite evidently enjoyed this. Children, indeed, were seen as sexual beings, so it was natural that they be interested in sex. Erections in small boys were amusing sights (Dasberg 1975, 35-36; van Ussel 1969, 165). Puberty was, on average, reached later than today, but it was not considered a prerequisite for marriage. The Jewish Talmud considered girls of three fit for vaginal intercourse (Rush 1980, 41, 52-53). Helen, for whom the Trojan War was waged, had her first sex with Paris when she was eight or nine. Cleopatra ''began her sexual career as a child of nine and was little older than that when she seduced the mighty Caesar.'' (Bronslau 1968, 116) Social maturity preceded physical maturity (van

Gennep 1969, 14). Boys and girls often married when they were eleven years old and had "carnal knowledge" of each other. No one took offence at Dante's love for nine-year-old Beatrice or at Petrarch's love for 12-year-old Laura (Rush 1980, 38). The city fathers of Ulm, in Germany, had to make regulations in 1527 to stem the flow of 12-14-year-old boys into the brothels (Kemmerich 1910, I, 146). In such brothels girls started their careers at the age of twelve (Cleugh 1963, 139). Erasmus, the great humanist, wrote a treatise on sexual pleasure in the form of a conversation between a young man and a prostitute, and dedicated it to the six-year-old son of a friend (van Ussel 1969, 46-54; van den Berg 1956, 36). In Sixteenth Century France the legal age for girls to marry was six (Rush 1980, 66). In my native town of Haarlem, the famous painter and scholar Carel van Mander (who died in 1606) taught his 12-year-old boy pupils to have sex in order to avoid headaches and to be better able to concentrate on their studies. And in England, at the same time, 13-year-old Elisabeth Ramsbotham made an official complaint that her 11-year-old husband John Bridge had not deflowered her (Dasberg 1975, 36, 38). Edgar Allen Poe married a girl of 13; John Ruskin fell in love with one of 9; Mahatma Gandhi married when he was 13 (Rush 1980, 91-92, 115).

The idea that sex, with a friend of the same age or with an older person, could in itself harm a child was absent from European culture—just as it is today, according to ethnologists, in many other cultures (Ford & Beach 1968, passim). Penal law was therefore silent on this matter. Children were on equal footing with adults, protected against rape, violence and abuse of authority, but never against sex as such.

Thus European culture formerly had a positive attitude toward heterosexual sex. In the 1780s a study by one Friedrich Christoph J. Fischer describing pre-marital sexual relations as a natural and healthy popular custom had wide circulation and many reprintings (Killias 1979, 107). In Denmark during those years clergymen who opposed such relationships were denounced by the peasantry as immoral corrupters of youth (Hertoft 1968, I, 20).

Until 1886 there was no section in the Dutch Penal Code which prohibited consensual sex with children, boys or girls. This changed during the Victorian Age (Smidt 1891, II, 317). Except for modern economic offences and dispositions concerning environmental protection and traffic regulations, "sexual assault on minors" is the most recent addition to penal law (Killias 1979, 2).

How did this come about? How was it prepared? Historians could give long, necessarily complicated explanations (Aron & Kempf 1978; Dasberg 1975; Schérer 1974; Taylor 1953; van Ussel 1968). Let us point out only two factors: a considerable increase in knowledge and technology necessitating a great deal more instruction; the rise to power of an industrious bourgeoisie bent on accumulating riches through diligence and thrift.

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Greater knowledge and technology automatically increased the time needed for instruction and apprenticeship. A boy of 14 could no longer be a teacher, an army commander, a ship's captain or a cardinal in the Roman Church (Dasberg 1976, 32; van Ussel 1969, 133; van den Berg 1956, 33). In Ceylon, even as late as 1818, English troops were led by a 15-year-old boy (Nanayakkara 1977, 114). In the West this became impossible. A boy could not be a husband or a father because he was not able to earn enough to support a family. He had to learn. The age of majority and the mean age of marriage crept upward (Committee on the Age of Majority 1967). In modern industrial society, more and more years elapsed between reaching physical maturity and being able to marry—and during this time the sexuality of boys and girls was simply superfluous, of no use (Morris 1976, 135).

But in those days nearly every expression of sexuality was thought of as superfluous—and suspicious as well. Sex was disturbing: it kept people from working and studying. Then, too, it was dissipating. Even the sturdiest young couple, using no contraceptives, will copulate two hundred times, on average, for every birth; with every ejaculation hundreds of millions of spermatozoa are released (Hotchkiss 1944, 84). All of this for just one baby—what a dreadful squandering of energy! How antithetic to the economic principles of the virtuous bourgeoisie! What an evil, base, filthy, sub-human habit sex was! It is interesting to note that during a period when thrift was such an exalted virtue, ejaculation came to be described as "spending" (Walters 1978, 230).

The joys of sex should be restricted to useful, productive people in the full vigour of their lives. Such pleasures were not for the unproductive, the old or the young.

These rather prosaic concepts gave birth to a fairy tale. Society, as we have seen, had no use for a child's sexuality, so it simply decided that a child did not have any. And so emerged the myth of the asexual, pure, innocent child: pure because it had not yet become contaminated by something as dirty as sex (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1978, 383), and innocent because it did not share in the guilt of adults who carried on this sinful activity.

The creation of this fairy tale was greatly aided by the curious phenomenon of infantile amnesia to which Freud ascribed such importance: childhood experiences are removed from consciousness by the process of repression, and the more completely they are repressed the more important they really were; in growing up we "forget" all the most important things that happened to us during our earliest years, especially the sexual things (Hanry 1977, 78). Looking back, our childhood seems to us "innocent". The child, thus, is pure.

Woe, now, to the criminal who dares soil this pure being, to destroy his innocence! It was unthinkable that any child could ever have anything to do with sex, spontaneously, out of his or her own free will. If something did happen, the evil adult was at fault; the initiative could only have come from him (Hanry

1977, 14). And so, as the 19th Century progresses, we witness one penal code after another being extended by a totally new provision: an article prohibiting indecent behaviour with children (Killias 1979).

In The Netherlands the age of consent was fixed at 16 in 1886. There is, however, quite a variety in the West and the westernised word. In one country it is 12 (Penal Code of The Philippines, 1984 edition), in another 21 (Sexual Offences Act 1956, England, for homosexual activities), which shows how clumsy and arbitrary legislators have tried to deal with this unfamiliar subject.

Under the impact of laws making it criminal to show sexual tenderness and love to a child, and firmly believing the fairy tale about the child's asexuality, innocence and purity (as spread by pedagogues and moralists), public opinion has been incited to a frenzy of fierce hatred against paedophiles, and this has found its natural outlet in demands that these criminals be jailed for life, shot or castrated. "If it had been my own child that he'd touched, I'd have strangled him with my own hands!" a well known television personality exclaimed, and he was vigorously applauded. Lloyd H. Martin, formerly of the Los Angeles police, giving a university seminar on sexual delinquency, boasted that he had never read the Kinsey reports (Mitzel 1980, 131); he said he had decided that sex with a boy was a worse crime than homicide. "A homicide is terrible, but it's over with very shortly. The victim of sexual exploitation has to live the rest of his or her life with those memories." (Subcommittee on Crime 1977, 62-63). Such offenders, then, should go to prison for life. In Germany *Praline* magazine took the initiative with a petition to the federal Ministry of Justice demanding that the courts be obliged to sentence every "child molester" to hard labour for the rest of his life (Killias 1979, 195; Hucko 1971, 48). That children were battered to death or severely injured by their own parents, killed or maimed for life by drunken drivers, never raised half so much fury. This already makes such demands suspicious, as Potrykus & Wöbcke (1974, 82) rightly observe.

Inspired by similar primitive feelings—academic degrees are no armour against the attacks of passion!—some psychiatrists did not hesitate to use "child abusers", defencelessly entrusted to them by the authorities, as guinea pigs. The medieval torture of castration, now disguised as therapy, did not always produce the desired results, or it had socially dangerous side-effects (such as increased aggression); in most cases it simply crippled the victim mentally. Characteristic of the bad faith of the castrators was the tenacity of one Dutch female physician who had a record number of cases in which she had recommended this surgery: she steadfastly refused to study the consequences of what she had been doing. She would not give up "her" testicles, even after her colleagues, the judicial authorities and probation officers began to have severe reservations about the effectiveness of this "treatment".

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Every denial of the now traditional image of the innocent child met with savage opposition. No aspect of Freud's psychoanalytic theory enraged people so much as his contention that children were full of sexual feelings and desires; it struck at the heart of the great fairy tale. Many decades passed before the general public began to see "sex and sexuality as essential phenomena of childhood" and "children as fully natural beings for whom sexuality and sexual experiences are not necessarily any less significant than for adults," (Constantine & Martinson 1981, ix), "as a sexual being, in whom sexuality is a dynamic force in total personality development, a force determining much of his or her happiness and fulfilment as an adult," (Gundersen 1981, 59), and to recognise "that the capacity to relate to another person in an erotically intimate way and to experience sexual feelings and satisfactions (either homosexually or heterosexually) is present before puberty." (Martinson 1981, 27). It was not before 1926 and 1934 that a start was made with the systematic research on the effects of sexual relations with adults, which I mentioned earlier in this chapter. Unanimously the investigators denied finding any traumatisation by the sexual events themselves. If children suffer any damage, this is always secondary, caused by the reactions of upset parents (we will discuss this point later on) or by police examinations (as we have previously seen).

With all of this in mind, it would seem that the best solution to the problem would be to divide the sexual behaviour of adults toward children into three broad categories.

Category One: The child is subjected to violence, threats or abuse of authority. Taking advantage of a superiority in age, experience, or other circumstances should here be put on par with violence and threats (Killias 1979, 213). Against such aggression, children should be protected by the full force of the law.

Category Two: The child is put into a position which it more or less strongly dislikes, which "gives him the creeps", which he thinks odd, funny or queer. The child runs away, either shuddering with disgust or sniggering. Society, of course, should try to prevent such things from happening, but when they do happen parents or others taking care of the child should see to his needs, if any, just as if he had witnessed a nasty road accident or some other unpleasant spectacle. It is not in the interest of the child to turn it into a Greek tragedy, to reinforce the events in his mind, to make things which would otherwise be of only passing interest frightfully important and unforgettable by using him as a witness in a criminal process. Criminal proceedings, therefore, should be avoided.

Category Three. The child likes the adult and the sexual relationship. Here the blunt weapons of penal law should abstain. The decision, on principle, ought to lie with the child whose freedom of choice is to be respected. Civil law, however, should give parents the power to terminate the relationship if they are

convinced that the adult in question has a detrimental influence, morally or psychologically, on their son or daughter (see Fraser 1981, 53-54). In hearing the parties concerned, the judge, of course, should give most weight to the wishes and feelings of the child.

It is the law's duty to guarantee the sexual liberty of everyone. Sexual liberty does not mean that everybody has to sleep with everybody else, but that the authorities will not interfere with freely chosen personal relationships. Justice should intervene only in cases of violence, compulsion, subjugation of one human being by another, or where one person is treated as the property of another. In sexual liberty it is essential that, first, nothing happens without the consent of all partners; second, every partner is empowered to withdraw his or her consent at any moment (Duvert 1980, 111-112).

It is not a question of giving children more rights; rather it is a question of making less exceptions for them in the rights adults take for granted (Schérer 1978, 185-186). Penal law should never try to impose any religious or moral belief system on a people (European Committee on Crime Problems 1980, 10-11). It is the wrong instrument for such a task and, as the German penalist Hanack said, any attempt to impose morals by law actually impedes a sound moral evolution (Quoted by Baurmann 1983, 288).

In his well-known essay *On Liberty* (1859), John Stuart Mill wrote, "The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of the community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others." He echoed the ideas of the French revolution and of such contemporary German philosophers as Feuerbach (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1978, 301, 303, 315, 317, 319); Banens 1981, 47) (cf Wolfenden 1962, Section 14, 257). Age of consent laws were designed to prevent children from being harmed, and their enactment is quite understandable when one realises that at the time they were created everyone was convinced that a child would be hurt if he had any kind of sexual contacts. Nowadays we are better informed. We know that some contacts (involving violence, compulsion, abuse of authority, etc.) may be harmful to some children. We know that mutually consensual contacts are not just unharmful but may actually be beneficial, as we will see in detail in Chapter Five. A law which prohibits all sexual contact with children simply because some contacts may be harmful is an extremely bad law. The sexual evolution of a child is a very complicated process. Confrontation with adult male genitals, for instance, may make no impression whatever on a boy of five, may be shocking to the same boy at puberty, may be positively experienced by him during adolescence (Cf. Baurmann 1983, 69, 73). The term "indecency with children" thus comprises such a variety of activities which are perceived and experienced so differently by different children—from harmless to highly traumatising, that it is absurd to use it in the law. The public will always understand it in its "worse case"

context, and children will be declared "victims" when they have never felt victimised at all (Baurmann 1983, 406, 408, 467-468, 470).

Thus the law should abandon such abstract, unrealistic, all-inclusive concepts and be made to conform to the various categories discussed above. This is the only reasonable course of action. However, as soon as sex rears its troublesome head, society usually does not behave in a reasonable way.

Let us take an absurd example. Suppose that a competent and serious researcher suddenly stood up and said that careful research had now proved that the risk of radiation sickness resulting from nuclear power generation was completely unfounded, that people could be exposed to very strong radiation for weeks on end without suffering the slighest harm, and that all the bad effects hitherto attributed to radiation were really caused by other agents which could easily be eliminated. Wouldn't everyone rejoice? Wouldn't everyone be happy?

This is nonsense, of course. But it is not nonsense that competent and serious researchers have established that the harmful effects of sexual confrontation, supposedly inflicted upon children by the sex itself, are quite imaginary and that traumatisation is only secondary, caused by the reactions of upset parents and policemen. When *this* was published, there was no rejoicing at all. It went almost totally unnoticed. People clung stubbornly to their old beliefs, even when they could no longer deny that the results of those beliefs—police examinations, courtroom procedures—were very harmful to their cherished children (European Committee on Crime Problems 1980, 133).

Why this unwillingness to accept the good tidings? Why do we want to remain anxious, in perpetual panic? Why do we cling to our indignation, our aggression, our desire to punish, castrate, kill the malefactor, even at the expense of the child's well-being?

The sharing of prejudices solidifies support—and amplifies emotional reactions when they are attacked (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1978, 355-356, 358). But perhaps there are some reasons which are inherent in the subject itself.

It is generally recognised that no one hates homosexuality as strongly as the man who has himself a strong, but repressed or even unconscious, inclination towards it (Borneman 1978, 591, 1022; Eck 1969, 10, 165; Italiaander 1969, 140-141; Abraham 1969, 281; Herek 1984, 5, 10, 45; Banens 1981, 88; Wolfenden 1963, 30; Sartre 1952, 34; Rector 1981, 130). Let me quote a distinguished criminologist, Professor West of Cambridge University: "Placed in a situation that threatens to excite their own unwanted homosexual thoughts (people) overreact with panic or anger. Repressed homosexuality may sometimes be the explanation why men of intelligence and judgement, who would never express themselves so crudely on other topics, indulge in wildly inaccurate and absurdly emotional pronouncements about homosexuality. In advocating castration or the gas chamber for sexual corruption of youths, they betray a need to

compensate for their own inner guilt by vigorous denunciation of sin in others.'' (West 1977, 202).

As we have already seen in Chapter Two, there is a certain percentage of paedophile tendencies in every man and in every woman. ''The paedophile impulse is present in some form or other in all adults.'' (Lambert 1976, 88, 127) ''Arousal patterns previously defined as deviant'' i.e. ''response to immature persons'' were found in laboratory tests in ''normal'' adult homosexuals (Yaffé 1981, 79) ''Paedophilia, the love and sensuous experience of child and youth, is a normal and universal phenomenon.'' (Gordon 1976, 44)

We all fortunately love children, to a greater or lesser degree. In some people this love may be so strong that it forms the mainspring of their personalities, colouring their way of life, permeating everything; we call these people ''paedophiles''. In other individuals it is weaker, or less conscious. ''During deep analysis paedophilic fantasies are often discovered—fantasies of which the patient had been largely or wholly unaware.'' (Kraemer 1976,1) There is ''a latent pedophilic desire that may be relatively dormant in most males universally'' (Trimble 1968, 37). In the West today, its expressions are prohibited and therefore repressed, but the feeling is there nevertheless. Wilhelm Stekel, one of the fathers of psychoanalysis, wrote, ''According to my experience, paedophilia constitutes a nearly normal component of the sexual impulse. Nearly everybody, at times, detects such thoughts in himself. But they will be rejected, disclaimed and condemned with all the emotionalism of moral indignation. Many people of high intellectual standing have admitted to me that sinful thoughts had surprised them while they were looking at children (...) We fail to appreciate the immense degree to which paedophilia is prevalent among women and men.'' (Stekel 1922, 311) Nearly 60 years later another sexologist, Professor Schorsch, said that the question really was why most adults did *not* seek children as sexual partners (1980, 132). Feelings of attraction in adults ''for boys and girls in the years immediately following puberty are experienced by rather more adults than most of them are prepared to acknowledge.'' (Righton 1981, 25).

The advertising industry recognises this clearly. ''Therefore these unconscious impulses are played upon unambiguously in visual publicity. Advertising images of the erotic child are not directed just toward that small minority of morbid paedophiles but are always aimed at all adults in whom similar desires are simply repressed.'' Professor Schorsch, citing the plethysmograph research of Freund, observes ''that children, especially little girls, are an exciting sexual object for non-deviant males as well.'' (Reinacher 1980, 163). ''Freund found that normal males show some sexual arousal to child stimuli. (...) Presumably, most males make non-sexual attributions of such arousal when it occurs, precluding the necessity to define themselves as deviant. (...) Children appear

to elicit strong emotional reactions in many people, reactions usually labelled as 'parental' or 'protective' or 'affectionate', but potentially definable as sexual love.'' (Howells 1981, 68) Schérer remarks, ''An interest in the child which pretends to be free of all sexual desire is always suspect.'' (Quoted by Reinacher 1980, 149)

''The majority of adults, women and men, experience some degree of erotic attraction in the widest sense towards children.'' (Presland 1981, 78) Paedophile feelings are omnipresent, but our culture does not tolerate this. It has placed a great taboo on sex with children; such feelings have to be suppressed. The internal personal difficulties caused by this repression make people violent in their rejection of paedophilia, suspiciously emotional, strongly committed to their prejudices. Guilt over their own repressed feelings and the ensuing anxiety elicits aggression against those who do not hide such feelings and act in harmony with them (Wilson 1982, 123-124; Baurmann 1983, 50; de Groot 1981, 12). So paedophiles belong to the most despised of sexual castes, the lowest of the low (Plummer 1981, 130; Rubin 1984, 279). In prison ''child molesters are traditionally scorned by other inmates, and they are often raped or beaten,'' says Linedecker, citing a case where one of them ''was burned on the genitals with cigarettes for refusing to commit homosexual acts.'' (1981, 48) ''All these hierarchies of sexual value—religious, psychiatric, and popular—function in the same ways as do ideological systems of racism, ethnocentrism and religious chauvinism. They rationalize the well-being of the sexually privileged and the adversity of the sexual rabble.'' (Rubin 1984, 280)

So the vicious circle is complete: repressed paedophilia maintains the laws against paedophilia. The harshness of society's fight against sex with boys can only be explained by emotions aroused by its own repressed lustful eagerness for boys.

Soon after people stopped burning men and boys alive at the stake or strangling them to death for the heinous crime of loving each other (Fernandez 1984, 1), they enacted new laws under the impulse of child protection. Aron & Kempf, in the chapter of their book (1978) called ''Hunting Scenes'', give the particulars of some criminal affairs of the last century which illustrate the enormous tenacity of the judicial authorities, the abrogation of the rights and interests of the children involved.

Morris Ploscowe was absolutely right when he declared, ''Nowhere are the disparities between law in action and law on the books so great as in the control of sex crimes.'' (1951, 155; *cf.* Barrington 1981, 55) These laws—''remnants of a morbid attitude'', as the psychiatrist Zeegers (1977, 202) calls them—have created a world of fear, making sound, steady relationships and free, joyful sexuality nearly impossible, fostering only casual, anonymous contacts. They are the matrix for a subculture, a black market for prostitution, accompanied by blackmail and violent criminality. For rich people there may be an escape

in visits to other countries; the wealthy are also better able to hide their sexual affairs at home (Lautmann 1980, 16). How little the law actually contributes to the reduction of sexual delinquency was shown in Denmark in 1944 when the German occupation forces arrested all Danish policemen. Without police control, criminality increased tenfold—except for sexual criminality which remained at the same level as before (McConville 1981, 94; *cf* European Committee on Crime Problems 1980, 61, 66, 89, 97).

If one pleads for the abolition of these laws, showing that they are prejudicial to child and society, pointing out that it is barbarous to punish people only because they are doing things you think are "dirty" (Bullough 1976, 567-568), one will be told that public opinion would never allow it, society is not yet mature enough for that. One of our most distinguished Dutch ministers of justice once said, "At times legislators should have the courage to be wiser than the nation." If they had not shown this kind of courage, we would still be extorting confessions by torture; the abrogation of torture in criminal proceedings was most unpopular with the general public at the time; experts doubted whether we could still fight crime without the rack. The Dutch parliament voted in 1970, with only five negative votes from the extreme right-wing splinter parties, to abolish the law which made homosexual activities with 16-21-year-olds illegal. If this abolition had depended upon referendum, it would never have happened. In this case the Speijer Report had convinced the members of parliament that the continued existence of this section of the penal code was not in the interest of public welfare.

Mostly, however, such unsound sections of the penal codes remain in force. Politicians are not interested in this subject. You cannot gain votes this way, and you might easily lose them (Hogan 1980, 42). As long as this is so, judges should pioneer the way by reducing punishments (McConley 1981, 97; Graven 1975).

In the first chapter we have already seen that it is impossible to set a reasonable fixed age for sexual majority, when the child is to be allowed to dispose freely of his sexual capacities (Schuyer 1978; Vogel 1984, 78). "To hold forth the contention that an individual is capable of offering valid consent to a homosexual act at twenty-one but not before, and to argue that the same individual is capable of offering valid consent to a heterosexual act at fourteen, sixteen, or eighteen is somehow intellectually, emotionally, and morally dishonest—especially when it is recognised that the latter decision may be much more significant both personally and socially than the former decision. Moreover, there is something craven in the attitude of a society that is quite willing to risk the very lives of its youth in wars and military adventures, but that quite gratuitously becomes extremely protective and prudent about youth where sex may be involved." (Churchill 1968, 215)

IV. NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF MAN/BOY RELATIONS

It was only after the beginning of the Eighteenth Century that society started to divide itself into age groups (Van Ussel 1976). Under the disguise of youth protection, young people were expelled, set apart, and made subject to special rules and regulations. Experts like Borneman and van Ussel concluded, after intense research, that "Western youth is probably the most protected and the unhappiest of the whole world." (Borneman 1977). Legislation subjects youth to more and more tutelage, which is strikingly illustrated by the fact that the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages decreed a boy fit for marriage at twelve (CAPM 1980, 10).

Sometimes the disguise becomes transparent, as when youth protection manifests itself in moralising doggedness—at the expense of the young themselves. Cases have come to public notice where a boy-lover had more or less adopted a boy neglected by his parents, and where their relationship was sacrificed to "the revenge of the pedagogy business", as one journalist called it (Horn 1986, 27, 34; Schérer 1979, 94).

298 Some years ago the Dutch press and radio were full of a sad affair which unfolded in Eindhoven concerning a shy, timid 12-year-old boy. At an opportune moment he had formed a relationship with an engineer, and this had changed his life. He began to make friends among his peers, became cheerful, started getting good marks at school. The boy's father, who lived on a rather low economic and social level, was delighted with this turn of events and openly supported the relationship between his son and the engineer, who was able to give the boy a great deal of material and personal help. Then an older brother of the boy got into trouble with the police and a female social worker was assigned to the family. In the course of her investigation the relationship between the engineer and the younger brother came to light, and she thought it her moral duty to intervene. Threatened with having his child taken away from him, the father was forced to enter the boy in a boarding school where rigid discipline would teach the youngster "decency and morals". The social worker also persuaded the company where the engineer worked to discharge him. Three people, then, were plunged into misery, but morality was victorious—and all this in the name of a religion whose founder told his followers that people were more important than rules. Fortunately in this case a number of wise teachers mounted a protest in the pedagogic press, and in the end the boy was not sent to the boarding school but entrusted to an adoptive family where he was allowed to resume relations with his engineer friend (Van Buuren 1977).

The wide variation in age of consent laws demonstrates, as we have seen, the uncertainty of legislators and the arbitrary nature of the laws they enact. It has ranged in recent years between 12 years of age in some Swiss cantons before the Federal Code came into being, and in The Philippines, and 21 in England for homosexual contacts. Surveys have actually been made of the various national age of consent laws, but we have deliberately not included this information here: quite apart from the inaccuracy of most such compilations, it is liable to lead to a kind of quack law interpretation which is just as dangerous,

and is just as reprehensible, as quack medicine. The lay person is tempted to believe he knows the legal situation by reading the texts of the laws themselves. The lawyer knows otherwise: that some articles of the penal code can only be interpreted in their context, that knowledge of their historical origins is essential, as is an appreciation of the legislator's intentions, of the social environment wherein the law is applied, of the latest court cases, of the attitude of the prosecuting authorities. All of this is necessary to know how the law is actually applied in any given land. And that can only be done by a lawyer who lives in the country and who is precisely informed about this particular aspect of jurisprudence, its latest revisions and practices.

Here is an example of how easy it is to misjudge the situation by a glance at what would seem to be the official statute. According to the penal code of Cuba, homosexual acts are only punishable if violent or performed with a minor. That is the legal theory. Actually *all* homosexual contacts are severely punished, and this is accomplished by considering homosexual activity one form of ''antisocial behaviour''. It is thus punishable under Section 77-F of the penal code wherein it is stated that ''an option for homosexuality is an option against the revolution''. (Van den Boogaard-Schellekens 1980, 3-5).

It is much the same in France, where the age of consent is 15 but where men are often prosecuted for contacts with 16- or even 17-year-olds under the corruption of morals act, or even abduction if the teenager is visiting a man without his parents' consent.

In most Western lands, children are protected more strongly from sexual contacts than from violence and physical abuse. The one-sidedness of this ''protection'' is blatantly conspicuous: it is used to insulate him from all actual sexual experience but not to shield him from sexual neglect and traumatising sexual miseducation. While it guards a minor's right to reject a sexual approach, it denies him the liberty to accept one (Baurmann 1983, 53-54).

Such laws do not protect youth; they threaten it (Sandfort 1981, 99; Wilson 1982, 134; Baurmann 1983, 72, 82; Zeegers in a speech to the National Council for Social Welfare 1982, 29, 31). This even applies to incest situations, where there are much greater opportunities for constraint and compulsion. Alvin A. Rosenfeld, an American child psychologist, notes that ''it is common clinical opinion that most court procedures used in incest cases in this country may be more harmful than the molestation itself.'' (1979, 409) Thus parents really concerned with their children's welfare should fight against these laws. This was done by a group of citizens in France (Hocquenghem 1979, 70), and in The Netherlands the national trade union representing Dutch elementary school teachers and its Protestant counterpart *(NIKS* No. 7, 1979, 3-4) signed a petition to the government to repeal all age of consent laws. A commission dealing with procedure in rape cases chaired by Dr. de Beaufort, Prosecutor General of the

Amsterdam Court of Appeals, stipulated that the interests of the victim should take precedence over the interests of the prosecution. Certainly the same ought to apply here.

Sexual offence laws create a marvellous hunting ground for blackmailers (Killias 1979, 188-189; West 1977, 281). They rob parents who have a positive outlook about sexuality of their opportunity to bring up children in accordance with their enlightened views (Kameneff 1979, 87), since they may be accused of complicity if they allow other adults to be on intimate terms with their sons or daughters (Killias 1979, 207). As a result, children who would prefer to be open with their parents are better advised to keep the intimacy of their friendships a secret (Joint Council 1981, 90-91).

There is every reason for criminologists to wonder whether these sections of the law, because of their side-effects, do not cause more human harm than good (Lamping-Goos 1982, 107-198; 114-115; Pieterse 1982, I-41; Rubin 1984, 293). Decriminalisation might stop a lot of criminality in other areas (Schickedanz 1979, 186). It would have its influence upon public opinion, and thus all would benefit (Corstjens 1980, 282). It is easier to change a law than to change public morality (Killias 1979, 31-32), but law reform gradually permeates society's outlook. We have seen this in the field of labour legislation and social security. If the right of free decision in the area of sex were enshrined in the law it would ultimately have the same social effect as had the constitutional guarantee of human rights: Nowadays an offence against the right of free expression of one's opinion, against the freedom to worship as one wishes, against the privacy of letters, is not only considered illegal but immoral as well.

Earlier in this chapter we have seen how enormously frequent are sexual activities between men and boys. In just our small population alone in The Netherlands, we are probably dealing with millions of acts, of which only a few hundred come to the attention of courts for sentencing. World-wide, the ''victims'' are nearly always most unwilling to denounce their ''molester'' (Illinois Legislative 1980, 215), especially if he is someone they are familiar with, which happens in about 80% of the cases (Kerscher 1974, 561). According to Rossman, in the United States about one act in a thousand will lead to arrest by the police. (Geiser 1979, 82). The author's and des Sables' independent calculations for The Netherlands and France suggests that one act in three thousand comes officially to light (Des Sables 1976/77; Brongersma, *Intermediaire*, 2 May 1975). The citizen struck down by the fury of these laws, and possibly ruined for life, is thus the victim of the utmost arbitrariness; it would seem that Justice is impaired by allowing this situation to continue.

Legislation against ''child molestation'' was based on the premise of the innocent child being seduced by an evil adult.

In the meantime, however, the gradual crumbling of the myth of the ''pure'', asexual child has helped us become aware that children *are* erotically attractive creatures, and not infrequently act like determined little seducers (Albrecht 1964; Bender & Blau 1937; Kerscher 1978; Lafon *et al*. 1961; Landis 1956; Lempp 1968; Rossman 1976; Sandfort 1982). Virkkunen, certainly not a proponent of paedophilia, said that in over 64% of the cases he investigated the child himself had helped precipitate, or at least contributed to, the seduction, as, for instance, by making repeated visits to the adult partner (1981, 128). (Cf. Powell & Chalkley 1981, 71, 73). We have already dealt with this matter in Chapter Three.

Under the pressure of police questioning, the child often minimises his own part in initiating the sexual activities, and the questioning officer is inclined not to challenge it. The figures, then, are clearly distorted to the disadvantage of the adult. Nevertheless Gebhard (1965, 821), whose subjects were prisoners sentenced for sexual offences and thus a sample likely to include some of the worse cases (all of which distorts the statistics even more), came up with the figures shown in Table 1.

Table 1

	Boys of 0 - 11 years	Boys of 12 - 15 years
Encouraging	52.3%	70.3%
Passive	6.8%	11.0%
Mixed	0.0%	2.2%
Resistant	40.9%	16.5%

''Resistant'', moreover, does not mean that the child really did not want the contact and resisted it mentally. It just means he physically and/or verbally resisted. Niemann (1974, 139) estimated that in 32.8% of the records he studied the rejection was due to the upbringing the child had received or to misunderstanding the situation. The ''victim'' often complains only because the people around him expect him to complain (Baurmann 1983, 158). Hermann Gerbener finished his doctoral thesis on *The Criminality of Sexual Assault on Children* (1966, 113) with the words, ''One of the most shocking discoveries of this research was the attitude of the children, which was not only encouraging but downright provocative.'' Van der Kwast, discussing sexual offences with children, rightly observed, ''Deeper investigation makes the distinction between offender and victim almost indistinguishable, and in certain cases this blurring

is so extreme that the labels become almost interchangeable.'' (1968, 123). ''The seducer is at once also the seduced.'' (Matzneff 1977, 147).

Eglinton observed that boys often turn the conversation to sex, and use this to excite a man.

299 In *The International Journal of Greek Love,* discontinued, alas, after only two issues, a man working in a private boarding school for boys wrote, ''Boys... I was there but a month when a 12-year-old sought solace from me, coming to me after 'lights out'. He asked that I explain the nature of the 'sickness' of a teacher of his in a school from which he was withdrawn in Switzerland, a boys' school which closed following disclosure of the sexual involvement of a teacher with several of his students, a 'sick' teacher. Perhaps Rick, the boy, was truly puzzled; more likely he was intrigued and interested in learning more. But after three of these night sessions and the first signs of mutual emotional intoxication, I referred Rick to the school pediatrician, and kept my distance.

''Boys... It's almost bedtime, and Phil appears in ripped pajamas which do little to hide his budding masculinity: 'Why do you always look down there, sir?' A subtle grin, and the subject is switched to 'a letter I just got from my girl. You wanta see it?' I read the letter absently, kid Phil, run my knuckles down his backbone playfully. 'Do that again, sir. That feels good...' '' (Director of Admissions 1966, 38-39)

Father Ingram tells of a boy who, beginning at the age of eight with his older brother, and being very pretty, subsequently seduced two of his social workers, one of his club leaders, three of the staff in a children's home, and one clergyman (1981, 184).

Other boys might start romping or rough-housing with a man, get an erection and let it be felt. Or a boy might ''forget'' to zip up his fly after having gone to the bathroom and so draw the man's attention to the seat of sexual desire. If the man remarks on this ''oversight'' the boy might say something like, ''Oh, you want me to show it to you?'' Boys have been known to pretend concern about the shape or development of their genitals just in order to show them to an adult friend.

Some youngsters carefully lay the ground through a series of well-plotted conversations.

300 Banis (1966, 39-48) tells the story of Marvin, a 41-year-old bachelor in a small American rural community. Ted, ''a nice enough looking kid'' of 15 worked in the drugstore. He came from a poor family, living ''in a house that would have been inadequate for a family half that size.'' He shared a bed with two older brothers of 16 and 18. One day Marvin phoned an order in to the drugstore and a short time later it was delivered by Ted. The boy commented on some ship models in the home—this was a hobby of Marvin's—and appeared quite fascinated by them. The next time Marvin was in the drugstore, Ted mentioned the models and said he would like to see them again some time. Marvin said he was welcome to stop by. A few days later Ted showed up after work, asked about the models and sat for an hour or so looking at some of Marvin's books on the subject. Ted paid Marvin half a dozen further visits,

and when Marvin gave the boy a simple boat kit of his own the boy worked on it there with him. Other times they talked about Ted's school work. It wasn't until the sixth or seventh visit that sex cropped up in their conversation. Ted asked if Marvin had a girlfriend. Marvin avoided answering directly, but soon the boy asked Ted if he had any brothers. Marvin said he had two. Then Ted asked if his brothers had ever done things with him. The man questioned Ted about this and the boy finally admitted that his two older brothers had used him at different times for sexual purposes. To Marvin's surprise, Ted didn't seem to mind these sexual experiences with his brothers. Nothing happened then, but Ted was back the next evening and he hadn't been in the house for more than a few minutes when he asked Marvin if he wanted to "fool around" some. This was the beginning of a sexual relationship which continued over a period of three years without any major problems and only terminated when Ted joined the U.S. Army and fell in love with a girl. The "fooling around" was mutual masturbation. On subsequent occasions, fellatio took place, although Ted always remained a passive partner in these acts. In anal intercourse, however, Ted was a mutual participant, both actively and passively, having become used to the passive role in his sex with his brothers.

301 A somewhat similar story was told by a certain Coon (quoted in Eglinton 1964, 457). A 14-year-old newspaper boy "began displaying considerable interest in a man's personal affairs when he called to collect money for the papers he had delivered. He then began delivering the paper personally, instead of leaving it outside the door as formerly. The next step was a series of sly allusions to all the girl friends that the man, a bachelor, must have. This was followed by allusions to his own sexual adventures and attempts to get a girl. (...) Finally the boy one day, when the subject of conversation had turned to sex, displayed through his clothing an erection, calling the attention of the man to it. Sexual relations followed."

It is not unusual for a boy actively to seek out such opportunities. The Dutch novelist Jef Last quotes an observation of his friend André Gide, "Oh, how I wished as a child somebody would seduce me, and what a fine influence such a person could have had over me!" Last adds, "I understood this wish, for it was one I myself had experienced with such intensity that when I was in grammar school I used to go every night to a deserted place at the end of the Mathenesserlaan (Rotterdam)—for no other reason than that my mother had warned me that bad men were supposed to hang around there. However, I never met a single one of them." (1966, 20)

Jersild (1964, 216) cites the case of a boy-lover who didn't dare turn on his lights at night because when he did he immediately had boys knocking on his door asking for sex.

Actual cases of assault by boys exist.

302 Schofield cites the case of a man describing what he had once done as a boy of 15: he knew what he wanted but was not sure how to get it. One day he was alone at home with his uncle. He started to talk about sex and invited his uncle to do something with him. His uncle refused, whereupon the boy said he would scream as loud as he

could if his uncle didn't comply. His uncle finally gave in, and over the next six months they had sex on several occasions. This time the threatened blackmail was hardly as nasty as it might at first appear, since the boy was sure his uncle really wanted to have sex with him, and the man only hesitated because his nephew was so young.

Johannes Werres, the German translator of my first book from which I took the above example, quotes an observation of a 32-year-old sports instructor who taught at two secondary schools. "I'm continuously confronted with unambiguous approaches by boys, particularly by the 14- to 16-year-olds. On school excursions and camping trips I often find myself in the most difficult situations. I couldn't blame any gay man for yielding to such intense temptation. I know that even heterophile men in my profession are victimised by the boys' impulses." (1963, 241)

303 One youth group leader had never thought of himself as a boy-lover until he started getting erections every time he found himself in the close company of a certain boy. This caused him to resign from the group in order to sever his connection with the boy. A few years later, however, after much hesitation, he became a Scout leader. For a while all went well, but soon he found himself thrown together more and more with one particularly enthusiastic scout who also was a good organiser. Friendship blossomed; they started talking about all kinds of things, and, since the boy was intelligent and curious, he inevitably got around to the subject of sex. For the scout leader this was the warning signal, and he told the boy not to pursue the subject any further. But the boy persisted; every time they were alone together he turned the conversation once again to sex. After a month, the man made a sexual proposition to the boy. The boy said he wanted to think it over. A week later the boy once again started talking about sex, and then said he wanted to try. After this initial time they had sex twice more. The boy liked it and never raised any objections, but after the third encounter the man decided not to go on. (Schofield 1965, 63)

In some countries the authorities, if they are better informed about man/boy attraction and friendships, are reluctant to prosecute where it appears the youngster is not being harmed or if he had taken the initiative toward intimacies (Geiser 1979, 164). The West German penal code (Sect. 175 (2)) allows the court to abstain from sentencing where the attitude of the "victim" substantially lessens the guilt of the accused.

Attempts to "Cure"

Where society permits assault upon a person's sexuality, doctors may become remarkably inventive, especially when they are setting out to eradicate sexual tendencies different from their own. The courts provide them with a constant supply of human guinea pigs on whom they are permitted to experiment.

Labelling deviants 'barbarians' makes it easy for judges and doctors to treat them barbarically (Gross 1983, 382). And in so doing, those in power feel their righteousness confirmed (Haeberle 1978, 310, 313).

Imprisonment is no solution. It makes it impossible for a short time for the deviant to commit illegal acts, but "some rapists come out of prison more violent than they went in" (Geiser 1979, 36). We have already taken up the topic of castration. Since it has "little or no effect upon a grown man's sexual capacities" (Haeberle 1978, 23) it is hardly the safeguard the public expects. Moreover, it may have very dangerous side effects (Van Rooij 1938, 45-49; Yaffé 1981, 89; Wolf 1934, 238-257; McConley 1981, 100-101).

When castration was thought too extreme a form of therapy, proposals were made to leave the criminal with all his sexual impulses but to make it impossible for him to perform. A female politician in the American state of Maine proposed a law whereby a man guilty of sexual offences involving children would have the nerves inside of his penis which control erection surgically removed (O'Carroll 1980, 237). This high-minded lady did not have the slightest idea of what usually takes place sexually between a man and a child. Neither did Democratic Congressman Frank Shurden who called in Oklahoma "for the surgical removal of the external male genitalia from child molesters." (Linedecker 1981, 251)

We can only consider blatant criminals those doctors who—often on the flimsiest of pretexts—performed on deviates brain surgery, with its totally unpredictable and, for the victim, frequently disastrous results. It is well known that this kind of intervention (severing the connections between different parts of the brain, localised cauterisation) kills much of a person's personality, condemns him ever after to a sort of sub-human level of existence, destroys memory and, in one case in twelve, results in death. Nevertheless there were no limits to the enthusiasm some brain surgeons displayed for these operations (Sigusch 1977). One man who "suffered" from a sexual interest in safety pins was "cured" of this fetish by the surgical removal of a part of his left temporal lobe! (West 1977, 257) After such surgery the patient is often completely and permanently debilitated and quite unfit for work.

Recoiling, eventually, from such bloody remedies (Schmidt 1984, 135-136), the virtuous healers next looked for pharmaceutical solutions and came up with what, rather inaccurately, has been called "chemical castration". There are drugs which deaden the sexual impulse; since their effect is temporary, they do not castrate a man, at least if they are not taken for longer than six months or so. In cases where the man has an irresistible drive to commit some act which infringes upon the sexual liberty of another, society and even he himself could only welcome some harmless method of repressing, or at least lessening his troubling compulsion. However, such a method has not yet been discovered.

Anti-androgen drugs, for example, in 15-20% of cases, cause a swelling of the male breasts until they resemble those of women, disfiguring his body and requiring amputation by surgery. These drugs also cause constant weariness, loss of vitality and headaches. Not uncommonly the victim becomes physically obese and mentally depressive (Goudsmit 1980, 346-356). Just as with brain surgery, such drugs "are themselves a violent response to violence" (Geiser 1979, 36) if used on rapists. Where the sexual contacts of the patient have not been violent or harmful, it is, of course, totally unethical to subject him to such brutal and risky therapy. In other instances the risks must be balanced: is long-term imprisonment worse for the offender than the possible results of such drugging? One thing should not be forgotten: what does the man do when he finds he is impotent when his young friend urges him to have sex?

Finally some doctors, just as they did with homosexuals, try to "cure" paedophiles by aversion therapy (Crawford 1981, 191-193), which is nothing more than an up-to-date version of the old medieval disgust cure (Bloch 1919, 834). The practice in all these various brainwashing techniques is to show the patient nude photos of the kind of model he finds most attractive in order to excite him sexually, and then immediately punish him for his sexual response by administering electric shocks, injecting him with drugs which make him nauseated for hours, squirting some horrible smelling substance into his nose or assaulting his ear-drums with disagreeable noises. Sometimes, too, the victim is given injections which paralyse him, deprive him of speech and breath, giving him the sensation of suffocating (O'Carroll 1980, 91; West 1977, 261, Linedecker 1981, 247). The doctors thus try to make the man respond adversely to stimuli which he had formerly found arousing; in other words, train human beings as Pavlov trained his dogs. The latest technique is to have the man masturbate for hours, even after ejaculation, indulging in all his favourite fantasies of beautiful children. Supposedly, then, he eventually becomes super-saturated with these images, and alienated from them (Crawford 1981, 202; West 1977, 263; 1980, 144).

The "successes" of such psychological cures, of course, are few, and for these few the effects are only temporary (Crawford 1981, 193; Fraser 1976, 233; Hart de Ruyter 1976, 304; West 1977, 220, 244-246, 261-263, 270; Wilson & Cox 1983, 50). One of Wilson & Cox's subjects provided them "with a classic remark in commenting that he has come to realise that paedophiles need a good travel-agent rather than a psychiatrist." (1983, 66) The only man permanently cured of his paedophile feelings this author knows about was the patient of a certain Dr. Agnes Martin who, under aversion therapy, was drugged into continuous vomiting; this brought on a cardiac arrest and the man died (West 1977, 258).

Here one could well quote Ibsen: "The worst sin of all—the sin which can never be forgiven, for which there is no mercy, no pardon—is destroying the

feelings of love in a human soul.'' The Arab poet Abu Nuwas said almost exactly the same thing (Wagner 1965, 105). A program to deprive a human being of the object of his erotic preference, to transform it into something hateful and disgusting to him, is pure sadism, and it can only be hatched and harboured in a perverted brain.

Everything published about these ''cures'' suffers from the fact that no distinction ever seems to be drawn between pseudo-paedophiles and real boy-lovers (a subject we discussed at some length in Chapter Two). Obviously pseudo-paedophile patients, who really prefer adult sexual partners but were caught having sex with a child substitute, are going to be more amenable to treatment and less inclined to recidivism (West 1980, 138). Psychological training in assertiveness might make such people more successful in maintaining adult relations and thus eliminate their need to seek out children (Crawford 1981, 194). But making the boy-lover more assertive will probably only make him more aggressive in conquering boys!

The real boy-lover almost invariably realises that he will have this sexual predilection for the rest of his life. He feels it is central to his psyche and no form of therapy is likely to ''convert'' him (Wilson & Cox 1983, 128). And he is right (Hanry 1977, 120-121). In general, too, he resists treatments more successfully and has fewer guilt feelings about his predilection than does the man who likes little girls (Mohr & Turner 1967, 363).

Does this mean that there is no psychotherapy suitable for boy-lovers? Not at all. Of course, there must be no question of ''curing'' someone of paedophilia, as though erotic preference for a boy or a girl were an illness. Besides, as we have seen, successful ''cures'' are conspicuous by their absence (Crawford 1981, 210; Freund 1981, 164). But many a man attracted to children is mentally destabilised by the society he lives in telling him his feelings are perverse, immoral and criminal. He is liable, in the end, to start believing this himself, and the inner confusions this causes *can* make him ill.

All of this is bad not just for the victim but for society as a whole. It destroys a valuable citizen, and may possibly turn him into a real threat to children. Spasmodically repressed sexual desire can suddenly and violently erupt: a child is raped, perhaps even later killed out of fear of discovery (Borneman 1978, 1358; Ilken 1982, 33). Afterwards, of course, everyone condemns the criminal; only a few wonder what the real cause of the tragedy might have been.

Treatment of a paedophile suffering from the effects of society's condemnation will be directed toward curing the patient of his internalised self-hate and helping him to accept his own nature (Wolfenden 1963, Sections 193-194). ''Georges' weakness was not that he loved young boys as he accused himself, but that he was ashamed of loving them,'' observed Marie Claire Blais in one of her novels (1974, 80). Acceptance of his own nature enables a man to consider

more calmly how he is going to make his way in a society that condemns and punishes all expressions of his kind of love. In the long run, of course, it is only society which can deliver the paedophile from this misery, by making its laws more fair and re-educating the public. Until this happens the fate of boy-lovers will always be hard. Yet even in this unhappy circumstance, the man who accepts himself for what he is will behave in a more socially responsible manner than the man who rejects, tries to repress and hates his sexuality. The mother of Dolf, the little friend of 57-year-old Alexander, put it rather well: "Since Alexander doesn't have to fight any more *against* himself, he has gained space and time to fight *with* himself. Because people who fight against themselves simply cannot fight with themselves. As long as a paedophile is in a state where he has to fight against his feelings, he has no chance of winning the struggle to improve himself." (Pieterse 1982, II-87) And so membership in a paedophile organisation should be seen by judges, probation officers and psychotherapists as a factor in favour of an accused, while the assurances of a prisoner that he looks upon his paedophile tendencies as immoral should raise strong doubts of personal stability. This may seem like a paradox, but it is quite realistic. A good counsel for the defence appearing before a liberal and well-informed court should make this quite clear.

To accept yourself, with all your predilections, means 1) to be capable of realising your real self (Goethe's "Become what you are!"), 2) to know yourself—and know others as *they* really are, 3) to realise yourself in a synthesis of desires and possibilities, 4) to be able to chose freely how you wish to shape yourself in a meaningful way, 5) a lessening of inner tensions (Sanders 1977, 138; Sengers 1969).

Lonely people are more likely to react pathologically than those who are members of a group in which they find support (Plummer 1981, 232). Paedophile action groups, therefore, promote mental health. Van Spreeuwel, a physician working with gay groups at Amsterdam University, affirmed that members of a sexual minority who accept their nature completely are even stronger in the daily struggle of life, are less influenced by external conditions, more independent and self-reliant than the average heterophile (1975, 42).

Collision with Social Norms — Secrecy and Discovery

Opponents of boy-love who are willing to accede that sexual activity in itself will not harm a boy, see the danger in its forcing a youngster to collide with the social norms (De Levita, quoted by Sandfort 1979, 112; Rouweler-Wutz 1976, 13). The boy is brought into conflict with his surroundings. Fraser states simply, "Whatever we may think of it, children have to conform to society's major norms as they are—otherwise they will become ill, depressed or delinquent." (1981, 47)

304 Jean-Claude Macé made this the subject of his novel *Le mignon* (1978). Julien is a boy enamoured of girls and women. His financially ambitious family pushes him into the arms of a rich colonel who abuses him and whom Julien views with disgust. Later he earns pocket money by prostituting himself—this hardly affects him and certainly does not harm him in the least. But when this is discovered and the other inmates of the Home where he has been sent start calling him "a fairy skunk" he commits suicide.

There is no denying this conflict with social standards. Many boy-lovers with a strong sense of moral imperative see this as a reason to refrain from consummating their desires.

305 One is deeply moved reading this passage written by the English author T. H. White: "I have fallen in love with Zed. (...) It would be unthinkable to make Zed unhappy with the weight of this impractical, unsuitable love. It would be against his human dignity. Besides, I love him for being happy and innocent, so it would be destroying what I loved. He could not stand the weight of the world against such feelings—not that they are bad in themselves. It is the public opinion which makes them so. (...) I do not believe that some sort of sexual relations with Zed would do him harm— he would probably think and call them t'rific. I do not believe that perverts are made so by seduction. I do not think that sex is evil, except when it is cruel or degrading, as in rape, sodomy, etc., or that I am evil or that he could be. But the practical facts of life are an impenetrable barrier—the laws of God, the laws of Man. His age, his parents, his self-esteem, his self-reliance, the process of development in a social system hostile to the heart, the brightness of his being which has made this what a home should be for three whole weeks of utter holiday, the fact that the old exist for the benefit of the young, not vice versa, the factual impossibilities set up by law and custom, the unthinkableness of turning him into a lonely or sad or eclipsed or furtive person—every possible detail of what is expedient, not what is moral, offers the fox to my bosom, and I must let it gnaw." (Quoted by O'Carroll 1980, 17)

One is touched by the sublimity of this selfless denial, but may wonder at the same time whether it might not be Zed who is sacrificed on the altar of society. The decision would be simple if it were just a matter of sweets or cigarettes or alcohol, if sex was just another physical pleasure. But it isn't; it involves friendship and a sort of love which can never be caught later in its present form. It is something which could have made Zed's boyhood more beautiful and happier, and even better prepared him to prove his love later with his lifetime partner. In the next chapter we will discuss all the arguments in favour of this view.

A boy-lover, then, must be very conscious of his responsibility and, in considering sexual intimacy, balance its pros and cons. Should he risk exposing his young friend to police examinations, parental panic, the disapproval and insults of his peers at school, gnawing, if false, feelings of guilt? Surely not for a casual affair, and not just to satisfy his own lust. But where he perceives a strong mental and physical need in the youth, if the boy, deprived of affection,

needs protection, care, tenderness and seems to be striving for some intimate, irreplaceable contact, it would be unthinkable, and cruel to the boy, to refuse him the satisfaction of such important needs. Physical rejection could be deeply and permanently traumatising. This, too, we will take up in Chapter Five.

The danger is greater where the parents are sex-negative, where they do not know their son's friend (which is likely to elicit distrust and make them even more upset if things come to light, thus facilitating the lodging of a complaint (van Dijk 1978, 67)), where the people involved tend to gossip, where the boy is naive and does not know how to cope with the usual tricks police use in the course of their examinations ("We already know all about it, because your friend has told us everything. So if you lie to us, we'll put you in a reformatory.")

Conflict with social norms affects every paedophile relationship in as much as it makes secrecy vitally necessary. Even if the child's parents consent, so that the affair can be openly discussed at home, there are other relatives to be considered, as well as the boy's peers. Quite spontaneously, children keep these matters hidden from their parents (Borneman 1978, 1013, 1015; Geisler 1959, 62-63; Pieterse 1982, I-18); they already know how their parents react to a mention of sex; often they do not even know the appropriate words and expressions to discuss it (Landis 1956, 101; Sandfort 1979, 137, 232).

The fact that some psychologists like Burgess & Holmstrom (1975, quoted by Sandfort 1980, 192) view this obligatory concealment as traumatising, while others like Bernard (1975, 25) interpret it rather positively, is perhaps more revealing of these psychologists than of children. Outspoken, garrulous children who delight in telling people about all the nice things that are happening to them may well find such secrecy difficult. Reserved, taciturn children may find it easy. A secret can even be nursed as something beautiful and the fact that "only he and I know about this" may even increase a boy's self-esteem. On the other hand, knowledge that it is forbidden, that most people are horrified by it, may be a fertile breeding ground for guilt. Moreover, keeping the secret may necessitate repeated lying, and this is certainly burdensome and demoralising (Reinacher 1980, 165; Möller 1983, 92). Sometimes the man even plays upon these guilt feelings in the child: "If you betray me I'll be sent to prison," or he frightens the child: "If you betray me I'll beat you up." In any case it is a traumatising experience for the child (Geisler 1959, 16).

Matzneff (1979, 105) puts it in a poem:

The scourge of man/boy love is having to wait.
Your French teacher, idiot, keeps you after school.
He doesn't comprehend how we're counting the minutes...
You've told your mother you're going with some friends
to play in the Luxembourg.
Now we have two hours of delight before us:

let's not waste a minute!
So here you are at last, my morning boy,
cheeks red from running,
Throwing off your book-bag with a shrug,
Leaping boisterously into my arms.
Your fresh tongue plays about inside my mouth
like a silver fish in the enchanter's trap.
You're twelve. Your hair is blond, your face is ravishing.
I love you.
I love also our risks, which threaten me because of you:
The transgression alone exalts me.
The lies you tell your parents have the same charm
as our exquisite embraces.
We laugh at the world of adults.
Sun theology of forbidden fruit,
I find the secrecy of our meetings adorable.

But to come back down to earth from the poet's dream, the same writer, in a less enchanted mood, says, "Still, we must pay a price for these hours of delight,"—the price being obligatory secrecy (1974, 67). Duvert (1980, 89) shrewdly observes, "As for the adults brave enough to seek contacts with boys, they belong to a very special category where the best are mixed with the worst. It is our ice-cold morality and brutal laws which have selected them. Everything which is prohibited and must be done in secrecy is difficult. Imperviousness to danger is not necessarily the best recommendation for a lover—but without it, alas, there can be no contact." The American feminist Pat Califia (1980) says basically the same thing, that laws and "decency in this field further a bad selection. Nice, sensitive men will sooner be deterred than brutal, coarse types."

Of course the greatest chance of a collision with the authorities is where the boy is not willing and the man, by means of threats and violence, forces him into sexual conjugation or to participate in acts which frighten or disgust him. When this happens some form of punishment is certainly justified. But where mutual affection is involved and the man is sensitive in the way he proceeds, boys, especially older boys, tend to maintain their silence and discovery is consequently rather difficult. One of Rossman's subjects said, "If I set out to seduce a boy, I'd use the same method boys use on each other. I'd simply start telling dirty jokes, and I'd encourage the boys to tell dirty jokes, until I could tell, by the tone of their voice, their emotional reaction, their laughter, their lack of embarrassment, which boy was experienced and available. Within a half hour of watching and listening, I'd know which boy to go after. How would I then seduce him? I'd nod and signal for him to follow me as I left. The pederasts

who get arrested are those who make overtures to boys who don't take such initiatives themselves. This country so neglects its young, gives them so few exciting adventures, and so sexually frustrates them, that many an inexperienced boy will follow right after you if you but nod.'' (Rossman 1976, 160-161).

Gerbener, in Duisburg, and Niemann, in Hamburg, studied a large number of trial records to see how such man/boy affairs came to be discovered. Gerbener's sample was 515, Niemann's 354—all boys and girls under the age of 13. Näbel (quoted by Geisler 1959, 63) studied 787 records, although the ages of the children are not indicated. The data are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2

	Gerbener	Niemann	Nabel
Means of Discovery			
Child telling its parents		32.2%	
Child telling police		11.0%	
Child telling other children		8.5%	
Child telling other adults		6.8%	
Child telling somebody	45.0%	58.5%	40.0%
Police becoming suspicious	8.0%	16.4%	
Observation by witness	35.0%	12.4%	37.0%
Implication by other child	4.0%	12.4%	
Adult blackmailed to make confession		0.3%	

In the 8,035 cases studied by Baurmann (1983, 540), where the boys were between the ages of 0 and 14 and the girls between 0 and 20, the police themselves made the discovery in 7.5% of the cases, the minor told the police in 12.0%, the parents in 54.6%, a neighbour in 10.4%, the youth protection authorities in 2.4%, the school in 4.6%, and various other persons in 8.5%. In 106 Dutch cases (boys and girls between 3 and 11 years of age), the complaint was lodged in one case by the child, 85 cases by the parents, 6 by neighbours, 5 by some official agency, 4 by other children, and 4 by other members of the family (Wolters 1982, 74).

Rossman (1976, 158) investigated 17 American cases concerning boys between the ages of 12 and 15. One boy reported the incident to the police, in this case in anger to get even with a man who, out of real affection for the boy, forced him to return to his parents after running away from home. One man confessed when parents tried to blackmail him. One boy told his friends

of the fun he was having, whereupon one of these friends informed his parents. One boy was turned in by a jealous older brother, one by an aunt who found a letter from the man in her nephew's desk, two by neighbours reporting a boy being seen in the home of a single man late at night. Ten cases were discovered by the police; of these ten, six were discovered when looking for runaway boys, two when investigating thefts, one on finding a pornographic film showing a man and boy, one when stopping a car for speeding.

In the German cases it was mostly a matter of younger children complaining about something unpleasant which happened to them, while the Rossman cases seem to concern bigger boys involved in entirely consensual relations. People may try to depict the latter as "victims", but the boys hardly thought of themselves that way (Janus 1981, 331).

In West Germany the police found that in only two-thirds of reports they received of sexual activities involving minors could they come up with someone to prosecute. The number of individuals sentenced is far less—only about one out of five of those detected. Often the "culprits" are children themselves, or so young as to put their responsibility for the activities in question. Often in minor infractions the prosecutor refrains from prosecuting. Moreover, there are acquittals (Kerscher 1978, 151).

Parental detection is often brought about by too much generosity. Many a boy-lover simply cannot resist showering gifts upon his young friend, loading him down and spoiling him with sporting goods, a bicycle, clothes, radio, etc. Where the parents know about the friendship the risk is less great, but when they cannot identify the source of such instant child-wealth they are likely to start asking questions and become suspicious.

Keeping the sexual contact hidden from parents may lead to having sexual rendezvous in unsuitable places where third parties might observe them. A 1970 American circular to boy-lovers gave the following advice: "Always take them one at a time, groups scenes are to be avoided at all costs. What I mean by that is I look for a boy whose friends do not know me. A lonely boy without many friends is always best, but even if he has a lot of friends he is not likely to talk about me to them if they do not know me. Neighborhood scenes are taboo. This is especially true in regard to group scenes. Remember, when boys discuss things, they are apt to do so loudly and without any regard for who might be overhearing. Always pick the fatherless. Men are more likely to be suspicious and, if their suspicions are confirmed, are more likely to take action. Also fatherless boys are more likely to crave the attentions of adult males. (...) No brothers, especially older ones. This is based on my belief that there is no way I can prevent a boy from discussing everything with his brother. The mere fact that they spend so much time together... If you have been spending money on only one brother, it could produce jealousy. And when sibling rivalry

develops (as it inevitably does) the brother may 'spill the beans' to mother to get his brother in trouble, without giving a thought to what he may be doing to me!''

How wonderful would be a society which understood something about the positive possibilities of such relationships, where parents regarded their son's friend as their own, a collaborator in the boy's upbringing, where there was no risk of brutal intervention by the police, where a boy could proudly boast of his lover to his friends, where morality was focused more upon character formation through love than upon what people's genitals were up to! Such societies have existed in the Mediterranean world; they exist today elsewhere. This is not, then, a totally unrealistic dream.

When a child psychiatrist states that mutually consensual sex between men and boys is not intrinsically harmful but that it places the youngsters in painful conflict with the norms of the people around them, we have a right to ask him, it seems, what he himself has done to change the attitudes of these people. Moreover, he should be asked if it is right that adapting people to society should be the aim of his profession, one to which feelings, human desire and happiness should always be sacrificed. According to some sources, sex denial in the Chinese People's Republic has gone to such lengths that the authorities only permit their subjects to have intercourse on certain days. Does our psychiatrist feel himself called upon to adapt his patients to such laws? The anti-psychiatry movement has rightly seen that one should question the fundamental health of a society which demands this kind of adaptation. Writers and artists have been more ethical in these matters than have psychiatrists. ''Some of our more thoughtful writers and dramatists, both at home and abroad, have been busily probing the mentality of a culture that within a single generation produced Nazism, Fascism and Communism and which, while preaching a doctrine of peace, love and brotherhood, has for centuries spawned class distinction, race hatred, religious bigotry, persecution of minorities, intolerance, and perpetual war. It is not likely that these writers nor anyone who understands their work will feel a deep moral compulsion to identify with this culture.'' ''Immorality does not consist in being different; it consists in not allowing others to be so.'' ''Both emotional and moral maturity consists in being able to absorb the paradox that all people are different but equal.'' (Churchill 1968, 257-258, 313).

Society's battle against boy-lovers is as justified as a battle against the left-handed or red-heads, or against members of such other minorities as Jews, Gypsies or blacks. The criminologist Hauptmann (1975, 66) calls it the witch hunt of the 20th Century.

The effect of any kind of sexual experience the child may have is not determined by the norms of his society but by his own position with regard to the experiences. Therefore this position—and it is immaterial whether one

approves of it or not—should always be the point of departure for any pedagogy by the people around him. Again, it is immaterial whether these people think the acts are ugly or horrid: only how the child views them, and to what extent the child willingly participated, is relevant. Where the child feels insulted, threatened, frightened, given a creepy feeling, it should be made clear to him that the adults who surround him (and this includes the authorities) are all on his side and he is entitled to protection and defence.

But when a child feels himself free to engage in a casual encounter or to express sexually a loving friendship, his delight should be respected just as completely as his delight in stepping out of a car into a beautiful mountain wilderness. "If the child experienced the encounter as positive, do not undermine this association," advises Prof. Constantine (1981, 6), and Fraser gives the same counsel: don't interfere! (1981, 57). It is wrong to impose upon the child social criteria for which it is not yet ripe. We should not draw him violently from his own natural evolution. The smaller child certainly does not think about what happens to his body in terms of good or bad: he thinks in terms of pleasant and unpleasant. (Borneman 1978, 678-679). It may, of course, be necessary to make him aware of certain risks or forbid him to associate with some unsuitable person, just as we might make him aware of the dangers of climbing the rocks in that enchanted wilderness. It is not, then, that we deny that mountains are tempting and that sex is delightful, but that the ascent would be too much for a beginner, and that the proposed sexual partner has some undesirable personality traits.

If we want to eliminate potential harm, we should offer consolation and safety to the frightened, protection to the threatened, justice and satisfaction to the injured child. If, on the contrary, we want to inflict injury and magnify it, we should tell the child that he had done something evil, indoctrinate him with guilt, tell him over and over again that Father and Mother are terribly upset, angry and unhappy about what had happened, that he is now soiled, degraded, dishonoured, ruined for life and twisted into a dirty homosexual. It is not unusual for children to believe such nonsense and behave accordingly (Ingram 1981, 186; Constantine 1981, 227, 237-238, 241). "The worst thing the parents can do, besides being hysterical, is to urge the child to forget the experience and refuse to talk about it" with him. "This silence convinces most children that they have done something terribly bad, which has hurt and disappointed their parents." (Geiser 1979, 30; Haeberle 1978, 356, 79; Wolters 1982, 64, 75, 79; Zeegers 1970, 43). It is important to stress that possible traumatisation by sexual events can generally be repaired very well, but that this is much less likely to happen with traumatisation (guilt complexes, phobias) induced by the parents and the people around the child (Griffin 1971, 266). No child has spontaneous guilt feelings about sex—feelings which originate entirely within himself, as

he assumes it is something natural (Bender & Blau 1937, 514). And if the child does have guilt feelings, he should be helped to overcome them (Powell & Chalkley 1981, 76).

A striking example is confrontation with an exhibitionist. "There are some relatively harmless adult males who cannot relate to adult males or females, have doubts about their own sexuality, and who expose themselves to others, sometimes to children. (...) Children are not traumatised by a 'flasher' and frequently accept the behaviour with better grace than do their parents. Any trauma, as in most sexual abuse, comes from adult interpretation and handling of the event. When parents get upset and a police dragnet is instituted, the commotion often causes much more concern to the child than the event itself." (Walters 1975, 130)

306 "One incident that called for wholesale psychotherapy concerned four girls and three boys, all in the first and second grade, who were walking home from school. As they passed a garage in an alley, a man opened his coat and exposed his penis to the children. They continued home at a leisurely rate. One girl told her mother, who called the police. Several police cars entered the area searching for the now-departed 'flasher'. Fathers rushed home from work and grabbed weapons, searching the neighborhood. Ministers and neighbours hurried to several of the homes. When asked about their responses to the man who exposed himself, the children said they giggled. None were traumatised, and they apparently accepted the event with good grace until the parents overreacted. The adults rather than the children could have profited from therapeutic intervention." (Walters 1975, 167)

If parents really want to strengthen and protect their children in this area, the very first step would be to give them frank and explicit sexual information, holding nothing back. Real sex education will protect young people far better than the police. Sex should be a topic open to discussion, easily recognised as a completely human, beautiful aspect of life, although, like all aspects of life, it has a darker side, *i.e.* some people, goaded by passion, may not respect the wishes of the other person with whom they are interacting. Just as a thief does not respect your property, so another kind of criminal may not respect your body. But your body is yours! Nobody is entitled to touch it, caress it, kiss you, if you do not want that to happen. Your genitals are particularly related to this area of sex, and you and only you may decide who can touch you there. Here you have to obey nobody: no father, no mother, no teacher, no other child, may enter this sexual area with you without your consent.

If the parents see to it that their son is given some practical experience in sex, either with his age-mates or with a careful older friend, the boy will be even better armed against unwanted assault. He will quickly spot the sexual signals in an approach which, since it is not gruesome and mysterious to him, will be less likely to bring him into panic. Insufficient or distorted sex education

is actually dangerous in such situations; wrong response of the parents when they catch their son in sex play or discover he has a sexual relationship is the chief cause of lasting damage. Often this is even more traumatising than police examinations.

Many parents feel they have failed in bringing up their child if they discover him in sex play. They cling to their conviction (or contention) that their son must have been forcefully taught these things by some evil man. They do not realise how seriously traumatising to their children their attitudes are, or they place their social reputation above the mental health of their offspring (Schult 1973, 155). Thus they create guilt feelings in the child, for even if the child did not initiate the sexual activities, in most cases he or she actively participated in them (Pieterse 1982, II 17, 20) and is now told how wrong or sinful this was.

307 Martina at the age of 13 was approached by a man whose obtrusiveness she thought slightly curious. She related this to a girl friend and eventually her father heard about it. Nine years later, as a adult, she reported the consequences: "It was like a police examination, perfectly horrid. It was only when I told about it at home that it suddenly dawned on me that this might have something to do with sex, that it was dirty, that I had evidently been the victim of a crime. The questioning made me feel guilty, since I wasn't sure whether I had behaved correctly." The father lodged a complaint with the police. The police examination seemed to Martina a simple repetition of the conversation with her father (Baurmann 1979, 90-91).

308 An intelligent 15-year-old boy was caught masturbating by his father. The father was very upset and asked his son to tell him if anyone else had done that to him. The boy hesitatingly reported that a tenant had once casually touched his genitals when he was looking over some pictures and books in his room. The father brought in the tenant and the boy was made to repeat the story. At this point the boy believed that an apology from the man would pacify his father and bring the matter to an end. But the man denied touching the boy and the father lodged a complaint with the police. To the boy this seemed crazy, unjust and regrettable. He was not at all resentful and had no wish for revenge against the tenant. Quite the opposite: he was grateful to the man and felt indebted to him for innumerable acts of kindness throughout his rather joyless childhood. The contacts seemed to him perfectly innocent, but he was disappointed and offended by the tenant's denial which made the man, in the boy's eyes, a liar. The tenant claimed it was a plot to get rid of him, the father having prevailed upon his son to give false testimony." (Geisler 1959, 35-36)

"Perhaps as many as half of these children will later admit that they experienced some degree of pleasure in the sexual contact. They suffer increased guilt for having enjoyed the contact and are even more confused about why it should have been pleasurable if it was wrong." (Geisler 1979, 57) "Sensitive and very conscientious children even suffer from selfreproach contemplating the consequences of a trial for the family of the accused" whose misbehaviour they had to report (Geisler 1959, 53).

IV. NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF MAN/BOY RELATIONS

The well-known British criminologist, Professor West (1980, 142) observes, "The deleterious consequences of some consensual yet criminal activities, including incest, the enlistment of willing youths in homosexual behaviour and the erotic fondling of children, is apt to be exaggerated. The young participants in these encounters are worse affected by ensuing upsets in their families, by police interrogations, by court proceedings, by the risk of public exposure and by the threat of removal from home. One device which might avoid some of these evils, where young persons are concerned, would be for police to refrain from prosecution and social workers to refrain from reporting incidents," West adds, "provided the suspected offender desists from his misconduct." In many of these cases there is, however, no *mis*conduct at all: the conduct has only clashed with some very arbitrary rules!

Young people nowadays are not very impressed by these rules; they are often more than willing to attack them, defy them, especially if they deal with sex. Table 3 shows the percentages of boys agreeing with various statements about his sexual beliefs and practices (from Sorensen, 1973). Percentages of doubtful responses are in brackets.

Table 3

	Boys 13-15	Boys 16-19
"So far as sex is concerned, I do what I want to do, regardless of what society thinks." (Table 183)	61% (3%)	76% (1%)
"So far as sex is concerned, what other young people do doesn't have any influence on what I myself do." (Table 47)	66% (0%)	77% (5%)
"My sexual behavior would not be acceptable to society." (Table 270)	44% (7%)	49% (5%)
"I think my parents' ideas about sex are wrong, but they have a right to their own opinions." (Table 10)	61% (1%)	67% (6%)
"I think it's right that people should make their own moral code, deciding for themselves what's moral and what's wrong." (Table 28)	77% (1%)	89% (1%)

This tendency to independent judgement is even more evident when one reads that the statement, "On one or more occasions I've done sexual things mostly because the people I was hanging out with at the time expected me to" (Table 70) was found true by only 39% of the 13-15-year-olds and 16% of the 16-19-year-olds.

Mrs. Antilla, a professor who was at one time Finnish Minister of Justice, observed that children over the age of 12 often had very different attitudes about sexual behaviour from their parents, and concluded, "in future legislation, attention must apparently be paid to this conflict between the generations, and that the wish of the young person himself or herself should be given more weight." (quoted by Gibbens *et al* 1980, 89).

The Age Groups

Aristotle taught that "the justice of a master or a father is a different thing from that of a citizen, for a son or a slave is property, and there can be no injustice of one's own property." (quoted by Avery-Clark *et al* 1981, 24). Since this doctrine was convenient, it has been maintained ever since. Even today parents who exploit, assault or abuse their children are comparatively well treated by the courts and public opinion.

As long as people worked and lived together as a whole, irrespective of age, the community afforded a kind of protection. Children became engaged as early as seven, at which age they were sufficiently informed about he meaning of marriage, and boys were considered fit to be husbands at fourteen (Deschner 1978, 261-262). Only later, during a period of tempestuous progress in science and technology, when the economic adequacy of a family required years of instruction and education of future husbands, did society begin to split itself into age groups, a kind of decomposition. Thus developed our world of working adults, powerful, dominant, imposing its laws, judging; a separate world of the elderly, useless, having no other purpose than to wait calmly for death; and a third world of childhood and youth, a separate universe of schools and youth groups where the young are trained for their future tasks. The demands are for ever longer and more rigorous instruction. The young person remains forever, it seems, a pupil, under tutelage. In our period of history, where work is considered a virtue, earning money the aim of life, the non-working, expense-incurring child can only be considered an inferior being. It is important to realise that this unhealthy situation is relatively recent, peculiar only to the last two centuries (NAMBLA 1981, 99; Baurmann 1983, 77; Plummer 1981, 115-116; Haeberle 1978, 141, 143, 159-160), and is not a natural condition.

The frontiers between these worlds became ever stronger, more sharply defined and difficult to cross. One way the non-old adult group has displayed

its dominance has been by monopolising the right to sexual intercourse: coitus is not fitting for old people; they should be superior to base lust; how could one possibly justify sexual pleasure for the infertile pensioners? Youth was even less entitled to sex: lust enervates young people and interferes with their education. As long as a person is incapable of supporting a wife and children with his own earnings he must not marry, and only marriage can excuse sexual intercourse.

This grand conception of the social universe was aided by the pleasant idea that old people could no longer, and young people did not yet, experience sexual urges. Thus it was important to keep young people firmly separated from the world of adults with all of its temptations. For it was only from the adult world that evil, indecent thoughts could contaminate the young—pernicious, as youth was intrinsically pure and innocent. Thus a special literature for young people came into being, along with a proscribed category of ''publications perilous for youth''.

Nobody was allowed to cross the frontiers. Children belonged to a different, inferior caste—untouchables for nearly everyone but their parents. Outside the family, only determined, well-tested adults, entrusted with special tasks, were allowed to involve themselves with children: a teacher, or a doctor. If somebody else befriended a boy he immediately came under suspicion.

This unnatural social structure acquired in the course of time still other peculiarities. At first totally subjected to adult power, with no importance of his own, the child gradually was granted rights. And so came into being an immense youth protection network which grew and grew and became so extensive as to actually obstruct children in their free development and choice of relationships, thus, paradoxically, depriving them of even more human rights (Möller 1983, 20). Youth protection became a heavy youth burden, suffocating the defenceless protected. It worked more to unburden the adult conscience than to make children more happy and free (Sebbar 1980, 129).

With the acquisition of rights came that of property. Youth began to dispose of more and more money, and the world of adults was quick to see that this could be commercially exploited. It catered to, and publicised, trends in the young people's world: in fashion, hair styles, speech, music, literature, dance, film, theatre, travel, etc. But genuine youth movements which attempted to burst the bounds which separated them from the powerful world of non-old adults had only limited success.

The vast majority of youth fell into the trap so cleverly designed by the grown-ups. Youth cultivates its own life-style, its own language, its own fashion, its own protests, its own manners, its own culture, convinced that by so doing it can keep adults out of its own territory. Actually all it is doing is fortifying the wall adults have erected against them to keep them out of society as long as possible. Reich proposed that the recent tolerance of masturbation as a

specific form of sexual behaviour peculiar to the young was related to all of this (Schérer 1974, 67, 76-77).

And this state of things greatly aggravates the problems of boy-lovers. A man who befriends a boy, is constantly with him, and for whom no good reason can be found for such curious behaviour (he is not, say, the boy's father, teacher, coach or Scout leader) immediately comes under suspicion. Even when there is no evidence whatever of sexual involvement, he is likely to be treated badly simply for breaking the socialising taboo. Two people belonging to different age groups simply liking one another is disgusting: "apartheid" is good morality.

The child's situation is even worse. He needs understanding and affection, and if he cannot get them from his parents he now finds the path to adults outside his family blocked. In other cultures (and our own culture until the 18th Century), where children really live together with adults and are not relegated to a separate caste, they are able to turn to many grown-ups for help. This makes it virtually impossible for child abuse to flourish to the degree it does in our culture. The younger child is much less infantilised and much more highly respected. It is interesting, in this connection, to read the ethnologist Pierre Erny's description of African society: "The relationships between the African child and adult belong largely to the type which we classify as 'symmetrical'. The little one is treated as though he already has complete individuality, capable of showing his own will and having the right to assert it; in other words, he is entitled to the same rights as every other member of the community. The child is not seen as essentially different from the adult and inferior to him, and people are therefore inclined to deal with him on a person-to-person basis, with respect based upon consciousness of equality." (Quoted by Schérer 1979, 192)

Depth and Superficiality of Love

The negative aspects of boy-love which we have thus far examined have all been due to false suppositions, or the consequences of societal taboos, or some bad character traits of the adult in question. They are, then, either imaginary, non-existent or avoidable; they are not intrinsic.

Every form of love has its dark side. The poets of boy-love repeat the common themes of all love poets: unrequited love, jealousy, infidelity; one partner is only interested in sex, the other wants much more; disease, impotence; in other words, everything that may trouble homophiles, and everything—save unwanted pregnancies!—that may trouble heterophiles, can cast a shadow on boy-lovers and the boys they love.

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Perhaps here the love of one partner, the man, is more frequently deeper and of a different nature than that of the other partner, the boy. We may recall from Chapter Three what Stöwer has his Epictetus write on this matter. He adds, "You are asking me whether true love is possible when there is a generation's difference between the lovers. I think it is possible even here, but such a love will be quite different from what each partner would normally expect. The love you seek will demand from you a great deal of understanding, and from him a degree of self-denial that in most cases is not feasible because for him there are too many opportunities for love without it."

This was written about a world in which the sexual desires of youth were not tabooed and where a handsome, healthy boy like Antinous had many opportunities for sexual encounters. This is, of course, less true in our own time, and a boy entertaining a relationship with a loving man will be thrown more completely on this one resource, and for a longer period.

But still it is a fact that the love of a boy is often more capricious and superficial than that of a man. This is normal for his age. Little boys are whimsical and volatile; no steady relationship can be built up with them. Thus loving them is a painful, unstable situation full of tension, says Matzneff (1977, 70-71) after a great deal of experience. "Boy-love is a school for loneliness," sighs Saint-Ours (1973, 202). And James M. Barrie, equally experienced and a fervent boy-lover all his life, the author of *Peter Pan,* ends his story *Tommy and Grizel* (the beautiful young lady Grizel loves little Tom and he tries to love her) on the bitter reflection: "She thought it was very sweet of him to try so hard; sweeter of him than if he really had loved her, though not of course quite so sweet to her. He was a boy only. She knew that, despite all he had gone though, he was still a boy. And boys cannot love. Oh, is it not cruel to ask a boy to love?" (quoted by Fraser 1976, 71-72)

Regarding Lewis Carroll, the creator of *Alice in Wonderland* and lover of young girls, Morris Fraser observes, "One can see that colouring all of the author's work is the deep depression and despair of a man whose love was bound to be unrequited. Here is the paedophile's constant lament—that the immature child cannot possibly comprehend, or return, such complex and bewildering adult emotions." (1976, 193)

There are exceptions, as we have already seen.

309 One of de Montherlant's little friends said to him, "If somebody would tell something bad about you, I wouldn't believe him." (de Montherlant & Peyrefitte 1983, 37) Pieterse (1982, II 60) recorded the statement of a 33-year-old man loving boys 7 to 14: "The relationship between Tony and me was so close that if he was in pain I felt it, and if I was in pain he felt it. Now we can laugh about this, because that emotional bond is past. If something had happened to him during our relationship I would have been prepared to commit suicide. I knew this; Tony knew this: if you die, I'll die with you."

But mostly the feelings of the adult partner are not requited on the same level. "The elder is at fault for expecting a youngster to experience what he himself feels for him as this is almost invariably beyond the boy's emotive capacity. There are some lads who—out of hero-worship, image-identification and the like—do exhibit these feelings to a certain extent, but it should be satisfactory enough that the youngster expresses affection or a gratitude-based regard," Boy-love poetry will be "appreciated chiefly by other boy-lovers and not by the lad himself." (Nichols 1976, 61)

Gebhard (1965, 316), commenting on prisoners he investigated who were sentenced for having relations with 12-15-year-old boys, observed, "In many instances a real and deep relationship existed. One not infrequent tragedy is that the love was not mutual: the adult was deeply involved emotionally and dreaded the inevitable dissolution of the affair, while the teenager with the unthinking callousness of youth merely regarded him as a 'nice guy', but not as any vital part of his life."

One may deplore this situation. As one is unable to change it, the only solution is to accept, wisely, that loving is more important, and enriching, than being loved. Matzneff (1974, 56, 59) counsels, "Never ask a child whether he loves you; it is enough that he allows you to love him." One must find satisfaction in the unselfishness of a relationship where no reward is asked for or expected. For nobody does this come easily...

Albert Ellis "states that boys are 'lousy lovers'; and here he is both right and wrong. To clarify, it is necessary to distinguish 'loving' from 'making love'. The former embraces the capacity to feel profound and total concern for another human being; it involves full commitment and responsibility. 'Making love' in contrast requires only the desire for pleasure, in the pursuance of which there occasionally may be a facile *pretence* at 'loving'. The man who has experienced relationships with youngsters knows blissfully well that some boys can be most satisfactory at 'making love', especially if they have overcome inhibitions as to deep-kissing and the like. A lad can enjoy it not only for the pleasure but also because it is *fun* and fulfils a desire for experimentation in forbidden fields', for adventure and a need for security. The act of 'making love' is often associated by the boy with the warmth and comfort that comes from being cuddled—an intense delight in itself. Nevertheless, younger lads are generally too immature and self-centered to express any appreciative degree of out-going love of which most adults are capable. The 15- or 16-year-old boy comes much closer to achieving this happy state; in fact, not infrequently these teeners, if they are in the mood, can teach *adults* an ecstatic thing or two!" (Quoted by Nichols 1976, 24)

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The Brevity of Bloom

Boys' beauty is as brief alas!
As that of frostwork on the glass,
That's hardly seen before the ray
That shows it makes it melt away
But though it's brief, what beauty can compare
with this — so strangely, delicately fair.
— E. E. Bradford (1925, 30)

The ancient Greeks, as we have seen, loved "ta paidika", the boyishness, which is eternal and common to all periods of history. "We always love just one being, but in various incarnations," says Matzneff (1981, 282), and this is echoed by Schult (1982, 101).

310 "I was just under twenty when I lost my little twelve-year-old darling and I was quite desperate and on the verge of suicide. He remained the prototype of all the children I have loved since, but they have all proved to be replaceable to an unbelievable degree. I feel deeply about each one of them but they count less as separate people and all seem to have the same essential lovability in common." (A boy-lover, quoted by Kraemer 1976, 4-5)

An individual boy, certainly, is not eternal. On the contrary, it is his nature to change, to grow. He may come to incarnate "ta paidika", but only for a rather brief period. "Boys will be boys, but a different boy almost every day. And you cannot predict the day when they will still look like boys, but have become men." (Menen 1975, 132)

And one day the little friend will not even look like a boy. He ceases to be erotically exciting, his attraction is vanishing. The accompanying sorry is indissolubly part of this special kind of love (Plummer 1981, 233-234). "He who loves only youth and its gracefulness is doomed to a less frequent, and shorter lasting, love." (Peyrefitte 1956, 178)

"A boy is a living force, illuminating you and then passing you by. If you love boys you are foredoomed to love the volatile, for tomorrow they will not be the same boys you loved today. Time force-marches them onward; they are at an age where change is the quickest. You are doomed to loneliness, to an everlasting hunt for a fugitive angel who is only an angel for one fleeting moment." (de Brethmas 1977, 65)

"Ineffable happiness can be the reward on both sides of a generous love between man and boy; but by its own nature it is doomed to be ephemeral—although often succeeded by a lasting friendship, the magic of love must pass with the magic of boyhood. I repeat, although, after a mainly happy lifetime, I don't for a moment wish that I'd been born sexually different from

what I was, I would always try to dissuade, were it possible to alter an individual nature, a youth from obeying an inclination towards boys (...) because his only chances of emotional serenity are almost certain to be wrecked by it.'' (Davidson 1971, 196-197) ''That fierce and mystic delusion which is the sexual lunacy cannot span more than three or four years at most: suddenly, overnight like a flower, it is dead; the unique and magic boy has become an ordinary young man and one can look at the curve of his cheek without feeling a pang and an ineffable joy.'' (Davidson 1962, 111-112)

To Gerrit Komrij *(NRC Handelsblad,* 21 March, 1984) ''young boys and old books are the crown jewels of creation.'' As to the first, however much we may lament it, ''the satin of their loins becomes crackle, the message of death lodges itself in their commander's stare, their blood pulverises and there is evermore emptiness within the fence of their arms.''

Is it best, then, in light of this unhappy truth, that one abstain entirely from relations with boys? Pseudo-Lucian has an orator make this recommendation; he suggests that young men not look for the soft and short-lived pleasure obtained with pleasing boys, and not give in to an infatuation which will be gone as soon as the beloved gets hairy (quoted by Buffière 1980, 524). The great poet Theokritos also had his doubts:

Better it is
not to know the pain that boy-love always causes!
This one approaches you boldly, supple as the quick deer,
but tomorrow he'll set his sails to go elsewhere;
the young won't stay young forever, as flowers of eternal spring.
Later the lover will feel his marrow devoured
by the pain of remembrance. Often in the night a dream will deceive him
and this gnawing grief can't be cured by the passage of time.
(30: 16-23)

But his heart answers:

He who hopes for victory
over cunning Eros is indeed a man who hopes
to number the stars shining in the sky.
Therefore, willing or unwilling, I must submit
and carry the yoke, heavy as it may be. For thus, my beloved,
is the will of the god who duped the senses of master Zeus
and of the Cyprian goddess herself. Who am I? A fleeting leaf,
a slight zephyr will suffice and the south wind carries me quickly away.
(30: 35-32)

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How brief, alas, is the bloom! In the Brongersma Foundation there are series of photos showing the naked beauty of one and the same boy over a period of several years. I once saw a sensitive artist in tears when he leafed through one of these sets documenting the evolution of a charming, brilliant boy of 11 into a rather coarse, square-shouldered 19-year-old. How cruelly nature destroys such loveliness!

It is not without sense. The child, the boy in puberty, needs the helping, protecting love of the adult; nature gives him the power to attract, to reward the care he gets with the beauty of his person. This all must pass away if the loved-one is to become independent. To such imperative the lover's desire for "eternity, the deep, deep eternity" of lust must give way. To the younger partner, whose very existence is directed upon development and change, the end of such a love relationship comes as something natural, to be expected. "Where did novelists ever find continuity in children's' affections? For someone living entirely in the present, time has no significance... How could a person, faced with the task of constructing himself, find the force necessary to sympathise with someone else?" (Martel, unpublished manuscript)

In this respect the boy is frequently the wiser of the two partners, more conscious of the transient nature of their relationship. The man may be caught up in dreams of "the eternal boy", of Endymion, of Peter Pan, and simply cannot realise that the boy's red lips will soon be framed by a beard, the smooth body will become coarse and hairy. The man just loves; and it is the essence of love to tell the beloved, "Our love is eternal". (Marcel, quoted by Matzneff 1977, 65)

Perhaps Sandfort (1980, 196) is right in saying that adults tend to see marriage, union for life, as the sole valid model for every love relationship, and thus are all too inclined to call boy-love, with its in-built transitory nature, tragic. This modelling becomes a bit hypocritical when it turns a blind eye to the fact that heterosexual relations, too, are subject to a high degree of instability and change. "Love makes time pass by, and time makes love pass by," goes an Italian proverb. In The Netherlands, the number of divorces is one-quarter of the number of marriages (Tiggeler 1979, 66), and half of the married people are unhappy with their marital situations (NISSO 1983). In the United States, divorces number a third of the marriages (Haeberle 1978, 177). It was the same at the beginning of the Middle Ages. And in the preceding age people even contracted one-year marriages (Taylor 1953, 33-34). The Church was successful, at least during some periods, in making marriages a union for life, but let us not ask at what cost of adultery, prostitution and concubinage. Today, as the average age of marriage is once again lowering, divorce increases even more rapidly. Among those in France who swear eternal union before they are 25, 70% obtain divorces (de Brethmas 1979, 26), and 80% of American divorcees remarry (Beverly Hotchner 1979, 348).

The transient nature of boy-love only assumes its tragic cast in the eyes of the older partner left behind while the younger is severing himself from him and discovering new means of satisfying his need for love and sex. A real love affair never has a happy ending (Borneman 1978, 14).

311 And so it was with Ludwig van Beethoven, who loved his nephew Karl. After a long struggle, Beethoven contrived to be the tutor of this boy, who lived with him and whom he spoiled. But when Karl was 16 and 17 he showed increasing interest in girls. Beethoven was desperate, was plunged into loneliness and for some time was unable to compose any music. Even Franz Grillparzer, his gay friend, was unsuccessful in freeing him of his depression (Lohauser 1977, 54).

On average, out of every ten adolescent boys who have sex with a man, nine will gradually or suddenly switch to girls. The man may be perfectly well aware that the sexual fantasies of his young friend are of females, and yet, when the day arrives, it may come as a strong and unexpected blow.

312 Greek mythology depicts this process admirably and poetically in the legend of Hylas. Hercules, travelling with his wife and son, kills King Thiodames as a result of a quarrel. The king's handsome son Hylas, however, he takes with him as he continues on his journey, and they fall in love with each other. Like a father, Hercules teaches Hylas everything a boy should know in order to become a man, and later takes the boy along on the Argonauts' voyage. One night they are camped on a beach and the blond youth wanders off in search of drinking water. He comes upon a spring surrounded by dense, luxurious verdure, and in it three nymphs are dancing. When the beautiful boy leans over to fill his copper water-jug, the nymphs, burning with passion for him, grasp his hand and draw him into the spring. He plunges down into its dark depths, like a shooting star into the sea, and he weeps, while the nymphs try to console him. His absence worries Hercules, who finally sets out to find him in the woods. Three times he calls Hylas with his giant voice. Only weakly, as from a great distance and from the water's depths, is Hylas' answer heard. Hercules plunges deeper and deeper into the forest. The Argonauts depart on their expedition, leaving the hero to his desperate search, wandering wherever his feet carry him, driven to madness, soul torn by a cruel god (Buffière 1980, 378-380).

Sometimes the boy will suddenly refuse to continue with the sex—we have already seen examples of this in Chapter Three. In other instances the sex gradually becomes less frequent and more superficial; not unusually it is the man who is the first to stop it completely. But to suppose, as does Günther Amendt (quoted in *Ein Herz für Sittenstrolche,* 56), "that relationships of this kind are always broken off by the adult", because the boy has grown out of his erotic attractiveness, is wrong; this is arm-chair invention without any basis in common reality. Quite the contrary, we have observed that it is often the boy who puts an end to the relations, for very valid and easily discoverable reasons.

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It is understandable that many a loving man will feel acute disappointment and anger at this point, however unwise that may be. Even the most costly gifts, the greatest devotion, the years of caring, the deepest passion, never entitle one to the permanent possession of a boy's body or the continuation of sexual relations once he feels he has grown beyond them.

It is quite a different matter, however, when unrealistic fears ("If I keep on doing this I'll end up gay.") or behavioural misconceptions ("Only small boys do these things.") prevent the boy from continuing with the sex he really, in his heart, looks forward to. In such cases it is correct, in the boy's interest as well as one's own, to discuss these matters freely and openly. Who could blame Martial (IV, 7) for asking his young friend,

Hyllus, why do you deny me today
what you allowed me yesterday?
Why are you suddenly so hard,
you who always had such a gentle heart?
You point out that your beard is already sprouting,
you're no longer a kid, down there you have hair.
It must surely have been a long night
that changed you into such an ancient!
No nonsense, please. Yesterday, Hyllus, you were still a boy;
How, then, could you be a man today?

Mostly, however, the man does have to accept that his innermost desires will not be consummated. But is not the best proof of love granting to the other person the right to chose his own personal life? This means renouncing the satisfaction of one's own lust in order not to impede the beloved's individual evolution.

313 "Hervé began to show an interest in girls at fifteen. Since he was a very attractive and handsome boy, the girls were even more interested in him than he was in them. (...) I made it easy for him to meet them. He would bring the girl to my home to have a drink and play records. And I suffered a lot: if he had come with a guy I'd have thrown him out; in that case I'd have been very angry. But with girls, even though it hurt, I let him do what he liked. Gradually he detached himself from me, but I didn't manage to detach myself from him. For quite a few months I really suffered, then the wounds began to heal. I still see a lot of him. He is married and has children."

"How does he react today to your former relationship?"

"For him it remains an experience, something to recall with pleasure, a very beautiful memory. He told me, 'Without you, I'd never have known about this; without you I'd never have understood this problem of paedophilia.' (...) He knows my way of living didn't change and he isn't shocked by this. He discussed it with his wife. We had a conversation about it. His wife knows that I had sexual relations with him when he was young. (...) It opened his mind. He learned to be tolerant and how to love. He

knows we were able to love each other, and that this is important, even when you're only twelve. (...) He is aware now that love does not depend on age; it opened his mind to the meaning of love, after what he experienced and felt for me. I believe he also understood quite well what I felt for him." (Hennig 1979, 144-145)

Sometimes a boy, clearly recognising the sexual needs of his older friend, looks for a successor and introduces him to a younger boy at school or an adored younger brother (Nichols 1976, 30).

With smaller boys the situation is often different. If, as he goes into puberty, the sprouting of pubic hair kills the man's sexual desires, the romance is over when the boy still needs a great deal of guidance. To reject the boy cold-bloodedly just because he is "over the hill" is cruel. A Swedish boy-lover reports, "I met several boys to whom this had happened. They had lost nearly all of their trust in the existence of a true community between two people of the same sex. I see this as an enormous wrong that was done to them." (Kurre 1974, 27-28)

In any case, the boy should be made aware long in advance that his erotic attractiveness as far as his older friend is concerned will one day begin to diminish. I have personally known boy-lovers drawn exclusively to pre-pubertal youngsters who brought their boy-friends at about age thirteen to other adults for whom attraction began at just this transitional age.

Faced with this crisis, the different characters of boy-lovers reveal themselves. We see the man for whom things suddenly come to an end: the boy is too big, he has lost his beauty; forgotten are the hours of passion, the ardent words of love. He shuts the door in the boy's face: don't bother to come again! Or we see the man who consciously tapers off the frequency of his embraces, making the boy aware of what is happening and showing at the same time that his friendship and concern are undiminished.

314 Frank Rose, the social worker we have already quoted (No. 211) writes, "I'm the one who has to deal with this young man when he's freaking out at three and four o'clock in the morning because his foster parent, who had been having sex with him, said he didn't want him around because he wasn't attracted to him any more. He was into 14-year-olds. This kid wanted to commit suicide at 16 because he thought nobody would find him attractive any more." (1978, 19)

315 In the archives of the Brongersma Foundation is a copy of a series of letters written by a profoundly sensitive, intelligent 15-year-old grammar school pupil, Ewald. This boy, at 12, became acquainted with a man, and they had passionate sex together. He fell truly in love with this adult and put the greatest trust in him. Suddenly, after three marvellous years, the man dropped him and devoted himself to a younger boy. Ewald was deeply hurt and disappointed, and at this same time he noticed that the excited discussion of his age-mates about girls wasn't interesting to him in the least. Someone had once told him that boys inevitably became queer if they engaged in homosexual

> acts. So here he was; the scoundrel had perverted him and abandoned him to his fate! Ewald wrote a furious, desperate letter to the editors of a well-known gay monthly: ''You are all selfish swine, you make young people miserable...'' He was near to suicide. The editors wisely forwarded this cry in the wilderness to a leader in the paedophile movement, and this man, with delicacy and understanding, began a correspondence with the boy. After a long time he managed to convince the boy that ''seduction to homophilia'' is impossible: if Ewald felt more attracted to boys than to girls, this was something intrinsic to his nature; it didn't make him inferior to a heterophile, and there was no need to be miserable any more if he could calmly accept this aspect of humanity. The ending of the correspondence reads like a dime novel: Ewald was convinced by the letters he received and now revels in the love of a fellow student slightly younger than himself. Both boys are very happy with their relationship.

Ewald's older friend acted abominably; responding only to his own desires, he cold-bloodedly drove a young being who loved and trusted him, who had abandoned himself in his embraces, to the brink of death. Such despicable behaviour would distress a boy in any society, but in ours, with its misconceptions about homosexuality, unable, because of our stupid taboos, to discuss these matters with the people about him, he almost became a blood sacrifice to this selfishness.

Such cruelties are committed. Boy-lovers as a group are no better than other people; among them are evil and merciless egoists as well as kind and considerate men. But it is quite unrealistic to suppose that all boy/man relationships end as did Ewald's. Typically, Janus, who says boy-lovers at the end of the affair characteristically get rid of their young friends against the boy's wishes (1981, 207-208), has not a single word of criticism when it is parents and police who disrupt the intimate friendships against the boy's will (Möller 1983, 78).

It is this extreme difficulty of carrying on a long-lasting friendship in our culture, coupled with the inevitable transience of the boy's erotic appeal, that discourages many adults from establishing love relationships and drives them to seek sex in casual meetings or with venial youngsters. On the other hand, Kraemer's (1976, 4) assertion that the feelings which motivate the adult lover of young boys are always impersonal is clearly contradicted by Sandfort's research and by many other records referred to in this book.

Rouweler-Wutz (1976, 58) discovered in her research among 60 members of a paedophile group that 47% had had, over the past two years, both long-lasting and one-time-only contacts, 12% had had contacts only within lasting relationships, 10% only casual contacts, and 31% no contacts at all. Among Pieterse's subjects, 7.4% had had only casual contacts, and 8.8% no contacts at all (1982, I 27).

Boy-love is homosexual, and it is generally thought that gay people are more inclined to change partners than to form steady relationships. This is an error.

Sanders found that heterophile and homophile youth (12 to 24 years) had the same desire for living with one partner: more than three-quarters of both groups preferred this (1977, 97). Pieterse (1982, I 28) found that 49.3% of her paedophile subjects preferred having only one partner. Thus if homophiles really were more promiscuous, it was due to social pressure.

Table 4 depicts the percentages of young people, both heterophiles and homophiles, who, during the past 18 months, had had sex with how many different partners.

Table 4

Young homophiles	Young heterophiles	Different partners
7%	22%	One only
15%	41%	Two or three
37%	30%	Four to ten
22%	4%	Ten to twenty
19%	4%	More than twenty

(Sanders 1977, 110)

Hanry's investigation among 758 grammar school pupils and high school students (16 to 18 years) came to a different conclusion, but he put the questions to the whole group of subjects and not just to those who recognised themselves as homophiles. Many heterophiles of that age will have recently experimented a few times with homosexuality. Of his subjects, 18% refused to answer, 30% had had homosexual experiences, and of those 72% had had only one partner and 28% several partners. As for heterosexual experience, 13% did not answer, 87% had had such experiences, and of these 36% had had only one partner, 36% two or three partners, 22% four to ten, and 6% more than ten (1977, 164).

We should never forget the male's general tendency to promiscuity and the possible positive aspects of promiscuity for mental health (Constantine 1981, 229). Masters & Johnson found that a man, exhausted by repeated intercourse with one woman, nearly always immediately regained his potency when provided with a second partner (Borneman 1978, 648). Under favourable circumstances, even rather young boys who are highly potent can be quite promiscuous: of the 15- to 16-year-old boys among Hass' subjects, 28% had performed intercourse with more than 10 girls (Hass 1979, 68). "It is not unusual for a young man to have single and repeated sexual contacts with between 250 to 500 different male and female individuals before marriage." (Barrington 1981, 125)

316 Karel, a particularly handsome and charming Dutch boy of fifteen, radiant with health, confided to me that he had had regular intercourse with girls since he was twelve. His father ran a dairy products shop and Karel often ran errands for him, which gave him the opportunity for many adventures. "When I need a girl, I'll find one right away," he boasted. But he also liked to have sex with two adult men.

Among Hertoft's subjects was a 19-year-old who had also had intercourse since he was twelve, and a 21-year-old who had had it since the age of 14; both had already performed with about 200 women (1968, I 326-327). An 18-year-old Danish boy had started at 15 to look for men on the streets and in the parks and had already had 50 different partners. He never asked for money in exchange for sex. A 17-year-old who also started at 15 had had 40 partners. A third boy of 14 had had 50 partners in the course of one year (Jersild 1964, 86). It is interesting to note that in primitive tribes where sex with men is part of a boy's initiation, he may couple with several men in one night. Promiscuity is perceived by the tribal members as a unifying element (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1980, 89-90).

In general, as we have seen, promiscuity is more common among homophiles than heterophiles, even though most homophiles, too, would prefer to establish steady relationships (Barrington 1981, 167). The difference between ideal and real is maximised where society is intolerant of men living together. Under such circumstances, promiscuity can reach epic proportions, as can be seen in Table 5 which shows the number of partners American homophiles have had during the course of their lives. Moreover, 70% of the white and 38% of the black males had only had one single sexual contact with over half of their partners. The average age of these white males was nearly 36, of the black males, slightly over 27, (Bell & Weinberg 1978, 308-309).

This, of course, concerns homosexuality between adults, but boy-lovers, too, can have contact with a remarkable number of partners. Nedoma reported that on average they were intimate with a greater number of children than were girl-lovers, 50% of boy-lovers having had more than three partners, compared with only 5-13% of the girl-lovers (Howells 1981, 85).

In the group of 50 paedophiles studied by Bernard (1979, 71), he reported that three had never touched a child, 15 had had contacts with between one and ten (or "some") children, 14 with between 10 and 50 children, 19 with over 50 (or "many"). (As this totals 51, there must be a small error in these figures.)

Wegner mentions a clergyman accused of "involving nearly all the 10- to 14-year-old village boys in sexual activities," as well as other similar cases "where nearly the whole school population between 12 and 15 years of age were involved by one single man in mutual masturbation and other homosexual acts. It was revealed that the boys themselves also regularly got together to perform such activities among themselves." In one village the man who had taken the initiative was arrested; another adult then approached the boys and

Table 5

White males (N = 574)	Black males (N = 111)	Number of partners
0%	0%	1 - 2
1%	2%	3 - 4
2%	4%	5 - 9
3%	5%	10 - 14
3%	6%	15 - 24
8%	6%	25 - 49
9%	18%	50 - 99
15%	15%	100 - 249
17%	11%	250 - 499
15%	14%	500 - 999
28%	19%	1000 and more

(Bell & Weinberg)

found it quite easy to persuade them to engage in the same activities with him. The more he went off into the woods to masturbate with them, the more boys joined the group." (1953, 24-25) Obviously these occurrences could only be made possible by the extreme willingness of boys in this age group to participate in sex play.

Jersild (1964, 211) cites the case of a 20-year-old postman who, over a period of three years, had sex with 300 to 400 boys. Duvert (1980, 106) guesses he has been intimate with over one thousand boys.

One might suppose that the record was held by the Australian court recorder, Clarence Osborne, about whom the sociologist Dr. Paul Wilson wrote an excellent book, *The Man They Called a Monster* (1981). In his treatment of the Osborne scandal, Wilson brought out facts which the news media had carefully suppressed.

317 For twenty years, Osborne had on average three new boys each week. At the same time he maintained long-lasting friendships with his former conquests. In total, there were about 2,500 boys; none ever complained to their parents or the police. Professionally, Osborne was a competent and respected stenographer, one of the best court recorders in Australia. He was not, however, satisfied merely by having sex with these boys; he made countless biometric measurements of their genitals and discussed with them their sexual lives and problems. After his death, more than eight kilometres of tape were discovered in his home recording his conversations with these boys, together with thousands of photos and a mass of statistics. All of this material proved that the boys related to him not only physically but emotionally. Osborne never used force,

never offered money for sexual willingness. A conversation accidentally overheard put the police on his trail and soon afterwards he committed suicide, at the age of 61. Dr. Wilson succeeded in contacting 12 of Osborne's former boy-friends, many of whom came from good, prominent families. All of them talked about Osborne with respect and affection. One said, "When I heard that he had killed himself, and heard all those horrible things the papers said about him, I cried and cried and cried. He was, I guess, the nearest thing I had to a father, and sometimes I thought a mother." (Wilson 1981, 46)

Just as a single sexual encounter can be an experience of extreme intensity, so promiscuity is not necessarily incompatible with tenderness and affection. The love poems of Heinz Birken *(Jungen an meinen Wegen)*, addressed to many different boys, prove this point, as do some of the stories by Pierre Herbart (1953). Rovsing describes the pleasure of experiencing how each boy is different as a sexual partner (1959, 96-99). Other authors stress the negative aspects of promiscuity *(Rooie-Vlinderschrift* 3, 21).

Some adults give the impression that for them hunting boys is more important than having boys (Nichols 1976, 22). One might well question whether this is really boy-love or an obsession which the act of loving boys could not reduce. Did Don Juan and Casanova really love women? Did they fly from one bosom to another simply because of their gigantic potencies and their enormous heterosexual appetites? Or did they do so because no woman could possibly satisfy them? Did they unconsciously desire another sort of partner? In Casanova's recollections there are some passages where he reveals a keen interest in male genitals; this gives us cause for reflection (Borneman 1978, 158). And the suppression in his autobiography of his sexual adventure with the lover-boy of d'Elboeuf (the man who discovered Herculaneum) heightens our suspicions *(Bilder Lexicon* 1928, I 322).

318 One of Senger's patients declared, "All these relations I had with girls... I was insatiable... one, two, three, sometimes four in succession. I felt the delight, but afterwards I was never really at peace. When I was through ejaculating I always stayed hard: only the time between 'comes' grew longer. I thought I was hyper-sexual. But now, when I've finished doing it with a male friend I find myself satisfied and really at peace." In other words, after frantic heterosexual couplings, he finally discovered his true homophile nature (1969, 415).

By the same token, a man with a similar craving for boys might well be a repressed heterophile in search of women.

Sexual pleasure in a casual meeting or as the culmination of a successful hunt may be intense (Reeves 1981, 32), but for most people the greatest happiness and the most intense feelings of lust come from uniting themselves with someone they love. This would seem to be confirmed by Masters & Johnson's findings that a change of partner increases the male's potency, but

that the *quality* of feeling in sex is higher with a steady partner (1980, 132, 143, 186). For sex is best when it gives expression to a deep union of two people; in the Gonado investigation, a third of the males agreed with this proposition (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 229). For young people this is even more true. Table 6 shows the results of an inquiry by Sanders (1977, 113) among 18- to 26-year-old males.

Table 6

Homophile males	Heterophile males	Agreed with the statement
48%	38%	Sex in a steady intimate relation is MUCH better and more satisfying and nice than sex with some one you don't know.
15%	10%	...is SOMEWHAT more satisfying and nice.
24%	41%	...is EQUALLY satisfying and nice.
2%	8%	...is SOMEWHAT LESS satisfying and nice
6%	3%	...is MUCH LESS satisfying and nice.
4%	7%	...is just as unsatisfying and unpleasant.

(Sanders 1977, 113)

Carpentier's study of 69 paedophiles (1985) revealed that 12% of them had single contacts, 9% met the same child several times; with 16% their relations had continued for several months, and with 11% several years. A combination of the two systems will only exceptionally be successful; it calls for a very special kind of personality.

319 (Continued from 257) We have already cited the case of Onno who, after intensive sexual training, was presented by his friend Nick to other men. This was not done for money; Nick was rich, an important corporate executive. Both of them simply found doing this exciting. As soon as Nick thought that Onno could meet the highest standards of sexual performance, he sent him off to work for three weeks as a servant at a country

house in southern France, miles from nowhere. The owner always had about a dozen paying guests, all of them middle-aged or even elderly—and thus exactly suited Onno's preferences. For three whole weeks Onno never had one stitch of clothes on his body; and he was placed day and night at the disposition of the entire group. Only in the last week did he have a colleague, a French adolescent boy, who performed the same duties. Onno had sex with everyone: with the owner, with the guests, even with the Moroccan chef, and a movie was made of a live-show he put on with the other boy. Every morning the owner inspected the two naked boys to see whether they hadn't been over-used. When he returned at the end of the three weeks, Onno had to tell his friend Nick every detail of his experiences. This excited Nick so much that he pounced on Onno and took him with an impetuosity bordering on rape. Now in his seventies, with those halcyon days far behind him, devoting his life to the study of philosophy, Onno still remembers this holiday as the nicest and happiest he ever had. It evidently responded to some need of his sexual appetite. Finally Nick, in his old age, married and Onno withdrew from his life after fifteen years of the closest friendship. Onno was now thirty himself, and he became acquainted with a man who had regular parties at his home for about a dozen gentlemen and some ten young men. The gentlemen remained fully dressed but the young men were naked right from the beginning of the party. The gentlemen danced with them, fondled them, touched their genitals (usually permanently erect) but were forbidden to bring the youngsters to climax. Appointments, however, could be made for the following night. Onno participated enthusiastically in these sessions, slept with the host, with several of the gentlemen, and with a number of the other actors—among them the young man mentioned in Example 44. He established a close relationship with the man who organised these meetings and still honours his memory, admiring his keen insight into the mentality of his guests and his boys for whom he really cared. Several of the men who slept with Onno tried to get him exclusively for themselves, making the most tempting offers if he would give up Nick. Those who knew Onno better realised from the start that this would be quite impossible. One could even say that through his promiscuity Onno only loved his friend, and that Onno's promiscuity only inflamed Nick's passion for him the more (Personal communication).

This case may be atypical, but it shows once again how every possible facet of human eroticism is, at one time or another, expressed, and how extremely difficult it is to pass judgements. In this case Nick was faithful to Onno while Onno, with Nick's encouragement, had frequent sex with many other men. The reverse situation is perhaps more common. Just as in many heterosexual relationships, the man may demand of his boy strict monogamy, jealously supervising his every movement, but allowing himself the liberty of sleeping with other boys: an unappetising double standard. The novel *Finisterre* by F. Peters and the story *L'escalier* in a book by Herbart (1970) both use this theme as the foundation of personal tragedies.

The child psychiatrist Elsa Nordlund, researching man/boy relationships during the years 1944 to 1949, found that in two-thirds of the cases she studied the bond continued for a long period of time, despite all manner of social

pressure to break it up (Léonetti 1978, 189). Two main factors may be suggested to explain this.

First, where the ties of love are strong, as we have already seen, the attainment by the boy of the upper limit of his erotic appeal for the man does not necessarily put an end to their physical intimacies. Sex is still desired by man and boy, satisfying lust and giving pleasure to both.

Second, as the erotic element gradually diminishes, their friendship normally goes on, often for life (Reeves 1983, 19). The older man remains the younger person's familiar and trusted confidant, his adviser, (Möller 1983, 77). The youth can discuss with him, openly and without shame, any problems which might arise in his heterosexual relationships. Kraemer (1976, 25) remarked on these lasting friendships and called it a strange phenomenon, but surely it can only seem strange to a person who has little real understanding of boy-love. The ancient Greeks, on the contrary, saw life-long friendship as the natural aftermath of an intense sexual relationship (Foucault 1984, 212-222, 247). In her beautiful novel *The Last of the Wine* (1956), Mary Renault, with her immense knowledge of Greek Antiquity, portrayed a friendship extending into married life and surviving until the death of one of the partners.

320 (Continued from 180) Thomas: "When a boy is fourteen or fifteen he has his contemporaries, he starts going after girls his own age. He's not exactly indifferent to me now, but he comes to me out of habit, because I'm the guy he can tell his little adventures to, whom he can trust, in whose home he feels at ease and where he can smoke a cigarette. But there is much less love than before. It's a habit; with me he can feel free." (Hennig 1979, 158)

When the boy grows up, marries, has children, the older partner usually becomes a welcome guest in his home. Often he is asked to be the godfather to their first-born child (Nichols 1976, 30; Wilson & Cox 1983, 68).

321 (Continued from 251) When Max introduced his parents to his fiancée, his mother told the girl, "Now you're going to have two dads, because Max loves David like another father; he'll never give David up." (Personal communication)

According to Léon des Sables (1977, 41), about two-thirds of long-lasting man/boy relationships ultimately evolve into permanent non-erotic friendships. Among Pieterse's subjects, 21.5% claimed they always kept up a friendly contact later, 33.8% said they usually did, and 18.9% said that happened occasionally (1982, I 27).

322 The feelings of the younger partner may be rather ambivalent. A 17-year-old Austrian said that he had been a very beautiful child. The parish priest fell in love with him when he was 10 and made him his altar boy. The priest kissed him, caressed his bare

legs, finally went on to sucking him off to orgasm—a practice which, once established, happened two or three times a week. He, in turn, masturbated the man. When the boy went into puberty at 12, his physical pleasure in these contacts sharply increased, but then the priest was promoted out of his local parish and the relationship came to an end. Later when the boy talked about this man it was with intense anger. He admitted that his sexual pleasure had been great, but he was filled with rage that the person doing these pleasant things to him had been a priest preaching chastity. When pressed further about his present feelings, he said, "It's weird—I still feel some kind of love for him. Maybe my love turned into anger when I was 15 or 16. But really I'd like to make love with him again if I had the chance. I'd relive those beautiful days of my boyhood. He was never unkind to me; he really loved me. I was his favourite, his only boy. I've gone to bed with girls a lot, but then I always remember that priest, and I lose my hard-on. I've never tried it with boys because I'm scared of being sent to prison." (Brongersma Foundation Archives, S.E. 124-125)

Sex continuing after the boy had reached the upper age-limit of his erotic attraction for the man was well recognised in antiquity. Two poems by Strato (XII 10 & 248) bring this to life:

Your lips are already clouded a bit by down,
But even so, my beloved, I cannot say farewell.
Despite the beard and all those hairs, this beauty is mine.

That the beloved's flowering fades, how could one clearly see it,
Lying at his side or never far away?
What pleased us yesterday, how could it not please today?
And if it pleases today, how could it offend tomorrow?

323 "Every autumn for many years I used to visit a friend living in a North African city. One of his Arab house boys, Bechir, became very dear to me. He was 12 when I first got to know him. I always brought him from home some small gift. He liked to accompany me on little trips. One morning early—he was fourteen then—he knocked at my bedroom door and stole in, stripped off his clothes and crept naked into my bed. For him, sex was a natural consequence of our friendship. Every year thereafter on my visit we had regular sex. From his 14th to his 16th year Bechir was most erotically attractive to me. His body was healthy, sturdy, delightfully smooth. Our contacts went on until he was 19, when he left my friend's home to seek work in Saudi Arabia. Two years later I was once again visiting my friend's home when there was a knock on the door and there stood Bechir! He was on leave from his work; he had heard by chance that I was in town, too. For a half hour I talked with the young man about his job in Arabia, his travels, his family, without giving any thought to present sexual possibilities. We were standing next to one another at the window and suddenly to my surprise he put his hand underneath my shirt and started caressing my back. He gave me a questioning look and pushed me toward the bed. 'It was always so nice here,' he said, and began to undress. His legs were covered with hair, which I found ugly, but his breast and stomach were finely shaped and completely smooth. As is the

practice of many well-groomed Arabs, he had shaved off all hair from around his penis and scrotum which he showed me once again with pride. He stretched out on his back on the bed, his penis already swelling, and said to me, simply, 'Come!' Then I cast off my clothes and lay naked upon his naked body. We embraced tightly. I closed my eyes, and suddenly it was no longer a young man whose body I rode. My only thought was, 'Here you have your Bechir once again. He is naked, hot and excited, as he always is.' In my mind's eye I saw the nice laughing boy he once had been, and it was that body I sprinkled with my seed at the climax of my lust. (Personal communication)

Even when all physical attraction has faded away and the appearance of the former boy-friend, now endowed with beard and body hair, is so sexually repellent that erotic contact is no longer possible, the friendship very often continues.

> *Return my love, as my love is true,*
> *So on that distant day when your chin grows dark with hair*
> *We may still be coupled, like Achilles and his friend.*
> — (Theokritos XXIX, 33)

324 Bernard cites a case which is of particular interest because the younger partner never really liked the sexual aspect of the relationship. From his 12th to his 18th year he had sporadic sex with a man 20 years his senior. Now, as a middle-age man, he said, "I regarded these contacts as somehow abnormal; I was mainly moved by pity for the man. I still have a very friendly relationship with him." (1979, 43)

325 "What did I do to earn the gratitude of so many boys? They were younger than I, at times very much younger, and they offered me a moment—often a very short moment—of lust. I am their debtor, but for some reason I've never understood they seem unable to forget me. I'd like to believe they still feel a trace of sweetness there, where I caressed them. Yes, something of this penetrating sweetness which love bestows on male power." (Saint-Ours 1973, 98)

326 (Continued from 295) When Conny was 12 and 13 he had an enormous amount of sex with 30-year-old Jan. They also went on many trips together, searching for adventure; they studied plants, animals, rocks and minerals together. Then Jan was arrested and Conny was deeply disturbed by the brutal questioning of the police. At the end of Jan's prison term Conny was allowed to see Jan again, if only infrequently, and he rapidly recovered his emotional equilibrium. When the boy was 15 he turned his attentions to a new girl friend and put an end to their homosexual activities, but he would bring his girl to Jan's home, where Jan let them use a bedroom for their intimacies. Once—Conny was 16 at the time—he asked Jan to take photos of the two of them making love. The result is a glorious record of radiant youthful joy: Conny's beautiful naked body with its big swollen member, his pleasant, proudly smiling face, one arm tenderly encircling the shoulders of the naked, slightly embarrassed girl—the picture of blooming, happy youth. During the next few years Conny and his girl remained faithful to one another. Their only serious problem was that the boy's strong sexual appetite needed more

> frequent satisfaction than the girl would allow. They brought their problem to Jan and asked him to be their arbiter (Personal communication).

One of Léonetti's subjects suggested that a boy who has sex with a man may turn to girls at an earlier age than his peers because the satisfaction he has been having has made his sexual impulses more demanding. This may well be true, for what he does with his friend will tend to develop his potency and his skills, and this helps him when he moves on to girls. But actual experience with coitus may well be delayed, as we have already seen, and this, in our society, is hardly to be deplored.

Intimacy with a loving man, however, does not just benefit the boy's sexual capacities—in itself an important advantage—but nurtures something far more important. It can free him from all manner of psychological inhibitions and frustrations which our unnatural and depraved sexual morality tends to burden him with. This will be the subject of our next chapter.

Chapter 5.

Sexual Repression and Sexual Liberation

The Effects of Sexual Repression

It was about 1962 that society rather suddenly became aware of the widespread evil of child battery. Attention was first focused upon beating: broken bones, flesh wounds, physical torture. Only gradually did people begin to realise that, in addition to these active forms of child abuse, there were passive ones as well: neglect, intentional or culpable undernourishment and other examples of not providing adequate care. Later still, people began to perceive that there could be psychological abuse, too: intentional abuse, as, for example, when unrealistic demands on the child's learning capacity are imposed, with punishment following if the child fails to meet expectations; unintentional abuse, as when the child receives little or no love, only coldness, from those who care for him.

Concern about the more subtle, culpable forms of abuse only came after the sensational crimes of physical abuse had been widely publicised.

The same process is repeating itself with sexual abuse. Rape, violent assault, abuse of authority for sexual ends, conscienceless seduction, pimping, real sexual exploitation—all these phenomena have long been known in society, and have always been illegal in the West, at least for free-born children. Only slowly, in some liberal places, is society beginning to recognise that there is passive child abuse in the sexual area as well, consisting of deliberately withholding sexual information, of not recognising the need for sexual experimentation in children so they can learn about sexual tenderness. That this kind of child abuse is excused and actually recommended by many authorities on the highest moral grounds does not make it any less a crime: murder is murder, and it does not alter the case at all if the murderer was told his crime was ordered by God. Even if the perpetrator of a crime is exculpated, what he did remains a crime.

Thus, on a personal basis, at least, we must forgive parents and teachers who have abused their children, and continue to do so, by sexual neglect. Considering the kind of upbringing they themselves received, nothing else, really, could be expected of them. But this abuse still remains a crime. We are quite justified in calling it a form of parental neglect, just as criminal, and often with more far-reaching consequences, than a failure to provide adequate clothing or education. ''Baurmann concluded that the wrongs daily inflicted upon the sexuality of our children by lack of affection, prohibition of body pleasure, and inculcation of taboos, far exceed the harm done by so-called 'child molesters'.'' (Schult 1980, 22)

V. SEXUAL REPRESSIOIN AND SEXUAL LIBERATION

The all-pervasiveness of this crime challenges the boy-lover to be youth's instructor, guide, initiator and educator. Nature seems to have shaped him for this task and inspires him with the desire to carry it out. Being human, imperfect, and above all badly educated in these matters, he will often fail. But it is here that he should seek his proper vocation.

The preceding chapters have shown us the importance of sex for human males; many say that they do not just want, but actually need it (Hite 1981, 335). ''There was a great deal of anxiety on the part of most men about how often they had intercourse, and, in fact, most men felt that they were not having it often enough.'' (Hite 1981, 335, 615) In earlier times, writers stressed the physical distress of men deprived of regular satisfaction: continued erection, spasmodic contractions of the interior sex glands, pains in the testicles (Borneman 1978, 328, 1509). Modern experts are more inclined to stress the psychological consequences of abstinence. ''What the libido wants, it must have. If its road is blocked, then health will suffer. Every unsatisfied sexual wish causes health problems.'' (Borneman 1978, 1073)

If this is true of adult males, it is even more true of boys during and just after puberty. The Greeks, with their characteristic human insight, personified Pathos, god of desire, as an adolescent (Walters 1978, 53). Striving for pleasure is never more frenetic than at this age (Abraham 1969, 28). ''The youth, deeply infected with the sex-passion, suddenly finds himself in the presence of Titanic forces—the Titanic but sub-conscious forces of his own nature.'' (Carpenter 1911, 9)

At first glance it seems almost incomprehensible why abstinence should be imposed at just that age when it is most difficult to bear. A 15-year-old boy said, ''I think that being a virgin is some foolish ritual that 'proper' people follow. Since it's known that people sexually mature long before they get married, how can society expect people to wait?'' (Hass 1979, 137) Why should sexual morality be different for boys, especially after their bodies have matured, than for adults? In sex a boy is certainly the man's equal: nature drives him even more frequently and tempestuously toward sexual contacts than it does the adult male. When adults deny boys the same degree of sexual freedom they allow themselves, youth can only consider society a system where adults have made of sex a status symbol for themselves which they defend under the pretence of protecting morality (Killias 1979, 206). Here the well-known battle of the generation gap is not caused by the young but by their elders (Hanry 1977, 92, 138).

This double standard of morality can only be defended by industrial age illogic: we must venerate productivity, thus the productive in society may have privileges the non-productive can be denied. People in the non-productive

periods of human life—youth and old age—are inferior. The joys of sex are only for workers: youth is not yet fit, and the old are no longer fit, for such pleasures. The old satyr is just as horrid and dissolute as the youngster in rut; sex is banned alike from old people's homes and schools. Invalids, for the same reason, also cannot have sex. Every other conception "threatens what is probably one of the most central link-pins of hierarchical society." (Constantine & Martinson 1981, 6)

What a materialistically grounded morality this is, one which makes the young and vital its victims! (Plack 1967, 158, 244). For decades sexologists debated whether youth was capable of controlling its sexual impulses so as to to remain completely abstinent. Fortunately this rather theoretical question has been replaced by a much more critical one: what are the consequences of such repression? (Plack 1967, 255).

We will discuss them under four topics: 1) nervous troubles, 2) increased aggression, 3) guilt feelings, 4) sexual obsession.

1. Nervous Troubles

A doctrine which dares consider itself a system of morality but which actually violates nature is, in reality, a system of unnatural immorality, a mystification (Hesnard, quoted by Kruithof & van Ussel 1963, 101). Sexual desire has its biological justifications: it creates a need for vital stimulation, to touch and be touched in such a way as to inspire trust and courage, a means of draining off nervous energy (De Klerk 1974, 136). "The nearly insane idea of most legislators that they must prohibit body-contact between child and adult... demonstrates a total lack of understanding of the growth of an organically necessary relationship between the generations of mammals." (Borneman 1978, 726) To deny a boy this is to castrate him. Novels like James Joyce's *Portrait of an Artist as a Young Man* (1914 - 1915) and Marcel Guersants' *Jean-Paul* (1953) show the extent of psychic and physical mutilation it can cause. But this castration is quite in accordance with a moral system which restricts sex only to those who can use it to procreate, which is something the immature child is physically and the mature child socially incapable of doing. A bourgeois, materialistic system of ethics concludes from this that the young should therefore be deprived of pleasure and the expression of love through sex as well: the deepest experiences, in other words, that nature has contrived to give us (Hanry 1977, 86).

We must make a careful distinction between freely accepted, self-imposed abstinence—apparently possible for a number of people—and abstinence imposed by others, or by a system, or by the authorities. It is the latter which makes people ill (Borneman 1978, 31). "Experience has shown that the majority

of people in our society are constitutionally unfit for the burden of abstinence.'' (Freud, quoted by Baurmann 1983, 77) ''All those who want their conduct to be more noble than their constitutions will permit will become victims of neurosis; they would have been healthier if it had been possible for them to behave worse.'' ''Everything which damages sexual life, represses sexual activity, distorts its aim, has to be seen as a pathogenic factor of psycho-neurosis.'' ''Only a minority will be able to successfully sublimate, to divert sexual impulses from the sexual aim to higher cultural aims. And even this minority will succeed in doing so only for certain periods of time, least of all during the phase of ardent youthful vitality.'' ''Obviously we may surmise that, under the pressure of a cultural sexual morality, the health and vitality of the individual can be subject to such injuries, and the injuries suffered by the individual from the imposed sacrifices can accumulate to such an extent, that the final cultural aim is imperilled, too. Culture may traumatise and hurt the individual. In so far as we are able to assess this damage, its cause must be sought in the repression of the sexual life of the civilised nations dominated by this 'cultural' sexual morality.''

''The restriction of sexual activity in a nation is accompanied by a general increase in fear of living and presentiments of death.'' (Freud 1920, 128, 124, 130, 120, 123, 139) With people whose sexuality is particularly repressed, as in the case of homophiles, the symptoms are especially conspicuous (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1978, 371). The same holds for children (Plummer 1981, 121)

A German investigation ''confirmed in a horribly convincing way how sexual repression causes serious conflicts in many people, sometimes in extreme cases driving them to suicide. One out of every 12 inhabitants of the Federal Republic suffers from sexual neurosis.'' (Heid 1977, 144) The adolescent who is just becoming conscious of his sexuality is manoeuvred, as it were, into neurosis by the way society despises and rejects him for it (Horn 1980, 36).

A repressive upbringing, characterised by fear of sex, often burdens children with sexual behaviour problems (Kerscher 1979, 121). ''There are plenty of good and scientific records to show how adult disapproval and punishment of pre-adolescent and early adolescent masturbation in males has caused life-long psychological and sexual harm to many individuals.'' (Barrington 1981) In England the McCords compared ''sexually undisturbed youths of similar class and ethnic background'' to boys indulging in disapproved activities like public masturbation, voyeurism, fetishism or effeminate deportment or being afraid of sex in any form. All the ''sexually maladjusted boys came from parental homes characterised by sexual anxiety and prudishness, maternal authoritarianism, quarrels between parents and parental punitiveness.'' (West 1977, 93) The Norwegian psychiatrist Thore Langfeldt declares, ''Children referred to me because of deviant sexual behaviour, such as exhibitionism, telephone sex

(telephoning girls, saying sexual words and masturbating. Such boys are normally very shy about normal sex.) and sexual aggression or sexual 'acting out', have never experienced sexual interactions with other boys.'' (1981, 112) Prudishness incubates sex, and at the same time sickens it.

''Not only does the non-erotic side of love fail to grow, but sexual satisfaction itself falls victim to this impoverishment of the soul.'' (Alcock 1976, 105) Some capacities are lost forever. You cannot recover them afterwards. For it is impossible to suppress an emotion year after year without in the end killing it. ''The man who suppresses in himself 'illicit' desires ultimately suppresses the impulse. (...) That impulse, in the beginning multi-faceted, always with its outbursts spontaneous, cannot be rigidly channelled into permitted expressions without paralysing the spontaneity.'' (Plack 1967, 156) Sexual abstinence lessens the capacity for full sexual pleasure. Plato knew this 2,400 years ago. ''Sexual dysfunction is nearly always attributable to the failure of parents to take a positive attitude to their child's capacity for sexual pleasure.'' (O'Carroll 1980, 96 quoting Yates) If repression goes too far, ''the sexual impulse may appear permanently damaged after it is freed.'' (Freud 1920, 133) ''Thus a boy who is punished by his parents for masturbating or having a 'wet dream' may later find himself unable to have an orgasm during coitus.'' (Haeberle 1978, 263) When we learn that in more than half of all marriages one of the partners is sexually unsatisfied, that 20% of the males and 52% of the females are incapable of experiencing orgasm, that 9% of the women feel repulsion about sex (Eggenkamp 1978, 1), we must see this as one of the results of a culture which has a horror of sex. Borneman thinks that occidental youth is made the unhappiest in the world by this repression dressed up as protection (1977).

In the years immediately after the Second World War the Dutch Episcopate assigned a sociological institute to investigate the practice of sacramental marriage *(Katholieke Actie* 1960). The results were never published because they proved to be too alarming. Over and over again one hears the outcry of women: ''Marriage would be just fine if it wasn't for all this dirty sex! Sex is horrid and debasing and it's hard to believe that it is part of God's established order.'' Mrs. Lemaire-Mertens studied many European and American papers and showed in a publication of the Catholic Research Centre for Mental Health (1980, 26) that in some social circles nearly half of the women were frigid—and the number rises to 75% in those characterised by a rigid Catholic upbringing. Frenken (1976) wrote his doctoral thesis on the detrimental effect of a ''Christian upbringing'' upon marital and sexual happiness. This investigation clearly shows how individuals growing up in a sex-negative environment suffer its consequences from then on in their sexual lives and impaired marital relationships. The idea that a woman normally enjoys sex less than a man—or even not at all—originated in occidental Christianity, and nowhere else in the

world is this belief shared (Ellis 1913, III-194, 197). ''In fact, as sex therapists have shown, people become sexually inadequate mainly because of a rigid upbringing, traumatic sexual experiences, ignorance, narrow religious beliefs, and bad advice from ill-informed clergymen, marriage counsellors, doctors, psychotherapists, and other professionals. All of these different causes, in turn, can be traced to the sexually oppressive character of our civilisation.'' (Haeberle 1978, 252)

Since skin contact has such a deep meaning for the child, a culture that teaches him to avoid touching or being touched by others (Breusers 1982, 20) can only impoverish him. Professor of Child Psychiatry Hart de Ruyter cautions against ''a rigorous suppression and rejection of the childish impulses'', since these not only cause ''an inhibition of the evolution of personality, sometimes irreparable, but also are at the root of anxiety, guilt feelings and hypocrisy, and often lead to many sexual developmental troubles in later years.'' (1976, 76)

This is why an upbringing aimed at forging strong characters actually has the opposite result. Freud, protagonist of ''sublimation'', declared frankly, ''On the whole I didn't get the impression that sexual abstinence helps to create energetic, independent, active personalities or original thinkers, courageous liberators and reformers. Much more frequently we see good weaklings, afterwards submerging in the multitude following reluctantly the impulses given by strong individuals.'' (1920, 133; cf Borneman 1978, 1293-1294)

Under the pressure of such superior powers, 'chastity' is not a token of force, but of weakness. ''The so-called chaste individual is actually only submitting to the pressure of society, prohibiting him from living according to his body's nature. Overpowered by this pressure, he imagines a 'victory by himself' over 'the lowly instinct', the 'evil' or the 'animal side' of his being. What is thought to be the 'higher side' of man, his supposed 'better self' is only his weak will accepting traditional values and giving in to the desire of the preachers of chastity to dominate him. The man who has so adapted himself might, in his self-torture, be proud of his renunciations, believing this all is harmonious with his 'better self', his highly personal ideal of humanity. His psychiatrist may even agree with him—but the purveyors of 'morality' know exactly how such 'ideal selves' originate (Plack 1967, 64).

When a child is subjected to harsh restrictions on his bodily experiences, especially his sexuality, he will be inhibited not just in his sexual life but generally, too. Helplessly confronted with superior exterior forces, he loses his capacity to express himself (De Bruijn 1972, 8). ''Oppression of sexuality leads to oppression of the entire personality.'' The moralistic inhibition of the child's natural sexuality, ultimately causing serious genital frustrations, makes him anxious, shy, deferential toward authority, obedient, good and easy to educate in the bourgeois sense.'' (Reich, quoted by Mende & Dobrovich 1971, 43) The

enforced artificial oppression also infantilises, with all the evil consequences of that process (Hanry 1977, 92).

Freeing sexual attitudes doesn't only increase energy in this area, but, in unburdening the individual, in other respects as well. The history of civilisation has shown in case after case how a lessening social repression of sexuality releases a flood of creative energy. Poetry and drama, painting and architecture and music bloom (Taylor 1953, 157).

"We can trust that the man who energetically pursues his sexual object will exhibit a similar indomitable energy in the pursuit of other aims. On the other hand, he who, for whatever reasons, renounces the satisfaction of his strong sexual impulses, will elsewhere in his life tend to give in to things, be resigned rather than energetic." (Freud 1920, 134) "All sorts of individualistic, energetic, enterprising, curious, fruitful, and creative people are called maladjusted by conformist dullards who are afraid of any sign of spontaneity. In fact, very often the so-called well-adjusted person who passively accepts oppressive living conditions is the one with the problem." (Haeberle 1978, 250)

It is hardly coincidental that a rigid sense of morality often coincides with deviant behaviour. American public life especially has offered many examples of enthusiastic "law and order"protagonists (and we may start with Nixon's Vice-President Spiro Agnew), predictably people of rigid sexual morality, later being unmasked as corrupt (Califia 1980, 21-22). "Judianne Densen-Gerber was accused in 1979 of having misappropriated many thousands of federal dollars from Odyssey House operations to her own use. (...) Congressman John Murphy, co-sponsor of the anti-kiddie porn bill (...) allegedly took bribes from an FBI undercover agent." (Mitzel 1980, 18). "People whose morality is almost exclusively reduced to sexual frustration are in other fields devoid of principle and dangerous." (Daniélou 1981, 22) Investigations of men caught masturbating with each other in public toilets have revealed that most of them were married, and members of some rather puritan church: they were reduced to this kind of anonymous sex for want of any other (Humphreys 1970, 115, 137). Sometimes the unmasking of such a person causes public scandal. Bob Baumann, head of the American Conservative Union, "regularly denounced homosexuals and those who threatened "The Family" until he was arrested for performing fellatio on a 16-year-old hustler in Washington, D.C. (Tsang 1981, 95-996) The *Gay Journal* in November 1977 reported the tragedy of a Swiss priest who had written books on moral theology and was feared for his savage attempts to censor films being caught having sexual relations with one of his pupils. First society respected and honoured the man for his continuous attacks on its mental health, then it plunged him into disgrace for the physical pleasure he probably gave to one of its schoolboys!

For forcing on people rigid sexual morality *is* an attack on their mental health. For proof we need only look to the difference between Western society and cultures with more positive sexual attitudes. Kerscher summarizes Malinowski's conclusions reached in *The Sexual Life of the Savages* (1929): ''For the children of the Trobrianders there is no sexual repression and no sexual mystery. Their sexual life develops naturally, freely and without restraint through all periods of life, with complete satisfaction. The children are active in ways appropriate to their age. In spite of this, or perhaps because of it, Trobriander society in this third decade of our century knows no sexual perversions, no functional mental illness, no psychoneurosis, no sex murders. (...) Sadism, destructiveness and theft are equally absent in Trobriander culture. (...) The example of the Trobriander is just one of the best known, but there are ranks of other cultures in which deviant behaviour like criminality is all but absent. And these are always cultures with a positive attitude towards sex.'' (Kerscher 1979, 116) Polynesian cultures show that there is an alternative, ''a world without neurosis, where four- to five-year-old children are introduced by youths into the practice of sexual life, where all kinds of sexual intercourse are performed publicly by adults so that sex education is not a theoretical affair but is accomplished by concrete instruction, practical presentation.'' (Borneman 1978, 657-658) ''Neurosis could be avoided if we let the child's sexual life freely run its own course, as is done by many primitive peoples.'' (Freud, quoted by Borneman 1978, 920) Our culture is more industrious, more determined to master nature and the world around us. We are superior to the primitives in technology. We pay for it in psychic instability and mental and sexual troubles (Borneman 1978, 1342).

If we want happiness instead, we should set sex free, provided it is not compulsive, or destructive, or limited to narrow, rigid or exclusive behaviour patterns, or is distressing to the individual. Only these ''forms of sexual behaviour give cause for concern.'' (Haeberle 1978, 271)

2. Aggression

Hans Eysenck studied sexual attitudes of a group of 186 male subjects, and he summarised his findings as follows: They consciously try to avoid sexual thoughts; they think only rarely about sex; they don't think about sex every day; sex is not all that important to them; they do not get sexually excited very easily; they can take sex or leave it; thinking about illicit relationships does not excite them; they regard the purpose of sex as reproduction rather than pleasure; they draw sharp lines between what is right and what is wrong in sexual conduct; they prefer intercourse carried out under bed-clothes and in the dark; they would not take the opportunity of watching a couple making love; they feel disgust at seeing animals having sexual intercourse; there are some sexual acts they would never perform with anyone; they object to the use of four-letter

words in mixed company; they oppose the free publication of pornographic writing; they would protect their children from all contact with sex; they do not regard sex play among young children as harmless; they think sexual permissiveness undermines society; they do not think that a woman should occasionally be sexually aggressive; they think it right that the man should be dominant; they regard virginity as a girl's most valuable possession.

The reader can be forgiven if he suspects that Eysenck's 186 subjects had been drawn at a meeting of Church elders; in fact it was taken from a group of highly criminal psychopaths: 54% had been convicted or murder or attempted murder, 16% of sexual offences, another 16% of robbery and a final 11% of arson (O'Carroll 1980, 103-104).

Actually, this is not illogical. Bart Delin, studying rapists, found "a rigid religious instruction" and "inadequate sexual education" a common denominator (Fox 1980, 194). Hardened offenders are not licentious people oblivious of social norms. Quite the contrary: they are usually rigid moralists with an exaggerated and unrealistic sense of right and wrong, justice and injustice (Churchill 1968, 144). It is precisely this rigidity which prevents them from living in harmony with their principles. They break down under the burden of their morality and then—explosively—commit their violent attacks.

Many offenders, especially sexual offenders, are strikingly chaste (Zeegers 1977, 160). Most began to masturbate late or managed to suppress masturbation altogether. As boys they were less inclined to engage in sex play than their comrades. When Geiser (1979, 120) matched rapists with non-sex-offenders, it appeared that they first saw depictions of heterosexual intercourse at an average age of 18.2 years, while for the control group this happened at 15. Their first experience of sexual intercourse occurred substantially later than with the average boy, and thereafter they had intercourse much less frequently. Since sex offenders tend to have only a limited capacity for fantasy and are thus less satisfied by erotic stories and pictures than the average male, they lack an important safety valve (Goldstein *e.a.* 1974, 43).

In the structure of the brain, the centres serving sex and aggression are in close proximity; in puberty the sudden flood of testosterone strongly activates both of these drives (Marshall & Barbaree 1984, 66, 69). Sex, then, can act as a lightning rod for socially dangerous tensions (Borneman 1978, 1069). Until the beginning of the 19th Century, British public schools strongly opposed sports. But when society's formerly positive attitude toward sex began to change, the schools found it necessary to relax their opposition to sports, in fact to encourage them and make them compulsory; the aim was to physically exhaust the boys so they would be too tired to masturbate (Taylor 1953, 218). Physical competition, the fighting spirit (i.e., aggression) was used in the struggle against sex (Horn 1980, 14). The interplay is self-evident. And since aggression is only

considered criminal where society disapproves of it, we find a remarkable degree of tolerance and oversight when aggression and violence erupt in athletes, ball-players and their supporters (Plack 1967, 285, 304, 321, 324). Since abstinence fuels aggression, it is not surprising that the Holy Virgin Mary is chosen as patron saint for sportsmen and warriors (Bullough 1976, 404).

Susanna Foral points to the link between sexual repression and anxiety (1981, 38). It has long been known that anxiety provokes aggression: an animal brought to bay attacks. A frustrated man is a dangerous man (Borneman 1978, 1359). The Eastern wisdom of the Tantra recognised this connection (Nasledníkov 1981, 131).

Frustration provokes aggression the more strongly as it is perceived to be unjustified (Bontekoe 1983, 275). We have already seen that young people, now that there are so many means of avoiding undesired pregnancy, are starting to question why there should be so many prohibitions against allowing them to use their bodies in obtaining the natural pleasure and relief they need.

Most remarkable is a study of 800 Canadian school children from grades seven through 12. "It was found that children from more religious homes—both Protestant and Roman Catholic—were more loving and more internationally-minded than children with no religious training up to grades seven, eight and nine." Then, at the approach of puberty, a strange thing happened: school children with religious training "hardened" and became more warlike than the children from non-church-going families. Moreover, the gap between the two groups widened each year thereafter (Alcock 1976, 107-108). Another Canadian study in 1962 dealt with militaristic and authoritarian political convictions. These were strong in all the Christian denominations, and the more fundamentalist the denomination the more intense these attitudes were. The only exception was the Quaker sect, which is characterised by a rather positive view of sex (Alcock 1976, 146). Bertrand Russell, the philosopher, observed, "By keeping sex love in a prison, conventional morality has done much to imprison all other forms of friendly feeling, and to make men less generous, less kindly, more self-assertive and more cruel." "Christianity, by linking sex with guilt and sin, has done more to distort the warmth and kindness of our nature than any other institution." (Quoted by Alcock 1976, 92, 129)

Kerscher, who taught social pedagogy at the Evangelical High School in Hamburg, wrote that it is Christian morality, with its obsessional centre in the genitals, "its claim to universal validity, its compulsory nature and its inability to humanise mankind" which is responsible for so much cruelty throughout history in the so-called Christian nations (1977, 33). Whiting & Child (1953) compared American middle-class education with that of 75 other cultures. The American children were taught to keep themselves clean and to control their sexuality; the children from other cultures were especially taught not to behave

aggressively (Winkel 1972, 56). Repressive morality simplifies the task of educators: it is far easier to insist on discipline and sex repression than to guide young people toward a natural expression of sex which includes respect for one's partner (Hanry 1977, 132). But evil doesn't lurk in sex itself, rather in coldness and indifference to the feelings of other people (Plack 1967, 266).

"Since our official morality makes no allowance for the sexual needs" of unmarried people, "it creates in our minds a great deal of resentment, hostility, and, indeed, violence." (Haeberle 1978, 442) Repression gives birth to cruelty. It was repressed homosexuality expressing itself when SS commanders in the German concentration camps openly masturbated as they observed prisoners being whipped (Eigeltinger 1983, 82). The more a society orders its members to suppress their impulses, the crueler it becomes (Borneman 1978, 1475). The psychological connection is evident as soon as we realise that sadism and masochism are inextricably linked. The self-denial of sexual pleasure is a form of masochism; it is only logical that this will lead to sadism (Daniélou 1981, 22).

It is the essence of aggression that the weak are always the first to be victimised: animals and children, for example (Morris 1976, 64-65). Almost always parents who are in the habit of physically abusing their children have very unsatisfactory sex lives (Alcock 1976, 120).

Christianity has always shown more tolerance for passionate outbursts of violence and for intemperance in eating and drinking than for passionate intemperance in sex (van Ussel 1968, 39). And those psalms which, dripping with blood, incite the believer to vengeance and genocide, have always been preferred in Christian public worship to the lovely sensuality of the Old Testament Song of Songs. Thus a German prelate in Munich, Anton Maier, declared in 1965 that the spirit of love was less violated by the bloody battles then raging in Vietnam with murderous intensity than by allowing German schoolboys to go naked together in the showers (Plack 1967, 80). And thus an article in the Dutch evangelical newspaper *Trouw* (6 Oct., 1977) supported the showing of violent movies on television (images of people hating and injuring each other) because otherwise, it claimed, erotic movies (depicting people loving each other and trying to have pleasure together) might be screened instead.

Man is a surprisingly paradoxical being. We have seen that sometimes severe punishment only exacerbates criminality, while lighter sentences tend to check it. The same holds for sexual morality: the most enthusiastic spokesmen for chastity simultaneously uphold standards which lead to hard-heartedness, aggression and crime. "Aldous Huxley pointed out the connection between oppression in the family and authoritarian theology and ideology, saying that Hebrews and Christians were especially enthusiastic beaters of children, while Buddhists and Hindus brought up their children without violence, and it was

no accident that the Quakers were as opposed to child-beating as to slavery.'' (Kerscher 1978, 56) We might add that the Quakers are also the only Christian sect with a positive view of sex!

Isn't it ridiculous to impose on people, in the name of love and the sanctity of marriage, standards making them aggressive, and which diminish their capacity for marital happiness? (Hanry 1977, 140)

With young people, who have such strong needs for sexual satisfaction, the consequences of repression are especially conspicuous.

327 (Continued from 321) An amusing demonstration is furnished by an event in Max's story. At 17, just beginning to have intercourse with girls, he had to be circumcised: his foreskin was too tight and could not be retracted over his very large glans. The boy's sexual needs were strong, and he was very potent. He was used to obtaining an emission, one way or another, once or twice a day. Now surgical intervention suddenly made him abstinent. His older friend watched, not without some amusement, while, within the space of a few days, the boy's mood changed from friendly, kind and contented to irritable, nasty and aggressive. Talking about it later, Max said, ''It was awful. After a week I couldn't stand it any longer; the frustration was unbearable. I jerked off, and made a bloody mess, for the wound hadn't yet healed, but what a relief to be able to shoot out all that sperm!'' (Personal communication)

It is a great deal less amusing when frustrated youth turns loose its pent-up rage and goes on a rampage of vandalism and destruction. In The Netherlands alone, with a population of 14 million, such damage costs society $ 400 million every year. And this havoc isn't made just by young people from deprived homes; the youths come from all social levels (Hendriks 1983, 17). The connection between hooliganism and sex oppression is nicely demonstrated by Baurmann (1983, 261). The correlation is even more evident when erotophobic attitudes at home and denial of sexual expression in adolescence are at the root of sexual violence, as was well documented in the report of the American Presidential Commission on Obscenity and Pornography (1970). The most grisly sex crimes are frequently committed by boys everyone perceived to be exceptionally decent and pure (because abstinent) (Fisch 1971, 13, with examples on pages 63 and 81). Jürgen Bartsch who, at age 15, raped, tortured and killed a younger boy and three years later similarly murdered an additional three boys, was brought up to view sex with horror and was generally regarded as a very well-behaved youth (Föster 1984). Borneman (1978, 1421-1422) reports on a number of cases where children raped and killed other children, or participated in gang rapes.

328 ''I'm almost fifteen. I was born in Minneapolis, and I live in a suburb. We're a middle-class family. I'm white. I've never had intercourse except one night this girl got high on spray paint. I came over there after she had gotten high. About ten boys

jumped her, including me. I felt her cunt and tits. She probably liked it 'cause she didn't fight it hardly at all.'' (Hite 1981, 760)

329 When still a school-girl, one of Masters & Johnson's female subjects went on a blind date. The boy took her to a summer house where four of his companions joined them. They told her to undress and take part in some group sex. She begged them, in tears, to be allowed to go home, but they made her stay. In the end she gave in and while she and her date had intercourse the other boys were watching. After this was repeated several times all the boys had her suck their penises. She felt intensely humiliated by this, and by what she heard the boys saying about her while she had to satisfy one or another of them. Yet the experience was sexually exciting to her, too, and the next day she had to masturbate several times with the events of the previous evening playing through her mind. What troubled her deeply and permanently, however, was the realisation that she had been such a ready victim (1980, 330-334).

It is a sad fact that children, once turned loose on each other, can be even more callous and cruel than the most hard-hearted adult (Schérer 1978, 15).

Sex repression is imposed by authoritarian personalities, and it replicates itself in its victims (Adorno, quoted by Banens 1981, 1). Conversations with members of the John Birch Society, an American right-wing political organisation with the slogan ''The Bible on the table and the flag on the wall'', convinced Humphreys (1970, 146) that these might be ''signs of secret deviance more than of right thinking.'' Secret deviants, disguising themselves behind the mask of orthodox faith and political conservatism.

People have always believed that chastity, whether periodic or permanent, endows the chaste with special powers. It is supposed to cast spells, making a deity increase the fisherman's catch and the peasant's harvest, assure victory over one's enemies, open the gates of paradise after death. The more practical rulers on this earth have always known how to use abstinence to further their aims. The Romans pierced the foreskins of their gladiators and inserted rings therein to prevent sex and make the men more fierce (Praeputii Incisio 1931, 75). The Spartans demanded abstinence of their soldiers, just as did the Melanesian warriors and South American head-hunters before an attack on their enemies, as did Ho-Chi-Minh with his Viet Cong soldiers, as still the North American admirals do with their select marines. In the middle ages, St. Thomas Aquinas advised governments that chastity made men fitter for waging war (Deschner 1978, 430).

A cross-cultural investigation by the American psychologist J. M. Prescott, the findings of which were published in *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (1975), confirmed this relationship between sex-inhibition and violence. The correlation was too consistent to be coincidental. Peoples with a sex-repressive morality are relatively more aggressive, insensitive, more inclined to physical abuse of children and subordinates, to killing and torturing enemies and to other criminal

behaviour, while peoples with moral beliefs which permit sexual freedom, on the other hand, are generally more friendly and kind-hearted, show more affection to their children and are less inclined to criminality.

Fromm came to similar conclusions in his analysis of 30 cultures, assessing what he considered three clearly distinguished systems. One of these is the social system which promotes life: here ideals, manners and institutions are mainly directed towards the conservation and growth of life in all its forms. Envy, violence and cruelty find only exceptional expression in the population; there are no harsh punishments, hardly any delinquency, and war, as an institution, is either entirely absent or plays only a minor role. The children are treated kindly; there is no hard corporal chastisement. Women are commonly men's equals; in any case, they are not exploited or humiliated. The attitude towards sexuality is universally tolerant and positive. There is little jealously, meanness, greed and exploitation. There is hardly any competition or individualism, rather a great deal of social co-operation. Private property is limited to utensils. In general, people are trusting and imbued with pious confidence, not just toward other people but toward nature, too. They are in general good-humoured; depression is relatively rare.

In contrast to these communities with their positive attitudes towards life, the two other systems examined by Fromm (''non-destructive aggressive societies'' and ''destructive societies'') are strongly characterised by aggression and criminality, both linked to a compulsory sexual moral imperative which is restrictive and repressive (Kerscher 1979, 116-117).

The ancient Greeks were extremely tolerant in sexual matters: there was no persecution of sexual ''deviants'' and their culture was non-sadistic (Haeberle 1978, 318). As examples of modern peoples with a life-positive outlook, we can cite the Trobriander and the Indian Muria described by the English missionary Verrier Elwin. Here the children are healthy, hale and hearty, cheerful and helpful; they have sexual contacts nearly every night from infancy on. Delinquency among these free-living young people is very low; afterwards, however, when they become adults, married and subjected to rigidly imposed monogamous relations, delinquency increases (Elwin 1959, 428).

The history of the Eskimo people is most instructive in this regard. They were once extremely gentle, kind and charitable to their fellow beings—and sexually very licentious. Their language did not even have a word for insult. Physical violence was unknown, and they never used to beat their children. With their conversion to Christianity, they became sexually disciplined, but also more hard-hearted, less inclined to charity and more criminal. (Plack 1967, 304, 321, 324).

In the years immediately following the Russian revolution, Vera Schmidt, a psychoanalyst, ''founded a special children's home in Moscow. In this home

the children were left free to satisfy their natural curiosity or to masturbate whenever they felt like it. As a result, they grew up without any sexual guilt feelings and developed friendly and responsible attitudes towards each other.'' (Haeberle 1978, 385)

3. Guilt Feelings

This, then, is the aim of restriction: to foster feelings of guilt.

In our culture, restrictions on sex are imposed by a morality which is supposed to be based on Christian principles, but this morality has no real basis in the Gospels. Such ideas can be found in late Plato, but they really entered Christendom by way of Gnosticism, a kind of theosophy which was widespread in the ancient world and which corrupted Christianity from within by means of its doctrine that the flesh was evil and sexuality an invention of Satan (Borneman 1978, 529). More important was the observation of St. Augustine, converted to Christianity after a youth of sexual excess, that even the newborn child was a sexual being, from which he concluded that sex was *the* original sin (Borneman 1978, 331). The road was now paved for the teachings of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216): ''Everyone knows that marital intercourse cannot be performed without carnal titillation, without the sting of lewdness, without libidinous defilement.'' The most important theologian of the Middle Ages, St. Thomas Aquinas, said that every caress exchanged by married people for the sole purpose of enjoying sexual lust was a mortal sin, meriting eternal damnation. Leaders of the Reformation fought the Catholic Church, but, however much Luther separated himself from most Catholic doctrine and procedures, he agreed completely on this point: ''Marital obligations cannot be fulfilled without sin,'' he said. Noldin, a leading Catholic moralist at the beginning of our century, observed, in his major treatise, that sexual intercourse was ''a thing essentially sordid, with annoying consequences.'' (Deschner 1978, 269-270, 367, 497) An authoritative manual for confessors written by a French bishop stated that it was mortal sin to mention the genitals of either sex, or to talk about intercourse and the different ways it could be performed (Armand 1931, 183).

Despite these teachings, no culture has ever restricted sex solely to procreation. Sex for reproduction only is limited to the lower animals; man has evolved considerably beyond that stage (Borneman 1978, 1290). Even where Christianity has been generally accepted, human beings haven't let themselves be pushed back to the level of beasts in their sexual lives. Officially, society adhered to what it was told were Christian ethics, but on a practical level it never believed that it could really live by them (Freud 1920, 131). And many good Christians had their doubts. Even in a conservative nation like Switzerland, only 10% of

the young men conscripted into the military thought that sex served only a procreative purpose and that extramarital intercourse should be illegal. An investigation among German schoolboys had similar results (Killias 1979, 175).

The influence of such restrictive concepts, however, should not be minimised. It is instructive to compare responses of Danish male students with similar students in the American Midwest and the American Intermountain region where, respectively liberated, moderately conservative and strictly conservative attitudes prevail. The question was asked whether pre-marital intercourse was acceptable and whether the subject had ever performed it (Table 7).

Table 7

	Acceptable	Performed
Denmark	96%	62%
U.S. Midwest	46%	51%
U.S. Intermountain	22%	42%

(Bultena 1971, 46)

What strikes us here is that the practice varies far less than the theory. In other words, the Americans behave much the same as the Danes, but have a guilty conscience about it. So restrictive morality doesn't really banish sex, it simply makes it unhealthy. When the more morally rigid American students are compared with their freer Danish counterparts, it appears that sexual activity becomes progressively more personal and partner-directed as sexual standards and conduct are liberated (Straver 1969, 180).

The inescapable link between sin and sexual pleasure permeates Christian thinking. St. Augustine philosophised about the sinful greed of babies *(Confessions* I, 7). *Malleus Maleficarum,* the Bible of witch-hunting written by two Dominican friars in 1487, assesses that "the devil's power resides in the secret parts of the male." (Banens 1981, 32) Even the Boy-Scout Manual refers to sexual desire in its young readers as "a boy's wrong side" (Maasen 1983, 154). In his book on sex education (1932) the Roman Catholic psychologist Dr. Berger identified a boy's "thoughts about sex" with "evil thoughts", without giving even the slightest explanation. What to the followers of Islam is one of the most beautiful and delicious gifts of God (Burton 1963, 71) seems to many of those who call themselves Christians a dirty mistake of the Creator, something essentially immoral (Bullough 1979, 26). It takes a very uncorrupted child to think otherwise, like 15-year-old Jane, who had sex with a female teacher she loved and considered the experience something sent by God, "a sign of His

grace'' (Kraemer 1976, 34). To nearly all other Christians, this would be more like a poison brewed in Satan's kitchen, provoking shock and deep anxiety.

The famous saying of Galenus, ''Every animal is sad after coitus'' (to which some wit added, ''except for the cock and the schoolboy who didn't have to pay'') only holds true where orgasm is accompanied by feelings of guilt. A depressed, guilty male will lose his erection soon after ejaculation, and he will not soon get it back, but the happy male, washed with feelings of satisfaction and contentment, may not lose it at all, or his penis will re-erect quickly and urge him to repeat the experience (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 185-186). One of Barrington's subjects, with international and interracial experience, wrote, ''By far the best lovers were the blacks and the Asians. They all treated sex as a happy, not very serious subject, if you know what I mean? Sex to them was a time for laughter and affection and a sharing of happiness, building up to perspiring passion and deeply satisfying orgasms. Then, after, it was relaxation, comradeship and no guilt feelings. A natural episode to be repeated whenever possible. Nothing to be ashamed of.'' (Barrington 1981, 148) Questioned about the most disagreeable aspect of sex, 6.1% of American males replied, ''guilt feelings''. This was especially true of the unmarried (12.5%) and younger (9.4%) males. Such feelings tended to fade gradually away as the males grew older (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, Table 25). It is the health and happiness of youth that is most blighted by our absurd moralistic sexual indoctrination.

It is not at all unusual for someone faced with the intense conflict between his body's natural impulses and such indoctrination to seek escape through death. Klaus Thomas, a German physician, psychologist and theologian, a man who for many years tried to help people who no longer wanted to live, became convinced that lack of sex education, or the wrong kind of sex education, is one of the main causes of suicide (Albrecht-Desirat & Pacharzina 1977, 172).

The situation becomes even more desperate for youngsters experiencing what they have been told are ''evil lusts'' and which, in addition, are directed towards members of their own sex, and thus doubly immoral. Usually such a boy will become conscious of his same-sex feelings around the age of 13, and he will connect them with the concept of ''homosexuality'' a couple of years later (Sanders 1977, 81-83). Paradoxically, it is more difficult for him to participate in the usual sex games with his peers than for his heterosexual agemates: to him, these are more than games and have a far deeper emotional meaning (Bieber 1962, 8).

330 ''I am a devout Roman Catholic and I have had dreadful problems with my mind because I am gay. Even now, I still feel very guilty and suffer from nightmare periods of depression.'' (Barrington 1981, 78)

331 "I attempted suicide when I was eleven. I thought this homosexual desire of mine was horrid: it wasn't permitted by the church. I would go to hell because of it. I had a friend I fell in love with. I knew that our play was evil. I was always struggling with thoughts about Sodom and Gomorra." (Sanders 1977, 85)

We encounter strange distortions in this moralistic doctrine. The Jesuit Father McNeill observes that the Roman Catholic penitent, confessing occasional homosexual promiscuity, will obtain absolution of sins "and be allowed to receive communion in good conscience. If, however, he had entered into a genuine permanent love relationship, he would be judged in 'a state of sin', and unless he expressed a willingness to break off that relationship he would be denied absolution." (1976, 181) The homophile or boy-lover who wants to receive the sacraments, should therefore limit himself to prostitutes and anonymous sex, and abandon love relationships! Sexophobia creates the most absurd paradoxes, as McNeill here observes with superb irony.

How much better off mankind would be if we recognised just one moral imperative: respect for our fellow beings! Every individual is unique, with his own particular abilities and possibilities; he should be approached with the utmost reverence and respect. Only when he hurts someone else and violates that person's rights should law and morality attempt to intervene. For there is too great a diversity in mankind to permit the imposition of other general, morally binding rules. There are only customs, habits which facilitate the community's every day life, and they have no further intrinsic moral validity for the individual (Daniélou 1981, 336): they are purely human inventions.

This is doubly true with sex. There is not one form of sexual relations, from marital intercourse to anal penetration, which has not been condemned somewhere as immoral. There is no sexual practice, from prostitution to mother-son incest, which has not somewhere been approved as highly moral (Challot 1972, 136). There is no sexual act, from heterosexual intercourse to masturbation, which has not been described somewhere as unhealthy, and none, from penis-sucking and semen-swallowing to contacts with animals, which has not been praised somewhere as contributing to good health (*cf.* Baurmann 1983, 88; Churchill 1967, 16; Szasz 1982, 131) "It is man himself who creates his sexual morality and therefore he also has the right to change it when it begins to threaten his well-being." (Haeberle 1978, 316)

Moral standards are conditioned by specific social needs and situations, and therefore they are never absolute. Our social and racial prejudices, our eating and sexual customs, are not made more beautiful by pretending they have a divine origin. The limitation of sex to procreation alone, denying all its other aspects, can be explained by the military necessities of an Old Testament pastoral people determined to conquer and occupy foreign territories. But to attribute such a limitation to an almighty god and to make biological materialism

an absolute and eternal standard for all peoples everywhere is to degrade this god and make him contradict the very human nature which he himself is supposed to have created.

Even within Christian institutions there is not always consensus about sexual morals. In Denmark during the 17th Century, pre-marital intercourse was an approved Christian tradition (even as it is today in the orthodox Calvinistic village of Staphorst in Holland). If pregnancy did not occur, the girl provided herself with another lover; if it did, the couple married. Eventually the clergy started to speak out against this practice, but the people of the congregations could not believe the ministers were to be taken seriously, and they accused them of corrupting patriarchal morality (Hertoft 1968, I-20).

There is a tendency for modern Christians to view morals not as absolute law but as an ideal, recognising that conditions may make it impossible for certain persons to live up to this ideal, and that failure to do so is no cause for reproach. There must, then, be a different set of ideals for such people (Wagner 1979, note 172). Johannes Gründel, a well known German Catholic theologian, stated that no hard and fast standards for sexual conduct are to be found in the teachings of Christ. *(Kurier* 23.3.85)

Under such principles, a Christian way of life, including, as in other cultures, homosexuality, would be possible. We must not forget that the entire concept of homosexuality, of a homophile minority, is the product of Judaeo-Christendom. ''There are no 'homosexuals' outside of Judaeo-Christendom; there are none simply because outside of Judaeo-Christendom homosexuality seldom if ever becomes fetishized into a way of life.'' (Churchill 1967, 187; *cf.* West 1977, 150)

The responsibility for changing public attitudes lies largely with the media. A 1974 American poll revealed that a substantial majority (70%) of citizens thought sex acts between members of the same gender were ''always wrong'', even when the people involved loved one another (West 1977, 300). A Dutch inquiry at about the same time (1968) reported, on the other hand, that 58% of males and 55% of females were in favour of permitting homophiles to enjoy their own way of life. When the same questions were asked in 1981, the percentage of males holding this view had increased from 58% to 85.5%, and that of females from 55% to 87.7% (*Nieuwe Revu,* 24 June, 1981). This change was certainly due in large part to the sympathetic assistance of the media (press, radio and television) in the struggle of organised gays against discrimination.

The boy experiencing lustful sensations in his own body, enjoying them and desiring their satisfaction, is confronted with a dilemma. Either the authority

who tells him these nice feelings are ugly and evil is a dirty liar, or he himself, desiring and delighting in them, must be dirty and corrupt (Rossman 1976, 85).

332 A 15-year-old boy said, "I feel awful, like it's a sin that I feel this way as if I'm doing something wrong. But I know it couldn't be wrong because it feels so good when you're doing it." (Hass 1979, 99)

Fortunate is the boy who finds the solution for this problem in the embrace of a loving man who teaches him to take a positive view of his sexual feelings and desires (Rossman 1976, 146). He may even develop a sense of sound relativism concerning society's standards (Corstjens 1980, 276).

But those fortunate few are only a tiny minority. Most adolescents, aware that their burgeoning sexual and aggressive impulses conflict with adult society, take refuge in the company of their peers. The power of the peer group tends to neutralise the individual's sense of inadequacy and so makes it possible for him to give in to his desires without troubling him over much. The sense of responsibility, the need for personal decision-making, anxiety, guilt—all are swept away (Hart de Ruyter 1976, 194-195). Thus all too often honest, kindly, sensitive boys of good character are involved in brutal gang-rapes or become members of gangs which, relying on superior numbers, beat up individual gays in the dark.

To instil guilt feelings in youngsters about using their sexual organs is to pervert them. The sexual organs are, among other things, designed to unite one with a fellow human being, a union of such depth and completeness that at the moment of ecstasy your partner becomes your universe (*cf.* Naslednikov 1981, 118). Chastity, abstinence, is the denial of this union, is separation (Borneman 1978, 698). "But the half of sexual love, perhaps the most important and ennobling half, lies in what we give and not in what we take. To reduce this question to the low level of abstinence, is not only to centre it in a merely negative denial but to make it a solely self-regarding question. Instead of asking—How can I bring joy and strength to another? we only ask: How can I preserve my empty virtue?" (Ellis 1913, VI-201) Borneman (1978, 589) echoes this: "The ethical value of sexuality resides in the happiness we can give to each other in intercourse. It is immoral not to give yourself to some one, for God has given people sexual organs so that they may make one another happy. Every asceticism is a kind of vanity in which the welfare of one's own soul is set above the happiness of others. This is true not only of heterosexual love but of homosexual love as well. In both, the only thing of importance is the degree of satisfaction we can give to another human being, in order that he may find in his nonsexual life the strength to excel."

Elsewhere the same author observes that parents who try to make their child believe that sex is evil when he knows that the feelings in his own body are natural and good may well forfeit his esteem. He will conclude that his parents are either mentally deficient or are telling him lies or were abnormal in their own childhood (1978, 707). If, on the other hand, he faithfully internalises his parents' view, it will impair his ability for the rest of his life to associate his sexuality (now known to be dirty and evil) with such noble feelings as love (Safilios-Rothschild 1977, 8-9)

One consequence of such an upbringing is the development of the madonna/whore complex which we have already mentioned: the woman with whom the sufferer indulges his lust he regards as a despicable whore; the beloved, venerated woman, in contrast, is exalted far above sexual feelings (Bieber 1962, 9; Borneman 1978, 647, 893, 967, 1135, 1532).

333 Iovetz-Tereschenko (1936, 256) quotes the diary of a 17-year-old Russian boy who had received a strict religious upbringing. ''I do not understand why sexual relations are connected with love. I think that sexual desire may be called healthy only when it is not bound together with love. Sensuality is one thing and love is another. If I love a woman it need not follow from this that I experience filthy feelings towards her. Love, I believe, ends when conjugal relations begin. If I love her, that love does not prevent me from feeling sexual desire towards some other woman. In my opinion sexual intercourse creates a certain estrangement in love. Sensual pleasure leads to satiety, and this, in its turn, to a certain aversion. And one can't hope to have real love after the aversion has appeared.''

And so love, noble and exalted, is incompatible with salacity, which is filthy and vile. You spend your lecherous fury on a whore, a girl you despise; the beloved woman remains an untouchable madonna. Such a man will consider intercourse a humiliation of the woman he ''uses''—a view shared by many (de Klerk 1974, 140-142)—but he will be impotent with his beloved, or, triumphing over his inhibitions, he turns his wedding-night into a brutal rape, something many women complain about later.

334 One of Stekel's patients was a 24-year-old marine officer in perfect health who had consulted him because whenever he tried to have intercourse with his fiancee, ejaculation burst upon him before he could insert his penis. With a whore, however, he managed to have intercourse and ejaculate five times within one hour (1925, 474; for other examples see Ellis 1913, III-321, 129-330).

This complex finds what is perhaps its most extreme expression in medieval Christian chivalry, which distinguished three sorts of females. First was the woman with whom a man had sex to satisfy his salacity. She was an object of lust and, if necessary, one could subdue her by violence. Second was the woman

one married. One didn't need to love her and had sex with her only to produce offspring. Third was the woman one adored, with whom one carried on a spiritual relationship and whom one never touched.

Wherever sex is held in contempt, woman is held in contempt as well. The pagan Germans fixed the blood-fine for killing a woman twice as high as for killing a man; the Christians reduced it to half that price (Lemaire-Mertens 1980, 25-26).

He who associates sexual joy with guilt corrupts and poisons the youth he comes into contact with. Young people rightly admire adults who do not regret their past (Borneman 1978, 50). The great novelist Stefan Zweig dreamt of a new youth ''that had long rid itself of all the inhibitions, intimidations and tensions with which our evolution has been burdened: young people completely ignoring the detours and secrecies by which we had to do things prohibited to us, which they now rightly claim as their due. Happily they enjoy their youth with the spirit, the freshness, the facility and the freedom from care proper to their age. But it seems to me to be the supreme happiness within this happiness that they don't have to tell lies to others and are allowed to be honest to themselves, honest to their natural feelings and desires.'' (*Die Welt von Gestern,* quoted by van Emde Boas 1976, 93)

4. Obsession

''By rejecting sex so vehemently, Western culture has probably tended to make us more conscious of sexuality than those cultures that have accepted it with little question.'' (Bullough 1976, 685). Repression only emphasises the forbidden desire (Möller 1983, 38; Bullough 1976, 321). A negative attitude towards sex instils strong anxiety in thinking and feeling, since the forbidden desire always threatens to intrude (Heid 1977, 145). Someone who is continually struggling to expel lust will, of course, be more obsessed by it than somebody enjoying a normal sex life (Borneman 1978, 57).

And so sex repression always finds its strongest advocates and strictest enforcers among those who are tormented by their own inner struggle against the attractiveness of the activities they condemn. It is interesting to speculate that if there a 100% heterophile person really existed he would probably have perfect tolerance of homophilia, simply because he would have no urge to struggle against a tendency which was quite foreign to his nature. Conversely, the most dangerous enemy of homophiles is the semi-homophile struggling against one important part of his sexual nature (Geiser 1979, 77; Horn 1980, 29; West 1977, 2, 203; Wolfenden 1963, Sect. 24). Kinsey (1948, 384) found in the U.S. (and this was confirmed by Barrington (1981, 35) for the United

Kingdom) that the group ''which most often speaks out against homosexual activities is also the group within which there is the highest amount of homosexual and bisexual behaviour between men.'' Their inner tension and anxiety turns such people authoritarian, makes them hard, rigid combatants for 'law and order', ruled by rules, dogmatic, orthodox (Bullough 1979, 80). The same mechanism applies to the enemies of boy-love as well: with them moderate discussion, conducted with reasoned arguments, is impossible; rather it degenerates into emotional outbursts of fury, distortions and lies. When this happens one is justified in suspecting the man (or woman) is repressing strong paedophile impulses.

''It is probably true to say that no one is quite so obsessed by sex as a fanatical puritan.'' (Morris 1976, 98; see also Eck 1969, 165) Frenken observed in his doctoral dissertation that in The Netherlands no group was more obsessed with sex than the ultra conservative Roman Catholic ''Confrontation Movement'' and the equally orthodox (fundamentalist) ''Evangelical Broadcasting System'' (1976, 71). Borneman (1978, 497) observed with gentle irony that monkeys, unaffected by moral strictures, have sex less frequently than humans with all their highly conceptualised morality.

The same pattern runs through Western history. The Middle Ages, when Christianity was universal and supreme, have been cited by Cleugh, a scholar of the period, as ''the most sexually licentious period, among all classes, of European history.'' (1963, 94) Puritanism dominated the Victorian age. Women, then, were not pregnant: they were ''in an interesting condition''. Piano legs were decked out in crinoline because the association with the female might inspire lascivious thoughts (Taylor 1953, 210, 212). No well brought up person would say ''trousers''. Freud's speculation that ''sublimation'' (i.e. sexual frustration) was a pre-condition for culture was quite typically Victorian (Van Emde Boas 1976, 81). The truth is that sex repression in the late 19th Century was accompanied by a burst of pornography such as had never been witnessed in the West, of perverse and cruel excesses. Gentlemen came to some London brothels to be flogged; in others women were tortured and boys raped; there were places where customers could rape and deflower little girls (later some of these children's hymens were sewn up so that a new customer could subject them to the same torture once again) (Dühren 1912, I 427-447). Never had there been such extreme sexual prudery; never, since the activities of some of the degenerate Roman emperors, had its expression been so pathological and brutal.

Sexual intolerance is always symptomatic of inner weakness, and its most striking result is that it stimulates, if not creates, precisely what it attempts to prevent. Freud noted that ''all individuals in sexual distress are inclined to let sexuality dominate them.'' (Blüher 1966, 29) A strong need suppressed quickly becomes an obsession, as everyone knows when he tries to suppress a cough

or a sneeze in polite company (Ellis 1913, I 222-223). When food is short during wartime people always think about eating, and gaze at the pretty pictures in cookery books with the same kind of salacity they might feel, during normal times, gazing at nude photos. During Ramadan, Moslims are strictly forbidden to eat during daylight hours; at night they catch up from their privation and the final result is that the total consumption of food goes up (Plack 1967, 198).

Likewise, the effect of the severe sexual restriction of traditional morality is not that individuals have less sex: they actually have more sex, but it is more morbid and less enjoyable. Someone spasmodicly repressing his voluptuous thoughts and impulses will be all the more conscious of them; they will turn ugly and visit him more frequently, turning, ultimately, into obsessions (van Ussel 1976). Luther himself was keenly aware of this (Deschner 1978, 81).

335 A 23-year-old British young man told Barrington, ''I do believe in God, heaven and hell and I fear His wrath on Judgement Day. I discovered how to masturbate at about 12 and did it every day, or night, till the present time. I know I do it too much and think it a sin in the eyes of God, but I can't help it and hope He will understand. After all, He made me the way I am, didn't he? I know I should resist the Devil's temptation to my own flesh pleasure. But just to write to you about it makes me get hard and want to do it now. I am mostly very unhappy.'' (1981, 57)

336 ''My experiences as a schoolboy only reinforced my vocation. The first school I went to (and from which, thank God, I was expelled after a month) had such a strong cock taboo that it became difficult to think about anything else. Walking in a line, you had to keep your distance from the boy in front to avoid physical contact, for even an accidental touch could only be impure. You were forbidden to put your hands in your pockets, for you would only do that to touch yourself. (...) In the showers you could use only every other stall—those between were empty for the good of our souls. (...) There was such a big fuss about your cock that you spent the whole day thinking about it. They were always telling you not to do it, so of course they were always talking about nothing else. That school in Montauban was one of the finest hothouses for pederasty the Christian Church, in its charity, ever put at the disposal of its future hypocrites.'' (de Brethmas 1979, 132-133)

It is nature's law that spasmodic repression of a vital impulse increases rather than diminishes the prohibited activity. American homophile males, for example, begin their sexual activity at an earlier age than do heterophiles, and are more sexually active throughout their entire lives (Bieber 1962, 53, 189, 314). This might well be due to the relatively greater repression their society places them under. The percentage of homosexual graffiti in public conveniences in the U.S.A., where homosexuality is tabooed, is considerably greater than in the Philippines, where people are less concerned with it (West 1977, 133). In former times, bitter campaigns against ''the secret vice'' and ''special friendships'' in boarding schools made both increase dramatically (Ellis 1913, I - 242). In

non-Judeo-Christian cultures, homosexuality is seldom referred to as a way of life (West 1977, 136). Where society is permissive, exclusively homosexual males appear to be rather exceptional (Langfeldt 1975, 130).

The standard objection to sexual liberty, that without moral restraints excess would succeed excess, originates typically in the mind of the un-free, repressed individual dreaming of "having a fling". "Actually, the supposed lack of restraint of youth was never a danger. We should better concern ourselves with youth learning hypocritical virtue, developing guilt complexes, infecting sensitive souls with a consciousness of sin, the flight from pleasures that could enrich life, with this whole complex so damaging to health: based upon anxiety, self-mortification and the cowardice of renunciation." (Dalmas, quoted by Kruithof & van Ussel 1963, 57)

Children brought up in freedom react quite differently. Berger (1981, 248-250) described communities where children were given a great deal of freedom in this respect and, at around the age of five or six, began to have intercourse. "The sexual interests of these children irregularly ebbed and flowed, ranging from periods of great activity to relative disinterest. With both adults and other children they were off-handedly candid about their sexual experiences; although sex was fun, it was not of central importance to them."

What is true for all other forms of human conduct holds for sexual behaviour too: after years of oppression, freedom can lead to outburst. Pupils from highly repressive boarding schools become the most licentious university students—and this can apply to entire generations. Bertrand Russell once said, "The generation which first ceases to believe in conventional morality is bound to indulge in sex and freedom to a degree far beyond what is to be expected from those whose views on sex are unaffected by superstitious teaching." (quoted by Alcock 1976, 94)

By reducing sex to an obsession, repressive morality increases the quantity of sexual activity while reducing its quality. Every indulgence is interpreted as a moral defeat and burdens the unhappy, guilty victim with feelings of inferiority. A healthy boy who is taught not to repress his sex but to accept it as nature's finest gift, responds with tranquillity to his spontaneous sexual thoughts and impulses. If he sees something exciting he will view it with lust and without shame; if he is troubled by a persistent erection he will relieve it in masturbation or sexual play with a responsive boyfriend or girlfriend. The more active and energetic he is the more frequently will he have such experiences (Giese & Schmidt 1968, 346). Buoyed up by this vital pleasure, he will return to his play or work, until, in the natural course of things, his sexual desire quickens once again. Such a boy is not only healthier; he is morally superior. While one of his contemporaries submits to the standards of

society, becoming chaste and neurotic, and another pretends to chastity but secretly submits to his lust, only to despise himself afterwards for his ''sinning'', this boy stands proud of his nature and his humanity. He will also be more loving, for only a man who accepts himself for what he is can really love another (Plack 1967, 186).

''The sexually unsatisfied person represents a greater danger for human society than the poor, the hungry or the oppressed.'' ''All other faculties depend upon sexual satisfaction: the faculty to work, to remain healthy, to bring up children and to improve society.'' (Borneman 1978, 230). This may sound like an exaggeration, but it is true that relief of sexual tension increases productivity (Borneman 1978, 105). Hass quotes a 17-year-old boy, commenting on the effect of masturbating, ''I can concentrate better on other things, like my studies.'' (1979, 100) There is little doubt that it improves one's health. ''Health professionals today agree that no detrimental physical effects occur as a result of masturbation. I have already mentioned the wide range of potential positive factors (enhancing self-worth, feelings of competence, substitute gratification, the expression of 'unacceptable' desires via fantasy, and reduction of sexual tension. (...) Self-stimulation and self-exploration affords an opportunity to learn about our body and what turns it on.'' (Hass 1979, 101). Even very frequent intercourse is healthy as long as it leads to socially important, valuable and beneficial activities (Borneman 1978, 1239).

''Today's young people, having obtained for themselves more sexual liberty, is at the same time more concerned with responsibility than were their parents in their youth. The older generation was taught to abstain from sex. But the attempt to make ascetics out of people unsuited for it all too often turns them into brutal hedonists with a low level of self respect.'' (Hanry 1977, 126, 149) In the years before the First World War, when traditional morality was still strong, a ''fallen'' woman was despised while the sons of the bourgeois gentry picked up their sexual experience with servant girls or in brothels. With the decline of rigid sex morality, intercourse commenced at an earlier age, but at the same time the number of partners declined, as sex became more infused with tenderness and love (Brückner 1971, 66)

. ''Nothing but freedom will prevent undue obsession with sex, but even freedom will not have this effect unless it has become habitual and has been associated with a wise education as regards sexual matters.'' (Russell, quoted by Alcock 1976, 105)

The History of Repression

The evil consequences of our traditional negative attitudes toward sexuality are becoming ever more evident and undeniable. They have begun to alarm

historians and investigators of spiritual life who are conscious of their responsibilities. At one time it was stated with utter self-assurance that the Roman Empire declined and fell as a result of moral corruption. Today we find ourselves wondering whether our culture isn't about to be destroyed by its morality. One of the greatest contemporary commentators on occidental history, Arnold Toynbee, sees in sexual abstinence and "self-control" insidious symptoms of cultural dissolution (Plack 1967, 268).

It is interesting to compare Toynbee's view with a story from the Indian book of wisdom, *Shiva Purana*. A deceitful prophet tries to ruin the king of the Asuras, and does so by preaching a puritan, moralistic religion. He advocates male abstinence and derides ritual veneration of the phallus. The citizens, under his influence, reject these rites, and the result is an explosion of evil behaviour. This gives the gods the excuse they need to destroy the city (Daniélou 1979, 281).

One can see in Greek Antiquity the benefits of positive acceptance of sexuality. Then the essential bisexuality of the human being was fully recognised, and not just the heterosexual but also the homosexual impulses received their institutionalised form. Orgies were a part of religious ritual. The Greeks were not embarrassed by nudity and the beauty of the human body was valued, including the sexual organs. The darker aspects of sexuality, such as sadism and masochism, were so comparatively infrequent that one scholar of Greek manners and customs could find no trace of them whatever. There was "little evidence of alcoholism among the Greeks. Brutality, cruelty and debauchery seemed to play little part in their character. Juvenile delinquency and adult criminality were rare." (Churchill 1967, 135) They enjoyed remarkable psychological health (Taylor 1953, 237).

We cannot say the same of the succeeding rulers of occidental culture, the Romans. Their essential stoicism enabled them to conquer and dominate the known world. While Greek culture, hedonistic as it was, had a positive view of lust, the Romans introduced elements of prudery, rigidity and authoritarianism. Stoicism demands asceticism. In the first century before Christ, "the stoic teacher Musonius Rufus went so far as to teach that marital intercourse was permissible only if the purpose was procreative. Intercourse for pleasure within the confines of marriage was reprehensible. Since homosexual activities were for pleasure alone, not for reproduction, they too were condemned and classed as unnatural." (Bullough 1976, 167)

"It is not surprising that when the Romans had the world and its resources in their grasp, their stoical approach to life became almost unbearably burdensome. In the face of the temptations produced by enormous power and wealth, and in the absence of any deep knowledge of the real pleasures in life, they surrendered almost every component of morality and ethics. Brutality, cruelty,

avarice, greed, cowardice, egoism, licentiousness, perversity, idleness, and vanity became outstanding features not only of their leaders but of the common people themselves. This is the danger that success brings to all Puritans and the increasing luxury of our own civilisation in the absence of an enlightened attitude toward pleasure begins more and more to resemble certain features of the ancient Roman scene. Having never thought much about pleasure, and being rather inept in handling ideas, the Romans imagined that in pursuing a life of voluptuous luxury, unencumbered by either thought or taste, they had realised the Greek ideal of Hedone. They borrowed this concept and made it a rationalisation for debauchery. But all of this, of course, was only the other side of the coin. For an unflinching moralism they had substituted immorality, thinking that in this manner they could escape from the inner restrictions that moralism imposed. But it is clear that, in their frantic excess of vulgarity, the Romans never learned the meaning of pleasure. One may wonder if pleasure was what they truly sought, To the end, they remained intellectual and spiritual parvenus; having failed in their experiment with hedonism because they never understood the meaning of it, they turned readily to a philosophy of self-abnegation.'' (Churchill 1967, 146-147) ''The growth of stoicism, neo-Platonism, and, eventually, Christianity seemed to indicate the Romans became ever more rigid in what they regarded as permissible conduct. Historians will have to look elsewhere than alleged weakness caused by homosexuality or sexual excess for the fall of Rome.'' (Bullough 1976, 151-152) ''Mortification of the flesh and an unhealthy mysticism ending in asceticism were substituted for unbridled lust in a world which had been too much with them and in which they never learned to find substantial joy. They were ready for the philosophy of the Dark Ages.'' (Churchill 1967, 147) Rome fell a century ''after it had embraced Christianity and its ascetic sexual doctrines. The conquering heathen barbarians, on the other hand, were sexually much less inhibited.'' (Haeberle 1978, 440-441)

Christian moral philosophy diverged sharply and fundamentally from its origins in Greek thought—not in its ideals but in its approach. The Greek ideal was aesthetic: the soul was beautified by ''self-mastery that cured the disease of physical craving'' (Bullough 1976, 165), balanced behaviour, mental health. Morality was an appeal to follow this way of life. The Christians substituted, for this appeal to ennoble humanity, laws and rigid prescriptions, every transgression of which should be punished in this world or hereafter (Foucault 1984, 106-107, 111).

This regression was influenced by Old Testament teachings. The holy scripture cites 36 crimes which warranted capital punishment, and half of these were in the area of sexuality. Nudity was shameful, the sex organs obscene. Sex was regarded ''not merely as somehow inherently evil, but also as somehow

inherently dangerous.'' (Churchill 1967, 18-19). It is most striking that these concepts are not to be found at all in the Gospels. Jesus of Nazareth lived in a world where prostitution, extramarital relations, homosexuality and boy-love flourished. About the first of these phenomena he said very little, about the latter, nothing at all. Jesus healed the young slave of the pagan Centurion who was so dear to his master (Luc 7:1-10; Matthew 8:5-10), being evidently well aware of the erotic relationship between the Centurion and his boy servant (Mader 1987, 35). But St. Paul infused Christianity with Old Testament sexophobia, and his work was strengthened by St. Augustine, who reacted against the extremist views of some of his predecessors. St. Ambrose had said that chastity was more important than following the doctrines of Christian faith; he felt that human extinction was preferable to propagation through sin. ''Married persons should blush over the state in which they live.'' (Cleugh 1963, 264-265) But St. Augustine saw clearly that to make the act of procreation itself sinful was to attack the ordinations of nature's Creator. So he declared that while intercourse itself was harmless, the feelings of lust which accompanied it were sinful (Bullough 1976, 193). This is what modern psychology calls a ''double bind''—orders so contradictory as to render anyone who tries to obey them neurotic and unbalanced. But this teaching endured. Pope Gregory of Great (1020-1085) affirmed that married people sinned if they sought lust in sexual intercourse (Engelhardt 1980, 13). It was only with the Reformation, and especially with Calvin, that people came to believe that ''God would not treat this pleasure as sinful when it was sought or accepted as incidental to procreation.'' (Bullough 1976, 435) The echoes of the old Augustinian doctrine can still be heard now and then, and a venerated Christian author like Simone Weil (1919-1943) could write, ''There is a mechanism in our body that, when it starts to function, makes us perceive some good in the things of this earth. We must let it rust until it is corroded.'' (quoted by Eck 1969, 382)

The Church's doctrine was not always as unwavering as it appears. In the year 900 persecution of (and belief in) witches was punishable by excommunication (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1978, 264, 291, 292), but later in the Middle Ages hunting and exterminating witches had the Pope's blessing, only again to be considered an error in modern times. Once getting interest on loans was a frightful sin, while today it is practised by the Church itself. And there were times when Christianity regarded sex, even boy-love, in a rather permissive light.

Walafrid Strabo (809-849), Abbot of Reichenau, wrote a poem ''to his friend in absence'', and it seems that the Germans, especially the Franks, idealised, ennobled and placed a high value on the love between man and boy (Bullough 1976, 370). This permeated chivalric tradition. Since the knights, with their pages, were ''tossed into long-term companionships with each other, unable to establish any stable relationships with females, it is quite possible that they

turned to each other for friendship, encouragement, and even sexual relief.'' (Bullough 1976, 400-401) In the humanist literature of the 12th and 13th centuries there was an unusual degree of erotic candour (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1978, 235)

During the Renaissance, revival of ideals from Antiquity did not stop short of boy-love. Marsilio Ficino (1443-1449) ''wrote that those best suited for soul love loved males rather than females and adolescents rather than children.'' (Bullough 1976, 415) Artists like Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, il Sodoma (Giovanni Antonio Bassi) loved boys and adolescents more or less openly. As always during periods of cultural florescence—Greek Antiquity, Augustinian Rome, Shakespeare's England, the France of Louis XIII—people permitted themselves a great deal of sexual freedom, simply because of their unusual vitality (Banens 1981, 34; van Emde Boas 1970, 82-83; Daniel 1957, 43).

It wasn't until the 14th Century that the Church began to incite the secular authorities to act against homosexuality. There were many victims of this prosecution, especially among the clergy, the monks and the nobility (Goodrich, quoted by Parker 1980/1981, 200). The terrible Black Death plague which swept through Europe, killing one third of the people and devastating the economy of all countries, evoked a wave of ''moral rearmament'' after a period of vital energy and joy. The strengthening of morality's grip was accompanied, as usual, by an increase of perversity and neurosis, such as flagellation and similar symptoms of frustrated sexuality (Kerscher 1979, 115; Taylor 1953, 27). The Church claimed that repressive measures ''were required because of the immorality of the times; it seems more probable that, in reality, the immorality of the times was the result of the pressures applied.'' (Taylor 1953, 55-56)

Later, the influence of the Church over Western society waned, but the traditional hostility towards sex remained. Society had been well indoctrinated by the ruling religion over the course of one and a half thousand years, and by now sex-loathing had become a habit. Mankind is inclined to consider its habits ''natural'' and self-evidently right (Pascal, quoted by Gide 1925, 38, 40), and this is how tribal customs are elevated into ''natural law'' which becomes the supreme moral standard (Kerscher 1978, 3). Thus people are likely to call ''un-natural'' what is really only ''un-habitual''.

Clerical support for the concept of sex-as-sin was later taken over by scientists. ''Writers of most popular sex manuals, whether physicians, clergy, or teachers, mounted a crusade against sex, hitting with sledgehammer force the dangers of unnatural sex, which came to be interpreted as any kind of sex activity not leading to procreation.'' (Bullough 1976, 546). Tissot, with his book on the deadly perils of masturbation, ''gave a new scientific basis for the Western hostility to sex at the very time when the earlier foundations of this

hostility were being undermined.'' These ideas of sexual repression ''appeared first in the medical literature at the beginning of the eighteenth century but gradually became elaborated and more formalised, until by the end of the century they began percolating into the general consciousness. Eventually, they were seized upon by the conservative moralists and became the dominant theme of the nineteenth century, providing the intellectual basis for what we regard as Victorian morality, which tended to drive sex underground.'' (Bullough 1976, 498, 461). Orthodox medical opinion in the U.S.A., for example, ''held sexual pleasure to be pathological, especially so in the female. Sexual intercourse within the socially sanctioned confines of the marital relationship was a necessary evil for the purpose of procreation. A wife's acquiescence in the disgusting exercise of coitus was lauded as an example of woman's noble spirit of sacrificial forbearance in order to fulfil her biological duty.'' (Oliver 1982, 403)

Puritanism and bourgeois mentality, those ''greatest sex-murderers of Europe'' (van Emde Boas 1976, 85), had triumphed. Little wonder, then, that the Victorian Age was a thoroughly sick and cruel period. And no wonder that Freud, appearing upon this scene, found millions upon millions suffering from various kinds of sexual neuroses, to the immense profit of his followers and the pharmaceutical industry. Even today, ''half of all marriages in the United States are troubled by sexual failures, difficulties or incompatibilities.'' (O'Carroll 1980, 96). The more repressive a society is, the more it must resort to safety-valves such as Carnival, pornography and prostitution in order to unload dammed-up impulses (Kentler 1970, 56). ''Since sex may lead to trouble, boys substitute violence, drugs, stealing, gambling.'' (Rossman 1976, 92)

The totalitarian revolutions of our century brought no improvement in this respect. Lenin regretted contemporary ''hypertrophy of sex'', which he attributed to capitalistic decadence (van Ussel 1970, 30). ''Our D.D.R. is a pure nation,'' East German Party Leader Erich Honnecker proudly exclaimed. The influential communist pedagogue A. S. Makarenko thinks sexual information unnecessary. If children ask questions about sex he recommends their parents and teachers not answer them, for any reply at all might provoke unhealthy fantasies. Inhibitions should be learned early, and all of a child's upbringing should be based upon chastity.

''The ability to control your feelings, your imagination and your emerging desires, is the most important of all abilities, and its social value has not yet been sufficiently appreciated.'' Makarenko's thought is in perfect agreement with the Victorian. Recently the Soviet medical journal *Zdarovie* instructed parents not to caress their children, nor to kiss them, as this ''stimulates the erogenic zones and favours a precocious development of sensuality.'' *(L'Espoir* 1983, No. 12, 36) In Hitler's Third Reich, homosexuality was thought to threaten

the energy and purity of the Arian race and thus it warranted merciless extermination. The Vatican still condemns every kind of sexual activity outside of married procreation. Ayatollah Khoumeini executed men for homosexuality. All these political and spiritual authorities are strongly opposed to any depiction, in image or text, of sexual matters. In the Vatican Museum, classical Greek and Roman nude sculptures have been disfigured with fig leaves stuck on over the genitals.

After World War I, the League of Nations "began to meddle in the sexual customs of previously permissive societies," Haeberle writes and, quoting Guyon, "The countries outside Europe and America, almost without exception, have framed their Penal Codes more or less exactly after European criteria, in order to show the world that their civilisation was not inferior to the Western civilisation taken as an unquestionable model of progress. (...) The Doctrine of Sin, which Missionaries tried for so many years to introduce in those countries, without any great success, was suddenly imposed on them by a trick which has gratified to the full the host of anti-sexually minded people." (Haeberle 1983, 164-165)

The Substrata of Sexual Repression

Why, then, this determined fight for sexual repression which has occupied so many different authorities over so many centuries? They must gain real advantages from it, since the disadvantages (neurosis, aggression, misery and sexual obsession) are so blatantly obvious.

All dictatorships are chaste: in this respect they are alike, and it doesn't matter whether they are Marxist or Fascist, Islamic or Christian. "Sex, one of the essentials for human happiness, is characteristically persecuted by every patriarchal, political or religious tyranny." (Daniélou 1979, 23) All those who exercise absolute power, be it secular or spiritual, all tyrannies listed by the Indian legislator Manu—the tyrannies of priests, warriors, merchants and of the working classes—all try to limit the sexual freedom of their subjects and impose prohibitions and taboos upon their sexual activities.

Sexual intercourse, if performed between legally married people in the authorised position (man on top, woman under) is permitted, for otherwise nation and church would die out. Warrior nations and militant churches even encourage procreative intercourse, for they constantly need a fresh supply of soldiers and believers. Napoleon's cynical statement that one night in Paris would make up for all the losses in a battle is typical. On the other hand, there are nations that become concerned about excess of population and recommend anticonception, sterilisation, or even, like China, permit marital intercourse only on certain days prescribed by the authorities and punish transgressors. So the

capacity of humans to procreate is stimulated or circumscribed according to what our rulers feel best suits their interests. They always look with disfavour upon the expression of love, pleasure or primeval impulses through the medium of sex.

And, looked at from the standpoint of their own selfish interests, they are right; as history has proven. The human sexual need has one peculiar characteristic. All other essential physical needs, such as breathing, eating, drinking, defecating, sleeping, may be postponed for various periods of time but not indefinitely: everybody knows this. But sex is different. One can discuss in perfect seriousness, and even impose, total, permanent suppression of sex without destroying the individual or extinguishing the impulse (Killias 1979, 17). Any proposal, then, for people to live in abstinence and renounce sexual pleasure is not *a priori* nonsense.

Actually most boys and men simply feel incapable of carrying on, living happily and in good health, without some form of sexual release. People in power know this very well and do not expect their edicts and taboos to be strictly observed and the outlets stopped, nor is this what they really want. The rules, the taboos have already had their intended effect: while not preventing sexual activities they burden them with guilt. Lust is made immoral, a sin.

The psychological consequences are far-reaching. Diderot had already remarked on this (Kentler 1970, 77-78). It doesn't really matter whether the sinning is secret or in the open, whether it takes place in actuality or only in thought: the sinner is permanently conscious of his failure, and this renders him humble and submissive. Continually ashamed of his desires, his fantasies, his lusts, his weaknesses, he feels inferior. To God and the secular representatives of God he is guilty. How can he atone for his crimes now that he has sinned against their commands? He can only humble himself before their authority and show total obedience in other areas. "It is not the successful adaptation of the individual that guarantees flawless submission, but his stinging remorse, resulting from his unavoidable shortcomings." (Plack 19967, 88; see also Borneman 1978, 169, 1306; Gindorf 1978, 11-12; Hanry 1977, 85; Horn 1980, 33; Kerscher 1973, 178; Killias 1979, 29; Schelsky 1955) This submission of their subjects made the rulers of Christian Europe strong; it allowed them to conquer the world. A religion preaching charity, human equality and fraternity was thus transformed into the instrument of cultural and material subjugation and conquest (Daniélou 1979, 282).

"The concept of sexual activity as sin gave the Church officials a means of entering into the sexual practices of their parishioners" (Bullough 1967, 355) and dominating their private lives.

Of course not every man who is empowered with authority and who advocates sexual self-denial is guilefully aware of this mechanism. He may simply have

been brought up with these ideas and is just propagating what he has been taught to believe. As Jean-Paul Sartre once said, ''It is the good people who create evil.'' (Hanry 1977, 212) And so honest, noble-minded men, with the best of intentions, are turned into cunning tyrants once given power over their fellow humans. Victims themselves, they victimise others. So it is not they, but rather the basic immorality of traditional morality which should be fought.

When ecclesiastical power waned, secular rulers took advantage of the same system. To them, economic factors were all-important. Industrial growth was now driving people to the cities, destroying the family life of the working classes. Governments did little to improve the conditions of the poor, but, inspired by the politics of population, they cracked down mercilessly against ''immorality'', and this fitted nicely with the general social hostility towards sex and the greatly expanded authority of the Bible brought about by the Reformation. All extramarital sex was made unlawful, God's commands being given as justification. This trend ''beautifully demonstrates how a society with a shortage of consumer goods and consequently hostile to consumption will oppress the sexuality of its members—and especially of its most deprived members—with singular brutality. The bourgeoisie and people of high station made great effort ''to render marriage more difficult and thus procreation legally, or at least practically, impossible—all in an attempt to prevent an expansion of the population.'' In Switzerland one response was an increase in the number of sexual acts with animals. Of course it also entailed a prohibition of early marriage and sex with children, an invention, as we saw in the preceding chapter, of the 19th Century (Killias 1979, 67-70, 98, 100).

So it was the demands of social economy that finally brought hostility toward sex to its full florescence. Its last great tidal wave, a genuine pathological epidemic, as the psychiatrist Zeegers called it (1977, 194), was brought about by bourgeois capitalism. Its effects are still with us. In a period when thrift was a capital virtue, people grew worried about the waste of ''vital body fluids'' (Gagnon & Simon 1973, 221). A thrifty merchant saves his goods, money, sentiment and semen (Hanry 1977, 148). Production is the purpose of life, thus the pleasures of sex should be limited to the productive and denied non-productive youth, old age, the sick, the invalid or the prisoner (Baurmann 1983, 79). How twisted and chilly our culture has become can be seen in how much easier it is for most people to caress an animal than to caress a child (Bendig 1980, 159).

In the countries which gave birth to it, capitalism finally managed to eliminate the scarcity of consumer goods, and this meant the highest economic purpose of life shifted from production to consumption. Thrift ceased to be a virtue; it was no longer necessary, possibly even detrimental. And thus sexual morality changed and the Western world had its ''sexual revolution'' with its demands

for greater freedom and tolerance. The new economy was directed towards immediate, large-scale satisfaction of new, artificially inflated needs (Killias 1979, 21). This included sex, and now *performance* became all-important, the sexual athlete our social idol. Tender love-making was defective if there was no insertion of the penis, no ejaculation. Both partners had to have orgasms every time, preferably simultaneously and not too soon; if this didn't happen something must have gone wrong. Movies and television spread this new gospel.

It is hard to claim that there was much moral gain here. A man whose sexuality is oppressed and persecuted by society is not free. A man psychologically pushed by society into sexual activity because if he doesn't carry on he won't count is also not free (Kentler 1970, 185). Sexual liberation can never be realised by conforming to society's dictates: it will always be in opposition to them (Borneman 1978, 771). A boy precociously taking on the man's role and having intercourse with a female only in submission to the will of the people around him is certainly trapped in an unhappy situation and may well be on his way to becoming a hard-hearted pleasure-seeker, full of unconscious inhibitions. Raymond Kiefer (*Sexual Behaviour*, Vol. 1, No. 5, 1971, 20) called those educators who try to tell young people they *must* have intercourse willy-nilly, right and left, "psychological child molesters".

The sexual revolution, moreover, is not universally and whole-heartedly accepted. "Sexuality represents the ultimate individualism—everyone's personal sexuality, their fantasies, and their erotic potential are far more idiosyncratic than are, say, their consumer choices, voting patterns, patterns of religious or social identification—and this is why sexuality is a constant fear of those who would seek to continue administered controls." (NAMBLA 1981, 95). Dr. Howard, President of Rockford College, told the U. S. Congress, "Even those who are not guided by religious and ethical considerations must recognise on pragmatic grounds that the sexual 'revolution' is individually, socially and economically disadvantageous. (...) Our economy suffers from the collapse of norms of conduct in the private life of citizens. The productivity of any individual, be he executive or day laborer, is affected by his psychological state. The person who is subject to frequent emotional stress cannot focus his attention as effectively on his work as can the person who has a fairly high level of stability in his home life." (Hearings 1977, 399) On the other hand, those in power may also see some advantage in permitting the masses sexual distraction, to make them forget the burden of the yokes they are made to carry (Borneman 1978, 1307). This is the theory of repressive tolerance. But no sexual practice, no matter how unconventional (exchange of partners, promiscuity, group sex) will lead to real freedom as long as it is inspired by the obsession of performance (Baurmann 1983, 78-79).

V. SEXUAL REPRESSIOIN AND SEXUAL LIBERATION

So the fight for real sexual freedom must be fought on two fronts: on the one, against the communist, fascist, Christian and Islamic fear of the independent personality; on the other, against the well-publicised message of the media urging us to have sex in all its forms and as much as possible, whether you want it or not. On the first front the attack must be directed against the official repressive morality and the legislation which supports it, citing its dangers to mental health and human happiness. In this struggle, the best interests of the child are essential (Kupffer 1978, 110).

"The more people learn in their early childhood to conduct themselves as sexual beings, to develop their sensitivity and respect other people as sexual partners, the more our contemporary society of restricted communication, poor human contacts and potential loneliness will fade away. (...) Making a positive attitude towards sex a principle of education and upbringing will encourage man's capacity for criticism. Fromm sees the development of critical ego-functions as a condition for thinking, feeling and acting to be free of fear. But those with a negative attitude towards sex are filled with fear in their thinking and feeling, since prohibited things always threaten to intervene. And so the capacity for criticism is impaired, and this capacity is a basic condition for democracy." (Heid 1977, 145)

Elimination of the superfluous aspects of sex-repressive laws will only help society to be more democratic and the individual more emancipated (Baurmann 1978, 78). In any given community, the sexual conditions in it make a good standard by which to judge its oppression of humans in general (Kentler 1970, 80-81).

"We can hope that the struggle for sexual liberation will succeed. It is part of the general struggle for the extension of individual rights and thus represents an exciting and constructive movement towards a society that is more open, more just, and more free." (Haeberle 1978, 485). It may be an encouraging sign that a recent Dutch opinion poll showed that only 23% of young people in The Netherlands share the ideas of their parents about sexuality *(NRC Handelsblad* 3 Aug, 1984). "A democratic morality should judge sexual acts by the way partners treat one another, the level of mutual consideration, the presence or absence of coercion, and the quantity and quality of the pleasures they provide. Whether sex acts are gay or straight, coupled or in groups, naked or in underwear, commercial or free, with or without video, should not be ethical concerns." (Rubin 1984, 282)

René Guyon proposed that we amend the Declaration of Human Rights with the following section: "Everyone has the right to sexual freedom and the free disposal of his or her body to that end; and no person shall be molested, prosecuted, or condemned by the law for having voluntarily engaged in sexual

acts or activities of any kind whatever, provided they are devoid of violence, of constraint, and of fraud.'' (quoted by Haeberle 1983, 169)

The close connection between freedom in general and sexual freedom has raised a question of priority. Reich thought that sexual freedom should come first, that it would more or less automatically effect a general liberation of society. Others, like Borneman (1978, 1294), claimed that sexual liberation could only be obtained through political liberation (Taylor 1953, 89). Some go so far as to ascribe ''all our sexual problems to the evils of our political and economic system. Capitalism, so runs the argument, creates sexual oppression as a drought creates dust; abolish capitalism and you free the sexually oppressed! Unfortunately, this naive assumption is disproved by the continued or even increased sexual intolerance in so-called communist countries, from Albania and Cuba to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.'' (Haeberle 1978, 438)

The theory that ''Society comes first, sex must take a back seat'' is the most ingenious attack yet invented against the sexual revolution. The energy of the sexual liberationists is thus diverted from its true aim: it is harnessed to the carriage of some political party or action group. Most important of all, it divides the liberationists and makes it easy to incite them against each other. It has weakened, even destroyed, whole liberation movements by creating inner dissension. We must never forget, however, that sexual freedom and a positive sexual upbringing are not just fighting aims, they are also fighting means and form the matrix for further liberation in other sections of society. A person who has learned to think independently and to follow his own sexual convictions will probably do the same in other areas. He may see sexual reform, creating stronger personalities, as a starting point, without falling into the error of considering it the only instrument at his disposal and sufficient on its own. This would be to exaggerate the moment of sexuality in society's balance of values (Kerscher 1979, 122).

Sexual Freedom

Growing up, as we have, in a culture stamped by the Judeo-Christian religion, it is easy to assume that traditional morality is evidently right, to forget that other systems, far less oppressive and frustrating, are human possibilities as well.

G. Rattray Taylor (1953, 87-88) distinguishes two types of cultures which he calls the patrist and the matrist.

Patrist / *Matrist*
Restrictive attitude to sex / *Permissive attitude to sex*
Limitation of freedom for women / *Freedom for women*

V. SEXUAL REPRESSIOIN AND SEXUAL LIBERATION

Women seen as inferior, sinful / *Women accorded high status*
Chastity more valued than welfare / *Welfare more valued than chastity*
Politically authoritarian / *Politically democratic*
Conservative: against innovation / *Progressive: revolutionary*
Distrust of research, inquiry / *No distrust of research*
Inhibition, fear of spontaneity / *Spontaneity, exhibition*
Deep fear of homosexuality / *Deep fear of incest*
Sex differences maximised (dress) / *Sex differences minimised*
Asceticism, fear of pleasure / *Hedonism, pleasure welcomed*
Father religion / *Mother religion*

Just as with individuals, one would never meet a culture which fell entirely into one of these patterns. Real societies are always mixed, and we can only talk about the predominance of one characteristic or another. Nevertheless Taylor's survey clearly shows how hostility towards sex is closely connected to a number of other societal attributes and thus why it is so difficult to combat.

Currier (1981, 12-13) gives an even subtler division of cultures according to their attitudes towards sex:

1. *Sexually repressive cultures,* disposed toward the denial of sexuality (examples: the Irish, the Cheyenne Indians).

2. *Sexually restrictive cultures,* disposed toward the limitation of sexuality (the dominant type).

3. *Sexually permissive cultures,* disposed toward the tolerance of sexuality as normal, natural and inevitable (common in the equatorial latitudes of Africa, Asia and the Americas).

4. *Sexually supportive cultures,* disposed toward cultivating sexuality and encouraging it in the young (examples: the Muria in India, the Trobriander in Melanesia).

Western culture may dominate the world, but its traditional views on sexuality are exceptional in the human race. Ethnologists and sociologists at Yale University, collecting sexual data from 118 nations, found that only two Africa black cultures had similar standards. In the remaining 115 there was more sexual liberty (Johansson 1983, 4-7). There are cultures where the sexual impulse is not ''sublimated'', to use the Freudian term, but where its healthy satisfaction is at the base of its creative activities (Borneman 1978, 805). ''The ancient Polynesian cultures offer perhaps the best proof that a realistic, positive, and humane approach to sex can work and be socially productive.'' (Haeberle 1978, 331)

A positive attitude towards sex is not limited to the so-called ''primitive'' cultures. The ethics of Islam, for instance, ''say 'yes' to sexuality and its satisfaction''. Its prophet Mohammed, the impeccable, had a very active sex life

and an ardent temperament. Intercourse is considered good. The pleasure of orgasm should remind us of the bliss of Paradise. As this pleasure is transient, it should arouse in us the desire to enjoy it permanently hereafter among the blessed (Bousquet 1953, 39, 41, 43, 102, 143). "Praise be given to God, who has placed man's greatest pleasure in the natural parts of woman, and has destined the natural parts of man to afford the greatest enjoyment to woman." This is the opening phrase of Shaykh Nefzawi's *Perfumed Garden*. "Islam in general looks upon chastity not as an ideal, but as an unfortunate accident." (Burton 1963, 71, 52)

"Hinduism... might be classed as even more sex positive than Islam." The *Kamasutra,* a handbook for refined sexual activity, is venerated as a revelation of the gods. Considerable attention is given to pleasure as a purpose of sex. The female organ is the chief ruler of the universe. "It is likened to the second mouth of the creator, and it continuously sends out a silent command to man to come and sip." Sex also has mystical or magical purposes, so sexual intercourse itself becomes a higher form of worship. Sex is "a way of revealing to man the hidden truth of the universe." Through sex it is possible to obtain redemption. The sex act is a rite to obtain spiritual enlightenment. "The tantric cults hold that spiritual union with the god can best be obtained through sexual union in the flesh. During intercourse man is able to contemplate reality face to face, and the supreme bliss that proceeds from ritual sexuality is the height of religious experience." In the antinomian cults, masturbation became a religious ceremony associated with the god Krishna." (Bullough 1976, 245-246, 251-252, 257-258, 264)

There is a Buddhist tantra, too. The famous mantra *om mani padme hum* symbolises the male penis in the female vulva. "Sexual intercourse is not just satisfaction of an instinct but the repetition of the primal copulation of the divine couple, the eternal principle of all things, and a means of ascending the spatial-temporal plane of life." (Bullough 1976, 271, 272)

The ancient Chinese distinguished two cosmic forces, *yang,* the male, and *yin,* the female. "Only when the yin and yang aura are sound and sane, living in peaceful interaction, can man's body and mind be in proper order and life can go on. Sex is one of the major ways to regulate the body." (Bullough 1976, 283) Sexual intercourse is the key to long life.

How different this is to the Christian attitude which, according to Bullough, may have had its roots in the teachings of the Persian Zoroaster (600 B.C.) who almost certainly influenced the Jews: "A restricted sexual life came to be regarded as necessary for salvation and the good life." (Bullough 1976, 68-69) But we should keep in mind that even in Christian Europe there were centuries of cultural bloom, in which the sexuality of youth was accepted without difficulty and appreciated as a source of health and joy. It was only around 200

years ago that the bourgeois era converted society back to sex negativism out of what it considered economic necessity, favoured by science and exploited by the clergy. A ''nice'' boy was expected not to feel these impulses and, if he did, to control them—''control'' of course being a euphemism for suppression and negation.

The ''nice'' boy is only thwarted by this form of mental castration. ''For man is made in such a way that he fundamentally reveals himself in the sex act. No confession, no autobiography, no admission of guilt during trial and no free association upon the analyst's couch can ever unveil us to another so completely as does the sexual act to our partner.'' But we don't give without receiving. ''We learn about ourselves in getting to know others.'' (Borneman 1978, 781, 878, 1077) One of Hass's subjects, a 17-year-old boy, stated it brilliantly: ''Sex is part of getting to know someone. You can only get to know someone to a certain degree without sex.'' (1979, 19) Sexual experience thus helps a boy get on in life (Möller 1983, 12). Children brought up in American communes where parents talk openly about sex and where no bodily touching is taboo, are in their play exactly like other children of their age. But at the same time ''the majority of the children demonstrated a high degree of maturity, self-confidence, and self-reliance. (...) The children related to sex as something interesting and enjoyable, but not of central importance. (...) There seemed little stigma against children who did not wish to engage in sex.'' (C. M. Johnston & R. W. Deisher, ''Contemporary communal child rearing'', *Pediatrics,* Vol. 52, No. 3, 1973, quoted by O'Carroll 1980, 42-43)

Adolescents often feel more mature after having intercourse. ''I felt older and more worldly,'' said a 17-year-old—''I had taken a step on my way to manhood'' (an 18-year-old)—''It was like I was growing up'' (a 16-year-old) (Hass 1979, 74). Sexual experience enriches humanity with a dimension, appeals to self-chosen responsibility and compels the boy to reflect upon questions of fidelity and infidelity, connection or separation of sex and love, his own and his partner's tolerance of frustrations (Dasberg 1975, 90). Maslow found perseverance and self-assurance correlated positively with the degree of sexual activity (Giese & Schmidt 1968, 346), Schofield that boys with experience of intercourse made better headway in society (Kentler 1970, 190). While sexually inactive youngsters ''are anchored securely to their parents' values'', the sexually active have more independent views (Janus 1981, 45).

Olivier Decrés who taught school for many years in Morocco, compares the boys there, working and being exploited for ridiculously low wages, with their closely protected European age-mates. ''The European doesn't understand that these boys, living and acting as adults, have better opportunities to escape the social restraints, and especially the sexual restraints, to which European children are helplessly subjected, locked up as they are inside the blind walls of family

and school. The protection in Europe leads to servitude, paradoxically, while exploitation gives the Moroccan boys power!'' (1982, 133)

Boys are told to behave like men, to control their emotions and to be self-assured and dominant in all kinds of situations. Sexuality is the only area where men are allowed to be tender, passionate and uncontrolled. To prohibit boys from entering this field is to make it impossible for them to be fully human.

''Every child is given at birth the capacity to enjoy his body. Sexuality is something granted to everyone, and to teach a child to abstain from this evident intimacy is perhaps the first form of sexual violence to which it is subjected.'' (van Dijk 1982, 33)

Geiser, a noted American child psychologist, concludes in his book *Hidden Victims. The Sexual Abuse of Children:* ''Boy-love is a fact of life, and instead of treating those involved as criminals, the question of when a teenager has a right to determine his own sexual life needs to be faced. Existing laws are contradictory and archaic. Denying children any bonds of affection may be more damaging to their psychological development than involvement in a boy-love situation.'' (1979, 101) This optimism is shared by Professor Zeegers (1977, 205)

A man who loves boys, erotically among other ways, is adapted by the very nature of his inclinations to offer his young friend exactly the use and habit of freedom the youngster needs to protect himself from repressive morality and its evil consequences which we discussed in the preceding pages. The boy-lover's gifts are unique and correspond so exactly to these needs that it is little wonder there have always been societies that viewed intimate sexual relations between men and boys as an indispensable condition for adequate upbringing and education.

Such a man provides the boy with the strongest possible corporal delight at an age in which the things of the body have an uncommon importance. And in doing so, the adult unveils himself free of shame in his own passionate excitement and lust.

A boy experiencing this, not because the man is determined to ''seduce'' him to satisfy his own lust (such unsavoury situations we discussed in Chapter Four) but because his pleasure is amplified many times over by his perception of the boy's pleasure—such a boy can abandon himself without fear or shame to this pleasure. The experiences protects him against perversion, against risky excesses in sado-masochism, for his aggression is attenuated and he has no need for self-punishment. It is a guard against neurosis, which would damage his health, and hypocrisy, which distorts one's ethical outlook. For him, sex will be something to enjoy freely, as frequently as time permits and his body asks for it (which can be quite often!), but never a dominating obsession. For the rest

of his life he will have an increased capacity to experience pleasure and give it to his partner.

Such a boy may explore his own sexuality without anguish and shame, discover the heterophile and homophile components of it, experience his bisexuality, develop and practice his sexual capacities, all with the healthy and perfectly natural joy of lust. It will enrich his life so as to make him more energetic, independent, responsible, critical, and at the same time less aggressive and more kindly and charitable. He will enlarge his theoretical knowledge of sexuality and learn to stand up for his feelings and desires.

If the man with whom he experiences this has a pedagogical relationship with him, the boy will have at least one teacher to whom he doesn't have to pretend disinterest in sex, who doesn't preach a morality which conflicts with his deepest convictions and feelings, a man who doesn't demand that he tell all about his intimate affairs while hiding his own. Such a man has a golden opportunity to show a boy in practice how one uses sex responsibly and with respect for others—not suppressing it but controlling it, i.e. abstaining from it when you wish and glorying in it intentionally when the situation is right.

And so the boy will learn how to associate sex with love and love with sex, and how it is natural to express love with his body. Candour opens the road to unveiling other feelings, too: failures, real or imagined, feared inadequacies (van der Zijl 1976, 399). The youngster whose tendencies are mainly homophile or paedophile especially needs, in an aggressively heterophile environment, the stand-by support of such an adult, whose example shows him how to deal with the world as it is and gives him the assurance of knowing he is not alone (Speijer Report 1969, 7-8-3).

In the rest of this chapter we will discuss some aspects of sexual education and its benefits for boy and man.

Sexual Information

Dr. Frits Wafelbakker, state inspector of public health, said at a meeting of the Netherlands Association for Sexology in 1982 that the following rights of children ought to be recognised:

1. The right to receive information.
2. The right to enjoy their feelings and to develop them by means of:
   a: masturbation,
   b. sexual play with age peers, for which opportunity should be provided,
   c. sex with older partners.
3. The right to decide for themselves whether to say ''yes'' or ''no'' when approached sexually by others.

But even the right to receive sexual information is in bitter dispute, by Christians as well as communists. The effect of such information on children, according to both, would be to provoke ''bad fantasies'', awake slumbering feelings and lead them to precocious sexual activity.

Heslinga (1976, 470), on the other hand, assessed, ''Information given before proper consciousness is reached gives the child beforehand a certain degree of assurance. We can categorically deny that information excites lust before such an impulse has yet been experienced.'' Freud (1920, 113-114) had already voiced a similar opinion.

Research bears this out. In Denmark, where during the 1940s sexual information already formed part of the school curriculum, the average age of first intercourse for boys was considerably higher than in the United States, where such instruction is much less common: see Table 8. An investigation in The Netherlands elicited a similar pattern: the boys who got sexual information generally started with sexual intercourse later in their lives than those deprived of such information (Noordhoff 1969, 255).

Table 8

	USA	
	Kinsey 1948, p 550	Cumulative
13 years or less	13.8%	13.8%
14 years	14.0%	27.8%
15 years	11.0%	38.8%
16 years	12.8%	51.6%
	Denmark	
	Hertoft 1968, Vol. 2, p 32	Cumulative
13 years or less	02.0%	02.0%
14 years	04.5%	06.5%
15 years	09.0%	15.5%
16 years	16.5%	32.0%

Where sexual information is given, but negatively coloured, this leads to equally paradoxical consequences. Sorensen (1973, 409) divided those young subjects who had had sexual experience into two groups: the ''monogamists'', confining themselves to one single girl, and the ''adventurers'', gyrating from one girl to another. Those brought up to consider sex as dirty and immoral were one and a half times as numerous among the adventurers (67%) as among the monogamists (42%).

In sex, parents sin less frequently by what they say than by what they don't say. ''If sex is conspicuously absent from any conversation, we 'learn' that it is not a topic to be discussed.'' (Hass 1979, 162; see also Jans 1973, 26) The frightened rejection, the awkward silence, the evident embarrassment as soon as the painful subject is touched upon, are experienced intuitively by the child as a real tyranny. ''A sense of horrified disapproval communicates itself without words.'' (West 1977, 97) If the parents ''feel uncomfortable or even guilty about their own sexuality, they are bound to convey these negative feelings to everybody around them and, as a result, the child may become confused and apprehensive.'' (Haeberle 1978, 153) Among Bieber's 206 subjects, 157 were told nothing by their mother, 155 nothing by their father; only 4 got much information from their parents (1962, 335). Among the male subjects of the Hite report (N = 7239) (1982, 855), 20% were told by their parents, 11% got books with information, another 11% were only advised ''to be cautious'', and with 57% the subject was passed by in silence. ''Such parents undoubtedly don't realise that in doing this they are terrorising the child far more than they ever could by beating him up and degrading sex in his mind. (...) For by a 'mystical participation', to use Carl Jung's terminology, they absorb the adults' feelings'' (Plack 1967, 85, 93). And so the health and well being of children are regularly sacrificed to the inhibitions and anxieties of their parents (Hanry 1977, 31). West (1977, 112) has even suggested that an over-reaction of a parent when confronted with some inconvenient manifestation of childhood sexuality might cause an evolution toward homosexuality. A Dutch investigation (Straver & Geeraert 1980, 107) showed that sons of parents with a strong rejection of sex had more difficulties in establishing human contacts: they were clumsier, less assured in their behaviour and shy about their appearance. As respected a pedagogue as Borneman even goes so far as to say that it is less urgent to protect children from pornography as from their parents sexophobia. For the latter makes it impossible for them to see sexuality as an expression of love; it will always remain a brutal, animal lust.

This is the psychology which leads to boys forming gangs that rape girls (Hanry 1977, 134).

337 ''In one case it was 14, in another case 19 youths who made up gangs committing sexual assaults on young girls (and never any other crimes).'' A 12-year-old girl raved

"about a boy who was then 14 years old. She had only seen him from a distance, but he seemed like the fulfilment of all her desires and fantasies. They met for the first time on a rainy day and went for a walk in the woods, where they had intercourse with each other. When they finished, the boy whistled and four of his friends appeared. He ordered them to have intercourse with her, too, and they did, one after the other, while they held her down. Over the next few years, this group of boys performed many similar acts with increasing brutality. The girl, whose nick-name was 'blinky' from a facial tic, was abused time after time by this gang, which ultimately grew to a group of 14." (...) "The two gangs were unaware of each other's existence, but their mode of operation was very similar: they lay in wait for girls and chose those who seemed best suited to their purpose. Then the chosen one was abducted to some secluded spot in the countryside. The leader was always the first to perform intercourse on their victim, while some of the others held her down. After the leader was finished each took her, one after another, in a definite order of rank. Some of these orgies finished with all the boys standing around the nearly unconscious girl and urinating on her, thus once again demonstrating their male superiority." The 16-year-old chief of the second gang was found to have two quite different mental images of womanhood (the madonna and the whore), each quite isolated from the other. (...) "When he was fourteen, wandering around and working on various farms, he fell violently in love with one idealised girl. He kept his love secret. Such acts as his gang committed he could not begin to imagine performing with his beloved; even in his fantasies about her he could only imagine the very beginnings of physical tenderness. Girls of another kind, however, immediately excited him sexually, and with them he allowed himself unrestrained satisfaction in the above-described manner, placing the guilt more upon the victim than himself." (Geisler 1959, 94-95, 65)

In his novel *This Day's Death,* John Rechy (1971) gives a dramatic description of such a gang rape performed by schoolboys upon a female classmate—an extreme example of the results of the madonna/whore complex.

"Indoctrinated feelings of shame, repentance and guilt at the realising of sexual impulses lay the basis for a need to be punished, and this fixates the sado-masochistic personality structure." (Kerscher 1978, 178, after Reich, Fromm & Adorno).

The problem is this: how do sexually uneducated, or badly educated, parents, despite the scars they bear from all the trauma they have endured, proceed to give their children a better upbringing? This probably will be very difficult without the assistance of the media, of school, of youth groups, and here there has always been more than a degree of reticence. Until now the information, if any, is mainly limited to reproductive descriptions: the anatomy and function of the organs concerned, perhaps something about contraception and sexually transmitted diseases. In the end, of course, there will be stern warnings: "You children aren't up to this yet... For the present you must do nothing... This whole area is dangerous, it is playing with fire..."

Now, procreation is an interesting subject, worthy of study just like the circulation of blood and digestion, but it is far removed from the child's world.

The child does not consider himself a being existing for procreation, and neither mentally nor physically is he such a being.

Using the tale of procreation in this manner is bad sexual education. It puts the communication of knowledge to the purpose of oppression. Sexual education should not strive to oppress but rather to induce a constructive self-control of sex, so that one can dispose of one's own sexuality with reason and feeling. It should begin, therefore, with something already familiar to the child, about which the child already has experience. If it is true, as we proposed in Chapter Three, that boys come to love through sex and girls come to sex through love, this means that their sexual upbringing and education must run along different lines. With boys, the starting point should be the pleasure of skin contact, in which the sexual organs have a special importance and reaction. This leads to a discussion of masturbation, where the accompanying fantasies prove the sexual appetite to be directed toward someone else, a desired partner. At first this fantasied partner is not infrequently another male, later usually a female. The possible result of intercourse with a female, if both are older, is conception and pregnancy. These should be avoided, so contraception is imperative. Thus the story of the birds and the bees comes at the end, not the beginning.

Only after this knowledge has been imparted can sexual education proper begin: respect for one's partner, the need for self-control before and during intercourse, an awareness that for most people intercourse affords a much higher satisfaction if it is inspired by love and a consciousness of participation in one's partner's happiness. Sexual contact is a means of communication, a way of getting on with a fellow being. Thus the lust one experiences in it—something strictly limited to oneself—can never be the most important factor; it has to give way, if necessary, to considerations of responsibility and respect for one's partner. It should be stressed, however, that there is nothing dishonourable about lust; it is, rather, a great gift of creation, something we must glorify and foster. Real sexual pedagogy should depict lust as a thing of beauty, something to long for; it should fight against any attempt to exalt pain and frustration, even when it is depicted under the seductive guise of ''noble sacrifice''.

''Sexual education today has to go well beyond the narrow subject of reproduction to include a discussion of sexual feelings and fantasies, pleasures, beliefs, superstitions, and dysfunctions. It must further discuss sexual attitudes in different societies and historical periods, erotic art, sex legislation and, indeed, 'sexual politics'.'' (Haeberle 1978, 478) This enumeration makes it apparent that very many adults have not yet completed their own sexual education! It should, moreover, correct often harmful misinformation found ''in medical and psychiatric textbooks, encyclopaedias, marital guides, police training manuals, catechisms, pastoral letters, and devotional literature. As a matter of fact, even today dangerous sexual misconceptions continue to be spread in certain religious

pamphlets which are sold by the millions at church doors all over the country. Some of these booklets may well have a crippling effect on an unsophisticated young mind. Furthermore, they also often foster prejudice and sexual intolerance. By comparison, most 'pornography' seems relatively harmless.'' (Haeberle 1978, 481)

It is curious how little our increased knowledge about sex has changed our thinking about sexual activity; it has influenced the pedagogic advise we give our young even less (Breusers 1982, 51).

''Sexual happiness is searched for throughout every individual's lifetime, and influences everyone's ideas of total happiness as a fulfilled human being: sexual frustration is the cause of more human unhappiness than any other single ailment, disability, disease or social circumstance; yet in these last two decades of interplanetary adventure, technological inventiveness, and sub-atomic research, one of the most neglected of all subjects is the sexual education of young people.'' (Barrington 1981, 13)

But knowledge alone will never be enough. The instruction must be given with personal warmth. It should ''also emphasise the emotional aspect of sex and talk about the pleasure that can be part of sexual activity. Indeed, the capacity for such pleasure should be carefully nourished.'' (Haeberle 1978, 480)

It is disgraceful if children are sacrificed to the sexual passions of adults—a traumatising experience which society is quite justified in trying to prevent. But it is no less scandalous if the budding feelings and desires of children are sacrificed to sexophobia, to the sexual anxieties, frustrations and misinformation of their teachers and those who bring them up. It is an open question whether they really aren't hurt much more badly by the latter. But society refuses to punish those responsible for such abuse; instead it often honours them for their activities, considering them virtuous and beneficial. The total number of children victimised by true molesters is infinitesimal compared to those sexually crippled by their own parents and guardians.

How many boys could profit from a really honest, open and intimate talk with their own fathers! ''A great many men, today, would be better and happier individuals had their fathers been friends who had confided their sexual 'sins' and given their growing pre-adolescent and adolescent sons the benefits of their own sexual experiences.'' (Barrington 1981, 186) Parents who, moved by their own sexophobia, fail to give their children the necessary information, make them vulnerable to possibly unpleasant sexual advances by adults. It is interesting to see how a wider sexual knowledge alters how children react to such encounters. The better informed children are less inclined to be passive: the number of those who resist or reject advances increases, as does the number of those who accept the invitation and participate in the act. ''Country youth on the whole is more willing to accept advances, rejects them less often, than

city youth. Farm children learn about sex earlier, by observing it in animals, and so have much more relaxed attitudes about these things than their city peers.'' (Wegner, 56-57) But what is most important here is that the consequences for a child of sexual relations with an adult depend largely upon that child's being well informed. If he has sound sexual knowledge and participates freely, ''there is a strong probability that the child will not be harmed, and may even benefit.'' (Constantine 1981, 259)

And so it is most deplorable that sex information—if any at all is given by parents—is for the most part restricted to physical functions and biological facts, and no mention is made of its most important aspect: the accompanying feelings. Rounding off the lesson with a horrifying picture of the risks of pregnancy and venereal disease, the parents try to reassure the child by telling him, ''You can always come to us if you have questions; you can ask us anything.'' But the child intuitively perceives the underlying dishonesty: the adult ''considers his own sexuality a strictly private affair, yet wants to know all about the child's sexuality. And so sex education becomes in effect sexual control. The adult *says* 'we will have a completely open talk, we will keep no secrets about sexuality.' What he *means* is 'the child must tell all; the child must keep back no secrets about his sexuality, but he, the instructor, only has to reveal his own sexuality to the extent he judges it to be pedagogically useful.'' (Kupffer 1978, 114)

In reality, most children are not at ease, frank, free and natural in the presence of their parents (Schérer 1979, 218-219). As soon as the subject of sex is touched upon, they observe the timidity of their fathers and mothers, their parents' evident uneasiness. The son is told he is still too young to engage in sexual activities (Sorensen 1973, 77), but in his body he feels the urge to enjoy the very things his parents are trying to deny him, or dissuade him from. How can one explain to a boy who has just come into puberty that sex is natural, healthy, normal and good—but he cannot have it (Currier, quoted in *Youth Liberation* 1981, 52), because, for him, it is asocial, dangerous, abnormal and bad? His parents tell him to think for himself, be active, inventive, resourceful—but he must do it on *their* terms, adhering to *their* opinions (Morris 1976, 193). And so the well-known generation gap widens between parents and child (Borneman 1978, 110).

Among Sorensen's adolescent subjects, only 16% discussed sex with any frequency with their parents; some said they could discuss it quite well in general terms. But 72% thought even this impossible, and none of their parents told them anything about their own sexual experiences (1973, 73-74). Hass (1979, 166) ''asked teenagers: Do you feel you can be open with your parents about sex?'' 66% of the boys replied No. To his question (1979, 175), ''What

kinds of things about your own sex life do you tell your parents, responses of boys were:

I tell them only what they would approve of.—20%
I tell them almost everything.—9%
I tell them nothing about my sex life.—26%
I only talk in a general way about sex, not specifically about me.—45%

No wonder so many boys try to get their information elsewhere! In most cases, parents would be wise not to inject themselves into their offsprings' sexual lives and simply offer their children the opportunity to broach the subject themselves when they feel so inclined (de Regt 1982, 66).

But there is no question about the real need for more instruction. In 1982 the Amsterdam children's SOS telephone service received some 10,000 calls of which 38% were about sex (de Ruiter 1984, 2). In some French schools boys collect money so that one of them, chosen by lot, can visit a prostitute. "The lucky chosen one has to pay for the night by giving a detailed account to his comrades." (Maffesoli 1983, 15). In the NISSO investigation, 51% of the boys wanted more detailed information about the particular sexual functions. More than 50% confessed that they were strongly preoccupied with sex, and in 9% this preoccupation verged on the obsessive (de Boer 1978, 102, 105, 107). Not less than 47.7% of 15- to 17-year-old males complained that they did not know a single person with whom they could really discuss sexual problems. And they did have problems! No less than 39.1% had discovered in themselves strange sexual desires and wondered how to deal with them (NISSO 1973, 36). "How to conduct one's evolving sexual life is perhaps above all other matters the most important to a boy aged 14 to 16, and certainly to a young man 16 to 21." (Barrington 1981, 83)

This situation is really critical. Bad or inadequate sex education is still at the root of many attempts on one's life (Kerscher 1978, 172), and the suicide rate is higher among Christians with traditional, sex-negative views than among non-believers. (Borneman 1978, 275). In 1977, West Germany registered about 14,000 suicide attempts by school children and adolescent students (Caspar Prospekt 1981). In light of these figures, it is pure hypocrisy for Mr. Tyrmand, preaching against sex instruction in American schools before the United States Congress, to cite "the rewards that come from one's solitary groping for explanations, from one's own handling of the pre-puberty anxieties." (Hearings 1977, 403)

In the 16th Century, it was possible for the great humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam "to write popular texts for children dealing with such topics as sexual intercourse before, in, and outside of marriage, pregnancy, birth, prostitution, aphrodisiacs, castration and venereal disease." (Haeberle 1978, 2) Since that time our culture has fallen far below the wisdom of the Australian

aboriginal (whose society is generally considered to be among the most primitive) for whom "sexual behaviour is not a topic veiled in deliberate obscurity or virtually ignored by the community. Except in the presence of certain tabooed relatives, the physical relations between men and women are spoken of freely, without embarrassment and with obvious pleasure, even in front of children. From an early age, native children are familiar with copulation. Sex is considered a normal, natural, and most important factor in human life. There is no attempt to keep anything about it secret from young persons." (Bettelheim 1962, 64). Sutor (1964, 42) was shocked by the things Chinese fathers said in the presence of their children, so that "young Chinese of from 7 to 8 years of age may be heard talking with consummate knowledge of things most obscene." Bousquet (1953, 107) made precisely the same observation about Moslem children. Adults "don't hesitate to have the most open, even the most obscene, conversations in the presence of immature children of both sexes." A remarkably systematic sex education is common in India where boys of six begin to study in school the *Kamasutra* manual of love (Daniélou 1981, 333). They learn how to categorise men and women according to the size of the male member and the width of the vaginal opening, to consider the different positions of intercourse; they learn how to beguile girls, prepare them for sexual pleasure and engender in both partners the most violent lust (Schmidt 1922).

Where adults fail to provide the wanted information, boys, of course, will seek it from, and discuss it with, their age-mates (de Regt 1982, 54). Even in Sweden, where sex education is part of the school curriculum, Zetterberg (1969, 44) found that 66% of the older generation of males and 58% of the younger had learned about intercourse from their peers. Hertoft (1968, II-22) found that 77.5% of Danish army recruits received their first information from friends, and that over four-fifths of them thought this inadequate. Other investigators put the percentage of boys gaining their knowledge in this fashion at 78%, 85%, 89%, 90% and even 91% (Gagnon 1965, 223; Gebhard 1965, 477). An investigation among French schoolboys and adolescents showed that 71% got their information from other minors, including 47% from girls, 12% from an older brother, the remaining 12% from a sister (Hanry 1977, 205). The chief themes in these instructive conversations were pregnancy (according to Ramsay, 69% of the boys know about this by age 10), intercourse (57% know by age 10) and masturbation (43% know by age 10). Menstruation and venereal disease were less often discussed (Gagnon 1965, 224). Complaints about the inadequacy of information were less about the mechanism of procreation (8% of the French boys wanted to know more about the male organs, 23% about the female organs) than the sensations of lust during intercourse (70% wanted to know more about these in girls, 55% in boys); 86% said that a boy needs very precise information on how best to gain pleasure from his genitals (Hanry 1977, 207-208).

There might be some justification for anger or disgust over the "dirty knowledge" a child might obtain "from the gutter" were it not for the fact that the information given by parents is often much more harmful. While "primitive" people carefully prepare the boy for his adult male sexual task, Western civilisation is content simply to engender anxiety about sex in the boy. The days of Tissot and his lurid descriptions of the fatal consequences of masturbation are not so long past (Bullough 1980, 496, 498). In 1969 a German atlas of sexology gave only one picture of the male member—in a table depicting the effects of incurable venereal disease (Kerscher 1978, 156). The Vatican Congregation for Doctrine in 1976 published a declaration according to which the aim of sexual education was to protect youth "against the many dangers" (Wagner 1978, 168).

A real sexual education, on the other hand, must teach youth "to assert its own sexual needs in a responsible way. A sexual education aiming primarily at suppressing the sexual needs of young people deprives itself of all possible pedagogical influence, because the youngsters subject to it can only gather sexual experience by evading the influence and control of their educators." (Killias 1979, 208-209)

In comparison with what many parents tell their children, the information boys get from their peers is usually less infected with anxiety and fear (Gagnon 1967, 41). It is often primitive, thus well adapted to their own imaginations (Hoffmeyer 1971, I-218).

Kerscher, a sexual pedagogue, gives a good summary (1977, 177): "Children and adolescents should learn that human sexuality, apart from the purpose of procreation in heterosexual intercourse, mainly serves lustful and social functions, arising in various erogenous zones which are more extensive than the usual genital areas, and that it is composed of a multitude of auto-, hetero- and homosexual elements as well as partial impulses of many shapes conditioned by our culture. The lust and social functions of sexuality stress its communicative character. The natural striving for lustful sexual experiences motivates the individual to establish relations with his social environment. A positive sexual education should aim at giving a sound support to this deploying tendency. Therefore even very small children should be involved in communicating as widely as possible, and this should include sexual communication. In so doing the formation of the child's character will not be submerged in the usual tension field of taboos and regulations, which is a matrix for nurturing ambivalent authoritarians. Indoctrinated feelings of shame, sorrow and guilt at realising sexual impulses are the basis of the need to be punished and fixate the sado-masochistic structure of personality."

A sexual education whose only aim is to prepare one for marriage is incomplete and repressive. Quite aside from neglecting, even betraying,

homophile youngsters (a not unsubstantial percentage of youth), it totally fails to deal with young people's reality: the sexual hunger of school-going and working youth. To pass this over in silence means either that we are suppressing this hunger or permitting it to run wild. We have already seen the consequences of suppression; the effects of dissoluteness are no less detrimental (Kentler 1979, 47-48). A boy has to learn that he need not be ashamed of his desire for satisfaction of lust, but at the same time he must realise that the greatest happiness is not obtained by having a maximum number of quick orgasms in a minimum of time. Moreover, one has to learn to respect one's partner, a fellow human being, and treat that partner with consideration, that one can never exploit another's feelings or expose him or her to avoidable disappointments (Kentler 1979, 97, 143). This certainly implies no free rein to impulse. But before a person is able to control his sexual feelings he must first recognise and understand them (Gide 1925, 9).

Daniélou (1981, 334) hits the mark when he writes, "All boys pass though a phase of homosexuality during which they need passionate comradeships and the friendship and advice of an older man, as well as other experiences which go well beyond masturbation but stop short of conception. In Western society a boy cannot discuss his sexual feelings with his family; the family pretends to ignore and condemn his sexuality. The bond he once had with his parents, his brothers, is thus dangerously broken. Only an older friend can guide and advise him, teach him the art of love, shape him into a happy human being, not disgruntled and bitter but flourishing and prepared for life."

A man who is conscious of his responsibility toward the boy, loving him and sexually active with him, is here in an ideal position, because he can not only tell but show. In such a relationship, sexual acts may be relatively unimportant, or decidedly important, or the most important element of all, but they will not be everything. Much more, discussions, common interests, excursions, social togetherness, working and playing together, is added to it. We will have more to say about this later.

338 "I know all about his cares and I understand them. He knows mine, completely." This is what 14-year-old Gerhard said on a radio programme about his 35-year-old friend *(Ikon Netherland,* 21 June 1979)

The boy experiences the way his friend cares about him, is concerned about his relationship with his parents, conflicts with teachers, difficulties with peers, school grades, sporting triumphs, his growth, health, everything which is important to him. The friend is proud of him. Within this general complex of existence their hours of intimacy find their place, times when the man tries to excite the most intense physical pleasure in the naked boy, abandoning himself freely and openly to his passion.

"The aim of sex education should be to indicate the immense possibilities for human fulfilment that sexuality offers." (Rubin, quoted by Nichols 1976, 71). It must convince the boy that it is possible to respect and love someone and at the same time enjoy with that person the most delicious pleasures of sex, that sex and passion, far from degrading the loved one, are the most sincere and elevated homage.

Making use of his wider sexual experience, the man teaches the boy how to utilise to their full his sexual capacities, how to improve his "sexual technique" in order to provide the finest pleasures for himself and his partner.

"Corrupting youth?" Gide exclaimed in surprise when he was accused of doing just that. "As if initiation in lust is in itself corruption! Usually it is quite the opposite. Those who accuse me forget, or rather they don't know, what accompanies those caresses, in what atmosphere of trust, loyalty and noble competition such friendships are born and evolve." (Last 1966, 34)

Just as there are superpotent "sexual athletes" whose sexual appetites and erections return quickly after orgasm, and also sexually less intense individuals needing a longer breathing spell, so there are unusually talented boys who quickly discover the best way to masturbate and the many different tricks to make sex more enjoyable with a partner, and others who lack such talent, are clumsy, need guidance, instruction and practice.

339 An extreme case of this is related by Slob and Piso-Minderman in a Dutch professional journal of medicine. A boy "began masturbating at the age of 15, once or twice a week, without ever being able to obtain orgasm and ejaculation. At 16 he consulted the family doctor about this; the doctor sent him to a specialist for internal diseases. As nothing abnormal could be found, the boy was sent on to a urologist. Examination under anaesthetic (and ten days in hospital!) also found nothing wrong. One year later, with the boy still failing to obtain orgasm, the examination was repeated. This time the urologist sent the young man to an internist, and over the next year and a half the internist and urologist performed a number of medical experiments upon him. Finally, when the patient was 19, a physiologist and a female psychologist were consulted. They discovered that he had almost no knowledge of the biological and physiological aspects of sexuality, and still less of what is experienced in sex. His upbringing had burdened all his sex feelings with strong guilt. After a 45-minute conversation he was sent home with some booklets of sexual instruction and told to return in three weeks. On that occasion he entered the room with a broad grin. 'It went perfectly,' he said. 'I've already done it three times this week—the day before yesterday, yesterday and today again in the shower.' He was asked what he was doing now that he had not done before. 'Oh, nothing special,' he reported, 'but before I didn't dare go on when I started to get all tense and I just stopped rubbing.' " (1982, 1484-1487)

Alayne Yates, a child psychiatrist, advises people to adopt an encouraging attitude toward children about sex. Not only must we accept their developing eroticism and be openly proud of their experiments, but we should also tell a child that he has nice sex organs (West 1981, 253-254). Many boys are worried about whether everything "down

there'' is shaped properly and ''works right''. Books and pictures are little help. Sexual intimacy with an older, experienced friend can bring the necessary assurance and set his fears at rest. Sometimes in uncircumcised boys the foreskin causes trouble with adhesion to the glans, or its opening is too narrow for retraction (phimosis). Adhesion is a normal phenomenon in schoolboys, but separation ''takes place gradually and spontaneously as a normal biological process in the course of school life and is concluded at about the age of 17''. Phimosis, on the other hand, is a rare condition ''and it has a tendency to regress spontaneously; operation is rarely indicated'', concluded Oster after 9545 observations of the state of the prepuce in boys aged 6 to 17 years (1968, 202).

340 (Continued from 327) One of such rare cases was Max. In spite of frequent masturbation and many attempts at stretching over a period of 10 years, it was nearly impossible for him to retract the skin over his rather big glans. When, at 17, he wanted to perform intercourse with girls, his friend broached the subject with Max's parents and had the boy circumcised. (Personal communication)

The boy-lover can also put to rest any remaining anxieties the boy might have over masturbation. Of course, it is useful to explain to him that the practice is both universal and harmless, but how much more convincing it is if the adult simply says, ''I do it, and I like it!''—and better still when he demonstrates how he masturbates himself. The case of the young man who did not know how to masturbate (No. 339) is extraordinary because his ignorance lasted until he was 19, but it is not unusual for a pre-pubertal boy to be frightened at the approach of orgasm and stop rubbing. An older partner can help the boy to overcome this fear, to improve his technique and obtain relief from sexual tension (Langfeldt 1979, 114-115).

To be a good instructor, the boy-lover has to have a sound knowledge of human sexuality, especially the great variability in shape and function of the sexual organs themselves. A boy's questions about the genitals are often original and unpredictable, and the man must know where he can find the right answers. He ought to have books at hand which deal with these matters in a way young people can understand (Nichols 1976, 73). Sometimes the boy's verbalised question hides an unspoken one, and the loving man should try to discover what his young friend really wants to know.

Most boys sharing sexual intimacies with a man are passing through a phase and will later turn mainly or exclusively to girls. Unless it is clear that the boy is mostly drawn to his own sex, the man should prepare him for this. Here the married man, or the man who himself practices heterosexual intercourse, is at an advantage (Eglinton 1964, 36, 84-85, 88-89, 91). The homophile man must teach himself about female sexuality, from the literature if from nowhere else. Later we will discuss some of the activities man and boy can do together which will sharpen the boy's pleasure in both homosexual and heterosexual love.

The boy must learn how to protect a girl from becoming pregnant. It is his responsibility, once he reaches the age when his body is producing viable sperm, to prevent conception. If the girl has taken no precautions against pregnancy, or if she might be a carrier of a sexually transmitted disease, he should wear a condom. The man should demonstrate how this is put on. Perhaps they should have sex together, in one form or another, with the boy so equipped.

Most important of all—and this cannot be overstressed—is that the man's sexual contacts with the boy must proceed with love and tenderness, qualities which cannot simply be claimed but must be shown.

341 Robert, a 15-year-old Dutch boy present at a football match, struck up a conversation with a 40-year-old spectator. He liked the man and agreed to go to the man's home after the game was over. He intuitively felt that there was something special about the man's attention to him, and he was worldly enough to realise this had to do with sex.

Now it happened that for the past two years Robert had been having sexual contacts with girls, but his idea of sex was to get a girl on her back, lay down on her, put his cock inside, shove it back and forth until he came—and that was all! Maybe, he thought, this man wanted to do the same thing to him—use his body to get off on. Well, he was curious; there was nothing wrong with doing it one time, just to see what it would be like.

They did have sex that afternoon, but what happened when they united their naked bodies came as quite a revelation to Robert. The tenderness, the attention the man paid to his feelings and well-being, the reverence he showed as he fondled the boy's genitals, the refined manner in which he worked the boy's feelings up toward climax—all of this was like the discovery of a new world. Six months later Robert spoke about this on a radio programme about paedophilia. He said, "My feelings are completely heterosexual, and after one or two years of this friendship I'll have grown too old for it and I will certainly start doing this again with girls. But I'll approach them in a very different way than I did before. Then I was just after my own pleasure; I got it roughly and brutally. My friend has taught me how much finer sex can be when you do it with love and consideration."

The essential theme of sex education is stressed here. But sex education is doomed if it is dispensed by people burdened with sexual taboos which make lust indecent, bestial, beneath human dignity. A man can only ennoble a boy's sexual life if he is glad the boy *has* a sexual life.

How to Talk About Sex

But although deeds are important, so is speech. In sex therapy, in popular magazines, one can witness time and again the misery of people who cannot explain to their partners what they really want in bed. The sexual pathology of our culture makes it impossible for many people to talk with their partners about their sexual tastes with the openness they would about their tastes in food. A

man who has no hesitation saying he likes eggs boiled better than fried might be far too shy to tell his lover to hold his penis more firmly and rub it faster.

It is very difficult to discuss any subject without knowing the vocabulary. In sex, most people don't know the words, so they remain silent. Males seem to have learned better than females how to talk about their sexual organs—perhaps because their genitals are more prominent and their functioning more visible. Nevertheless, in the Gonado research male subjects were asked whether, when engaged in intercourse, they told their female partners what they could do to please them most. Only 37.1% answered positively without any reservation: they talked about it before, during and after sexual intimacy. Another 15.8% were only able to do so if the relationship was a lasting one and the two had become very intimate. And so together not more than 53%. All the others kept silent: they did what the woman liked (25.3%), or what they liked best themselves (19.6), while 3% said they were too inhibited to discuss sex at all (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 157-158). Masters & Johnson (1980, 221, 224, 227) explained the higher level of personal interaction they observed during homosexual intercourse by the fact that there was much more verbal communication between the partners.

We are talking about experienced adult males. With boys the situation is much worse. In the NISSO investigation, only 6.2% of the 15- to 17-year-olds (and 21% of the 18- to 21-year-olds) said they discussed their feelings with their girl-friends during petting and intercourse; 25.1% (and 35.9%) did this under exceptional circumstances (1973, 29).

Turning around Goethe's famous dictum in *Faust*, we could say that, where notions fail, the right word does *not* present itself. Sensations for which one has no name tend to make people uncertain, give birth to anxiety. ''In the years of maturation, the obscurity of the meaning of sex, and the impossibility of giving a name to sexual emotions, interfere with the evolution of knowledge and the understanding of sexual experiences, the anxiety-free acceptance and enjoyment of sexual feelings, the sexual approach to partners and the communication with them about it.'' It is just because this communication is defective that ''no sexual capacities can be developed; the partners don't know how to arouse pleasure in themselves and in others.'' (Frenken 1976, 23, 78)

Not knowing how to put their experiences into words makes children more vulnerable to sexual criminality. After being truly molested, threatened or raped, they are frequently unable to tell their parents exactly what happened, simply because they don't know the relevant words (Fisch 1971, 156; Geiser 1979, 49; Hearings 1977, 412; Howell 1981, 87; Wegner 1953, 66).

We need words! Our forebears who shaped our languages were sexually less inhibited. In the age of Erasmus, a woman could still address an adolescent not just with ''my boy'' but with ''my cock'' without being indecent (van Ussel

1968, 54), and the great humanist himself used the common terms in a paper on sexual pleasure dedicated to his six-year-old godchild (van Emden Boas 1976, 83). In those days people possessed, and used, clear, unambiguous words to describe the sexual organs and their functions. In addition, language displayed a playful pleasure in sexual metaphor and simile. Language problems only arose later, during a period hostile to sex, when sex became dirty and bestial; then the plain expressions were eclipsed and have ever since been called ''vulgar''.

People took refuge in Latin, the language of the learned. It now became more ''decent'' to speak about the ''penis'', the ''vagina'', ''copulation'' and ''coitus''. This, of course, has nothing whatever to do with decency. No one would expect a well brought up child to say ''oculus'' instead of ''eye'' (Kentler 1970, 197). During the prudish Victorian Age the ''better people'' manufactured an endless supply of new ''decent'' expressions (Langfeldt 1981, 108).

Latin sexual euphemism is just another symptom of sexophobia and an attempt to indoctrinate children against sex. It separates personal emotions and experiences from a subject which is seemingly devoid of value (Baurmann 1983, 47). If teachers vigilantly insist that children always say ''penis'' or ''member'', never ''cock'' or ''prick'', always ''vulva'', never ''cunt'', it suggests to the children that there is a very unchildish difference between proper and dirty sexuality, and this is definitely harmful. The language taught at school, moreover, may be far removed from the language quite a number of parents use at home, and this would increase the children's feelings of linguistic insecurity.'' (Albrecht-Désirat 1978, 65). The anger of his parents and teachers when he uses a ''dirty'' word shows the child that sex itself it dirty (Gundersen 1981, 49).

Latin, moreover, is in our day an elitist language, and its use in sexuality tends to limit discussion to educated adults, barring children and ''the people''. Unfortunately this miserable practice is now so universal in our culture that no scientist or publisher of serious treatises on the subject can permit himself to use the better, simpler words which everyone would understand (Borneman 1978, 491; Nichols 1976, 88; O'Carroll 1980, 11). ''The ancient and simple words, which in England a great poet like Chaucer could still use rightly and naturally (...) are unquestionably the best, and, in their origin, the most dignified and expressive words.'' (Ellis 1913, VI-51). Clemens of Alexandria, a Doctor of the Church (150-216), wisely noted that ''We should not be ashamed to name what God has not been ashamed to create.'' (Burton 1963, 51). Gradually a more liberal practice is creeping into our daily papers, radio and television, and in court many judges are aware of the advantages of addressing the accused and witnesses in their own language. But in schools teachers generally ignore ''that it is the language of the gutter that the pupils understand. (...) Educators don't seem to appreciate that this language is much more subtle than the

euphemistic one, especially in sex, just because its intention is erotic. Writers realise this and use it in their literature, so demonstrating an understanding teachers lack.'' (Mende & Dobrovich 1971, 40)

There are exceptions. One Rotterdam elementary school teacher asked his 11- and 12-year-old pupils in a sex education class whether they preferred the ''scientific'' or the ''vulgar'' terms. 70% of them voted for the expressions they used when talking to each other (Personal communication). Even more convincing were the findings of an investigation among 52 Copenhagen school boys (Kristensen 1971, 580):

''Do you think it normal for a teacher giving sexual instruction to use the Danish words?'' 41 answered Yes; 1 No, and 10 had no preference.

''Do you think it normal for a teacher to use Latin words?'' 2 answered Yes, 39 No, and 11 had no preference.

''Do you normally use Danish words yourself?'' 48 answered Yes, none answered No and 4 did not know.

''Do you normally use Latin words yourself?'' 3 answered Yes, 44 No, and 5 did not know.

Adults should take to heart the words of Montaigne (III, 5): ''What has the genital act done to man, an act so natural, necessary and just, that they dare not speak of it openly, and exclude serious and regular expressions? We bravely say KILL, UNROBE, BETRAY, and THAT only between the teeth. Does that mean that the less we say in words the more there is in our thoughts?'' (quoted by Sutor 1964, 186)

If we let the child use his own language he will, of course, ask his questions and discuss his problems much more easily.

The boy-lover is best advised to follow the course of the Rotterdam teacher: let his young friend make the decision about the terminology they will use. Thus he can navigate between the Scylla of shocking the boy unused to the vulgar and the Charibdis of sounding pedantic to the boy unfamiliar with the scientific. What is most important is to make the boy relaxed talking about his genitals, his erections, his ejaculations and sperm, if any, his orgasms, his lustful sensations and desires and fantasies, free of shame and inhibition. Later in life he will profit greatly from this in his intimacy with a girl, or a boy, and it is also of considerable pedagogical value. But the boy-lover can only do this effectively if he has solved his own sexual problems. Only then can he communicate his sexual knowledge without causing damage. ''Few people are capable of discussing the facts of intimacy without embarrassment. Embarrassment leads to a flight into foreign terminology which, in turn, creates an atmosphere of oppression, more frustrating than biased sexual education.'' (Ostermeyer 1978, 125)

Monique Möller was impressed with the openness of sexual discussion between men and boys who had formed relationships with one another (1983, 59). In my own observation of long-lasting man-boy couples, I have noted how far, thanks to good guidance, the boys had progressed in the frank discussion of sex. When I questioned them they didn't hesitate to give me, talking quite seriously, all the particulars about what they longed for, and what specifically they did together. These matters they found very interesting, but to be talked about with inner composure. The adult who has been brought up in sexual repression can only envy such a youth for his freedom.

"What is sexuality? Boys in grade school know more about it than their teachers—they just don't know the foreign words." (Nenning, quoted by Hohmann 1980, 32-33)

Freedom from Shame

Shamelessness is inconsiderate provocation with the intent to shock. Quite different, and greatly to be desired, is the serenity and self-assurance that comes with freedom from shame. In his *Laws*, Plato, with his aversion to physical pleasure (later copied by the Christians), approves of man's shame about his sexual life; man conceals it "in order that its inevitable reduction will then diminish the power of sexual desire over us." (Dover 1978, 167) In more recent years Western culture added shame about nakedness—something quite new, since it was unknown in the Classical world and during the Middle Ages. Ultimately shame was even extended to sexual conversations.

It is no accident that most sex education books suggest that children and adolescents *not* discuss sex with their age-mates. Education to shame, common in most Western lands, here finds its ultimate crowning glory: learning that they must feel shame in talking to others, the growing boy is not only cut off from sexual activity, but also from sexual communication, on the most basic verbal level, with his peers. Boys growing up must remain sexually isolated to keep them subject to adult authority and prevent them from taking their sexual evolution into their own hands in the society of their age-mates." (Kentler 1970, 93-94, 138)

During the Middle Ages, and even for some centuries thereafter, nakedness "was a condition in no way associated with embarrassment or even shame. People, in general, not only slept naked in the common living room/bedroom area, where servants slept next to the family as well, but went naked in the bath-houses and similar establishments, men, women and children alike." (Kunert 1978, 38) Until the 19th Century, people went to bed clad only in a bonnet. Women commonly walked on the street on their way to the bath-house with the upper part of their bodies bare; men often went there completely naked

(Dasberg 1975, 35). "In the Twelfth Century the Abbot of Harvengt in Flanders complained that in the summer people went about the streets of the town, on their ordinary business, in a state of entire nakedness, without even a loincloth," (Cleugh 1963, 302) and in the same region peasants worked naked in the fields. "By 1315 processions of naked men, but not women, had grown quite common in Paris." (Cleugh 1963, 52) Naked foot races for both sexes formed part of the festival in Lucca (Italy) in 1325 (Cleugh 1963, 42). When a sovereign made his solemn entry into a city, it was not unusual that he be welcomed at the gate by a show of naked girls and adolescent boys. Paris and Vienna did this time and again during the 15th Century, Antwerp as late as 1520 with the entrance of Charles V (Borneman 1978, 1131; Cleugh 1963 42-43; Bullough 1976, 406). At the same time, during Carnival in the French city of Sens, processions carried through the streets "naked men who did not cover their genitals, making obscene gestures with their bodies", causing much hilarity (Foral 1981, 113). There was no conflict then between Christianity and nudity. Even in 1589 there were pious processions of over one thousand naked men, women and boys in Paris (Armand 1931, 259-260). In ecclesiastical mystery plays Adam and Eve always appeared naked on the stage; this tradition persisted in rural England as late as 1750 (Cleugh 1963, 49). In passion plays Jesus was crucified naked, just as in Roman times. There were even stories of a young man playing Christ spotting among the spectators his girl-friend and getting such a conspicuous erection that she had to withdraw (Fuchs 1909, I-480, Erg. 187-188).

It took, then, a long time before Christendom acquired the same aversion to nudity as Islam. In 1555 the Pope ordered Michelangelo's famous Sistine Chapel paintings destroyed because figures in them were naked. Only a storm of protest saved this immortal art, but one of Michelangelo's pupils had to paint breeches on the heavenly hosts (Bullough 1976, 442). Soon after, the Church started a crusade against all bathing (Borneman 1978, 637); it was better to be dirty than damned. As the Church's influence waned, nudity reappeared: in 1793 boys and girls between 7 and 15 years of age were playing naked in the parks of Paris (Armand 1931, 346).

Islamic aversion to nudity appears not in the Koran but in the Doctors (Bousquet 1953, 71; Smith 1981, 80), but despite their advice, boys and men traditionally went naked together in the hammams, as Abu Nuwas celebrated (Wagner 1965, 180):

In the bath you can see what else is covered by pants.
Yes, take a look—and don't turn away!

Christian teachers are traditionally against nude bathing: in some Roman Catholic boarding schools the children had to wear shirts even when they were

alone in the bathroom to prevent them from making unchaste glances at their own bodies. Of course it was a scandal if school children were allowed to see *each other* unclothed. We mentioned already the prelate from Munich who wrote in 1965 that ''the spirit of love'' was violated much less by the murderous battles in Vietnam than by the action of German schoolteachers making their pupils shower naked in each other's presence. It is well to recall that Hitler, too, was opposed to nude bathing (Langfeldt 1981, 107).

Once again we see the paradox: what people want to avoid they unwittingly foster. ''The determination to conceal and deny the genitals usually implies preoccupation, even obsession with them.'' (Walters 1979, 85) In a repressive culture, children are much more curious about one another's covered parts (Langfeldt 1981, 107).

The tragedy is that those who are so bashful about nudity have probably never learned to love their own bodies, thus themselves. Loving oneself is not only a precondition for loving one's neighbour, and a yardstick for it, but also for acceptance of sexuality. Most people who abhor their bodies are filled with aggression against sex (van der Steen 1980, 443; Plack 1967, 232).

In ancient Sparta, in accordance with customs attributed to Lykourgos, naked boys and girls participated in processions on festive occasions, and in the presence of adolescent spectators. Thus ''nudity became an innocent habit and led to young people competing with one another in acquiring a good physical build.'' (Plutarch: Lycurgus cap. 14)

Ignaz Kerscher, David Kubitzek and Christa Schütz, social pedagogues, advised (1978, 178-180): ''Children and adolescents should be allowed to move about dressed or undressed without being taught untenable ideas about an inborn sense of shame. The aim should be for them to accept their own bodies, their own corporal beings, in their own way, and to enjoy them. We should strive for a familiarity with the human body, its functions and its reactions. An unconcerned contemplation of the body and its sensitivity with respect to lust, including stimulation of the genitals to obtain a conscious capacity for orgasm, will make sexual experiences possible.'' These authors also advocate watching the body's excretory functions with an attitude devoid of pathological, irrational reactions of disgust and compulsive cleanliness.

''The usual education to shame not only forces sexuality underground, it also erects a communication barrier between adults and children. An education with a positive attitude toward sexuality, on the other hand, makes communication regarding sexual events and experiences possible. Since the child need not be frightened or ashamed, his sexual evolution remains pedagogically accessible and, to assimilate these experiences, he can make use of adult assistance whenever he wishes.'' (Kentler 1970, 138)

V. SEXUAL REPRESSIOIN AND SEXUAL LIBERATION

An enquiry in 1970 among 599 Bremen school children largely confirmed this thesis. Half of both the boys and the girls wanted to cultivate nudism; 57% were in favour of boys and girls showering together. Reasons they gave included, ''Because then boys get to know about girls' sex organs, and vice versa;'' ''because in doing that you get rid of inhibitions toward the opposite sex''; ''because you learn to move around relaxed with the opposite sex''; ''because afterwards you feel less shame and more understanding''; ''because then you can discuss such things better, too''; ''because during puberty it could give you more confidence when you see how the bodies of the others of your sex are changing.'' (Plehn 1970, 326-327)

The practice of nudism is its best propaganda. In 1968, before the establishment of nudist beaches, only 17% of the Dutch population thought it acceptable. Thirteen years later, after the introduction of such beaches, the percentage had risen to 59% (Tielman 1982, 227).

In a boy's up-bringing, nudity has two great advantages: it tends to lessen the sort of sexual curiosity that might become obsessional; and it will help quiet his sexual inhibitions (Winkel 1972, 35). He will thus be more sexually liberated and, since parents with positive feelings about nudity tend to discuss sex more openly and positively, too, he will not be tormented so much by anxiety and guilt (Marinkelle 1976, 50). If a boy is traumatised by seeing a naked body, this only shows that he has had some negative experiences, and he should be helped to get over them; if this isn't done, it may sooner or later seriously hamper his sexual evolution (Gagnon 1965, 228).

The covering of genitals has many important ramifications. ''In societies where there is unlimited nudity, no one is keenly interested in looking at the freely available anatomy. On the other hand, in a society such as ours in which certain body parts are proscribed, sexual curiosity is aroused about just those parts.'' (Walters 1978, 11, quoting Stoller). A boy growing up in a Papuan tribe where women wear grass skirts was told during the course of puberty rites about legendary women, somewhat like the Amazons, who went about naked. ''When I first heard the big man tell me this story, I was only an initiate, and my penis it grew very, very hard.'' (Herdt 1981, 353) There are cultures where genital exposure is considered so essential that even on ceremonial occasions when clothing is obligatory, artificial sex organs are attached to the dress (Scott 1970, 225).

The custom of nudity should in no way be identified with barbarism. In India, for example, it is synonymous with liberty, virtue, truth and sanctity, and naked holy men commonly walk the streets. The ancient Greeks imputed magic and holy power to nakedness: to be better united with nature, the farmer should be naked when he sowed his fields, and reaped them at harvest time (Daniélou 1979, 69-70). ''In life as in art, nudity is the sign of Greek civilisation.'' The

Greeks were "proud of the fact that they exercised and competed naked. (...) "Temple sculpture often pairs a struggle between Lapiths and centaurs with a battle of Greeks and Amazons. In each case, the heroically naked Greeks triumph over un-natural, un-Greek barbarians." Curiously enough "the Greeks may have been totally unembarrassed by the naked male body, but they could be very prudish and evasive about the female." (Walters 1978, 40-43) Nudity was a symbol of superiority.

The Greeks perfectly illustrate the twin advantages of nudity. There was on the one hand no obsessive curiosity about the male genitalia, openly to be seen on many occasions, and on the other hand no sexual inhibition. "Actually the Greek lust for nudity was a completely sexual lust, in the heterosexuals and homosexuals of both genders." (Borneman 1978, 995) During their festivals, acrobats performed their tricks naked. At a symposium described by Xenophon where Socrates was present a naked boy danced, and the philosopher observed how every part of the boy's body participated in his movements, and so he appeared even more beautiful than he was at rest. Vase paintings show such dancing boys with erections, proving the strong erotic element of the activity (Foral 1981, 48, 50). Things deteriorated with the Romans, "a coarser-grained people than the Greeks and in our narrow modern sense more 'moral'. (...) Nudity to them was merely a licentious indulgence, to be treated with contempt even when it was enjoyed." The crowd claimed as its right that actors should play naked on the stage, but the Romans, however eager they were to see them thus, "felt nothing but disdain for the performers." (Ellis 1913, VI - 96)

The Romans were wrong, the Greek right. Many a boy-lover has seen the striking change that can come over a boy when he strips off his clothes. Take, for example, a coarse, impertinent, foul-mouth street boy: the moment he casts aside his last piece of clothing he is another being: calm, dignified. He has suddenly become tender and affectionate. But once his clothes are back on, all this is gone, his feeling of vulnerability has disappeared.

And so it is wise to bring up a boy to be shame-free of nakedness—or, better said, to educate him back into it. Among 226 Dutch 15- to 17-year-old boys, 35% thought it "normal" to be seen naked after swimming, etc.; another 35%, however, did not like this, and 30% were uncertain. Among the 18- to 21-year-olds timidity was less: 49% thought it normal, 30% disagreeable (de Boer 1978, E - 2 - 7).

Nudity poses more of a problem for boys than for girls, since their genitals are more conspicuous and have their own mute, but even more conspicuous way of expressing themselves: the erection (Langfeldt 1981, 108). At nudist beaches and on nude days at swimming pools, boys during the pubertal years of rapid genital growth, when their penises are suddenly much more petulant tend to be under-represented (Hart de Ruyter 1976, 192, 203), afraid as they are

of embarrassing and uncontrollable erections. Being a slow developer may also be a factor here:

342 David grew up in a nudist family. When he was 12, he ''became disenchanted and disinterested with nudism. (...) He went through a time when it was embarrassing for him to be nude in front of others. The most dominant factor he says in that reluctance was physical changes he was going through at the time. He matured late and was small in stature. It was more the lack of physical maturation than actually being nude: he was ashamed of his size and his total absence of pubic hair since the other boys his age were much further developed than he.'' (Smith 1981, 51)

Smith cites another example (1981, 32) and wisely recommends that a child not be forced to go about naked. ''Most kids will want to do what their parents do anyway, but force them into it and there will be a problem.'' (1981, 30). David's problem for the moment is a difficult one to solve, but if his concern is only over getting an erection, then it should be explained to him that this is only a very natural occurrence over which he should feel no shame. And, especially in pre-puberty, it need not always have an erotic significance. But even if it does, and this is more and more the case in and after puberty (Hart de Ruyter 1976, 218), it only ''expresses in an unmistakable way an enormous and at the same time helpless tenderness'', the ''desire for unification. The erection shows one's preparedness to integrate oneself into the other.'' (Linschoten 1953, 104, 116) This desire to show tenderness, to receive tenderness, is a positive, beautiful thing, and certainly one shouldn't be ashamed of it.

But in the NISSO investigation, only one boy in three said he felt no need to conceal his erections when they occurred. ''Another third felt they had to hide them.'' (de Boer 1978, 54)

Peyrefitte made a profound study of Alexander and his times preparatory to writing his massive trilogy of historical novels about the great Macedonian conqueror. In one of them (1977, 371) he depicts Aristotle musing that it was a symptom of moral decadence when the naked boys dancing at the festival of Diana used shields to cover their genitals. In former time, he said, they didn't do that at all; then they felt no shame because they were innocent. Rousseau had a somewhat similar view: ''Feelings of shame arise at the same time as the knowledge of evil. (...) He who blushes is already guilty. True innocence knows no shame.'' (Quoted by Aron & Kempf 1978, 236)

When this lack of shame is lost, however, it can sometimes be regained.

343 In the ''Ecole en Bateau'' its pedagogical value was demonstrated. ''This time it was Pierre-Michel who took the initiative. One morning we found him running around the decks with a paper fig leaf attached to his penis, for a joke. The younger boys and the adults were openly amused and immediately got rid of their own clothes. But the

bigger boys hesitated. It was curious to see the make-up of two groups: the naked and the dressed. And it was a pity, because this could so easily lead to divisiveness, as other characteristics began to separate the two groups. It was the dressed who smoked, who had their ears up against their transistor sets, who clung to the habits of the milieu from which they came—those who tended to insulate themselves from the new world in which they were invited to develop themselves. They distrusted the adults who accompanied them, talked conspiratorialy behind their backs. They only worked when the adults were present; as soon as the grown-ups went away they loafed around and tried to dominate the younger boys—a common pattern in grammar schools. They were deeply ingrained in this and quite unable to free themselves of it.'' But sometimes some boy does, and then the link with nudity becomes apparent. Michel was a clumsy, pimpled boy, at first very aggressive to the others. Gradually, however, he began to distance himself from his background. ''It was in Sardinia that he undressed for the first time. This was promising, even if it wasn't immediately followed by any radical changes. (...) By the time we reached Southern Tunisia, after some months aboard ship, his pimples were gone and he was considerably less clumsy. Then the sun came to his aid. Michel now undressed regularly, and even ventured to go about with an erection—that is, simply, with an organ of sex. He discovered he had one and was no longer ashamed of it.'' (Kameneff 1979, 41, 100)

''Children and adolescents should accept sexuality as an important field of individual and social experience and expression. They should recognise the responsibility demanded by the social character of sexuality, accept their own responsibility and act accordingly.'' (Kerscher, Kubitzek & Schütz 1978, 181) But we will never succeed in bringing up a youngster to respect sexuality and the sexual organs if they are concealed as something dirty, shameful, indecent and forbidden.

The Cult of the Phallus

It is interesting to compare our attitude toward the male member today with that of many other cultures where it is venerated as symbol of procreation and fertility. As we have seen, with boys and young men naked at sport and play, the Greeks looked openly at their genitals. In their language there were special words for a spontaneous erection, a very strong erection (such as with the strength of ''three rams!''), for an erection brought on by rubbing, for the baring of the glans when the foreskin is withdrawn, for a large penis, for a beautiful penis, and many more (Borneman 1978, 507-508). Their certainty that the male member would attract the attention of everyone around led to its use, or at least of its image, in warding off ''the evil eye''. The Romans took over this superstition (Borneman 1978, 37). Children wore bronze phalluses on necklaces around their necks to protect them from evil spirits. A baker's shop in Pompeii had a phallus as signboard. There is also in Pompeii a painting in the entrance of a home of a naked man with an enormous phallus, presumably to ward off

evil. Elsewhere the phallus served as a signpost pointing to the bath-house. The male member was not shameful, as Christian writers soon would make it, but an object to inspire feelings of respect, awe and even pious adoration (Bullough 1976, 100).

Gigantic stone phalluses rising out of gigantic stone testicles decorated the altar of Dionysos on the island of Delos (van der Heyden 1958, 67). The phallus played its part in religious ritual. Dionysos (Bacchus) was the creator of all things, the father of other gods. ''In many cases it would appear that instead of a figure of a male with a huge phallus, a living man substituted himself for the god. Such men were stark naked and were usually markedly lascivious. They were highly honoured by the people.'' (Scott 1970, 155) The Roman emperor Commodus nominated a ''donkey-man'' (so called for his large genitals) to be the Priest of Hercules (Borneman 1978, 618).

344 Peyrefitte, having studied the period, describes in one of his novels a festival in which boys carry sticks with enormous phalluses attached. They sing, ''May the god give, so mine can grow like this!'' A beautiful naked adolescent stands on a cart, his penis proudly erect. On both sides of him small boys are tickling his penis with twigs in order to keep it excited. Later, all boys undress and dance on inflated wine-skins. The spectators laugh when the boys fall down, assuming obscene positions. Finally, donkeys and stallions are tickled to erection and female asses and mares in heat are brought in. The audience watches their mating, becoming highly aroused (1977, 340-341).

For, in addition to its ability to inspire awe, the male member was also seen as capable of provoking hilarity, In the Greek comedies the actors were often equipped with large leather phalluses with red heads—''to amuse the young ones,'' as Peyrefitte has Aristophanes observe (1977, 371).

The Greeks venerated a special god of the erected phallus, Priapus, whose sanctuary was in Lampsakos. In one of Peyrefitte's novels, Priapus is praised by his cult members as ''the straight one'', ''he with the nice balls'', ''producer of life'', ''vagina-filler'', ''the spurting one'' (1981, 376). Peyrefitte paints a nice picture of a cult ritual taking place in a Macedonian cave. Four naked adolescents, functioning as priests, excite each other, in pairs, with hand and mouth, until they all are erect. With the faithful looking on, two of the priests come up behind the other two, insert their penises, grasp and rub the penises of the boys in front of them, until all four, shouting triumphantly ''Io, Io, Priapus! Priapus!'' they emit their sperm (1977, 562-563).

Nearly all peoples had their phallic cult. With the Egyptians it was the god Mende, or Min, whose member was always shown erect. The Germans had their Frey, or Freyr: ''He was usually portrayed with an exaggerated phallus and associated with stallions.'' (Bullough 1976, 350, Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1978, 66; Morris 1976, 88). We can still observe the veneration of the ''lingam'' in Hindu

and Buddhist temples: a stone phallus, often united with the ''yoni'', the female principle. During ceremonies, the priest pours milk over the glans. In Bangkok, in one of the Buddhist temples, I saw a very large phallus which worshippers venerated by sticking onto it pieces of gold leaf.

Siva is the Indian god of the erection. Peyrefitte (1981, 269) tells the story of a monk who knocked at Siva's door while he was making love to his wife. The god opened the door, and when the monk saw the god's condition he exclaimed, ''May it always stand so straight in your worshippers!''

Even Christendom had its saints and heroes of the erected penis. St. Photinus was appealed to, among others, by sterile women. It was only gradually that he disappeared from the church calendar (Dulaure 1924, 167-176). In Scotland in 1282 a vicar was reprimanded for leading a dance ''round an idol provided with a huge phallus, which had been set up in the churchyard.'' (Cleugh 1963, 109). In the Renaissance many painters accentuated the genitals in their depictions of Christ, as evidence of his humanity, and the Dutch artist Maerten van Heemskerk even painted, around 1530, a Christ with a very visible erection (Rykens 1984, 16).

Armour in the age of chivalry, and clothing in the 17th Century, accentuated the male genitals. The cod piece, a large recess in front of the trousers, often of a different material in vividly contrasting colours, mimicked a constant and spectacular erection (Bullough 1976, 439; Smith 1981, 75; Walters 1979, 165). Dress of the tribal men of Papua New Guinea today includes conspicuous tubes into which their penises are inserted, supported at the angle of erection.

Paralleling this cult of erection is the veneration of male potency as a prodigious gift of nature. The Greek sculptors turned out numberless plates and vases depicting satyrs with long, imposing phalluses (Walters 1979, 57). Plato saw the male genitals as independent beings, eager for mating and trying to subdue everything to their ferocious desire (Koch-Harnack 1983, 187). Although Christian saints may be free from such temptations, or terrified of them, in the Muslim world Mohammed's extraordinary capacities in the sexual field is considered proof of his closeness to Allah. A man who, like the Caliph Harun-al-Raschid, dies during intercourse, is a hero of love. The wet dream, to the Christians a ''pollution'', among the Arabs is ''not held shameful but commendable'' (Bullough 1976, 207, 220). A man may actually be celebrated for his enormous potency as ''abu zeggzegg'' (father of thrusts). Hindus venerate the sexual athlete as ''Pounder'' (Simons 1977, 88-89).

Shame

After this excursion to other cultures, where I have tried to show that the prudishness of ours is the exception rather than the rule, we can conclude that

openness toward sexuality is a rather general social trait wherever irrational taboos do not darken its existence. There is, however, another rather general social trait, and that is to conceal sexual activities from others, to cover the genitals. This, too, is rooted in human nature. We must understand this seeming paradox in order to judge it.

Man is a great imitator; many of his acts are infectious. If he laughs, others laugh; if he weeps he makes us cry. When we see a man yawn, we start to yawn, too; if he drinks, we grow thirsty—and the spectacle of sexual intercourse excites our sexual appetite.

But we can experience being so stimulated in different ways. If we feel hostile toward sex, for the moment, or even generally, the excitement will be disagreeable, in extreme cases even loathsome. During times of rampant sexophobia, experts have tried to explain sexual shame by saying it is caused by fear of provoking disgust (Ellis 1913, I - 48-49). But where sex is positively regarded, the stimulation is felt to be agreeable, something to seek and enjoy.

Having discovered the capacity of his body for pleasure, man wants to repeat the experience. There is no such thing as an abstract sexual impulse which compels him to some sexual act. It is man himself who produces, within himself, the excitement, the tension, which he resolves through orgasm. When we are inclined to sex we excite ourselves (Everaerd 1980, 253). Observing the sexual activity of other persons, in image or in reality, helps him do this.

And so the sight of a beautiful naked body is agreeable precisely because it is sexually exciting. Our concept of ideal beauty is largely determined by what stimulates us sexually. Erotic texts, pictures, movies, strip-teases and live sex shows are enjoyable for this very reason.

Whatever is clearly associated with sex is stimulating. Even boys who are exclusively attracted to girls may find themselves aroused when they see one of their comrades bearing an erect penis—and this might very well be one of the causative factors in group masturbation. Often boys start this common activity by comparing penises to see whose is the largest (Langfeldt 1981, 110).

This pleasant titillation is not without its problems and risks. Where another person is used to create sexual arousal, it is a sort of appropriation, a conquest, leading to envy.

345 A 15-year-old boy told me he was insanely jealous of his best friend when he saw him emerging with a girl from the bushes of the city park and realised, from what he read in their faces, that they had just "done it."

Jealousy and sexual excitement, experienced at the same time in such a situation, can easily lead to aggression.

346 In his novel *Duke*, Hal Ellson tells the story of a 15-year-old New York boy. He is the undisputed leader of his gang. He decides to set up a brothel for young people in a deserted building. Willing girls are soon found, and with them they arrange everything: every room has a mattress on the floor, and a candle, and a bar with drinks, etc. There is an opening party. Duke sets the tone, and the example, by going off with the nicest girl, actually a young woman of 22, whom he had been coveting for months already. Sweating in excitement, melting at the touch of her soft skin, he enters her, is working hard to obtain his climax, when a young man breaks into the room, pulls Duke off the girl and takes his place. The man is strong as an ox, and Duke is powerless to do anything about it. He has to leave, deeply humiliated. A little later, when the girl comes out, he insults her, and asks her whom she likes best. ''He is 20, you are just a kid,'' she says (Ellson, 186-187).

It is not just the rival, the sexual aggressor, we must be wary of during the act. Masters & Johnson, of whose investigation we will have more to say later, observed hundreds of males engaged in sex, and the researchers confirmed the well-known fact that the tempestuous excitement at the approach of orgasm deeply impairs sensory acuity: touch, even pain, are barely perceived (1966, 135; Ellis 1914, V - 167; Frenken 1980, 92-93; Hirschfeld 1928, II - 241; Kinsey 1952, 613-617, 637; Reich 1942, 83; van der Velde 1926, 246-247). Many men and boys are deaf to shouting, shut their eyes spasmodically or acquire a wide-eyed, vacuous stare. Whatever the senses perceive doesn't penetrate into consciousness, which is entirely preoccupied with the sensations radiating from the penis. At that moment he might as well be unconscious. When the male, prostrate upon his partner, is playing ''the beast with two backs'', his back is to the enemy world. He is vulnerable, defenceless to attack.

It stands to reason, therefore, that man has always preferred to couple in a place where he might not be observed (Ellis 1913, I - 40). Fathers taught this to their sons; it became a custom; good manners turned into good morals; eventually it was perceived as immoral to behave otherwise. In this connection it is salutary to compare this with another special form of modesty observable among some primitive peoples: where food is scarce, it is indecent to eat in public (Ellis 1913, I - 48).

In civilised man, the sense of modesty can be based upon a very high conception of love and intimacy. Not so in those hostile to sex, in whom modesty is only shame over something they think dirty and bestial. But to many people with quite positive views on sex, love-making seems such a sublime and sacred act that it calls for concealment from the eyes of others, so as to keep it for the two partners themselves alone, in deepest intimacy. One has to respect this outlook, but one cannot respect any attempt to impose it upon others as the one and only true morality. For there are people, equally convinced that sex is sublime and sacred, who are happy to share the joys of their nudity and their ecstasy with a wider circle. It is the nature of joy that it

will make one person silent and calm, another cheerful and exuberant. Everyone must be allowed to enjoy it in his own way!

Shame and modesty are in no way spontaneous. It is reasonable to conceal defecation: its product is useless, stinking and defiling. But, just as we dine in company, drink in company, enjoy music and dance in company, pursue sports in company, why shouldn't we have our sexual pleasure in company too? (Borneman 1978, 658). Plato as an old man, now averse to lust, could find no other argument for concealing sex than the tradition and unwritten laws proscribing that "such things must be done only in secrecy." (Nomoi 841, A - B) The small child knows no shame; he only acquires modesty through instruction. His original impulses are quite the contrary (Borneman 1978, 1241). He enjoys showing his nudity and especially his genitals (Freud 1920, 64). There are some primitive peoples who are completely lacking in shame about nudity; in fact they despise neighbouring tribes who cover their genitals (Buytendijk 1973, 18). In certain regions of Africa, girls are taught when meeting a boy to raise their skirts in order to politely show their vulvas, to which the boy replies by showing his penis sheath (an article of clothing resembling a white condom) (Romé 1982, 39).

According to Foral (1981, 26), the Greeks had no word for "shameless". Salacity was a sign of virility, and when a marriage song describes the bridegroom as "randy", this is undoubtedly intended as praise (Borneman 1978, 70).

347 The black adolescent from Abidjan, already mentioned in 35 and 61, experienced shame as something new in his life. "When Muslim religion came to me I was already a big boy of sixteen. Until that time I knew no shame. But afterwards I felt shame and knew that you had to hide when you do it. You must not be seen." (A.D. 1979, 117)

Islam, nevertheless, accepts the sexual phenomena much more easily than does Christendom. If, for example, a young man has a spontaneous ejaculation at the sight of a beautiful woman, this is not considered shameful but commendable: his body has made a sacrifice in honour of beauty (Bullough 1976, 220).

The research of the well-known doctor couple Masters & Johnson, moreover, demonstrated that shame is not at all an inborn, ineradicable instinct. At first, when they started to study the body's responses to sexual stimulation, they drew their subjects from among male and female prostitutes, firmly convinced that they would have great difficulty finding anyone else who was willing. But as news of their research spread, it appeared possible to get subjects in all age groups and from all walks of life, people who often volunteered their co-operation for years on end: all together 382 females and 312 males 18 to 90 years of age. Masters & Johnson were able to observe in their laboratory about

10,000 male and female orgasms, the climaxes being elicited by intercourse, masturbation or artificial phallus, while a team of scientists looked on and recorded physical reactions. The subjects were first asked to give detailed information about their sexual histories and habits to a group of male and female investigators. After this their genitals were examined for anatomical particulars. Finally they were asked to perform sexually in a laboratory environment, at first without onlookers, then in the presence of the team, until they had become quite used to this. It appeared that inhibitions were quickly blotted out. After a short training period, the subjects functioned perfectly, undisturbed by the measuring and observation.

Where sex is thought of as a completely natural activity, a beautiful, delightful use of the human body, there seems to be little reason to hide its performance. Borneman (1978, 1098-1099) attributes the desire to do sex in secret to bad conscience: a person either wants to hide his activities because they are forbidden, or he himself considers them to be bad, dirty and immoral. At all times and in all cultures there were people who protested against such a concept.

Peyrefitte depicts the Cynics of ancient Greece recommending public intercourse, and shows boys "cruising" the parks of Athens looking for whores and, when they find them, not bothering to conceal themselves when they take their pleasure (1977, 179). The men often invited *hetairas* to their symposia, and in the aftermath often copulated with women and boys, women with women, all in the same room (Borneman 1978, 1119, 1394). Masters had sex in the presence of their slaves, and this, of course, could be very exciting to young servants. A Greek vase depicts a man having intercourse with a young woman, while his slave-boy, sitting nearby in a corner, is rubbing himself with fervour and uttering shouts to spur his master on (Brendel 1970, 24).

Likewise with the Etruscans, who dominated Italy before the Romans rose to power. At a feast, guests were served by naked boys. As soon as the last cup was poured, the boys lay down at the sides of the men, who openly satisfied on them their sexual lust, until nobody in the company was able to go on any more. Then stalwart young males were summoned, who now, in front of the men, gave a show, using the boys (Foral 1981, 40).

It seems that the Romans, like the Greeks, felt little shame over having sex in the presence of their slaves. There are several Pompeiian wall paintings of the naked master of the house coupling with a young woman while fully-dressed slave-boys either serve them refreshments or simply watch (Cleugh 1963, 204). In his *Anecdotes,* Procopius tells how this custom had fatal consequences for Antonia, wife of General Belisarius (494-565): she fell in love with a boy Belisarius had adopted, had sex several times with him in the presence of a pair of young slaves, who later testified against her (Procopius I, 112).

V. SEXUAL REPRESSIOIN AND SEXUAL LIBERATION

The Romans often linked sex with violence and cruelty. We saw in Chapter Four that women and boys were sometimes punished by rape, which was performed as a public spectacle. When the town of Tarentum conquered Carbina in Apulia, all the boys and girls were exposed naked in one of the temples, "and anyone who wished," says Athenaios, "leaping like wolves upon a herd into this wretched group, could feast his lust upon the beauty of the victims there gathered, with all the others looking on." (Licht 1925, I - 33) During the Empire, such events were part of the entertainment in the Coliseum. A multitude of whores executed lascivious naked dances, and then, at a blast of a trumpet, naked young men rushed into the arena and threw themselves upon them (Foral 1981, 58-59).

Originally Roman law required, for validation of marriage, that first intercourse be performed before witnesses (Borneman 1978, 223). The same practice survived in Tahiti until the 18th Century. Cook, in 1769, witnessed a boy announcing his marriage by taking his 11- or 12-year-old bride in coitus in the market place during its busiest hour. The public closed in on them and watched, the women advising the girl on how to perform correctly (Stoll 1908, 693; Sutor 1964, 418).

A similar custom is still observed by the Nyasongo in Kenya. Boys marry at 15, or even before, and their wives are of the same age. Both have had previous sexual encounters. Both like and desire sex, but they have their roles to play: the groom as a macho rapist, the bride as an unwilling virgin. It is important to their status that the performance take place in public. "On returning from the marriage ceremony, the bride usually refuses to go to her new husband's hut, and has to be forcibly placed on the bed by her husband. While all members of his clan watch from either inside the hut or through the door, he then proceeds to rape her, not once, but as many times as he can. Six complete acts of coitus are considered a minimum for the groom to achieve any sort of respect from his clansmen, while twelve is the maximum number of times one groom was reported to have performed this function. One must remember that during this ceremony, women and children are witness to a scene similar to an athletic contest where the groom is actually cheered on. (...) The children, particularly the boys, develop something akin to hero worship for the new groom and try to emulate his record." (Bronslau & Neil 1968, 104).

The novelist Peyrefitte depicts the Indians, during Alexander's campaigns there, having sex in the open air and making no effort to hide themselves (1981, 233). In our times this has been reported for places in Taiwan and the Island of Yap, not far from the Philippines (Henriquez, 307). Until recently there were tattoo celebrations in the Marquesas Islands of the Pacific where girls exhibited their genitals and every woman tried to copulate, publicly, with as many men as she could (Borneman 1978, 1120). Even where such spectacles don't take

place, sexual shame may be conspicuous by its absence. Shortly before World War Two, Rovsing saw a 16-year-old Balinesian girl and a 14- or 15-year-old boy at a temple festival sitting slightly apart from the others and fondling one another. Suddenly the boy pulled up his sarong, showing the girl his erect penis. She bent down and sucked on it until he had his orgasm. Then the couple became aware that the white man was watching them. They smiled at him, quite unembarrassed. Rovsing adds that there was no "alienated youth" problem with the Balinese, no loneliness, no shyness, no neurosis, no "puberty crisis" (1959, 142-144).

Elsewhere, sexual athletics may be a sport. In India men have been known to demonstrate their capacity by lifting great weights by means of cables attached to their penises (Daniélou 1983, 207). In Japan "sexual bouts of an acrobatic character between wrestlers and prostitutes took place before a mixed crowd." (Bowie 1970, 184)

The cultural history of Europe, too, is replete with examples of shame-free copulation. At some of the banquets of Charlemagne (742-814), guests and courtiers coupled with invited prostitutes while everyone else looked on (Foral 1981, 98). In the Middle Ages there were heretic sects advocating nudity and public sex (Armand 1931, 194). Even in the Church there were such practices: in some cities a popular festival was celebrated on the 6tnh of January in the cathedral. Worshippers, frequently naked, danced in the choir loft, and in 1444 a ruling of the Chapter of Sens in France requested "those who wish to copulate go outside the church before doing so." (Taylor 1953, 268). A very curious legal institution which persisted into the 17th Century was the public "congress". If a wife sued her husband for impotence, he was invited to prove the contrary by having intercourse in the presence of witnesses. Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, succeeded in doing so in 1607 in front of a group of noblemen and members of the clergy (Borneman 1978, 1120). But it must be recorded that most of the husbands failed miserably in producing so much as an erection under such trying circumstances (Abraham 1969, 64), and the marriage was annulled (X, Praeputii Incisio 1931, 181-186).

The Duke of Anjou (afterwards King Henry III of France, 1551-1589) recreated the roman circus spectaculars. He brought all the most famous Parisian whores to St. Cloud, set them running naked about the park, and then let two Swiss Guards, also naked, out to hunt them—as, of course, he and his courtiers looked on (von Römer 1903, 572).

In 19th Century London a certain Mrs. Hayes invited guests to her "Venus Feasts" celebrated by twelve beautiful nymphs and twelve athletic adolescent boys. Today's "live shows" in Amsterdam and Copenhagen are nothing new!

348 During the First World War the German army had its own brothels. More than once the youngest cornet present was ordered to perform in front of his senior officers and so prove his ability (Foral 1981, 360).

349 Sex without shame goes on everywhere, despite the best efforts of society. Josiah Flynt studied the tramps of many countries in the early part of the century. One night he was in a lower-class pub in a Scottish harbour town. ''A blind man came in led by an extremely pretty but effeminate-looking youth of about 17. (...) A remark was made by one man that he believed the youth was a lassie. The boy said, 'I will show you I am a laddie,' and pulled up his kilt, exposing his genitals and then his posterior. Boisterous laughter greeted this indecent exposure and suggestion. (...) The blind man then played his fiddle and the boy danced with frequent recurrences of the same indecencies. He was seized, kissed, and caressed by quite a number of men, some of whom endeavoured to masturbate him, which he resisted, but performed it for them. After the closing time came, I and about ten or twelve men all occupied the same room; the old man continued to play, and the youth, stark naked, continued to dance and suggested we others should do so, and an erotic scene took place. (...)'' (Ellis 1913, II 367)

The sexual exhibition has many functions, one of them, of course, being solicitation.

350 A schoolboy, having fallen in love with one of his teachers, volunteered to help her saw wood. It was a hot day; he took off his shirt—and let his fly stand open. When he saw her looking there he got an immediate erection. Suddenly ''his shameless stiff cock'' shot out of his trousers. To his regret, the woman ran away (Friday 1981, 170).

Another conscious or unconscious motive for young people to call attention to their genitals is protest against adult suppression of their sexual impulses, giving them a feeling of youth solidarity. This might be another important reason for the universal popularity of group masturbation. Doing something clearly contrary to adult beliefs, which is forbidden and delightful, creates and reinforces comradeship, while at the same time it sets the boy's mind at rest: if all his peers do it, then it cannot be unhealthy or very wrong. Abandoning yourself in orgasm in the presence of others is a potent expression of confidence (Naslednikov 1981, 213). And so a sense of brotherhood is established which, as an adult, one may look back on with considerable nostalgia. Nancy Friday concludes that there is nothing similar in female sex; this is a privilege of the male. And few males will completely forget this uncomplicated pleasure they had with their peers (Friday 1981, 34, 224, 293).

Such experiences may encourage adolescents to continue to be open. Some of my own subjects, serious young men of generally high principles and closely bonded to the girls they loved, told me how pleasant it was to undress and make love in the company of a bosom friend and his girl. There was no question

of partner exchange, but the pleasure, the lust, of each couple was heightened by watching the other enjoying the ecstasy of intercourse. It was, they felt, an expression of the most intimate friendship.

351 A homophile told Nancy Friday (1981, 285), ''In the period between my tenth and twentieth year I fucked many girls. Then I became more interested in boy-friends. We took for instance two girls with us to the drive-in and I fucked the girl on the back seat and he the girl on the front seat. But I was most interested in what he did and I tried to get a glimpse of it.''

Other adolescents go jointly to prostitutes. In Brigitte Reng's research among young prostitutes, 32% said they were regularly involved in orgies with several persons, some having twenty such sessions each month (Reng 1968, 40).

The orgy is the ultimate denial of shame. In the presence of others, in groups, one has intercourse or carries out other sexual acts, putting oneself on display, so to speak, and at the same time observing the activities of others. It is this ambience of camaraderie and trust (indispensable to the orgy) that makes it such an intense experience for the participants. When we realise how artificial sexual shame really is, how linked to unnatural conceptions of sex, the orgy can be seen to be an enviable expression of freedom. Through it, an individual can accustom himself to abandonment, overwhelmed with lust, naked and defence-less, in the sight of others.

Not infrequently, such observation heightens the lust of the observed (Abraham 1969, 141).

352 ''In puberty I liked to run naked through the house when I was alone. I was physically in advance to the other children in school. They used to tease me about the dimensions of my cock when I was in the lavatory with others. This went to my head and so I became an exhibitionist. This lasted five or six years. At college I got acne, making it practically impossible to date girls of my age. I therefore dated younger girls. Often we had to take a younger brother or sister with us. And often the younger brother looked on while his sister and I fucked on the back seat. This made me most randy.'' (Friday 1981, 161)

353 A boy prostitute told Hennig (1978, 335) about a client who liked to have anal intercourse with him on the bonnet of his car in the Bois de Boulogne, so as to be seen by everybody.

''To some (...) the exercise of sexual intercourse in the sunlight and the open air seems so important that they are inclined to elevate it to the rank of a religious exercise.'' A correspondent of Havelock Ellis pleaded for a springtime ritual ceremony with the coition of lovers. ''The intercourse of the sexes (...) is ineffably beautiful. (...) When the world is one Paradise, the consummation of the lovers, the youngest and the most beautiful, will take place in certain

sacred valleys in sight of thousands assembled to witness it. (...) In these sacred valleys the subtle perfume of the pansies will mingle with the divine fragrance of healthy naked young women and men in the spring coupling.'' (Ellis 1913, VI - 559)

These examples show us how relative feelings of shame really are. With most boys, shyness is not based upon reverence for the loftiness of sexuality—a notion both noble and praiseworthy—but upon an indoctrinated misconception that nudity and sex are indecent, obscene, dirty and disgusting. The madonna/whore complex may induce boys to be quite tender and affectionate with a bosom friend, abhorring the idea of having sex with him, while joining less intimate comrades in mutual masturbation (von Stockert 1956, 46). With such a boy, his older friend can do him a great favour by intimately helping him to abandon his shame. Borneman insists upon the social advantages of such freedom. An adolescent who regards his sexual experiences as sinful will make other people unhappy. If, on the other hand, he views them as invigorating, purifying and divine, his purity, strength and faith will purify his fellows, and give them strength, hope, assurance and courage (1978, 21).

Many boy-lovers, perhaps unintentionally, free their boys of physical shame by encouraging them to run about their homes naked, by taking photos of them in all sorts of nude poses. Such pictures, often with the boy's permission and in his presence, are frequently shown to other boy-lovers, whose enthusiastic appreciation of his image makes it easy for the boy to go naked in front of the visitors, too. Especially as he enters the pubertal threshold, a boy may show real joy in such ''exhibitionism''.

The smooth, naked body of itself invites affectionate caressing. Children love this; older boys often have to re-learn the pleasure of touching and being touched. A positive attitude towards such contact is essential for good sexual functioning. One should, then, foster and nourish this pleasure from childhood on.

354 (Continued from 319) Onno always went naked in the homes of Nick and his friends, moving about without one stitch of clothing in the midst of well-dressed gentlemen. One day, when he was asked to serve at a dinner party for eight, he felt an erection coming on, and his first reaction was one of great embarrassment, having no way to hide his condition. Suddenly the guests were staring at him in tense silence. But then one of them said, ''My, that's beautiful! We really like seeing you with it up!'', to which the whole company agreed. This encouraged Onno, and soon his spontaneous, or deliberately elicited erections increased the pleasure he took in parading his fine body in front of appreciative spectators. *His* condition was the natural one; theirs, in clothes, the unnatural. Nick encouraged this attitude in him, gradually liberating him of the last traces of shame and sexual taboo. Onno removed his pubic hair in order to make his genitals more conspicuous. As an old man looking back on this period of his life, Onno repeatedly expressed his everlasting gratitude to the man who freed him of shame: ''All men who saw me envied me my freedom. I have never lost this feeling

of happiness; it can still warm my heart. And, for the youth I was at that time, it made sex an uninhibited joy, with no guilt or shame! Perfect freedom!

355 Onno's appearance at the dinner party recalls a scene in Peyrefitte's Alexander trilogy. The Macedonians' finest booty at their great victory over Darius was the Persian king's favourite boy Bagoas. The novelist Mary Renault describes Bagoas as a eunuch (1972). Peyrefitte advances the somewhat less credible theory that Bagoas had only been deprived of fertility by cutting his funicles. In the Peyrefitte novel, Alexander keeps Bagoas to himself for a long time, then, at the end of his Indian campaign, he wishes to show him off to his soldiers. Bagoas has given dancing instructions to a selected group of "favourite boys" accompanying the army. Now he appears in public with them, all naked. "The soldiers had never seen him thus. Some were astonished that he had such a long member and such round testicles, nearly like those of Bacchus. They hadn't realised he was only mutilated inside. To their even greater surprise, he amused himself by getting an erection during his dance in front of the king. Being a eunuch meant only that he could give no seed. At this spectacle, the soldiers, equally admiring his buttocks which, since infancy, had been made more prominent by expert massage, couldn't restrain themselves from crying out, "How lucky Alexander is!" The king laughed, but pointed at the other boys with a gesture which meant that their lovers, too, had no reason to complain." (1981, 380)

Greek antiquity shows us that veneration of male beauty flourishes where naked boys and young men are frequently to be observed. In Megara, there were boys' beauty contests (Koch-Harnack 1983, 37). Charles Darwin, landing in Tahiti in 1835, discovered to his disappointment (he was heterophile!) that the naked women seemed less beautiful to him than the naked men. The women, he concluded, needed to adorn themselves with clothing and jewellery; men looked best in their natural state (Gide 1925, 97). Goethe also said that from a purely aesthetic point of view, man is far better, more highly perfected and beautiful than woman (Bloch 1909, 607). Here he echoes one of the characters in the Arabian Tales of a Thousand and One Nights: "Nor indeed is the superiority of the lad over the lass hidden to any of mankind. (...) So if any one enlarge in praise of a slave-girl and wish to enhance her value by the mention of her beauties, he likeneth her to a youth. (...) An youths, then, were not better and fairer than girls, why should these be likened to them?" (Burton 1885, V 156-157) Havelock Ellis, too (1914, IV 163-163) shared Goethe's opinion that the male form was the more aesthetically beautiful. He quotes Remy de Gourmont who "considers that the invisibility of the sexual organs is the decisive fact in rendering women more beautiful than men. (...) In the human male sex is the predominantly striking and visible fact (...) an obstacle for the eye, whether regarded as a rugosity on the surface or as breaking the middle of a line. (...) When we consider the male and the female at the moment of desire when they present the most intense and natural expression of life (...)

the man, as it were, all at once receding toward the primitive state of animality, seems to throw off all beauty and become reduced to the simple and naked condition of a genital organism.''

Many would disagree, appealing to the beauty of this ''primitive state of animality''. To Wulffen (1922, 535-54), the genitals definitely heightened male beauty: ''From a purely ornamental point of view, the male organ—member and double-pocketed bag placed precisely on the boundary where the unity of trunk passes on to the duality of leg-columns—forms a most beautiful intermezzo of shape, a small, fine tripple intercalary adornment. Because it is precisely here, the body does not appear to be split in two from this point downwards. The bifurcation is concealed so that the lines flow harmoniously from the abdomen to the leg columns. Trunk and thighs, which are heavy and massive, have a kind of spiritual centre in this sharply individualised, moving member. It is like a finger, a little third hand rhythmically related to the real hands right and left. The different shades of skin and hair have their own aesthetic importance. The member becomes even more spiritualised when, in stiffening, the glans penetrates the opening of the foreskin. The power of male defiance is most effectively and aesthetically symbolised by the swollen member and its blood-inflated tip.''

As a human male, and therefore a specimen of the most sexually arousable of all animals (Cleugh 1963, 296), a boy should learn to be proud of the aesthetic beauty of this part of his body—the only organ which never lies, as Cocteau (1982, 143) says—and to look upon it as his flower. In Chapter Three we have already put forward this view which, according to Eric Gill (quoted by Elwin 1959, 232), is the only decent, healthy way to think about the genital apparatus. It was pure prudery that made the noble French family de Beauvit (''fine cock'') adopt the new name de Beauharnais (Casanova, II - 116).

Many of the great Florentine painters and sculptors ''found the female nudity far less erotically arousing than the male.'' (Walters 1978, 95, 99) The external genitalia of the male may be one important reason. It was only in the 19th Century, with growing fear of sex, that ''the male goes out of focus, the female nude becomes the central symbol of art.'' (Walters 1978, 228,. 230).

Aesthetically it is a great loss to our culture that the nude beauty of the boy in bloom is covered up and hidden. The Nuba tribe in southern Sudan was, until corrupted by our European sense of shame, much more sensible: healthy young people of both sexes habitually went about naked; clothes were only for the sick and the old (Riefenstahl 1973 & 1976).

We can see that nudity is not necessarily a symptom of poverty or lack of civilisation: it is more a question of culture, of philosophy. Boys and men of the African Dinka tribe, where the penis attains great length, are usually naked. Wearing clothes is considered effeminate; they despise neighbouring peoples where the men dress. The bared penis is a deliberate demonstration of

superiority. While they talk, they play with it, make it dangle, to draw other people's attention to it (Sutor 1964, 314). In a Copenhagen swimming pool I once saw a 14-year-old boy passing most of his time in the shower room where he could run about naked and show off his unusually large penis—just as the Dinkas do.

In Chapter Three we saw how important penis size is to the pubertal boy. The boy-lover should be cognizant of this when he seeks to release his young partner from feelings of shame about nudity. "While the penis may not be seen by all boys or men as a bludgeon or weapon, it certainly is seen by most boys and men as a concrete manifestation of vibrancy and strength of one's masculinity. Hence males become concerned about the size of their penis and these concerns are a constant preoccupation from childhood to middle age. Inevitably, masculinity involves genital worries and obsessions about sex and (...) the resolution of these obsessions in boys or in men, either through sexual activity or sexual reassurance, is a way of reducing anxiety about their masculinity." (Wilson 1982, 54)

Some boy-lovers, visiting each other accompanied by their young friends, ask the boys to have sex with each other so they can enjoy watching them. This, of course, is only morally acceptable if both boys freely consent and do it with pleasure.

356 We have already mentioned Ulrich Stöwer's Antinous novel. In it Emperor Hadrian describes in a letter an evening of orgy passed in Taormina in the company of his beloved Antinous, a herculean gladiator named Marcus and his beautiful 16-year-old friend Kalos, and Thrasyll, a black slave-boy.

"Thrasyll fell on his knees, naked as he was, and, spreading his legs, leaned back. I devoured him with my eyes, all this smoothness, and so eager. (...) The cymbal was crashing and all I saw before me was that all-important part of Marcus' body. Thrasyll touched my head, trying to pull it forwards. This was too much! I fended him off with a blow of my fist. (...) Marcus defended me and threw himself upon Thrasyll. A splendid wrestling ensued; I never saw the like of it in a gladiator's school. Black against white, barbaric savagery against trained power, breast upon breast, thigh upon thigh, genitals upon genitals. They fell on the floor. Marcus's net tore. Hate coupled with desire. But a thousand times more multiform, more ferocious, harder and more rutting than between man and woman. There was panting from exertion and raising lust. Antinous stared wide-eyed at the spectacle. His face glowed. The rut of parthian stallions was driving them; they embraced, rubbing their bodies on each other, separated again, but returned to meet each other where their bodies were so deeply shadowed. Now Marcus and Thrasyll stood up. (...) They kissed each other. But they offered me the front of their bodies. They approached me enticingly. They took my hands and led them to the finest and noblest of the muscles of their bodies, the most sensitive and the most cruel, but, feeling the vibration of their flesh, I recoiled as if from a blow. I withdrew my hands. (...) Furious and disappointed, Thrasyll pulled the gladiator down again, in order to

satisfy himself at last. (...) Suddenly I saw the fair body of Antinous. He was naked. I didn't see his arms and hands, only his back, bending and jerking. Kalos had brought his head to his lap. They didn't notice me. They were most intensely occupied with each other. My innocent, tender, sensitive little darling was making of his member a wet-nurse for Kalos. The boy was clumsy. He squirmed under the hands of Antinous, who guided his head, turning him at the same time onto his back, since he wanted to examine with his hands the perfect body of the Campanian. He moved too and fro over the still-smooth thighs, fumbled a bit, arrived at the genitals, shrank back, continued his fore-play, returned to his member and brought it back to life. The wonderful spectacle of two boys making love deterred me for a moment, but finally my feeling of being betrayed gained the upper hand. And thus I was so cruel (and perhaps also so ungodly) as to separate the two adolescents in the midst of offering each other a lust I could never raise in either of them. I flung my arms around Antinous and tore him away from Kalos. Kalos jumped to his feet with a cry, ran away, but was held back by Thrasyll, who was still quite frantic with lust. (...) Thrasyll was still lying upon Kalos, his buttocks still jerking with the after-effects of his satisfied lust. Thrasyll is the only male to my knowledge who still experiences lust after his orgasm, like a woman.'' (Stöwer 1967, 197-199)

357 In Peyrefitte's novels, Alexander the Great also delighted in ''the wonderful spectacle of boys loving one another.'' Toward the end of his life, during a time of increasing debauchery, he closed every banquet with a general masturbation of the slave-boys who, naked, had been serving meat and drink. ''He had a fixed tariff for their reward, depending on the time it took them to come. The first to ejaculate got a gold coin, those who followed steadily smaller ones, the last only three obols—the three obols of the Athenians. If a boy couldn't pass the test, even if ministered to by mouth, artificial phallus or by whipping his buttocks, he was dismissed from Alexander's personal service and sent to work in the fields or stables.'' (Peyrefitte 1981, 496)

Nudism is a fine opportunity to help boys accept their bodies frankly, openly. They are encouraged and supported by the participation of other boys. Being together with naked boys, ''fooling around'', perhaps even sexually, in the company of adults who not only approve but obviously enjoy watching them, is liberating, helps free them from sexual shame. Wherever possible, the boy's first ejaculation, his first intercourse, should be announced in his circle of friends and celebrated—just as did the American Indians of old and the Indian Muria when a girl reached maturity (Hallbeck 1980, 50; Romé 1982, 87; Elwin 1959, 336). It will help boys to attain ''that splendid shamelessness which is the finest thing in perfect love.'' (Ellis 1913, VI - 548 quoting Pyke)

Among the subjects of my investigations there were four (now all married and with children), who told me that as young men they had been freed of their physical shame in this way by their older friends. All said they were immensely grateful. It made things much easier when, later, they started to have relations with their girlfriends, their betrothed, their wives.

Unconsciously, their adult friends had provided the same kind of therapy Masters and Johnson had found to be the most effective in marital sex problems: letting them rid themselves of shame through open, child-like sex-play (O'Carroll 1980, 98). Boys who are not prudish and are comfortable being naked tend at once, during sex play with girls, to focus their attention more on the girls' genitals than the breasts (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 48-49).

Sexual Abstinence and Self-Control

It is coming to be more and more widely recognised that sex information is an essential element of education. Omitting it is simple neglect. It is pretty well understood, too, that imparting this information should start early and be successively adapted as the child matures. But broach the subject of actual sexual exercise and practice and there will be, at best, general hesitation. Even penal law seems grounded on the conviction that the awakening of the sexual instinct, and certainly the commencement of sexual activity, in girls and boys is intrinsically harmful and fatal to their further development. This, of course, is quite mistaken. "What is really fatal is enforced abstinence during the years of strongest sexual ardour, or these rather mechanical sensual contacts which lack tenderness, which lack love..." (Matzneff 1977, 130)

Pedagogues shake their heads and admonish us: "It is good for a child to learn to deny himself something once in a while." (Kentler 1970, 141) As a generalisation this may be true, but it is quite wrong to apply it here. First of all, it is deceitful. What is meant is not that youth should deny itself sex *once in a while,* but that it should deny itself sex *all the time*. In Plato's *Laws* (ca. 347 BC) the Athenian spokesman points out that athletes, in order to win, ought to deny themselves this pleasure praised by the multitude as the highest bliss. Should we not expect our young people, he asks, to control their passions for the sake of victory over pleasure? Such reasoning not only reflects the ageing Plato's hostility to lust; it also creaks under an inner inconsistency: the athlete abstains only on important occasions, while youth is advised to be permanently celibate.

But there is another, even more fatal, inconsistency. To speak of sex as a kind of mechanism which can be switched on and off at will (Plack 1967, 158) is to dehumanise man, reduce him to an apparatus. It is as if sex were a kind of hobby or a piece of candy which agreeably tickles the other senses. Thus devalued, it becomes rather unimportant. But if it really is so unimportant, why make such an ado about it? Why this great mobilisation against it by educationists, moralists and jurists?

"One cannot deny that controlling desire is valuable in character formation, but we must point out that there are risks here for the harmonious growth of a

young personality. It is often forgotten that the demand that he permanently abstain from the satisfaction of a desire for love, without any compensatory return whatsoever, cannot be compared with learning to deny oneself some object or activity which is tempting. Experience shows that the demand for control all too often produces inner protest which soon may lead to mental ailment.'' (Sengers 1968, 70)

The desire for tenderness, being caressed, the joy of contact with another body is at root a desire for love. Sex is not just the satisfaction of a need; it has a higher importance as a means of collecting social experiences, discovering limits and opportunities, and perfecting socialisation (Hohmann 1980, 58). It is related to a youngster's growing into deeper relationships with another person, freeing himself from his loneliness. To advise an adolescent that he ought to abstain from this natural expression of love and such a wonderful means of socialization, in the same way that one might advise him not to smoke, is quite wrong, and is deeply resented by most young people. It amounts to pushing them in the direction of mental illness or creating in them a feeling of alienation which, especially among the more intelligent, can easily become an almost automatic response to everything.

Chastity, understood as total celibacy, is not a virtue. Like most non-Christian peoples, the Greeks had no word for it (Szasz 1982, 97). Sexual asceticism is an expression of a dangerous character defect: the individual suffers either from guilt feelings over real or imaginary sins committed in his youth (like incest), or he is repressing a potential explosion of socially scorned impulses (like fetichism, sadism, blood lust) (Stekel 1920 & 1923). ''All asceticism is a criticism of God's creation; we were given our sexual organs so we could use them. If we refuse to use them we pretend we are superior to Him.'' (Borneman 1978, 107) According to Abu Nuwas, on doomsday ''the girl who kept on refusing and the lover who restrained himself too long'' will not be forgiven by Allah (Wagner 1965, 121).

A better definition of chastity would be: behaving properly in matters of sex. A man being chaste with his boy would mean that the answer to whether or not he and a boy had sex had been decided on the basis of his estimate of the boy's well-being (Nichols 1976, 40). In a number of cases the answer might be no; this denial, however, will be easier to bear if it is not motivated by a senseless and frustrating taboo, rather by a positive value (Hart de Ruyter 1976, 371). The acceptable arguments for abstaining are then integrated in sexual life itself (van Ussel 1970, 78).

There is, first of all, the respect due to one's partner. If sex would disastrously confuse or bewilder the boy, burden him with intense guilt feelings or bring him into intolerable conflict with people close to him, the man should abstain.

358 Let us recall the cases described in examples 155 and 156. The man in 156 said he had very violent physical responses during orgasm: he gasped for breath, moaned loudly, cried out; his whole body jerked. It happened he was involved with a very young, quite immature boy, and in order not to frighten his young friend by letting him see him in the throes of orgasm, he always denied himself a climax in their love-making, even though he wanted very much to attain one (Personal communication).

359 Restraint may come about through deliberate faithfulness to the beloved partner. Max (continued from 340) liked to go about nude among the boy-lover acquaintances of his friend Dick. He let these men kiss and fondle him, touch his penis, but stoutly resisted any attempt to feel his back quarters. "That belongs to Dick," he firmly declared (Personal communication).

360 Yves, a 14-year-old French boy, begged Louis, a friend of the family whom he liked very much, to give him 100 francs to repair his bicycle. Louis handed over the money, but later, when Yves backed away from a caress, Louis said, "If a boy asks a man for money and gets it, the man may expect something from him in return." "If that is so I'll never ask you for help again, because I promised Régis I'd be faithful to him. I want to give myself to only one man." One night a little later Yves and Louis had drunk a little too much and were lying, dressed, upon a bed, embracing and cuddling, but Yves continued to avoid real sex. "It was difficult, but we stuck it out," he afterwards said proudly (Personal communication).

A second reason for restraint, touched upon in the last example, is wishing to reserve sex for expressing love. If one refuses to be content with less, one must renounce victories too easily obtained. Boys sometimes don't like sex which elicits only lust. They have discovered, to quote from an unpublished novel by Martel, that there is a second, and often higher, delight in turning down a pleasure that is too cheap. Evidently there can be more to sexuality than pure sex.

A third reason can be found in the very nature of sexual pleasure itself. It used to be taught that if an individual started to enjoy sex too young he would gradually need stronger and stronger stimuli in order to reach climax, and in the end his capacity for orgasm would disappear altogether. This is, of course, a lie, invented by the moralists. Man is not a machine. If one drinks a great deal of wine at twenty, one may actually be a connoisseur at fifty (van Ussel 1970), 37). Kinsey's research shows that individuals who mature early and become sexually active at a young age tend to have more than average sexual activity throughout their lives and also in old age (148, 325-326). It is, however, equally true that frequent satisfaction reduces the lust experienced in every individual act. A German teacher, thus, advised his pupils to masturbate less frequently if they wished to increase their pleasure when they did (Personal communication).

361 One 15-year-old Italian boy said he would often give up masturbating in order to have wet dreams which he enjoyed even more (Personal communication).

On the other hand, it is quite wrong for a man to use as argument for his abstinence, ''I love this boy too much to do anything dirty with him.'' That may *sound* exalted, like Thoreau's ''I might have loved him had I loved him less'' (quoted in NAMBLA Bulletin, May 1985, 16), but it is really nothing more than a transference of the madonna/whore complex into the context of man-boy relationships (O'Carroll 1980, 94).

In fact, love and moral considerations sometimes demand a positive answer to the question of whether to have sex or not, and this is completely overlooked by public opinion and penal law. A boy may be deeply hurt and frustrated if the adult refuses to respond to his sexual needs (de Brethmas 1980, 27). It is a tragedy when a pupil comes along ''who shows by his pleading looks the sentiment which animates him, and the profound impression which he is longing, as it were, to receive from his teacher'' and ''the latter belies himself, denies his own instinct and the boy's great need, and treats him distantly and with coldness.'' (Carpenter 1912, 97)

362 In his autobiography *Flannelled Fool,* T. C. Worsley tells of his refusal to initiate sex with his 13-year-old pupil David, who was much in love with him, even when it was clear that the boy had gone out of his way to create the perfect opportunity. Society would have commended Worsley for his moral courage, but he himself ''recognised it as an act of moral cowardice. It was a defeat for knowledge, and knowledge, not innocence, is what the young want and need.'' (Worsley 1967, 178-181). Righton (1981, 39) would agree.

363 ''My fiancée had a brother some years younger than herself. I met him frequently. He grew strongly attached to me. (...) You will understand my dismay, how disturbed I was, when I realised one night, during an intimate talk, that this boy didn't just desire my friendship but also my love. (...) Alexis was no longer a child; he was a very beautiful and self-confident boy, and what he gradually confessed threw me into complete confusion. (...) I was greatly frightened. I spoke to him severely, harshly even, and, much worse, with exaggerated contempt for what I called effeminacy but which was really nothing more than the natural expression of his tenderness. (...) I was so brutal that it had a tragic outcome for the poor boy—yes, he was still only a boy. For three days he tried to pacify my rage, or what he saw as such, by redoubling his kindness. I, however, only increased my coldness to him, and so... You didn't know that Alexis B. committed suicide?'' (Gide 1925, 27)

364 Kameneff gives a striking example. Régis was a shy, reticent boy, unsure of his growing body. One night he entered the cabin where Kameneff was already in bed. To Kameneff's surprise, Régis was naked. The boy pointed to a fervent erection and said, ''He has come to wish you good-night.'' Confused, disconcerted, Kameneff didn't recognise this as the perfect moment to help and instead sent the boy off with a joke.

> The boy was deeply humiliated and never again showed signs of coming out of his shell (1979, 31).

Kameneff did what law demands of a youth leader, but his rejection at one stroke destroyed a golden pedagogical opportunity.

365 "Paul Goodman relates his experience when a boy came to his bed one night. Goodman sent the boy away. This disappointed boy informed the school authorities of Goodman's involvement with other boys, and he was fired from his teaching job. Goodman commented, 'Had I taken him to bed for a few minutes of affectionate sex, he might have been a better and more compassionate boy.' " (Geiser 1979, 84)

De Brethmas wisely observes, "If you want to do boys some good, you should love and not frustrate them. I'd even go so far as to say that you *must* give them physical love if they desire it, even if you yourself don't want it so much at the time, if you simply have to force yourself do do it. If you overwhelm them, comply with their most secret desires, especially in areas where they feel a lot of shame because of their bourgeois upbringing, you will be the perfect intermediary; from you they will take instruction and advice they would never take from an employer, or a teacher, or especially from their parents." (1980, 41-42)

Within a close, intimate relationship, a boy frequently "*does* want such pleasuring which should be accorded as his human right," writes Nichols (1976, 73). The English poet John Moray Stuart-Young would have agreed:

> *I do his soul a wrong*
> *In curbing all the currents of my blood.*
> *We love—and love claims for its earthly food*
> *The rapid clasp of bodies, fervent, strong*
> *And unforgettable... The day is long,*
> *But night* shall *come, and Eros be our God!"*
> — (d'Arch Smith 1970, 215)

Palmieri, an Italian who had love relations with 25 boys over a span of 55 years, wrote, "A boy gets awfully tired of being loved if this love has not its natural issue in sex-experience. This much I do know. No matter how much you may do for a boy to show him how much you love him, if *he* does not have an orgasm while there is a close physical bond established between you either by mutual masturbation, fellatio, or anal intercourse, you can never keep his close friendship." (quoted by Nichols 1976, 73)

V. SEXUAL REPRESSION AND SEXUAL LIBERATION

A sexual upbringing worthy of the name should aim at control of sexual capacities, but a true control, not the brutal repression most moralists advocate. True control means making use of sexual capacities according to the dictates of reason and sentiment, activating or not activating them in perfect freedom.

366 Some Indian gurus are known for a degree of iron control over their sexual functioning quite unobtainable for most people of our culture. This example is taken from a religious novel translated from the Tamil language.

Near the village where the boy Narayana lived there was a guru dwelling in a cave. The guru was still young, and every day Narayana and other children brought him food. Narayana was strongly attracted to him. As is customary, the guru was always naked, and Narayana admired the man's hairless body, skin shining as though polished; to Narayana the guru was the very image of beauty. As Narayana approached puberty, sex entered his feelings about the guru.

Narayana had already seen a little. One of his older comrades was nicknamed Yerudhu (The Bull) because of his large penis which he liked to show off erect. "He invited one of the boys to touch it, and then you heard gasps of surprise about how big and how hard it was. We could only admire him. This was a totally new sight, and The Bull was the only one among us who could offer it. Then he put his arm around the waist of one of the smaller boys, removed his loin-cloth and made his member slide to and fro between the thighs of the smaller boy, who laughed and giggled and told us it tickled; it felt like a hot serpent. We all laughed. Yerudhu toiled on, standing either behind our comrade or face to face with him. We watched the great member appear and disappear between the legs of his constantly laughing partner. Suddenly The Bull bent over, his body jerked spasmodically, and we cried with joy, seeing milk-white drops spurt out onto the grass. A symbol—I didn't realise it at the time—of the Holy Bull fertilising the earth. 'Do it with me, too!' another boy shouted, excited by this demonstration and already throwing off his loin-cloth. But The Bull smiled nervously and put his clothes back on again and then lay down beside us, worn out but promising he would do it again the following day."

At puberty, Narayana started experiencing the same impulses in himself. By now he was the guru's Chela, or assistant, since his predecessor had left. He lived with the guru in his cave, also naked. One of his tasks was to massage the guru, and one night he dreamed of uniting their bodies together. "When I woke up I discovered to my regret that I had wetted my sleeping mat with my seed. In itself, this was only natural, for I was young and healthy."

One morning, after just such a dream which didn't, however, cause an ejaculation, he found himself longing for the hour when he would massage his teacher. Thus preoccupied, "I saw once again the wonderful complex of breast and belly and what lay beneath. Now, quite spontaneously, my member began to swell and stretch and rise into total rigidity. Even attempting to conceal my condition was impossible, quite apart from the fact that there was nothing, really, in all of this which could shock a man, or even a saint. The guru sat up. I had turned my back to him, to hide from his eyes this swaying object standing up and troubling me.

" 'Chela,' the guru said, 'perhaps you have another master? Take care that he doesn't become more powerful than you and carries you off.'

" 'What do you mean, dear master?'

" 'This,' " he said, and caught my member in his hand. 'This,' he repeated, pressing it slightly.

"Suddenly I was overwhelmed by feeling; my whole body seemed to contract into my penis. I could no longer hear. I only was aware of his hand, the growing pressure on my stiff erection. Then I was invaded by a strange power, convulsed, and with vigorous jets my seed spurted from me accompanied by a delight a hundred times stronger than any I had known in my dreams."

Narayana walked to the river to purify himself. Then he returned to his master, remorseful and mortified. "The guru said, 'Nature is at work in every one of us, but she should not dominate us like a mistress. (...) What happened had to happen. You still have much to learn. What moved you so much should not be accompanied by turmoil, if one has to perform it. As long as it is otherwise you are an animal, you are a slave. To attain wisdom you must learn to control the senses. And to do this you must pass through all phases of lust, study lust carefully in order to surpass it, to eliminate it.' (...) My master finally promised to teach me how a man learns to conquer desire, so that one finally commands his member with his will, exactly as his will commands his arms and his legs. 'It would be stupid, Chela,' he said, 'if a man had to walk because his leg wants to, wouldn't it? Why, then, should your penis erect itself and spill your seed if you don't want it to?' "

The guru then demonstrated his power. After the daily massage, he told Narayana to watch his member carefully. "I was greatly surprised to see the guru's penis soon begin to swell and stiffen, until it attained a considerable length, even if it wasn't as great as The Bull's. This put me into indescribable confusion. I grew tense; my member swelled as well. (...) I was quite bewildered, looking at the penis, trembling, swinging, stretching, without any contact, without being touched, getting limp, erecting again as if drawn by some fierce desire. And there sat the guru, his face immobile, eyes shut as if he were asleep. His breath was light, Suddenly, without my thinking, my hand clutched the tempting object. I recoiled. Fear of sacrilege passed quickly through my mind. But it was too late; my fingers were already feverishly wrapping themselves around his pulsing penis."

A kind of madness overwhelmed Narayana. He started crazily rubbing "this penis which to me was beautiful as a liana, hard as a smooth serpent, shaking like a branch in the wind. With rage I worked to elicit from it the fluid which had caused it to swell." But in vain! After a while his arms were paralysed with his continued effort. He started again, but had to stop, now totally exhausted. Then the guru opened his eyes and said, 'Now, mark well this first lesson. I tolerated you to have a fling at a part of my body which belongs to me and me alone. I know that, once again, you were unable to hold back your own seed while you tried with all your might to spill mine. But I willed it not to well up in order to demonstrate what I have already taught you.'

"The following day the guru thought it was time for another demonstration of his control over sexuality. He sat down and stared at his member, which soon began to swell, to erect, to swing. At a signal from the guru I held out the mouth of a copper jar. Almost immediately he spurted a jet of seed into it. I could hear the soft sound of it striking the bottom. But no spasm shook the guru; his breathing seemed unchanged; the muscles of his belly hardly contracted at all—only when he suddenly and vigorously ejaculated were they drawn in.

"The way to achieve this control, the guru taught, was refinement. 'At your age a boy is the slave of his desires. You have to tire out this desire and then direct it to

other aims than those few seconds of casual pleasure. (...) The joys you have experienced until now are only rudimentary. You need a more refined, more complete delight in order to learn to despise this one, and then you must strive for another, still more unattainable delight which surpasses the last more perfect one.' A boy like The Bull would never learn this. 'It would be better for him to do penance as a sacred temple prostitute. Then he will be humiliated, he will be used like an animal, they will anoint his member with butter and force him to insert it in a Yoni of wood or stone. In this way his sexual excesses will at least be pleasing to the gods.' '' (Nair 1968, 31-47)

This passage beautifully illustrates the profound difference between the Indian sexual asceticism and that of the Christian West. Narayana's guru is convinced that a man's denial of sexual pleasure will only be agreeable to the gods if he gives up something he knows and values highly, and in this he is in accord with ancient Greek philosophy (Foucault 1984, 77). It is the wisdom of Hinduism to permit the taking of a vow of chastity only to those who have already acquired sexual experience and thoroughly enjoyed its lust (Daniélou 1981, 22). The guru is not frightened of doing something evil, it is not out of cramped, external compulsion that he denies himself this joy. He knows sex is beautiful, but there are better things, and a wise man must try to reach higher and higher, until, knowing the most perfect joy, he will be indifferent to sex. This indifference he symbolises in his nudity: his sex organs are no more and no less important than the other parts of his body which no man tries to conceal.

At the end of his story, Narayana acknowledges that he has been unable to attain the perfection of a guru, and he thus again assumes his loincloth. In our culture, renouncing the joys of sex is twisted and unnatural; it is done in the belief that one is forsaking something wicked. The professional repressor of sex is ''unkind, unclear, and moreover takes on the role of the spy, making the word 'morality' sound as if it mainly applied to sexuality.'' (Blüher 1966, 162)

In the guru's spiritual universe, on the other hand, no abstinence is expected from people who have not yet attained a higher wisdom. Everyone should try to climb as high as the gods may allow him. Those who simply enjoy life and its pleasures, who have little ambition, are often better men than those who strive for superiority (Daniélou 1983, 233-234). And if someone is predisposed by his nature to stay at the lowest rung of the ladder, he can even make his impulses serve the sublime in the sexual excesses of a temple prostitute. And so everything is in balance, everything is in harmony.

Nowhere, however, does the guru tell where this more perfect bliss which rises above the pleasures of sex might be found. Perhaps there is a hint in Jouhandeau's words: ''You begin to love somebody for the pleasure he gave you and which made you forget all previous pleasures; afterwards you love him so much that the love you give him makes you forget your shared pleasure.

Finally you will love him so completely that the love of the love he taught you uplifts you above yourself and him.'' (1955, 526)

Sexual Distress of Youth

After centuries when the sexual needs of youth were not perceived as being especially problematic, Western society, over the past two centuries, has made it so, by extending the period of instruction and professional training which, in turn, precluded the possibility of an early marriage. With incredible cynicism, it put the burden of this evolution completely on the shoulders of youth, condemning and punishing boys and girls if they broke under this load and didn't observe the inflicted abstinence.

''How can anybody convince us that we should be abstinent, when we run around almost all the time with a hard-on?'' cries one of Alexander's companions on hearing that Hippocrates, the physician, has advised people not to have sex during the summertime heat. Their teacher, Aristotle, doesn't, fortunately, agree with this advice. ''The activity to which Venus and Amor urge us is necessary for good health. It restores the force of a numb athlete. It gives the voice its sonority, heals backaches, sharpens eyesight, prevents madness, drives melancholy away. Mankind simply cannot abstain from it. Hippocrates says the intestines age more rapidly if you eat only once a day; from this it must follow that the testicles will shrivel more quickly if you don't make them work.'' (Peyrefitte 1977, 473-474)

For people living close to nature this is self-evident. ''Excited sexual organs don't listen to reason,'' is a proverb among the Indian Muria. Thus they reject birth control by means of withdrawal before ejaculation (coitus interruptus): ''The moment you spurt your seed is the happiest of your life: how, then, could you retreat?'' (Elwin 1959, 229, 295) In Europe during the Middle Ages, despite Christian doctrine, it was generally accepted that abstinence was unhealthy, especially for the young (Taylor 1953, 28). ''The flesh of virgins shouldn't be kept in storage,'' goes an old German proverb, and a 15th Century jingle tells in no uncertain words just when a boy should start ''to serve the women in bed'':

When he is the owner of a bed
And his thing stands stiff
He should buy a table and some food
And sheath his cock in the girl.
(Fuchs 1909, I Erg, 55)

It was only many years later that adults, in the midst of the great social and economic evolution of the past 200 years, let themselves be persuaded by the

moral preachers that well brought-up youngsters "don't feel the least desire for sexual activity" before they have finished their professional training (Kentler 1970, 53). This was a rather cleverly compounded thought, for if a boy *did* experience such an urge it only proved that his parents didn't raise him properly. Terrified of their neighbours' contempt for them as bad mothers and fathers, the poor parents would now do everything in their power to inhibit the workings of this biological function in their son—or at least try to train him to keep such workings hypocritically secret. "God gave you your sexuality in order for you not to use it—for the time being," they said in effect. "God gave you your brains, but let us do all the thinking for you on this matter—until further notice." If the boy was still not convinced, he was clearly of a bad sort.

How greatly the potential development of "nice", obedient boys was retarded by forcing them to renounce their natural impulses was, and still is, never mentioned (Hart de Ruyter 1976, 202). Emotional and erotic/sexually coloured fantasies, thoughts and activities (like masturbation)—alone or with a partner—such as accompany natural maturation, can hardly be suppressed at this age (nor even in the infant) without dire consequences. (van der Zijl 1976, 521)

"Our species exhibits the most powerful sex drive and the most indefatigable sexual capacity of any animal species on earth." (Currier 1981, 18) And at puberty this drive attains its peak. This is not to say that it was previously asleep; there is, in truth, no "latency period".

367 Samuel S. Janus and Barbara E. Bess had kindergarten and elementary school pupils make drawings and write little stories about the opposite sex. They quote as a typical example for the 9- to 10-year-old boys: "I would like to take my girl out someday when I grow up tall. I would get marry, and sure I will have twin babies. I will stick my dick in her pussy. I will suck her lips." And another: "I like girls to give them babies. I like girls to kiss them. I like girls to get them in my bed. I like girls to stick them. I like girls' legs. I like girls' sexy shapes. I like girls that let the boys stick it in them. I like girls to have private parties, and then I'll do my thing and put on my door Do Not Disturb." (Janus & Bess 1981, 80)

There is no reason for restraint upon the joys of sex save respect and consideration for the partner. Nothing should be forced upon the unwilling, upon any individual who either wants to do nothing at all or who refuses to participate in some particular act. Everything must be done to avoid transmittal of disease (gonorrhoea, syphilis, herpes, AIDS) and undesired pregnancy. Aside from this sense of responsibility and its logical consequences, nothing should be allowed to frustrate the desire for the most natural and intense delight that sex gives to the body and the mind. Respect, responsibility make love possible (Borneman 1978, 559, 595). This should be the guiding principle of a sound sexual up-bringing.

Good upbringing allows the child "to experience himself as a sexual being, or rather as an auto- and socio-sexual being." If father and mother or the people closest to the child show their affection physically, fondling and kissing each other, embracing and not hiding their lust; if they speak frankly about sexual arousal and satisfaction, the child experiences "socio-sexuality in vivo". But in addition to these examples he needs his own experiences. "Children, like other human beings, need experience; they—like other human beings—should be the subjects of their experiences; just as with adults, children learn from concrete objects, problems and direct experiences." (Gürtler 1978, 105). "If we are going to pay respect to children's' feelings and emotions, we cannot consider sexual interaction involving children as criminal." (Langfeldt 1981, 43). "It is increasingly recognised that the child and his or her sexuality need to be taken seriously at all age levels, similar to adult sexuality. From the perspective of children's rights, the child should be considered to have full rights to pleasurable experiences from its own body." (Langfeldt 1981, 72; see also Farson 1974)

Most distortions, journeys down the wrong road in the field of sexuality, could have been avoided if, as children and adolescents, these people had enjoyed more freedom to start collecting rich and varied practical sexual experiences (Morris 1976, 140)

The boy-lover for whom his young friend's sexual evolution is unendingly fascinating, who wants to be the boy's paternal friend and wants to increase the boy's capacity for sexual pleasure, may well be trying to prevent the re-enactment of "his own, often ignominious and miserable childhood, just as the average father hopes to realise his own potential at last in his son." He fights "the partial loneliness of the child to which he once fell victim himself. His perception of the wrongness of public opinion is also a confession that he experienced this all in a wrong world, in an absurd, disfigured world full of anti-sexual repression." (Hohmann 1980, 34-35). He shouldn't, however, limit this battle to one particular friendship, otherwise the boy might well ask, "What's the use of being sexually liberated if nobody else is?" (Valentine 1979, 84) Society as a whole must be included in his battle. But first and foremost the boy-lover will concentrate his endeavours on his young friend.

Visual Aids

What the boy-lover cannot show with his own body he will often explain and teach with books and images. Many boy-lovers have a stock of erotic stories, pictures, movies, video-tapes, adapted to the tastes of their visitors, thus largely heterosexual. Most boys like these very much, since such erotica stimulate their fantasies and expand their knowledge. They satisfy an urgently felt need.

Unfortunately, as we have already seen, the majority of these products is of poor quality, unrealistic, and they only depict activities, not the emotions and sensations which accompany them.

Studies have been made which show that pictures (photos, slides) are more strongly arousing than stories, and movies even more so than pictures (Crawford 1980, 151; Freund 1981, 157-158). Watching others do it makes one less shy oneself; it can even liberate a boy from groundless shame over his own desires. The proof that the acts which he secretly longs to perform are quite usual and natural for others can take an enormous load off his mind. It can also make him more physically free with his friend.

368 ''A French acquaintance visited me for several days with his 15-year-old lover Bernard. The boy had heard of my collection of sex films and asked to have a look at them. 'What would you prefer, hetero- or homo-movies?' I asked. 'Hetero, of course! I'm not the least bit interested in queer films.' And so every night before going to bed we had a film. But on the fourth night I said, 'Sorry, no more movies. You've seen all my hetero films—I don't have any more.' 'Well,' the boy said, 'if there's nothing else, we could see a gay film.' So I chose one of two German boys, 15-year-olds like Bernard, strong, healthy, athletic, masculine boys, both with nice-looking faces. They were really in love with one another and expressed this in the film in every possible way. Bernard seemed completely fascinated with the show. The next morning his friend told me, 'Last night Bernard was really mad with passion. He just went crazy with desire; he was much more wound up than after any of the hetero movies. He was always too inhibited to suck my cock; real boys, he thought, just didn't do that. After watching how these two German boys sucked each other, he did it to me, too, with complete assurance—and pleasure. He confessed that he had always wanted to do this but he'd restrained himself because he was afraid it was unmanly.'' (Personal communication)

369 Geraldo, a 15-year-old Sicilian boy, saw a movie of a man having intercourse with a woman at the house of an adult man he knew. He and his companions openly and unashamedly masturbated during the showing. The next day Geraldo returned with his 12-year-old brother Tanino, whom he dearly loved. He said to the man, ''Tanino *must* see that film. I have found out that he has been jerking himself off, but he hasn't the slightest idea what all this means. He needs that movie to show him.'' Geraldo ordered Tanino to masturbate as the film was shown, setting an example himself. At first Tanino was too shy, but when he saw, on the screen, the man inserting his penis into the woman's vagina his excitement overwhelmed him and he immediately started imitating his older brother. (Personal communication)

In Turkey and in the Arab world, there is a widely performed puppet play in which the hero, with an enormous phallus, has sexual adventures with women in the bath-houses, with whores, and also with a policeman, a teacher and a general. The performances are enjoyed by young and old immensely (Sieval 1983, 4).

Sexual instruction using images is common with more primitive peoples, too. In the Awa tribe (New Guinea) men explain to boys how to have intercourse using "a wild fruit fashioned to represent a vulva and a piece of edible pitpit representing the penis." (Newman & Boyd 1982, 276) In the youth houses of the Indian Muria, where boys and girls spent the night, there are sculptures of a boy with an enormous penis embracing a girl. The boys claim that such statues are very useful in showing girls what they want to do with them (Elwin 1959, 144).

Prof. Hart de Ruyter of Groningen University, a children's psychiatrist, thinks that "pornographic" literature may help socialise the tensions of pubertal youngsters. These often outlawed publications are at times helpful. "The only really objectionable things are those texts and comics in which aggression is mixed with sex. (...) If society would accept a well-balanced amount of pornography, excitement about the longed-for forbidden fruit would diminish and we could help the teenager solve one of his pressing problems without exaggerated feelings of guilt." (1976, 210). A Scandinavian author, F. Festin, also advocates stimulating the erotic needs of children (quoted by Winkel 1972, 60).

The American youth psychiatrist Aaron Hass writes, "Pornography fills the void created by the lack of education provided by parents and teachers. It is a source of information for most teenagers who have no one to explicitly talk to about sex." "As long as we continue to fail in our responsibility to present sexual material in an accurate, sensitive way, teenagers will have to look to pornography for their education." (Hass 1979, 153, 161)

The desire to see how other people do it before you have a got at it yourself is quite reasonable. Nobody would give an inexperienced boy a camera without first showing him how to use it (Vinterberg 1983, 46), and girls are certainly more complicated and sensitive beings than cameras. One of Oskamp's subjects said, "I learned a great deal from movies, for example where there is good licking and sucking. Positions and that kind of thing. Certain sorts of porno could very well be used to instruct people about sexual practices." (Oskamp 1980, 88)

370 This is how some of Hass's subjects thought about erotic literature:

17-year-old boy: I was curious and the basic health education they give you in school is bullshit. I wanted to learn the real facts.

17-year-old boy: Magazines and books are great. They give you experience without doing anything.

17-year-old boy: I used to just look at the pictures. Now I like to read the articles to see what other people are doing sexually—so I know if I'm right. I wish I had read some of that stuff before I started having sex, because I would have been more comfortable. Also the articles about what girls enjoy from girls help me.

16-year-old boy: I enjoyed them because they gave me something to go by on where things are, how they're done, and how it feels.

About pictures and films, often used during masturbation, the boys said:

15-year-old boy: I did it because of the mystery and also because I fantasize while looking at them. I also masturbate while looking at pictures or reading magazines.

15-year-old boy: I like to look at great-looking naked bodies. It turns me on.

15-year-old boy: Most of all I like the pictures of the women. I often look at those pictures when I'm masturbating.

16-year-old boy: It gives me ideas for my fantasies.

17-year-old boy: I liked the way it aroused me and made me feel. I liked the images it formed in my mind when I masturbated. I also liked the fact that they educated me about the different ways of performing sex and ways of pleasing your partner.

15-year-old boy: We have cable-TV so I snuck down at 1:30 and watched movies which were borderline R/X. I liked them because they make great fantasies. They also act as a sort of instruction manual. I don't like them if they just throw in "fuck scenes" because I find them repulsive and I also find SM and kinky sex movies to be nauseating. (Hass 1979, 155, 157, 159)

That some boys are shocked and repulsed is usually due to their upbringing. Most are extremely curious. One is struck by how very little research there is on the effects of exposure to such material. It would cause a great commotion, a loud outcry of disgust, if scientists were to confront a large experimental population of minors with hard-core pornography in order to study their reactions. That no such outcry is heard when similar experiments are made on children with pictures and movies of hard-core violence is just another demonstration of how much less alarming our society finds physical cruelty than physical tenderness.

In any case, parents should have no illusions about their ability to prevent their sons from seeing erotic pictures. In Hass's investigation, 99% of the boys said they had looked at sex books and magazines, 58% had seen a sex movie (Hass 1979, 154) There is no reason to regret this. As Alec Graig said, "Erotic realism reflects a basically healthy and therapeutic attitude to life, and its effects on the average person are generally beneficial." (Quoted in Burton 1963, 39). The only problem Hass discerns is that the boy has no experienced person with whom he can discuss these matters. (1979, 161)

But the boy loved by a boy-lover *does* have such a person at hand. If he can find in the home of his adult friend a good collection of texts and pictures showing the various sexual activities, and if he can openly discuss them and the feelings they elicit with the man, then he has a great pedagogical head-start on his contemporaries (Eggenkamp 1978, 8). Exaggerations, distortions, unrealistic aspects of the depictions can now be discussed and put in proportion, something that is impossible if the boy can only enjoy such material in secret.

Haeberle (1978, 481) contrasts the so-called "obscene" magazines which "sometimes contain valuable sexual information in simple language" to the

much more harmful misinformation often found "in medical and psychiatric textbooks, encyclopedias, marital guides, police training manuals, catechisms, pastoral letters, and devotional literature." "Some of these booklets may well have a crippling effect on an unsophisticated young mind. (...) By comparison, most 'pornography' seems relatively harmless."

Of course, looking at erotic pictures or reading erotic texts will excite a boy's sexual appetite. But is it not morally better to excite his sexual thirst than to excite his thirst for money, as so much well-intentioned education tends to do? Hunger, thirst and sexual lust permit, in their satisfaction, at least temporary satiety, but there are no anatomical or psychological limits to monetary greed. It continues undiminished even when it has lost all usefulness for the individual (Karpman 1964, 375).

Since so much erotica gives an unrealistic picture of sex, one might propose that viewing real sexual behaviour would help young people.

In former times this was no problem at all. Until about 200 years ago, all over Europe (save in castles and, from the end of the 17th-Century, in the homes of the affluent bourgeoisie), families—father, mother, children, servants, guests—slept innocent of pyjamas in one room. Children were as familiar of sexual life as with birth and death. There was no need for sex education books (Dasberg 1975, 35). "In this system of living with the entire household, sexual communication, be it in the exchange of tenderness, kisses, etc., or in intercourse, was performed very much in the presence of others. But this implies that children, too, if only by their presence, participated in the sexual behaviour of their elders. Adults didn't think it indecent to express their sexual feelings, to conduct themselves sexually, in the presence of children. Likewise, it was not considered indecent for children to express their sexuality in age-appropriate ways." (Kunert 1978, 38-39)

It is absolutely incredible how "expert" literature totally ignores these facts, how it does so in order to paint a horror picture of the terrible consequences for the child's mind and soul if it is exposed to such a sight. Even an open-minded psychiatrist like Stekel urged "all parents to protect their children from impressions that could poison their fantasies." (1925, 734)

It is obvious, however, that an inexperienced child suddenly confronted with two convulsing bodies, panting and moaning, locked in the intensity of coitus, might be terrified and interpret this as an act of violence.

371 "A three-year-old boy, witnessing the intercourse of his mother with her lover, threatened the man: 'I will tell daddy that you are beating mom when he is not at home!' " (Stekel, 1925, 734)

V. SEXUAL REPRESSION AND SEXUAL LIBERATION

What should be done, of course, is not to try to "save" children from the sight of intercourse but to tell them, truthfully and in terms they can understand, what it really is. "Infants may exhibit jealousy when their parents kiss and cuddle in their presence, while remaining apparently indifferent to the spectacle of actual intercourse." (West 1977, 41)

In our society what all too often happens is that a considerable number of children, especially those growing up in poverty, secretly and without any preparation, observe the act and, with no knowledge to fortify them, frightened and shocked, get a completely wrong idea of what is really going on.

Among Hertoft's subjects, young Danish soldiers, no less than 23% had observed others in intercourse. Of those who came from poor families, 24.5% of them had had this experience; of those from the middle class, 23.8%, and from richer families, 18.5%. (Hertoft 1968, II - 69). In the United States Yankowski found a higher percentage: 38% of his male subjects had at one time or another in their lives seen their parents having intercourse (1965, 168).

372 Hertoft gives some quotes which show the understandable variety in the reactions of younger and older boys:

"I was ten years old. They were my parents. I was very frightened. I was in bed, heard it, went back and looked through the keyhole."

"I was eight or nine. They were my parents. I don't know what I thought. I may have been a bit frightened; I'm sure I thought they were beating each other."

"I was eight or nine. They were my father and mother. I was not frightened. I thought it was good, instructive."

"I was fourteen. It was a farm-hand on a farm where I was visiting. He did it with me in the same room. I felt slightly embarrassed."

"I was fourteen. I was working in a hotel and saw it happening in a room, but I didn't understand it."

"At the time I was thirteen or fourteen, in a wood near Aalborg. I just stood still and watched."

"Some friends of mine at a party. I was fourteen. I thought it was quite natural."

"During a party. I was fourteen or fifteen. Friends. It makes you feel weak and excited all at the same time."

"I was sixteen. A friend of mine and his girl at a festival. You sneak away without making a noise when you see they are lying there having a good time."
(Hertoft 1968, I 241-242)

373 Rainer at the age of 10 was hidden by his 13-year-old sister behind the curtains so he could see how she behaved with an adult sub-tenant. "Then she opened his fly and pulled out his thing. It was so gigantic and red—I'd never seen one before. I got so excited I had to look away. And when I looked back again, my sister jumped off his lap and threw off her clothes—and Mr. J. did the same thing. Then he fell down on my sister, and I saw his enormous thing again. It was so long and thick I couldn't believe my sister would be able to insert it into herself. But she did, and it went all the way in." (Stieber 1971, 37-38)

The problem has certainly been depicted with far too much tragedy in the "expert" literature. Prof. James E. Simmons of the University of Indianapolis says it is highly probable that many of his psychiatric patients have, as children, watched their parents having intercourse. "I cannot think of a single case in which the witnessing of the primal scene had made a significant contribution to the psychopathology." *(Sexual Behavior,* August 1971, 13). What *can* traumatise, of course, are scenes of brutality, such a a drunken father raping his 15-year-old daughter in the presence of her brothers aged 15, 11 and 10 (cited in Illinois Legislative 1980, 91-92). But the sight of loving and joyous sex will be positively accepted by children if they are properly prepared for it (Borneman 1978, 1455).

374 A correspondent of the Anthropophyteia (I, 206-207) wrote that, spending the night with farmers in Croatia, he often witnessed the husband satisfying his wife, both quite naked. He was rather embarrassed by the sight but observed that the children greatly enjoyed it.

375 A man of about thirty was having an affair with a divorcée, Ilse, mother of nine-year-old Myriam. "Thursday night Ilse and I were lying on the bed, both naked, in love-play, and Myriam looked on, radiant. I had just shown Ilse a newspaper article advising people not to have sex if there were also children in their beds. In my opinion it would be far better to advise parents not to fight in the presence of children. Ilse agreed completely. We were caressing each other; we went further and further, and this finally led to a most delicious fucking. Little Myriam was thrilled. "Is it nice, mommy?" she wanted to know, when Ilse started to moan. She enjoyed it with us with all her little body. When I put my hand out to her she gripped it firmly, as if she wanted to help me, assist us. She wanted to participate and actively contribute to our sexual pleasure. Her touch, the way she gripped me, excited me so much that I immediately had the most wonderful orgasm. That child sympathised and participated in our joy." (Personal communication)

376 An 11-year-old boy became a foster son of a young couple, and a few weeks later he was quite intimate with his new father. Out walking together one day, the father asked the boy whether he had had any sexual education. The boy hadn't, and the father gave him the most important information. But in so doing he didn't talk about some abstract man and woman; he told how he did it with his wife and what a wonderful pleasure it was for both of them. Finally he asked the boy, "Would you like to see it happen?" The boy nodded eagerly. Back home, they asked the mother and she agreed. That night the three showered together, which allowed the boy to familiarise himself with their bodies. They let him touch their genitals, inspect them closely. They then went to the bedroom where the young couple united themselves in intercourse with the boy looking on. Many years later the boy, now a young man, said, "That introduction to sexuality was beautiful and unforgettable. I'll be grateful all the rest of my life to my foster parents for this." (Personal communication)

377 A fourteen-year-old Austrian schoolboy told a teacher, who was discussing sex with him, ''Over vacation I was staying with my parents in a hotel. One day I went into the wrong room by mistake, and there on the bed were a man and a woman fucking. They laughed at my surprise and invited me to stay and watch. I did, since I was very curious. I found it really lewd!'' (Dossier S.E. 54, Brongersma Foundation)

378 Mrs. Rouweler-Wutz (1976, v) told about a family she knew. The children, then 11 and 14, had been familiar from infancy on with naked bodies, erections and sex play. They were very affectionate children, but not, interestingly enough, at all ''sexualised''.

379 The Dutch philosopher Fons Elders brought up his three sons this way. They passed through puberty without the usual problems, were allowed to sleep with a boy-friend or a girl-friend when they wanted it. They were used to nudity and witnessed their parents' intercourse. But nothing was forced on them; they were not urged to participate in anything. Adults themselves now, the three sons have no difficulty discussing their sexual lives quite openly. One of their wives says her husband is much better at making love than any other boy she has met. Talking about sex, he claims, isn't enough; you must have experience, and this always comes as a shock: the first time you have an ejaculation while masturbating, your first intercourse, when it hurts. And the sons agree that they will bring up their children in the same way, making no problems about sex. *(Viva,* 16 Aug 1985)

''In the United Kingdom and all the rest of the 'civilised' world, a child very seldom witnesses sexual acts between adults, heterosexual or homosexual: so the male (or female) child does not learn by example, as do children in many 'primitive' societies: perhaps if modern children did learn as some so-called primitive children do about sex by example, there might be far less of a personal and social 'hang-up' about the subject in the so-called civilised societies today?'' (Barrington 1981, 76)

With the Awa tribe in New Guinea, at the wedding ceremony, ''the older women may begin the proceedings by pulling their own husbands down on top of themselves to show the young women exactly what is intended.'' (Newman & Boyd 1982, 281). With the Muria in India, it was the common sleeping-house where the boy learned everything. One of them said, ''Sometimes big girls are crazy about young boys, and then they try to teach them. But life in the sleeping-house teaches us everything. How could the young boys control themselves? Who doesn't want to eat when he sees someone else eating a tasty morsel in his presence?'' In fact, in the house there were boys and girls who performed intercourse for everyone to see. If a boy wished, every night he could watch his friends having sex. Also there was a tradition that the boys should watch a newly-wed couple through the chinks in the walls of the bridal room. (Elwin 1959, 261, 274)

Homosexual relations among groups of boys are habitual among the negroes of the Cameroon. When one of the older boys takes, or steals, a wife, he brings

his whole group to her, exciting the younger boys with the sight of his having intercourse with the girl, and so encouraging them to satisfy themselves with her, too (Italiaander 1969, 112). It is likewise common in Polynesia for young men to show boys how to satisfy a girl (Borneman 1978, 1252). The Tahitians, who were considered the happiest, gentlest, friendliest and most generous people on earth before they declined through contact with the West, had a religious order of celebrants, the Arioi, who had been trained to give public sexual performances and travelled from island to island (Haeberle 1978, 282, 330). In the Japanese Yoshiwara, such performances were organised for the benefit of young trainees (Bowie 1970, 184).

380 William Howard wrote a nice story in which the Roman Emperor Tiberius arranged an educational performance for his young adoptive son Caligula. In a glade in the forest Caligula sees standing in the brilliant sunshine a 16-year-old satyr with an enormous phallus enjoying the favours of two nymphs. And in another part of the woods he sees acrobats from Crete, four boys and two girls, brothers and sisters, performing a most varied sexual ballet showing all conceivable positions (Foral 1981, 73-74).

This may be fiction, but it is a historical fact that in Paris the Duke of Orleans, regent of France, put on naked balls to instruct the crown price, the future Louis XV. They began in 1720, when Louis was 10 years old, and continued for three years. People did everything they could to get invitations to these affairs, even though they would have to dance in the nude and perform intercourse in front of the young prince who, in turn, was surrounded by girls of his own age doing everything they could to imitate what the adults were up to (Borneman 1978, 39; Foral 1981, 195). Louis married when he was 15.

Exercise and Practice

We can now ask whether verbal instruction, instruction by photos, films, demonstrations, is really enough to prepare a human being, especially a boy, for his role in sexual relationships. Borneman (1978, 491-492) notes that children tend to communicate their sexual knowledge to their friends not with words but with their bodies, and adds, "There is nothing wrong with this: it is the only way to acquire sexual experience." The ancient Greeks thought that the boy's senses had to be educated just as systematically as his mind and his muscles. His sexual capacities could only be developed by practising intercourse (Borneman 1978, 345).

Personal experiences enrich. Talking and reading about sex is very different from actually doing it (Steens 1980, 273); doing, after all, is the common way children learn. In the beginning, for the boy, "himself" is the same as his body. "This body is the starting point for all his experiences and activities." (de Bruyn 1972, 4) "Touching is, more than words, the natural way a child learns something." (Schérer & Hocquenghem 1976, 60) Skin-to-skin contact is of

paramount importance (van der Zijl 1976, 157). In embracing sexually with another body, a boy learns what he could nowhere else learn, certainly not as clearly and convincingly.

"In the higher mammals, the inborn physiologic controls of sexual behavior are not sufficient to guarantee 'successful' mating, but have to be augmented by learning." (Haeberle 1978, 128). Since the controlled experiments of the zoologists Harry and Margaret Harlow at the University of Wisconsin (See "Social Deprivation in Monkeys", *Sci. Amer.* 207 1962, 136-146) it is now generally recognised that monkeys and apes need sexual training in their childhood; without it they evolve into sexual invalids. If the young male monkey is not embraced, caressed, carried and fondled by its mother, it grows to be a bad-humoured bachelor and doesn't mate at all. Without frequent body-contact with others (mutual grooming, for example) the young monkey will be abnormal, emotionally troubled and asocial (Alcock 1976, 116-117). If he cannot have varied sex-play with other young monkeys, he won't be able to perform intercourse when he reaches adulthood (Borneman 1978, 514; Gagnon 1965, 216; Kruijt 1976, 35, 37; West 1977, 118).

Rhesus monkeys, for example, copulate with the female standing with her hands and feet planted firmly on the ground while the male mounts her from behind, putting his hands upon her haunches and clasping her calves with his feet. The animals learn this behaviour in the first year of their lives, by imitation, and if they are given no opportunity to do this they are quite unable to perform it later (van der Werff ten Bosch 1980, 348). In one experiment, a male and a female chimpanzee, each raised in isolation, were brought together as adults. Both masturbated regularly, but they never touched each other (Morris 1976, 81, 83)

Of course, human life is different from that of the apes. What the sexually neglected young monkey lacks, the sexually neglected young human may make up, at least partially, by masturbation and its accompanying fantasies. But many authors (we only have to cite Alcock, Borneman, Buffière, Ford & Beach, Langfeldt, Morris and West) see in these observations about the higher primates evidence of just how much the young human being, too, must have practical experience if he is to be able not just to copulate with a woman but to elevate this union into a refined and ennobling activity. The man who, as a boy, had richly varied, practical sexual experiences will be able to perform sexual intercourse in a more human, less bestial, way—but still animated by an "animal" passion. For intercourse should be far more than the telescoping of genitals. If parents take pains, year after year, to teach their son good table manners, why should they suppose he will spontaneously acquire the good bed manners expected among civilised people? (Califia 1980, 21; Sanders 1977, 51) There is much more to it than the body motions. "In general, within our culture,

the achievement of satisfactory sexual activity with another person is dependent on the development of some sort of relationship (however minimal) with the potential partner. Different relationships will require different etiquettes, ranging from the relatively simple demands of responding appropriately to a solicitation by a prostitute to the complex requirement of formal courtship. Successful sexual encounters depend on knowledge of, and a capacity to follow, such codes of etiquette or systems of rules. Serious deficits in the area of 'heterosocial skills' would prevent access to an adult sexual partner, even though the pattern of sexual preference was normal and the capacity for sexual functioning intact.'' (Howells 1981, 71) We may remember what was said about pseudo-paedophiles in Chapter Two: people who didn't acquire such heterosocial skills and therefore take a child as substitute while really preferring an adult sexual partner.

But first of all the physical skill should be acquired. Sexual instruction and education will always remain incomplete unless there is provision for experiment and practice. Like all other primates, the human child must discover these things with all of his five senses (Borneman 1978, 109). Boys need practical experience even more than girls, as is true of all mammals (de Boer 1978, 35; Ford & Beach 1968, 209-210, 259-260). Since the male partner is expected to show more initiative and more skills in sex, his is the more difficult task. Primate males are trained for years, the females hardly at all. There must be more than erection and arousal to perform the act correctly. An adult chimpanzee, deprived of sexual play in childhood, will attempt copulation but fail to insert his penis, and even if he can accomplish insertion it will take him a lot of practice and much experimentation before he can copulate in a way acceptable to the female and that will lead to fertilisation (Ford & Beach 1968, 208-209).

Boys are beaten more often, and cuddled less, than girls, and so they are seldom taught that their bodies are erogenous and are frightened of tender feelings (de Bruyn 1980, 152, 154). When sexually inexperienced boys attempt intercourse they usually go about it in a clumsy, coarse, even brutal way, bent only on satisfying themselves (See example 98). It is the same with some animals: the act is more like rape (Hart de Ruyter 1976, 31). Criminologist have found that men who rape women and children had on average less sex-play in their youth than is normal (Geiser 1979, 89).

There is ''little doubt that males as well as females find it much easier to train their own sexual capacities and to adjust to each other while they are still young.'' (Haeberle 1978, 175) Ford and Beach also note that in those societies where sex play is liberally permitted in childhood and adolescence the prospects for lustful and mutually satisfactory sexual relations in marriage are better (1968, 211). ''Sex, like almost every other human learning activity, is (...) best begun at an individual's earliest physically possible age.'' (Barrington 1981, 185)

V. SEXUAL REPRESSION AND SEXUAL LIBERATION

"Boys in puberty have difficulties when *suddenly* they have to play their new role, without having had the opportunity for ample learning experiences." People then call this "typical problems of puberty", but, in truth, they are artificially engendered by denying the youth sexual exercise. Like all social behaviour, sexual behaviour must be learned very early (Baurmann 1983, 72-73, 79). Money advocates taking a lesson from other primates and from anthropology, that is to "*reinstate* the natural legitimacy of coital rehearsal in the play of young children (Jones 1982, 92). Morris says there would be less "extreme fetishists (...) had the developing adolescent become gradually more experienced in sexual matters at an earlier age and had his initial sexual exploration been richer and less constricted." (1976, 140)

There can be no doubt that regular activity of the sexual organs contributes to health. "We know that disuse causes atrophy. Every other muscle and gland in the body tends to atrophy if not used. Why should the genital organs form any exception?" (Allen 1949, 163). Their regular use strengthens them (Abraham 1969, 60). Elwin points to the children as he found them in the Muria tribe who had sex every night in their dormitories. "They show no symptoms of being depraved nor of excess, These boys and girls have shining eyes and happy faces, and don't look like victims of bestial desire." (1959, 430)

Every bodily capacity can be increased by training, and sexual potency is no exception (Borneman 1978, 1112-1113). The boy who starts early using his penis will gain by this for the whole rest of his life: he will be able to use it better and more often. He will be lucky if he has the good fortune to find an experienced adult who gives him room for sexual experiment, encourages him to profit from this and with whom he can discuss his experiences openly and free of shame (Sanders 1977, 26).

Most boys, however, find their parents implacably opposed to such an idea, victims themselves of our cultural aversion to lust. The strength of this aversion is demonstrated by the fact that therapists are frequently consulted by parents upset that their son is "precociously" sexually active but never by mothers and fathers worried about a lack of sexual interest in their son. And yet the latter is a much more troubling and worrisome symptom (Hanry 1977, 129-131). Much male impotence can be attributed to negative parental attitudes toward sex (Biener 1983, 124).

Two objections are commonly raised. First of all, early, varied sexual experience might make males tired young of sex and lust. But the contrary is really the case: "It makes the person susceptible to more and more forms of stimulation, to be more easily excitable and more strongly motivated sexually." (Frenken 1976, 29-31). "Ethnological evidence suggests that the capacity for enjoyable heterosexual intercourse is enhanced in societies permissive toward childhood sexuality (Ford & Beach). This accords well (...) with the findings

of Kinsey et al.'' (Gadpaille 1981, 98). ''Late starters generally enjoy less sex and cease at earlier ages.'' (Barrington 1981, 101)

A second objection is that the sexual appetite is stimulated at an age when the child is ''not yet intelligent enough to deal with it in a positive way.'' (Wegner 1953, 60) We have already seen how mistaken such an objection is in Chapters Three and Four.

In the Dutch NISSO study, only one-quarter of the parents interviewed were unopposed to their adolescent children having intercourse, and those for the most part stipulated that it should only be performed with a single partner within the context of an intimate relationship. Even then, only 18% would allow it to be done in their own homes. Fifty percent disapproved of their children masturbating (de Regt 1982, 57).

Yet masturbation, as the Greeks clearly saw (Bullough 1976, 99), is a natural substitute for intercourse and the most common introduction to sexual life. In many ''primitive'' tribes (as with the Hopi and Siriono Indians) parents see it as their duty to encourage their sons to make a habit of rubbing their penises, and will even help them (Ford & Beach 1968, 202). What fathers won't do in our societies, an older loving friend, with pleasure, will.

381 There is an amusing anecdote about the famous Prince de Condé (1621-1686) who commanded the armies of Louis XIV and loved boys. He met a charming 15-year-old schoolboy at an inn and took him to his room and questioned him about his relations with his friends. He then asked, ''But surely you rub your pike?'' inserting his hand into the trousers of the blushing boy. ''But how is it, then,'' he continued, ''that you don't have it stiff?'' ''I beg your pardon, monsieur, but my respect for you prevents me.'' ''Oh, but I have a stiff one, myself!'' (Lever 1985, 138)

It is certainly an important task, for fathers as well as boy-lovers, to set boys' minds at rest wherever there might be fears of the possible bad effects of this activity. The famous Swedish author Strindberg told in his journal how he trembled with mortal fear, since he was sure he would be either dead or insane before he reached 25 because he couldn't stop masturbating (Abraham 1969, 95). During those years of the 19th Century a certain Dr. Graham taught ''that the loss of an ounce of semen was equivalent to the loss of several ounces of blood'' and a female expert held ''that the sexual orgasm was more debilitating to the system than a day's work.'' (Bullough 1976, 544, 549) The scoundrels who poisoned youth with these invented horror stories have fortunately lost most of their fatal influence nowadays, but we still find traces of their lies. Langfeldt, a Norwegian youth psychiatrist, therefore recommended that adult and boy masturbate in each other's presence in order to cleanse the activity of shame. At first, many boys perform it clumsily and brutally; the adult can teach him how to improve his technique. As in all other areas of human endeavour,

there are boys with talent and those without. An American father told Hite (1981, 600), "Masturbation is a great joy to me. I have told my boys to enjoy it and revel in it."

If the adult actually demonstrates, on himself, it will be the most convincing argument he could ever advance. Penal laws criminalising such activity are hardly in the interest of mental health. Langfeldt reports from Norway, "Very few adolescents could be characterised as having a confident attitude concerning masturbation, that is, one free from shame and guilt feelings. Adolescent boys in the author's studies who had experienced ongoing masturbatory relationships with adult men had more confident attitudes toward masturbation." (1981, 69-70)

The chief worry for many boys is in the accompanying fantasies. A boy's entire sexuality is expressed in his masturbation. Even if he is convinced that all boys do it and that it is a healthy relief of bodily tensions, he may worry over his fantasies. He is lucky if he finds an adult man in whom he can confide and with whom he can discuss his fears freely. Together they may explore his hidden desires.

Masturbation is nearly never, even in puberty, a purely physical, mechanical act. Lustful images, fantasies commonly accompany it. Among Hass's subjects, 89% of the 15-16-year-old boys and 93% of the 17-18-year-olds said they had them (1979, 92). What they tell about them is very much in the official line of what is traditionally supposed to be a young male's eroticism.

382 *15-year-old boys (inexperienced):* "Some scenario where a beautiful girl I've never seen enters my bedroom and slowly undresses me and kisses me and my penis and eventually I do the same to her and then we have intercourse." Another: "I think about girls laying down in front of me and letting me do anything I want with them." Another: "They usually involve a beautiful girl who I am with, undressing each other, fondling and kissing each other, masturbating each other, having sixty-nine, and then having sex." Another: "I think about kissing a girl's vagina and breasts. I also fantasise about a girl doing oral sex to me." Another: "I think about me and my girl-friend in bed. I'm sucking on her tits and we're having intercourse. Then she sucks my dick and I'm licking her pussy." Another: "Usually a naked girl I know from somewhere comes up to me. We kiss, I caress her breasts while she masturbates me. Then I thrust my penis into her, and she moans my name while her hips swish madly."

15-year-old boys (experienced): "Usually about having intercourse or other sexual contacts with a girl. Like kissing her body and caressing her vagina with my tongue. Also having her touch and kiss my penis." Another: "That a great-looking girl will be forward and actually lead you to the bedroom. Then she will undress you and give you head. Then you will make love to her." Another: "I think of putting my dick inside her and going into all these positions. Then she gives me head." Another: "Taking off a girl's clothes, and fondling her breasts and vagina. Having her give me head, and then intercourse in a pool."

16-year-old boys: "Making love with a girl I am in love with at the time." Another: "That the girl I love I am fucking or she is giving me a blow job." Another: "They usually consist of sixty-nine, or a girl sucking me off, or me licking her vagina, touching her breasts, kissing her mouth. Sometimes I think about two girls having sixty-nine with each other or putting their fingers in each other's vagina."

17-year-old boy: "When I used to masturbate I would picture myself on top of a gorgeous woman. We would be kissing and I would rub my penis up and down her vagina. Then I would have sex with her until orgasm occurred."

18-year-old boy: "About my girl-friend and the things we've done sexually. Like her giving me head, me eating her, and the various ways we've had intercourse."

Only a few reported fantasies more out of the "acceptable" line. Two 17-year-olds fantasised about "fucking a girl in the ass." "Some older adolescents reported fantasies involving sexual contact with more than one person at the same time." And only one 16-year-old was quoted: "Most of the time I fantasise about having sex with men. Sometimes they're guys at school, sometimes guys I've had sex with." (Hass 1979, 93-94, 96, 116-117, 119-120)

But since the individual's whole sexuality is expressed in his masturbation, it is evident that at a time of life when sexual preferences are less pronounced and fixed—are, in fact, rather polymorphous—homosexuality, sadism and masochism will most likely play an important, if seldom admitted, role. Heterophile boys sometimes have homosexual fantasies, just as homophile boys have heterosexual ones (Bieber 1962, 209), and both dream of incest (Langfeldt 1981, 41). Such fantasies can be very upsetting to a boy, make him fear for his "normality", terrify him that he might be "one of those". The man who is successful in making a boy speak of such fantasies and desires does him a great service; explaining that every boy has such dreams sometimes, he can put the youngster's mind at rest.

At puberty the skin acquires a new sensitivity which increases the boy's longings for caresses and fondling by someone he likes (Jans 1973, 28). Every body has certain areas where it is especially excitable and where caressing is particularly welcome. These "erogenous zones" are common to all men, but there is much individual variation. It is important for a boy to explore his own body, to find out how best to elicit lustful sensations in himself so he can tell his partners how to please him most during sex. Prof. Verveen (1977, 17) considers masturbation an essential way this investigation is carried out. "In the final analysis, people have to find out for themselves which parts of their own (or their partner's) bodies most readily respond to caress." (Haeberle 1978, 33; see also Hass 1979, 101) Erogenous zone number one, of course, is the penis. Only recently was it discovered that there is wide variation in exactly where the most sensitive places on the penis lie (Verveen 1980, 327). And over 100 years ago it was recognised that with many pubertal boys, pressure on the belly produces a violent erection, and, bent over a pole, the side of a bathtub

or a table, they are taken by a kind of automatic impulse to thrust the penis forward—the natural motions of coitus *(Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1871, 201).

Beginning about 1920, science has concerned itself with the ''sexual response curve'' or ''orgasm curve''. This is a graphic representation of lustful feelings during sexual activity as reflected in the heartbeat. At first it was thought that there would be a specific difference between the sexes: in women a slowly rising curve, then a series of peaks, each normally higher than the last, followed by a slowly descending curve, in men mounting more rapidly to the peak (followed, infrequently, by other and even lower peaks), finally quickly descending (Dickinson 1949; Masters & Johnson 1966). Recent research questions this model and emphasises individual variation (Haeberle 1978, 34; Verveen 1980, 322-326). It is important for a boy to familiarise himself with his own characteristic sexual response pattern and that of his partner, keeping in mind the problems that might arise from their differences.

Even when a boy does know how how to masturbate, instruction and practice can make it better so his climax can achieve a fine intensity (Verveen 1977, 15). For example, orgasm usually lasts for only a few seconds, but with the right kind of stimulation it can be prolonged to 20 seconds or even a minute (Verveen 1977, 20). Tantra exercises prove that the male may learn to control his reflexes by willpower and so reach a series of orgasmic peaks, one right after the other. Tantra distinguishes three kinds of orgasm: a) blind pleasure, without consciousness or emotion; b) joyful and quick ejaculation in or upon the body of the partner one was able to win; c) subtle, meditative orgasm without ejaculation, an extasis going beyond the frontiers of the body and experienced most of all in the brain, which is our most essential sexual organ (Naslednikov 1981, 114-115).

Haeberle finds it deplorable that so few adults encourage or even condone the sexual experiences of the young—at just that time of life when sexual pleasure should be carefully nourished (1978, 480).

In Chapter Three we discussed the technique of prolonging and increasing sexual pleasure during masturbation by repeatedly interrupting the stimulation on the brink of orgasm. While 68% of males do it this way, 26% only slow down the motion, while 6% use mental control—thinking about less exciting things (Hite 1982, 868). The only advice that Hass (1979, 101) would give to the boys ''is to prolong their self-stimulation before orgasm so that they can start conditioning their sexual response system to last longer when having sexual relations with a partner.'' Many men are used to doing this (Hite 1982, 572).

383 ''When masturbating for pleasure I delay orgasm as long as possible so as to enjoy the feelings of arousal. I build up to 'almost', then stop or change the action until I'm no longer 'almost', then build up some more. This makes things much more exciting.

> I get a good inner feeling without being through, and the eventual orgasm itself is much more intense than if I'd come right away." (Hite 1982, 422)
>
> "I think masturbating has given me a good sense of my body and how to control the pleasure, so that if I feel myself coming too close to an unwanted orgasm, I know how to relax and let the tension go down." (Hite 1982, 417)

There is a special grip with which an approaching orgasm can be prevented or delayed: a strong pinching of the glans. A partner can do it with the tip of his thumb underneath the glans (where the foreskin is attached to it) and his forefinger and middle finger stretched laying left and right on the upper side. A boy should be able to instruct his girl- or boy-friends about this. Some men even use salves like Nupercainal (a hemorrhoid treatment) or Delay to make the head of the penis insensitive and prolong erection, with various results (Hite 1982, 418).

Such help in the control of ejaculation will be most useful to the boy later when he begins sexual relations with the opposite sex. Most girls and women, in order to reach real satisfaction, need a much longer performance than many males are able to give. If the male ejaculates after only one minute of thrusting with his penis, only 25% of women will have reached orgasm too: it takes 11 minutes to satisfy 50% of them, and 16 minutes to satisfy the rest (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 174-175). Of the men, 70% say they ejaculate too quickly (Hite 1982, 860), 85% do everything in their power during intercourse to delay it, but the maximum some men can reach is five minutes (Pietropinto & Simenauer *ibid.)*.

Deliberate, purposeful practice in the prolonging of masturbation should therefore start early in youth (Hanry 1977, 101), and well-performed masturbation is a big step on the way to sexual love with a partner. Langfeldt discovered that males who started practising this in boyhood said later, as adults, that they had very good control of their orgasms (1981, 68). Men of the Yoga cult, after special training, may even be able to continue ejaculation-free intercourse for hours on end (Borneman 1978, 171).

384 "Happening on one occasion to check the stimulation about two-thirds way to orgasm, I experienced a miniature orgasm like the childish one, but with no declension of the tumescence, and I was able to repeat this maneuver several times before the full orgasm. This I later practised in coitus prolongatus—giving the partner time to come up. I had already got into the way of poising the feeling on its climax. The ejaculator reflex, being habituated to this, seems to set in with its throbs when the manoeuver is simulated, though no semen has yet been poured into the bulbous portion for the ejaculators to act upon." (Ellis 1913, III - 339)

In the Hite investigation, only 60% of the males said they practised this technique (Hite 1982, 867). But there is also another reason, quite apart from becoming a better lover, why it should be taught to boys. It doesn't just prolong the pleasure; it also, for a majority, increases the final spasm. "I found that the longer the period of arousal,

the more intense and satisfying my orgasm.'' (Hite 1982, 510) 88% of the experienced males were of the same opinion (Hite 1982, 868).

385 A well-practised boy in an encouraging setting can attain impressive feats. 15-year-old Larry, a handsome, sexually well-endowed, vivid Londoner of good character who liked to have sex with men and boys, pleasurably earned a little pocket money by modelling nude for photographers. One day he arrived at the home of his adult friend Chuck, saying, ''I brought along one of my school friends and we want to have sex. Could we use your bedroom?'' Both undressed and jumped into bed. Chuck kept the door to his living room ajar and now and then had a look. For three hours the two were continually in action, like the man in Hite's report (1982, 475) ''fucking, playing, laughing, screaming, groaning, flailing, gasping''. Then, exhausted, they came to Chuck for some food and drink. Larry said proudly, ''We both haven't got a drop of spunk left between us!'' (Personal communication)

The inability of many boys to sustain the sexual union for very long, coupled with their clumsiness, deprives many girls of their pleasure. Of the 15- to 18-year-old American girls questioned by Hass, 27% never experienced orgasm with their boy-friends, and only 6% always did (1979, 109). Male excitement is often enhanced and elevated by psychological factors. A boy will be ''stimulated by mere sights and sounds, or by erotic fantasies and anticipations'' while girls are much less susceptible to these factors and consequently need more purely physical stimulation (Haeberle 1978, 55, 57).

The Dutch Roman Catholic bishops ordered a sociological report on family and marriage, and in 1960 they received it. Its contents were so shocking that it was never publicised. Time after time the reader is confronted by the desperate cries of married women saying that marriage and family are beautiful institutions, but why do they have to be disfigured by this horrible business of sex? How was it possible that an all good creator had invented such a sordid, painful and disgusting method of procreation? (Weterman *et. al.* 1960)

Heterosexual intercourse is a delicate, rather complicated activity. An inexperienced boy, responding solely to his own lust, usually goes about it brutally, and if the girl, too, is inexperienced, the difficult, painful act of breaking the hymen on first intercourse may be nothing short of physical torture.

386 Omar: ''I'm white, Christian, Republican, fifteen years old. (...) A friend of mine got laid last Saturday. He didn't enjoy it a whole lot, because (quote) 'She's fat and even her tits are ugly. When I put it in her she bled like the pig she is all over the floor.' '' (Friday 1981, 519)

''Breuer and Freud pointed out that the bridal night is practically often a rape.'' (Ellis 1913, VI - 526). Hass (1979, 127) proposed to his subjects the following: ''I think it is important for a boy to have sexual experience with a few different people before he settles down with one person.'' Of the 15- to 16-year-old girls, 59% agreed (boys 65%), of the 17- to 18-year-old girls, 64% agreed (boys 59%). Only 15% and, respectively, 17% of the girls thought a boy should be virgin when he got married. The figures for boys were 8% and 9%.

In the NISSO research a girl said, "An experienced boy does it in such a way that you, too, have some pleasure. You can't trust the inexperienced: they only think about their own satisfaction, and afterwards they boast about it to everybody." (de Boer 1978, 49) In a Swiss investigation, 66% of the girls preferred an experienced partner, and 71% of the girls and 76% of the boys advocated pre-marital intercourse (Biener 1983, 73, 111)

No argument can be seriously advanced for making sex a separate category from every other human capacity, one that doesn't have to be learned, as walking upright and swimming are learned (Plummer 1981, 240-241). "It takes time to learn to properly fuck a woman," one of Hite's subjects wrote, and this may explain why a majority of 73% of middle aged men thinks that the pleasure of sex increases with the years (Hite 1982, 434; 1982, 884). Animal studies have stressed the importance of learning intercourse.

Psychologists have discovered that the period of youth passes in phases, and it is impossible to make up in a later phase what was neglected in the preceding one.

In the phase of puberty, sexual consciousness is being directed outward. It is therefore a mistake to restrict a boy to solitary masturbation; this may have been enough in an earlier phase, but now he needs more. For the adolescent, sex is simply a right. Beginning somewhere between 13 and 16 years, he is biologically ready, and is, in fact, optimally equipped to mate (Ollendorff, quoted by Jones 1982).

Psychologist Ronald D. Lee is certainly not the only one to propose "that educators recognise the desirability and naturalness of sexual feelings at any age and that we create environments which facilitate free expression of love through sexuality with any consenting person of either sex." (quoted by Jones 1982, 92; see also Hogan 1980, 55; and Winkel 1972, 34). The sexual approach is, from a very early age, such an integral part of human relations that it should never be met with unconditional refusal. Children are even more in need of support and instruction in this respect (Voestermans 1983, 149). "It should be made clear to parents that a good confidential relationship cannot be maintained with their children if they deny them the satisfaction of such an urgent and insistent need as the sexual. We may invoke the parents' own experiences of youthful distress to make them understand that these problems of youth, related to the command of abstinence, should not be dragged along from generation to generation. Once the parents have accepted that their children are indeed as much in need of some sort of sexual satisfaction as they are themselves, it could be pointed out to them how heartless and irresponsible it is to deny them having their first love experiences at home and to chase them outside to dark porches, benches in the park or back seats of cars." (Kentler 1970, 179)

V. SEXUAL REPRESSION AND SEXUAL LIBERATION

Sexual intercourse is not a simple activity; but a life-long connection with a single partner is even less simple. A boy can only learn by trial and error (Hanry 1977, 145). To send a young man into marriage before he is experienced is like asking him to perform a piano concerto in a public performance without ever having practised it. No wonder so many marriages miscarry and cause such a flood of misery! Is it not finally time to recognise our duty and solve this problem in a way more compatible with human nature? "The problem is to find ways in which youngsters can learn during an experimental phase which precedes the final bond how to explore their sensual and relational possibilities, and do this without hurting their partner emotionally or socially (unwanted pregnancy, abuse, exploitation or transmitting diseases). People responsible for the upbringing of children can help here by accepting from birth on the manifestations of lust in sexual functions and by respecting the sexually-erotically coloured relationships of childhood and adolescence (van Emde Boas 1977, 17-18).

Some of the so-called primitive peoples set a good example. Of the Australian aborigines it has been said, "at an early age they learn of the sexual act by direct observation, and they imitate adult sexual activities among themselves, publicly when they are very young and somewhat more privately when they become older and more self-conscious." (Bettelheim 1962, 64) We have mentioned several times already the Muria of India. They see sex as the central drive-spring of human life; their morality is not interdictive but constructive. The little girls and the little boys, acquainted with the sexual activities of their older companions in the dormitories, play among themselves and so enlarg the girls' genital openings until the penis can be inserted without pain. The little boys are eager to do this. "You may be small, but when your member is like a piece of wood, you try to get it inside her." The big boys wait until a girl starts to menstruate before having intercourse with her. The young boy is trained in sex like the young buffalo is trained to draw the plough. "To instruct a young boy, a big girl allows him to caress her breasts and to hold her in his arms. Then she opens and spreads her legs and lets the young boy lay himself down upon her breasts. She shows him how to undress her and inserts his little penis with her hand. The first time the boy doesn't know how to do it and the liquid comes too quickly. But then next day she tells him, 'Yesterday you only embraced me and nothing was done like it should be done. I felt no pleasure.' And the boy answers, 'Today I'm really ready for it: I know what to do.' " If there are any doubts, the smaller boys consult the older boys on how best to satisfy a girl (Elwin 1959, 259-260). The Muria are known for their tolerance, their lack of jealousy, their friendliness and their openness. Their marriages, strictly monogamous, are remarkable for their stability; divorce is much rarer among them than among similar tribes. "The Muria marriage owes its serenity

and its stability largely to the fact that husband and wife, when they celebrate it, are both prepared,'' because in the dormitory the boys and girls ''are practised in the art and virtues of sexual intercourse.'' (Elwin 1959, 20-21, 32, 36, 365) The best results are obtained in the dormitories where promiscuity is obligatory and no boy is allowed to sleep more than three nights in succession with the same girl. Those dormitories where a boy has to remain with the same girl prove to prepare him less well for later monogamy (Elwin 1959, 21, 55; Alcock 1976, 122-124; Currier 1981, 9, 16).

It seems that all known tribes that have special dormitories for children and adolescents tend to allow sexual promiscuity before marriage. In the Marquesas Islands ''complete sexual liberty, a total absence of shame'' go hand in hand with happiness and absence of criminality. The same is told of other islands in Polynesia. On Samoa the big boys teach the small girls and the big girls teach the small boys how to practice intercourse. Elwin cites the Igorot in the Philippines, a number of black tribes in Africa, several tribes in India. Among them sex is started early in life and restraint is only observed after marriage (Elwin 1959, 63-91). In some cases there is even professional sex instruction. Humphreys reported in 1926 that boys in the New Hebrides were accustomed to sleeping together in a special house of their own, and from time to time they were visited by a young woman whose mission was to teach them sex. No adolescent was permitted to marry unless he had thus been initiated (Elwin 1959, 68). In another tribe boys are circumcised at the age of 12- to 14 years, and it is the task of their fathers to see that, as soon as the wound is healed, his son is brought to a woman for training and practice (Holdredge and Young 1927, 669).

In the hedonistic conception, sex is play and therefore it doesn't matter who plays, what their ages are, or whether they are married. Sex is fun and subject to the morality of fun. What objection, then, could possibly be raised against older people teaching younger people about games and sport? (Gagnon and Simon 1973, 305)

This is the animating spirit of the most famous novel of later Greek antiquity, *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus (end of the second century A.D.). Fifteen-year-old shepherd Daphnis is enamoured of 13-year-old shepherdess Chloe. They bathe together in a spring, see each other naked, embrace and kiss. They experience in their bodies the desire to do more but don't know how or what to do, which makes them unhappy. However, without them being aware of it, a friendly nymph has observed them as they played. She approaches Daphnis when he is alone and gives him a practical lesson in love-making, which delights him. The boy wants to fly right away to Chloe and do the same thing with her. He is dumbfounded when the nymph explains that his beloved will cry with pain the first time and bleed. She encourages him, however, to follow the call

of nature, and soon Chloe, too, learns to enjoy completely the union of their bodies.

Most men will admit that they have physically stronger orgasms while masturbating than in intercourse (Hite 1981, 335). Intercourse demands more skill, and inexperienced boys often have trouble even inserting their penises.

387 A New Zealand boy said, "Kids used to ask me, 'Have you had a root?' and I'd say 'Yeah'. The woman in the shop used to ask me too, but she used to talk in Maori. Anyway, I had my first root at fourteen. I was taking a girl home from the movies. I had a bloody horn. There were stories about her—that there wasn't too much trouble with her. So I dragged her into the gospel hall. We flummoxed around—I knew where the old fella had to go, but actually putting the bastard into the hole was very very difficult. The girl herself was not a virgin—but I was. After a hell of a struggle, the old fella got in and we grunted away and that was it." (Tuohy and Murphy 1976, 189)

"It is unpleasasnt for the girl if you first have to grope for it for half an hour," an 18-year-old Dutch youth said (Straver 1977, 264).

388 Some subjects of Aaron Hass:

A 16-year-old boy: Even though I had read about it, I still felt very awkward.

A 17-year-old boy: I knew where to put it, but I didn't know how to go about it.

A 15-year-old boy: My partner was a virgin so I wasn't worried too much. I knew where the hole was and I felt around until I could find it. Everything else just came naturally.

(Hass 1979, 81)

Boys who follow their impulses this way may enjoy their first intercourse immensely.

389 "I remember thinking to myself, 'Wow, this is unbelievable, what is happening to me!' It was the most intense feeling I ever had, and it made me really proud of myself. I even took the filled rubber over to my friend's house to show him I had actually screwed a girl." (Hite 1981, 363)

But for quite a number of badly prepared boys it is a big disappointment. In the NISSO research, 12.3% of the 15- to 17-year-old boys claimed they were dissatisfied with their sexual experiences with girls (1973, 29). Among Schofield's subjects, only 48% of the boys had liked the first time, 14% were disappointed, 10% felt ashamed, 7% positively disliked it, 5% felt afraid (1965, 65). Repeated attempts improve this situation, but don't remove the difficulties completely. Of Schofield's male subjects, 72% enjoyed intercourse very much, 23% did so sometimes, and 5% not really; 54% always reached orgasm, 34% usually, 4% hardly ever and 8% never (1965, 90-91). It is striking, and most interesting, that the majority of even the most disappointed males soon

afterwards had intercourse again, proving the strength of nature's blind and imperious call (Straver and Geeraerts 1980, 96). Disappointment is common to all ages.

390 "Before having intercourse, I believed that orgasm inside a woman's vagina was supposed to be the best feeling in the world. It was so built up that I was disappointed when I finally did experience it." (Hite 1982, 352)

391 "My first sex experience was also the first time I was very aware of orgasm. I was nine and my partner thirteen. She dared me first to kiss her, and she manipulated me until I was performing intercourse. All I can récall is that when I came, I felt like a part of me had just left and went into her, and I neither understood it or wanted it. I was very much afraid someone (my mother) would discover its absence and hate me. I was extremely confused and very frightened." (Hite 1981, 757)

392 "My first intercourse at fourteen left me very confused because I wasn't sure if I enjoyed it so much after hearing so much about it. I was wondering if it was overrated." (Hite 1981, 364)

393 Yvonne Kroonenberg interviewed Guido, a big boy of 16, for the youth column of the Dutch newspaper *N.R.C. Handelsblad* (8 Jan 1983). She asked, "What about fucking?" "I don't do it very often." "Do you think it's as fine as people tell you it is?" "It disappointed me. You always hear it's so great, so delightful, but the first time I found it a great disappointment."

394 An 18-year-old baker's apprentice told about his first experience. "That was two years ago, on holiday in England, with a French girl. She was one year older than I. We'd known each other about a week. She was quite nice. She liked me, too; I was sure of that. Then one day we were walking along the beach. There was a wooden cabin and we went inside. It just happened. But it wasn't such a wonderful experience after all. Things didn't go really very well, you know. I was nervous. You are always nervous the first time. The first time is never very good, because you don't know exactly what to do. I think she had already done it some, because she asked me, 'I think this is your first time?' I found that a little annoying." (Straver 1977, 264-265)

395 "The first time I made love with a woman was when I was twenty-two. (...) When I entered her I remember thinking 'Is that all there is?' I didn't feel much different than masturbating. I came in a minute or two and was rather disconcerted that this wasn't the terrific, star-filled experience I thought it was to be (from information from my male friends)." (Hite 1982, 363)

How vaultingly high are the expectations of the inexperienced boy!

396 Some subjects of Hass:

A 15-year-old boy: I really don't know what to expect. I have heard it's like no other sensation and is more pleasurable than anything. I hope, of course, this is true. I think

that it will probably be a sensation similar to a wet dream, yet much more intense and pleasurable.

An 18-year-old boy: It will probably be very warm and wet inside her vagina. It will probably feel like masturbating but even more stimulating and climactic.

A 16-year-old boy: I thought it would be something incredibly nice.

A 15-year-old boy: I think it will be a combination of an emotional and physical high, the greatest feeling possible.

A 17-year-old boy: I'd had orgasms before, but I'd heard that a vagina was very hot and tight. I thought it would be great...

Others were more modest in their expectations:

A 17-year-old boy: I really do not have the slightest idea, but I wish I knew.

A 15-year-old boy: Probably the first time it will not be too exciting or fun because I will be too nervous to enjoy it.

A 16-year-old boy: I think I'll be nervous and come quickly.

Some of the experienced boys agreed with this.

A 17-year-old boy: I wasn't sure how it would feel when I put my penis in. The first time I was so excited I was shaking. I was disappointed because it was over so quickly. I thought I was going to have a heart attack I was so nervous.

A 16-year-old boy: I realized that it wasn't such a big deal. Just another way of getting pleasure.

A 17-year-old boy: Disappointed. I hadn't known what to do and I felt like I'd make a fool of myself.
(Hass 1979, 70-72, 77-79)

In a Danish investigation, only 60% of the boys said they had felt happy and proud after their first intercourse; 37% had anxieties about pregnancy or venereal disease; 10% regretted the act; 5% felt ashamed and guilty. Nevertheless, 98% felt the urge to repeat it (Hertoft 1968, I - 148). Sanders (1977, 73) examined Dutch boys most of whom were involved in a steady love relationship with their first partners—a favourable selection, thus. He got the following replies to his questions about their first experience with intercourse:

Did you feel completely satisfied and good afterwards?

"Yes, certainly!"—34%; "Rather"—20%; "I don't know"—4%; "Rather not"—32%; "Not at all"—10%.

Did you feel quite sure of yourself or rather unsure?

"Very sure of myself"—20%; "Rather sure"—28%; "I don't know"—12%; "Rather not sure"— 34%; "Very unsure"—6%.

Did you think afterwards, 'I won't do it again for some time to come?'

"Not at all"—70%; "Not really"—21%; "I don't know"—1%; "Deep down I did"—5%; "I definitely did"—2%.

397 Hass gives a number of the happier replies, but it is striking how important the social aspects are.

A 16-year-old boy: I felt relieved. I felt good about getting it over with. No one could say you're a virgin and inexperienced anymore.

A 15-year-old boy: (Regarding his virginity) I wanted to lose it fast because supposedly all my friends had already lost theirs.

A 15-year-old boy: I was always hoping I would lose my virginity at an early age.

A 16-year-old boy: I felt it should be done already. It was something you were supposed to do.

A 15-year-old boy: Excited. I remember thinking, "I've finally done it!"

A 17-year-old boy: I felt good about it. I felt I was normal now. I knew I could do it now.

A 17-year-old boy: Very proud and confident. I didn't feel like such a little kid anymore.

Only a few of the boys stressed the inner emotional importance:

A 16-year-old boy: After I did it for the first time, I loved it. It really was one of the most important experiences of my life. It made me at ease with a lot of girls...

An 18-year-old boy: I felt very gratified and happy. I felt that my curiosity was fulfilled and my determination was to go out and experience more girls.

A 15-year-old boy: It was like a dream come true. I had felt there was nothing more to life than what I had just done. And I wanted to do it again.
(Hass 1979, 75-77)

Much happiness, thus. But we must not forget the minority, a not small minority, of the unhappy boys. Over the past decade the average age at which boys have their first coitus has steadily lowered, and thus the number of inadequately prepared, untrained boys taking this step has increased. In a study of French grammar school pupils, 20% thought that this lowering of the age of first intercourse was regrettable *(Revue de Presse* 15 May 1982). Hass's subjects were happier about it: 83% of the 15- to 16-year-old boys agreed with the statement "I believe it is okay for a boy my age to have sexual intercourse with a girl," and 43% already had (18% by the time they were 13) (1979, 64, 66-67).

There is a quite understandable craving for experience. Summing up the results of her investigation among virgins, Nancy Friday writes (1981, 513-514): "The young men in this chapter broadcast their tension, their agony and fury at being frozen by assumptions that they know 'everything' while they still have no experience at all." "Questions about the first step, worries about the First Time, unresolved, unmeditated emotions of love, lust and anger come spewing out all at once. How cruelly these young men describe girls who put out, even as they dream of the nice girls who never will. They write down measurements of the penis they've never used. This is the age of the pill, they've read all the books, they can spell cunnilingus, they die for sex, all around them the whole world is Doing It, but they call a girl who does 'a pig'."

In a Parisian public convenience a boy wrote on the wall, "I am 14. I have a hard-on and I jerk it off every day. I would like to learn how to fuck a girl. Now I have to embrace my bolster and to jerk off." The need is no less for gay

boys. Another graffito runs: ''Young man, 16 years, with big cock wants young man of 18-20 years to teach him how to make love.'' (Ernest 1979, 18, 104)

Our society is schizophrenic. ''Everyone wants a spouse who is sexually proficient, but no one wants a child who is learning *how* to be sexually proficient.'' (Currier 1981, 15) To make it still more complicated, the boy is torn between the call of his body to do it, the commands of adults not to do it, and the heavy pressure of his peers to be sexually active and assert his 'manliness'. A 17-year-old girl said, ''Guys have so much pressure on them from peers to 'get what you can' and often they feel that they are in love only to find out they are not. Also, guys seem to need sexual intercourse much more than girls, so it makes it impossible for them to be virgins when they marry.'' A 17-year-old boy: ''There is a definite pressure to get laid before you get out of high school. Fucking for the first time relieved that pressure and allowed me to have a better relationship with girls.'' Another: ''The reason sex is important to me is because it brings with it companionship. Another reason is the peer pressure. Peer pressures play a major role in many of my actions.'' An 18-year-old: ''I like having sex, It's something you share with someone and it often remains as a pleasant memory. Also, among my friends, you're supposed to do it. Often we're bragging—I think it's the man's role.'' (Hass 1979, 13, 75, 86, 136)

''Boys, to prove they have become 'men', feel pressured to begin intercourse as early as possible.'' (Hite 1981, 362) This pressure can be very unpleasant and have a bad effect on the boy.

398 One of Hite's subjects wrote: ''I felt (and still do, to a lesser extent) incredible pressure on me to prove my manhood by screwing women. (...) I had to do it; if I didn't there was something wrong with me. Also, it was supposedly so great, look what I was missing. (...) If I couldn't find a woman to fuck, it was my fault. I was a failure.'' (Hite 1981, 353)

And another boy, also telling about his high school years: ''Boys *had* to 'get laid'. I was turned off by all this, but the pressure was enormous. The lying was insane. You couldn't stay accepted in your clique (...) without participating in this disgusting charade. (...) I felt driven to 'do it'. We all did..'' (Hite 1981, 354)

This kind of pressure can lead to quite disgusting incidents.

399 ''By the time I was seventeen, I was under a lot of peer pressure to 'do it' and get it over with. Three of us (it took three of us to muster enough courage) took out one of those girls known to be willing even with the likes of us. We drove out and parked. We drank (very manly to drink). We all knew what we were there for. We broke out the rubbers (that was very manly, to carry rubbers), and one of us went in the back seat with the girl. (...) I went last. I would certainly have chickened out if the others hadn't been there. (...) Amazingly, my penis was stiff as a rod. The seventeen-year-old male mind may be a stinking swamp, but the seventeen-year-old male body is a marvel.

> The girl was stretched out on her back with her skirt up around her hips. She had continued drinking (wisely) and was completely indifferent. None of it, the depressing sordidness, the total lack of caring in all of us, her indifference, my quaking, the palpable hostility under it all, none of it turned me off. And my penis was ready. God, it was awful, all of it. I climbed between her legs, pushed them up and out, and penetrated. She had to help. I then engaged in a parody of violent masculine battering thrusting, at which I lasted maybe ninety seconds, then came. She pushed me off. I was briefly out of it. (...) I threw out the rubber. (...) I vomited out the window. We drove back.'' (Hite 1981, 364-365)

Not every boy's body ''is a marvel'' under such circumstances. Many say that their relations with the opposite sex suffered from this pressure, and difficulties in getting an erection are sometimes one result. 39% of Hite's subjects had 'infrequent' potency problems, 17% sometimes, 13% frequently, regularly or always (1981, 398). One man said this happened to him when he was a teenager because he felt ''I must perform''. ''It is only a problem if we are blindly insistent on penis-vagina intercourse as essential.'' It wasn't until this man grew up that he learned that neither for the man nor for the woman was erection necessary for arousal and orgasm. ''A rigidly erect penis has no other use but penetration and thrusting.'' But there are other ways of enjoying sex (Hite 1981, 408-409).

It is stupid to allow a boy to be crushed between the pressure to remain a virgin (from his parents, the clergy) and the pressure to get rid of his virginity (from his peers). One 17-year-old boy very sensibly said, ''It's up to the boy if he wants to stay a virgin. He should do whatever he feels comfortable with.'' And another, ''I only believe a person should do what he or she truly wants. If someone wants to remain a virgin, fine—as long as it's not because of public opinion or sexual moral no-nos.'' (Hass 1979, 128)

A boy should be told that heterosexual and homosexual intercourse is a rather complicated activity, and that instruction and practice are needed to perform it in a way that gives joy to oneself and one's partner. Competent instruction and opportunity to exercise it should be offered him, but it should be left completely up to him to decide when he should put what he has learned to practice.

The idea of a practical introduction was widely accepted in our Western culture until the present century. During those years of very early (consummated) marriages, it was hardly unusual for the first coitus to take place in the presence of adults, who made helpful comments and gave advice. An enthusiastic entourage of courtiers, for example, accompanied Mary Stuart and her husband William, who was later to be stadtholder of Holland (both around 15 years of age) to their bedroom as a kind of finale to the wedding ceremonies, and there, as the onlookers cheered them on and offered suggestions, they made love for the first time (Dasberg 1975, 25).

V. SEXUAL REPRESSION AND SEXUAL LIBERATION

Until well into the last century, it was customary for well-to-do fathers to hire high-class prostitutes to initiate their sons (Fuchs 1909, II - 224-225; Bronslau 1968, 118). Other fathers brought their boys to a brothel when they began to show sexual curiosity. ''In the South of the United States, before the Civil War, in a society largely composed of self-styled cavaliers, it was thought that when young boys showed an interest in sex they should have that interest gratified. (...) The practice was called 'going to the barn' and was a special event not only for the curious young male children, but for the grown men of a community. These latter celebrated the event with whiskey. Simply, an old and trusted slave was ordered to bring a willing young Negro girl to the barn and a sexual partner of her choice with her. There, the couple stripped in front of the assembled white men and boys and engaged in whatever sexual acts they cared to. After they had given their lesson, the young boys who had previously been curious about the situation were allowed to take their turns on the young girl.'' (Bronslau 1968, 117-118)

In 1846 the Oneida community in America began letting an older woman initiate boys soon after they had reached puberty. She trained them in the practice of prolonged intercourse in which the penis remains stiff in the vagina for periods of up to an hour without the emission of sperm (Ellis 1913, VI - 553).

400 In 1979 the McHenry County, Illinois police exposed a ''sex education school'' in which over the preceding five years boys ranging in age between seven and sixteen had been trained in sex. There was a card file for the progress of each ''pupil''. Some examples:

''Age at beginning of course: 11. ET: 3 months. Frequency of lessons: daily, 1½ hours. Successful completion and pairing with female of 12. Extremely hot, horny, and eager to learn. Prolific sex life since completion, bisexual.''

''Age at start of course: 14. Age at end of course: 15. ET: 1½ years. Frequency of lessons: weekly, 12 hours. Successful completion and pairing with female of 15. Hot, horny, eager to the extreme. Regularly had sex with his brother and sister, as well as many friends.''

(Illinois Legislative 1980, 158)

Boys with an intimate relationship with an older friend often beg him to set things up so they can have such a fervidly desired experience with girls. So Pelops, who had been the favourite boy of the sea god Poseidon, later asked the god to assist him in his courtship of Hippodameia (Koch-Harnack 1983, 233). Many boy-lovers refuse such a request, partly because they feel a boy isn't ready to possess a girl as long as he can't conquer one himself, partly because they don't know how to go about procuring a suitable paramour, partly because they are jealous and want to keep the boy for as long as possible for themselves alone. Some, however, comply.

401 (Continued from 326) So did Jan, Conny's friend. Conny, a white, blond boy, was 13 years old at the time, healthy, strong, having just reached sexual maturity and proud possessor of a penis that looked gigantic in proportion to his boyish, smooth and hairless body. Many years before, when he himself was still a boy, Jan had met a nine-year-old girl while camping in Germany and had enjoyed sex play with her. Since then they had exchanged letters and met occasionally. Jan told her about Conny's urgent wish and she immediately agreed to initiate him. So on Conny's school vacation, Jan took him on a bicycle trip to Hamburg. The girl was very pleased to see this handsome, charming boy and actually fell in love with him. Conny, too, became very fond of Margot. Jan took her aside and told her, "Conny likes you a lot, so be very considerate of him. Don't hurt his feelings. He is extremely sexy; don't disappoint him." "I'd never do that!" she said with a roguish smile. A few nights later, when they were all quite relaxed with one another, Margot came to the bedroom of the two friends, crawled into bed and lay naked between man and boy. They both caressed and fondled her, until all three were highly aroused. For the first time in his life, Conny examined the genitals of a woman. Then Jan urged him to "do it". Suddenly the boy, in other circumstances quite a dare-devil, found his courage failing him, and he whispered to Jan, "You do it first." Jan then had intercourse with Margot, exciting himself by looking at the aroused boy beside him. Now it was Conny's turn, and it amused Jan to see how clumsy the boy's first attempts were; Conny couldn't even find the girl's entrance, and Jan had to take hold of the boy's penis and guide it in. Jan hadn't really enjoyed his intercourse with Margot, but the sight of his beloved boy exerting himself to the utmost and almost shouting with delight, now excited him immensely. As soon as Margot had left the room he threw himself upon Conny and penetrated him from behind. This again excited the boy so much that right afterwards he had to satisfy himself in the same fashion upon Jan.

Seven years later the author met Conny, now a handsome, energetic young man, doing well in his profession and about to marry. He talked about this adventure: "Oh, it was wonderful!", he said enthusiastically, "a most delicious initiation. I'm very proud I had it as young as thirteen." He had been engaged for the last four years, and the couple had regular intercourse with each other. Jan gave them the opportunity and the place. From Conny's 16th year on there had always been in Jan's home a little bedroom where the boy could be alone with his girl, and a bed in which they could celebrate their love.

This generous provision of a bed by his friend made Conny's adolescence much happier than that of the majority of his peers. According to de Boer's study (1978, 139, G - 2-7/8) only 46% of the boys could regularly find a place for their sexual pleasures and 36% complained of being unable to find one often enough.

Jan's response of intense excitement watching his beloved boy in heterosexual coitus is hardly rare among boy-lovers. Martial tells in his poems of slave-boy owners carefully keeping their favourites from having intimate contacts with girls, but admits he himself loves to see "a big boy whose skin is still wholly smooth, lying with a loving girl." (II - 48) A more extreme situation is depicted

by the Arab poet Abu Nuwas making a love-trio with his beloved boy Mufaddal and the slave-girl Durra:

How nice it is when Mufaddal
Stretches himself upon my charming mistress Durra,
And I, a second rider, am sitting on Mufaddal
And sleep with them,
Threading two pearls at the same time.
(Wagner 1965, 174)

In Antiquity, as with the Phoenicians and partly also with the Romans, the defloration of the bride was seen as an unclean, disagreeable, sometimes even risky task. The same is told about the Philippine and New Guinea tribes in former times, where special functionaries were even paid to perform it. But in Classical Antiquity this task was entrusted to slaves instead, and Peyrefitte describes how some newly-married husbands at a mass marriage took their favourite slave-boys with them to deflower their brides in their presence (Peyrefitte 1981, 433; See also Spinner 1931, 143-144; Ploss-Bartels 1902, I 487).

Since systematic, timely initiation of boys by experienced older girls or women is not part of our culture, we may ask what might be done by older boys and men to fill this need. Nature, as so often, has left a way. ''The sexuality of young boys is not yet burdened with taboos; they have not yet repressed anything; nothing is internalised; they simply do what gives them pleasure. Their sexual impulse hasn't yet fixed upon one sex only; it enjoys variants. Their lust still retains something of its originality.'' (Schult 1982, 33)

402 1979 was launched with great fanfare as ''The Year of the Child'' by the President of West Germany in the Beethoven Hall at Bonn. During the proceedings, the assembled dignitaries were petrified when a 14-year-old boy flung the following in their faces: ''I am a sexual being and I want to be able to enjoy my sexuality completely—with adults, with fourteen-year-olds, with sixteen-year-olds, with eighteen-year-olds, with boys and girls, with men and women. No matter what sex and what age. I need love above all else—and it's just this love that I don't get, because other things are considered more important, things like school and learning and studying and earning money. Why can't I give expression to my feelings?'' (Hauer 1983, 9)

This courageous boy undoubtedly spoke for millions of his peers—and the adults, in their self-satisfied wisdom, ignored his words.

Yet, sexual behaviour is part of human behaviour, and a boy has to be educated in sexual behaviour. Such education is favoured and intensified by five factors: 1) sensual lust; 2) reduction of tension, 3) the experience of an

affectionate relationship, 4) social esteem and personal pride about one's quality as a partner in love, 5) the conviction that one is acting in accordance with certain norms (Marinkelle 1976, 291).

The first two factors are present in every successful sexual act with a male or female partner. The last factor may support the inexperienced boy having intercourse with a girl when he knows he is acting according to the expectations of his peers, as we have already seen. But the complete effect of factors 3, 4 and 5 can only operate in a boy's relationship with a loving adult. Such a person can not only show him how to make sex an expression of tenderness but can teach him the truth about the usefulness and justification of their relationship.

Few parents can bring themselves to praise their son's sexual potency and his love-making skills. The mother of Philippe d' Orléans (1674-1723), regent of France, proudly told her friends that her son, at age 13, had been initiated by ''an excellent woman''. (Foral 1981, 191-192) Not many parents today follow this example; they haven't the faintest idea how good their son is at sex. But a boy-lover may easily discuss his young friend's potency and skills with his intimates, and often in the presence of the boy himself, who will thereby be strengthened in his self-esteem.

''Sex, like almost every other human learning activity, is—it seems from a totally objective, non-moralising point of view—best begun at an individual's earliest physically-possible age. And sex, like any other art or craft, has its own well-established techniques that need to be learned—if not expertly taught!'' (Barrington 1981, 185) Professor Heid thinks it imperative to affirm and encourage human sexuality from the first day of life. ''The capacity of sexual excitement and sexual behaviour have to be learned. The best way of learning can only be 'learning by doing'. But this can only happen if we adopt a positive attitude toward sex.'' (1977, 144) Giese said in 1968 that a sexually experienced adult man, approaching a boy tenderly and in an appropriate way, may sometimes favour his harmonious sexual evolution'' (Hanack 1968, 94).

But all this rich potential for sexual feeling, behaviour and experience will wither away if the boy cannot be brought to recognise those impulses in himself and develop them (Beets 1964, 137-138). When a boy is not interested in certain sexual practices, when he shows no desire to gain wider knowledge, the cause can be mental rigidity, but it might also be that he has simply not had a chance to explore (de Boer 1978, II - 87). No one can better help him overcome this limitation, to develop the healthy appetite and curiosity of his age, than an experienced older friend.

Little wonder, then, that in humans, just as in other animals, homosexuality plays an important part in sexual training and practice. Hinde and Spencer-Booth (''The behaviour of socially living rhesus monkeys in the first two and a half years''. *Animal Behaviour* 15, 169-196: 1967) saw young monkeys in their

experimental sex play assume both male and female roles, only slightly more frequently exhibiting the 'appropriate' behaviour for their gender (Langfeldt 1981, 103). The heterosexual and homosexual positions flow into one another. It is the same with other animals, such as chickens (Kruijt 1976, 27). Among dogs, bulls, rats, porcupines, guinea pigs, goats, horses, donkeys, elephants, hyenas, bats, mice, lions, rabbits, cats, racoons, baboons, apes and porpoises, ''homosexual contacts between males are more conspicuous and occur more frequently than between females. The animals caress each other, inspect the partner's genitals, mount each other, one adopting the female position; some insert their penis in the partner's anus; others lick the partner's penis. Male monkeys masturbate each other. All these activities are occasionally continued until orgasm ensues. The higher the development of the species, the more characteristic and frequent this homosexual play. Prevalent in all this is a relationship between an older and a younger partner, the senior protecting the junior in his social position, bringing him food, cuddling and caressing him, while the younger one adopts the female role during sexplay. Bent forward, the younger monkey may reach backward to guide the penis of the older one into his anus, and sometimes he masturbates while his partner is copulating with him.'' (Churchill 1967, 60-62, 65, 67)

We might expect the same in the human species, and that is indeed the case with many so-called primitive peoples (Daniélou 1979, 157). ''It is interesting that homosexual rather than heterosexual relations are so often chosen as a means of initiating the pubertal youth into manhood; but this undoubtedly results from the idea that homosexual union confers magical benefits.'' (Churchill 1967, 82) This kind of sex is believed to help the boys grow big and strong and enlarge their penises (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1980, 72, 86, 90; Herdt 1981, 233-235). ''When the boy has proved his prowess as a homosexual lover and has 'absorbed' some of the strength of the older male, he is then thought ready for heterosexual relationships, although these may not necessarily terminate his homosexual activities.'' (Churchill 1967, 82) In Chapter Three we mentioned people like the Batak and various Papuan tribes where a period of exclusive homosexuality precedes marriage (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1980, 71-72; Herdt 1981, 318-320; Marinkelle 1976, 47; Schieffelin 1982, 162-163; West 1977, 135). They consider heterosexual intercourse dangerous for boys (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1980, 47; Werner 1979, 358; Herdt 1981, 150). There is social logic to this system: as long as he is not integrated into the group of men by initiation, the boy is not a man; he is therefore a woman, and women may only have sex with men (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1980, 52, 68).

When we think about this arrangement, leaving out the magic, we can see definite advantages to these relationships and benefits to young and old alike.

A woman, of course, may be an excellent initiator. We have seen several examples where initiation has even acquired the status of an institution. Even in our Western world many a boy has been affectionately and expertly 'deflowered' by an older girl or a woman, and this can be a very fine experience for him, indeed. Occasionally a wise judge refuses to punish a woman brought to trial for having sex with an under-age boy, ruling that the act was ''educational'' (Mitzel 1980, 24). But the number of women attracted to young boys is rather limited, and the clumsy behaviour of a boy on his first attempts usually takes away any pleasure most women might have had. Male adults have a keener perception of the aesthetic beauty of boyhood and its characteristic way of thinking and feeling. From their own experiences they have gained the ability to enter a boy's mind and understand him (Gide 1925, 136-137; Nichols 1976, 89).

Langfeldt, a youth psychiatrist, stresses that homosexual interactions increase sexual skill as well as provide a source of sex information. ''Some boys practised start-stop procedures during mutual masturbation and reported later that they easily could control their orgasm during coitus with girls''. (1981, 112). ''As lovers, homosexual and bisexual males are, in the main, more considerate and more 'technique-conscious', more sexually imaginative and innovative than most totally heterosexual males.'' (Barrington 1981, 187) It is usually easy for a boy to obtain an orgasm, but, as we have seen, perfecting it is an acquired skill. The best orgasms are had by abandoning oneself to the ''current of biological energy'' or ''the vegetative life of the body'', and the more complete this abandonment is, the deeper and more delightful the orgiastic experience. This has to be taught to the boy, but obviously he can only practise such an abandonment when he feels safe and protected. With a girl or a woman, he may worry about his clumsiness, how to do what is expected of him. With an older male friend, the right kind of situation can be created where he is care-free and shame-free and can give in totally to the tide of nature. Therefore, ''homosexual experiences seem to 'round off' and socially and psychologically 'enrich' young heterosexual males, who become more tolerant and sophisticated (in every way).'' (Barrington 1981, 156) In heterosexual love-making, obtaining orgasm during coitus is usually considered the most important goal: the curious heterosexual terminology of ''foreplay'' and ''afterlove'' for everything else is a case in point. Everything else is either play or anti-climactic, i.e. not very serious; the orgasm is all that really matters. With an experienced man a boy may learn to give more attention to such intimacies as fondling, cuddling, pressing naked body on naked body. In learning the techniques of love-making, a boy's body is his best school.

In ancient Greece, boys were early taught the art of kissing; in the spring there were even public competitions, as well as beauty contests for boys and