

Civil Rights and the Homosexual A 4-Million Minority Asks for Equal ...

By WEBSTER SCHOTT

New York Times (1923-Current file); Nov 12, 1967; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times
pg. 271

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By WEBSTER SCHOTT

IT has no place on the Great Society's list of priorities. It's not a subject most Americans want to think about, much less discuss. Yet some 4-million men in the United States live in fear and trembling over it. They are homosexuals. They want freedom of sex.

Their sexual practices violate middle-class sensibilities, the Ten Commandments, and laws in 49 states. Attitudes toward homosexuality seem to be changing. United States laws are not. Eventually laws must change in response to new mores. Sin may always be sin, but it tends to escape the category of crime as we convince ourselves the consequences are private instead of public.

Ask any homosexual what he wants society to do about his sexual preference and he will say let me alone, find me partners, get the laws changed or drop dead. Ask anyone else and you begin testing the balance of hostility, compassion and reason that holds human personality together.

Teen culture back in my Illinois home town during World War II had a simple way of dealing with homosexuals. Our high-school football heroes beat them up. Just for the hell of it. Horsing around outside a Nash showroom recommissioned as the Idle Hour, one of our beefy tackles would wait to be picked up by a G.I. He would lead his victim down the alley toward the Knights of Pythias park. Then, wham! The rest of the squad would lay the poor

soldier out, perhaps relieve him of his watch, hop into a Model A and head for the B-Z-B. Mexican wimpies and lots of laughs for everyone. It got so bad Scott Field had to station M.P.'s outside the tavern like door-men.

THAT sort of thing doesn't happen much anymore. High school kids have found newer diversions. But the homosexual still lives on the edge of catastrophe. A victim of strange forces in his past, he awaits the crushing effect of new ones. Most have to do with discovery and exposure. This spring in New York City local police and F.B.I. agents broke up a 70-man extortion ring that had taken hundreds of thousands of dollars in blackmail money from at least 700 homosexuals throughout the United States. The victims included men from the heights of eminence: two deans of Eastern universities, several professors, business executives, a motion picture actor, a television personality, a California physician, a general and an admiral, a member of Congress, a British theatrical producer and two well-known singers. Another victim, a high-ranking military officer, committed suicide the night before he was to testify to a New York County grand jury investigating the racket.

All were shaken down by crooks posing as police officers after decoys from the ring got the victims into hotel rooms. In every case the extortionists made the same threat, to expose the homosexuals unless they paid up.

Public response to news of the ring's activities suggests our ambivalent and uncertain attitude toward homosexuality. Dispassion prevailed in reports of the episode. As much

sympathy as disapproval was spent on the victims. Sodomy laws were waived during the investigation. The United States is moving toward a *détente*, if not a peace treaty, with its homosexuals.

Like the Pope's prostate, the extraction of hallucinogens and the mating habits of teen-agers, homosexuality is open to discourse in 20th-century America. It builds circulation for mass magazines. It furnishes topics for symposia. It provokes liberal clergymen to new definitions of love. It serves as fodder for the crazy button and poster industries. It provides TV talkathons with guests, funds research projects and excites intellectuals.

One aspect of homosexuality is a minor United States industry. Our major cities don't list them among their tourist attractions, but every metropolitan area has a string of gay bars where homosexuals gather to make contacts. Kansas City has at least five. New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco have scores of them. In Chicago, if you want exclusivity and have \$1,000 for the initiation fee, you can join a swank homosexual club. The traveling homosexual can even buy a directory of gay saloons so he is never lacking in fun places to go. If he is a student at Columbia University he can now join an approved student homosexual group, the Student Homophile League, first homosexual organization to be officially recognized by a United States university.

WE now have the beginning of a national homosexual press, although it's presently little more than a mimeograph machine. Published in

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Our sex attitudes have been updated—in some ways, drastically—but our sex laws are still those a Mayflower Pilgrim would approve; hence, today's pressure for change. Below, a protest sponsored by homosexual organizations in Philadelphia.



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Los Angeles, the homosexual magazine One claims a national circulation of 5,000. San Francisco's SIR (Society for Individual Rights, Inc.), largest United States homophile group, publishes Vector. The Los Angeles Free Press, an antiestablishment weekly edited by affluent hippies, carries homosexual classified advertising. Examples from an early fall issue:

Gay couple male 24 would like to meet young guys who swing & groove in Orange County. Send photo if poss . . .

Would you like a gay pen-pal?
Make new friends thru the mail.
Send \$1 to . . .

HELLO GAY LOVERS!
WHOEVER YOU ARE!
Drop a line to . . .

Moving above ground, activist homosexuals have organized clubs or societies in some 40 United States cities. All exchange newsletters and are affiliated with a national group, the North American Homophile Conference, which has a membership of around 6,000. Somewhat feebly, the North American Homophile Conference attempts to educate the public, secure legal counsel for homosexuals and conduct a medical and religious referral service.

TO identify with a homosexual organization is one thing. To practice homosexuality is another. Cruising gay bars, affecting mannerisms of homosexuals, members of police vice squads try to ensnare homosexuals in the act of solicitation. Depending on police vigor, imagination and zeal, the homosexual flirts with arrest, fine and a criminal record every time he makes a new homosexual contact.

Homosexual groups plead the case for gay bars with the police. They argue that gay bars keep homosexuals out of bus stations, rest rooms, parks, away from kids. They've had some success. In Kansas City homosexuals may dance and hold hands in gay bars; police visit them to make certain patrons are of legal age. In Los Angeles last year on New Year's Eve gay bars were raided by officers. Fighting broke out. Several homosexuals were hospitalized. One underwent surgery for the removal of his spleen. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once said that the law of the land may be the United States Constitution but to most of us it's whatever the cop on the beat says it is.

Even in Chicago, in a state where sexual acts in private between consenting adults have not been regulated by law since 1962, nearly 100 arrests were made for public solicitation in the Loop during a recent 12-month period. Homosexuals say that in the absence of sodomy laws police can and do invoke nuisance and loitering statutes to harass them.

In more than one way the situation

of the United States homosexual is atypical. Among industrialized nations, the United States is one of the minority—along with the Soviet Union and West Germany—in trying to regulate with Old Testament sodomy laws what willing adults of different or similar gender do in private. Even such predominantly Roman Catholic countries as France, Italy, Mexico and Uruguay make no attempt to enforce by law what the church forbids as sin. Penal codes in Denmark, Sweden, Holland and Switzerland do not distinguish between homosexual and heterosexual acts. The Napoleonic code prevails.

After years of debate, British sex law finally changed last summer as a result of the famed Wolfenden Report. In the United Kingdom public solicitation and sexual acts between minors carry stiff penalties, but what consenting adults do in private is now their own business and a matter of conscience. The new law takes a few wild turns, of course. A sleeper on a night train to Scotland, for example, is a "public place."

To make private sexual acts between consenting adults an issue of morality, not law, is the first goal of those who care about the phenomenon of homosexuality in the United States. In a ground-breaking report issued in 1955, the American Law

Institute urged reform of United States criminal laws to bring them in line with reality:

"No harm to the secular interests of the community is involved in

atypical sexual practice in private between consenting adult partners. This area of private morals is the distinctive concern of spiritual authorities."

On Aug. 31 of this year, the American Civil Liberties Union took a similar position. Arguing that laws penalizing homosexual conduct are "more honored in the breach than in

practice," the A.C.L.U. policy statement noted that "the state has a legitimate interest in controlling, by criminal sanctions, public solicitation for sexual acts and, particularly, sexual practices where a minor is concerned." But the A.C.L.U. insisted that "the right of privacy should extend to all private sexual conduct and should not be a matter for invoking the penal statutes."

BUT the United States homosexual wants more than freedom from prosecution as a sodomite. In the context of what our society may be disposed to give him, he wants the moon. Drew Shafer, a 31-year-old homosexual who is president of the Phoenix Society and an officer of the North American Homophile Conference, recently sketched the homosexual dream. "The average homosexual is a person who spends his entire life in hiding," says Shafer. "He would really like to feel like a citizen, like every other person. Not ill, but free. A real human being." The word "freedom" covers every aspiration of the homosexual, says Shafer. He wants to be free to pursue homosexual love, free to serve in the armed forces, free to hold a job or advance in his profession, free to champion the cause of homosexuality.

Several homosexuals I talked to recently spoke seriously of the homosexual's desire for binding, legal



GAY BAR—A scene from the film "Advise and Consent."

homosexual marriage. One of them, a 28-year-old Government worker and activist who uses the pseudonym "Alan Hunter," offered economic reasons. Homosexual marriage, he said, would permit the sharing of household expenses, the filing of joint income tax returns, joint ownership of property.

Shafer ranks homosexual marriage high among the deviate's hopes because the homosexual is a "terribly lonely person." "Homosexuality," says Shafer, "isn't only for the young. One thing the homosexual doesn't want is to grow old alone. You need someone who cares, someone to talk to when you're low. You can't do that staring at the walls of a bachelor apartment."

He argues that homosexual loyalties and relationships often have duration comparable to heterosexual relationships. "I know some couples who have been together 25 years or more," Shafer says. "Most people think of these couples as the two quiet, middle-aged bachelors down the street." Professional scholars of homosexual culture cannot foresee any institutional equivalent of matrimony for homosexuals. The average homosexual marriage lasts at most three or four years.

IF homosexual marriage, joint-income tax returns, total freedom now sound like fantasy to the "straight" world, such aspirations at least clarify the difference between our conception of homosexuals and the self-image they hold of themselves. The homosexual wants a radical change of status in United States society. He wants laws revised, public attitudes altered, the varieties of sex expanded.

In effect we already have *de facto* recognition of the homosexual's right to celebrate his sexual preference in private. Homosexuals in certain occupations—hair dressing, interior decoration, all the arts—are taken for granted. Professional organizations and some labor unions protect acknowledged homosexuals. Some corporations knowingly employ homosexuals—designers, writers, craftsmen—and help them secure psychiatric assistance if they want it. But the vast majority of homosexuals undoubtedly live in fear of their jobs. For many, the higher they rise in their fields the more vulnerable they become to blackmail.

To make the United States homosexual secure on his job and to free him from the fear

Some sex-law reformers are asking for the moon

of discovery that infects his life require first of all dramatic changes in law. This might happen in two ways. All state sodomy statutes might be changed by state legislatures or struck down in wholesale judicial decisions that find such laws contrary to state bills of rights. These are about as likely as the sun's dropping from the sky Monday morning. Another state action might be the elimination of state sodomy laws during revision of criminal codes. Currently, the state of Washington is revising its criminal code, as Illinois did several years ago. The Seattle Civil Liberties Union is trying to get sodomy dropped from the new code. (Among the sex sins on the books in Washington State is having intercourse with a bird.) For this to happen to sodomy statutes in 49 states may be impossible. Some state criminal codes have never been revised, others only once during the past 50 years.

A FAR more likely possibility is that the United States Supreme Court might render a decision declaring unconstitutional all state laws that attempt to regulate sexual behavior between consenting adults in private. Many civil libertarians believe these laws are unconstitutional in the light of modern interpretations of the Fourth and Fifth Amendments to the United States Constitution. Article IV guarantees "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures." Article V guarantees that "no person . . . shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law . . ."

Curiously, the Supreme Court in modern times has not been confronted with a clear-cut case dealing with convictions in a state court of sodomy violations in private by mutual consent. Some chapters of the American Civil Liberties Union are anxious to challenge sodomy laws and await petitioners. In the meantime, the Court appears destined to hear cases that may prepare the Justices for thinking through the place of law in the bedroom. It has been asked to hear a challenge to the New York vagrancy law that makes it a criminal offense for men to wear women's clothing in public. The elusive euphemism "psychopathic personality" in United States immigration codes has been interpreted by the second United States Circuit Court of Appeals to mean the barring of homosexuals from this country. The Ninth Circuit Court has twice ruled that section of the immigration law void for vagueness. The Supreme Court

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will have to resolve the difference and may find opportunity to express itself on the constitutional rights of homosexuals.

If not next year or the next, then five years or ten years hence the United States Supreme Court will strike down existing state laws which make practicing homosexuals criminals. For several decades the Court has moved in the direction of protecting private rights to counterbalance the monolithic social powers of state and private property in our vast city-state technocracy. The right to have sex without state intrusion must inevitably be confirmed and codified by the Court. It is unreasonable to assume that our culture would protect the right of homosexual artists to celebrate the rites of homosexuality in art without modifying laws, in response to prevailing mores, to permit homosexuals to live as homosexuals in peace.

The Court's decision in the Griswold vs. Connecticut contraceptive case several years ago supports this belief. Sex in a modern industrialized society has changed from reproduction to pleasure—if its function ever was consciously primarily reproductive—and the effect of the Court's contraceptive decision was to note that reality.

As in most of the rest of the world, the United States homosexual will one day have his sex legally in private any way he wants it. Yet a society as schizophrenic about sex as ours—pandering to the drive in all forms of communication yet restricting by law its practice to forms of expression suited to Mayflower Pilgrims—will struggle and sweat as it consigns to the realm of sin what it cannot enforce as law. Such is the history of birth control and alcohol in the United States. Such in time will become the history of abortion, marijuana and certain psychic stimulants. Laws aimed at homosexuals will change because a moral revolution is invading the institutions of American life—the church, the family, schools, political organizations—and dramatically altering what we think of as right and wrong.

DEVILATES and others campaigning for an end to sodomy laws argue that to change the homosexual's status from covert criminal to open deviate would drive blackmailers out of business. If the United States Civil Service abandoned its position on the employment of homosexuals, it is said, the homosexual could not fall victim to blackmailers. State secrets would be safe because admitted homosexuals would have nothing to fear. Their jobs and roles would be secure in a bureaucracy that accepts them for what they are—different but trustworthy.

There's at least one hole in this argument. Even if homosexuals were

openly employed by Government, would United States society tolerate the idea of a homosexual, as say, Under Secretary of State, Speaker of the House, or President of the United States? Not in the foreseeable future. And would not such a person, despite official policy toward homosexuals, be vulnerable to countless pressures, including blackmail, to keep his homosexuality secret? Of course the same is true of the adulterer, the ex-convict, the alcoholic. The attitude of society, not what laws may permit, determines the susceptibility of men in power to coercion and exploitation. Drew Pearson alleges homosexuals in Governor Reagan's office last summer and it's national news three months after the fact or non-fact.

Sodomy laws should and will be abandoned in the United States because they violate constitutional guarantees, because evidence that sodomy harms society is vague and uncertain, and because these laws cannot be enforced. Among the educated and sophisticated in our society, attitudes toward homosexuals have shifted visibly. But it is almost impossible to believe these attitudes will move toward active approval. And that seems what articulate homosexuals want.

WHEN the homosexual speaks of marriage, child adoption, job security, and "educating the public," he is really saying he wants his life and sexual behavior to be considered equivalent to everyone else's—only somewhat different. Which is optimism of very high order. The facts of homosexual activity are repulsive to heterosexuals—and vice versa, the homosexual will quickly add. Homosexuals are a minority in a heterosexual society. The culture may be led to tolerate homosexuality. Only a psychic upheaval could lead our culture to sanction it.

Our society accepts—sometimes honors—homosexual art. Homosexuals dominate the American theater and their dramas inform us of emotional violence done in the name of heterosexual love as, perhaps, no heterosexual art can. The homosexual has a vision of such things that drives him to extraordinary intensities. Homosexual fiction and poetry have opened windows of human awareness, plumbed depths of feeling that may be unique because of the homosexual's special feelings of isolation, the very essence of his social position. Either because in lonely childhood the homosexual became better at introspective tasks or be-

cause of innate abilities related to sexual deviation, some homosexuals appear to possess greater proficiency in histrionics and dance, manipulation of color and shape, and esthetic expression.

Despite the homosexual's inability to experience heterosexual emotions, he has made his culture richer if not happier. But homosexuals see their culture from the bottom of a terrible well of loneliness. Their preference, their burden, their social disadvantage distorts their vision. Stanley Kauffmann defined the price heterosexuals and homosexuals must pay for the homosexual dramatists' art: "Conventions and puritanisms in the Western world have forced them to wear masks for generations, to hate themselves, and thus to hate those who make them hate themselves."

DURING the millennia of our tortured ascent from jungle to alabaster cities, man has devised a faulty but operative society. Heterosexuality lies under that society like a massive structure of steel and cement, however pitted with rust and attacked by erosion. Heterosexuality perpetuates the species. It is typical. Homosexuality gratifies longing, makes lives endurable. It is atypical and theoretically destructive of the species. Nothing in the psychophysical logic of the homosexual activist may be sufficiently persuasive to bring heterosexuals to view homosexuality as anything other than unattractive and life-denying.

At best, heterosexuals can be led to a greater understanding of the causes of homosexuality and greater tolerance of it as either an emotional disorder or as unalterable sexual deviation. But no public utterance from a position of disinterested authority has yet told Americans what they should think or do about homosexuality. Alfred Kinsey's assurance that "the only unnatural sex act is that which you cannot perform" was a conundrum of semantics.

Illumination if not resolution may be forthcoming in 1968 or 1969. Late this summer the National Institute of Mental Health announced the formation of a new Task Force on Human Sexuality, with special focus on homosexuality. The first major effort of N.I.M.H. in this area, the goal of this interdisciplinary group of 12 experts drawn from psychiatry, sociology, the clergy, law, psychology and anthropology is to advise the N.I.M.H. on projects to undertake in basic research, applied research, education, treatment

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Homosexuals and the Armed Forces

-A MORAL DILEMMA



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THE PHOENIX

WEST BOSTON, MASS.

July 1967



SAMPLES from the homosexual press. Activist homosexuals have organized clubs in some 40 U. S. cities.

and therapy, policy and the law, all concerning homosexuality.

Chairman of the task force is Dr. Evelyn Hooker, research psychologist at U.C.L.A., who has been investigating homosexuality and homosexual culture continuously since 1954 with grants from N.I.M.H. Both Dr. Hooker and Dr. Richard Sallick, psychiatrist and assistant to the director of N.I.M.H., cite the lack of "hard data" as the great problem in dealing with homosexuality. "No

question concerning homosexuality can be backed up with irrefutable scientific evidence," says Dr. Hooker. "That is the prime reason for the N.I.M.H. task force."

Many of the questions seem clear. All of the clues to answers seem fogged. Against the possibility that liberalization of sodomy laws might lead to increases in the number of overt homosexuals, Dr. Hooker cites the great freedom of association in Holland and the lack of evidence that the percentage of practicing homosexuals has risen. Yet no scientific studies have been made to investigate either rise or decline.

EXPERTS believe the incidence of homosexual behavior among longterm convicts in prison may be as high as 70 per cent. Dr. Paul Gebhard, director of the Institute for Sex Research at Indiana University, principal author of "Sex Offenders: An Analysis of Types," and inheritor of Kinsey's mantle, studied 2,244 convicts for his book. A member of the N.I.M.H. task force and recipient of around \$500,000 from N.I.M.H. for research at the institute since 1957, Gebhard says that the great majority of convicts serving lengthy sentences engage in homosexual behavior in order to "make do." His book did not study the lasting effects of such experiences. But on the basis of interviews among repeating convicts, he believes most convicts return to predominantly heterosexual lives when outside prison society.

To Gebhard, an anthropologist, this suggests that "homosexuality cannot be permanently induced as preferred sexual behavior in adult males after the maturing years—the years beyond 20 or 30." But, as Dr. Hooker says, no one knows for sure. "Not a single follow-up study has been made of the sex behavior of ex-convicts."

A year or so ago the New York Academy of Medicine officially stated that homosexuality is a mental illness. Dr. Sallick, recognizing an explosive issue, refuses "to get involved in that argument." Dr. Hooker tends to consider some forms of homosexuality a social problem, although she says "some homosexuals suffer from mental illness in the same way that heterosexuals are mentally ill. . . . I do not take the position that it is inherently and inevitably an illness and therefore must be treated as if it were a matter of psychopathology. However, like poverty, discrimination, delinquency, it is a

problem in living and must therefore be considered a mental health problem."

Even the question of numbers is open to speculation. Four per cent of the adult male population, said Alfred Kinsey, are hard-core, full-time practicing homosexuals. That is the figure most experts continue to use. But Kinsey, whose sample was not chosen at random and was therefore unreliable, said that 10 per cent of the male population practices homosexuality exclusively for at least three years between adolescence and old age. Dr. Hooker has the impression Kinsey's figures are, if anything, on the conservative side. "The strategies of managing deviation are infinite."

DESPITE vast amounts of theorizing, the causes of homosexuality are still uncertain. Freud attributed homosexuality to unresolved Oedipal feelings. Talk to any homosexual and he usually provides the classic example of an absent or weak father and an ever-present or dominant mother. Yet one study of identical twins suggests there may be genetic or constitutional factors that contribute to homosexuality. Investigations of hormonal influences or other biochemical determinants have just begun. The etiology of homosexuality, says Dr. Sallick, is little more than a mystery. He places it near the top of priorities in sex research in the United States. "One would suspect," he says, "that looking into American Negro society you would find a greater incidence of homosexuality because of its predominantly matriarchal quality. But apparently it's not true. Instead there appears to be a greater amount of sexuality in all its forms."

Finally, the problem of homosexuality in the United States seems to merge with the large one of sex and taboo in our culture. If we want less homosexuality, we must, say experts in the field, open the culture to freer expression of sexuality. Dr. Gebhard argues that hard-core homosexuality is all but unknown in highly sexually permissive cultures in Africa, Samoa and the other islands of Polynesia. Males and females experiment freely with homosexual and heterosexual behavior—often with adults—from early childhood and beyond adolescence. When they reach adulthood, they choose heterosexuality as their dominant sexual pattern.

In the United States, says Gebhard, males as children and adolescents have much more opportunity for homosexual experience than heterosexual experience. Heterosexual encounters are taboo, even though the culture requires its children to mature

Joint income tax returns for homosexual couples?

as heterosexuals. Given certain other conditions—reversed parental roles, loss of the male parent, emotionally volatile homes or extreme isolation from other children—the male is made homosexual by his culture. Or so Dr. Gebhard believes.

And once an adult homosexual, probably always a homosexual. Psychiatrists and sex researchers see at present no real possibility of reversing sex preference among a significant number of homosexuals or, for that matter, among heterosexuals either. Sex is learned and apparently never forgotten. This is why Gebhard and most experts are convinced that repeal of sodomy laws and laws of association—all endorse the American Law Institute's recommendations—would produce no increase in homosexuality in the United States.

“Permanent sex preference is almost exclusively determined by how

“We must make life more humane for our confirmed homosexuals. We must because we have created the environment that made them that way.”

you have been conditioned,” says Dr. Gebhard. “The proportion of homosexuals in Europe is almost exactly the same as in the United States,” says Dr. Sallick. “Some people fear that if the taboos against homosexuality were removed everyone would want to become homosexual. Nonsense. Most people can't be made to want homosexual experience.”

To reduce homosexuality it appears that we must promote heterosexuality. I know of no authority in the field who believes we can deal with the problem without taking on the cultural underpinnings of taboo and repression that seem to produce homosexuality. “Were sex restraints and taboos to fall away,” says Dr. Gebhard, “the majority of our people would have both homosexual and heterosexual experiences. But there would be few, if any, hard-core homosexuals.”

Like most scientists, sex researchers know the difference between the real world and an ideal one. But while investigating iron realities they envisage a healthier environment at the end of their quests. This is, I believe, what most of them would like to see happen in the sad gay lives of homosexuals:

(1) Adoption of the American Law Institute's recommendations on the

removal of laws concerning sexual acts in private between consenting adults, more effective laws concerning sexual experiences of children.

(2) Civil rights for homosexuals: changes in public policies that discriminate against homosexuals and virtually disfranchise them economically.

(3) Establishment of services to help homosexuals cope with the problems imposed by their lives.

(4) Creation of clinics to assist homosexuals, particularly those in early adulthood, who want help toward heterosexual lives.

(5) Public education aimed at greater understanding of homosexuality because, as one expert says, "in our present state of knowledge we have almost no opportunity of changing a high percentage of homosexuals in adult life."

WHAT turns homosexuality takes in the United States will depend finally on what we want and how badly we want it. Dr. Gebhard likens the sexual forces in our culture to the simultaneous pressures of full throttle and full brake to an automobile tearing down a turnpike at suicide speed. Sex images flash across our consciousness like an all-night movie. Taboos jab at us like a thousand knives.

We must make life more humane for our 4-million confirmed male homosexuals. We must because we have created the environment that made them that way. We must because ours is the only society on earth committed in writing to making people happy. We can only prevent the perpetuation of homosexuality by a wider understanding of how homosexuals became homosexual and by a healthier embrace of heterosexuality. Sin must take a holiday.

What we shall choose to do lies at the command of the arcane forces that shape and move our society. What we have chosen to do until the present is a repressive nothing. As the best minds in the country, especially the philosopher Martin Levit and the sociologist Edgar Friedenburg, have been telling us since the end of World War II, wherever a culture is restrictive and rigid it produces aberrations. If we want integration instead of burning cities, Negroes must live next door. If we want heterosexuals instead of deviates, we must grow them early.

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