THE MOST DANGEROUS WOMAN IN AMERICA?
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ON THE ISSUES: A feminist, humanist publication dedicated to promoting political action through awareness and education; working toward a global political consciousness; fostering a spirit of collective responsibility for positive social change; eradicating racism, sexism, ageism, speciesism; and supporting the struggle of historically disenfranchised groups powerless to protect and defend themselves.

UN SOLICITED MANUSCRIPTS
All unsolicited material will be read by the editors. For return, enclose self-addressed, stamped envelope with proper postage. Articles should be not less than 15 and not more than 15 double spaced, typewritten pages on women's health, social or political issues by people with hands on experience in their fields. Professional papers are accepted. All editing decisions are at the discretion of the editors. Feminist cartoons are also acceptable under the same provisions.

ON THE ISSUES does not accept fiction or poetry.

ADVERTISING AND SALES DIRECTOR
Carolyn Handel

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PUBLISHER’S NOTE: The opinions expressed by contributors to our publication and by those we interview are not necessarily those of the editors. ON THE ISSUES is traditionally a forum for ideas and concepts and a place where women may have their voices heard without fear of censure or censorship.

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women and men working together in coalition, connecting heretofore unconnected issues, creates a situation ripe with its own particular challenges, struggles and extraordinary opportunities, quite apart from the external political threats.

There has already been an explosion of coalition work. The recognition of political, social or psychological congruence, the amalgamation of comradeships — all have the ability to light up the social, political, historical landscape with a thousand points of power. A power that will comfort us in the heat that it generates while scorching the ideology and agenda of the opposition.

The crushing, immediate necessity of women’s actions with possibilities and the potential to truly enact positive and lasting social change.

On the surface, without reflection, it would appear that we have suffered a catastrophic defeat. But one can only truly lose what one has. Although supposedly guaranteed by the Supreme Court in Roe v. Wade, legal abortion has been under constant attack since 1973 with a consistent chipping away at the most vulnerable target areas — parental consent and Medicaid funding (teenagers and minority women). The pro-choice movement, lulled into a false sense of security by the Supreme Court and restricted by class self-interest and diffused political agendas, made the grave error of minimising the opposition; so much so that when Medicaid funding was cut off in 1977, adversely affecting poor and minority women, few people protested to Washington. It would seem that upon closer examination, the concept and practice of women’s equality, liberation and full participation in society was built on shifting sand.

We have to realize that we are not safe, and there are no safe harbors, not in the Supreme Court, not in the states, not in the legislatures and not in the Constitution. Our safety must lie within ourselves and the movements that we build. Women are now going to have to win their rights to full and unrestricted sexual and reproductive freedom in potent social and political battle. We must struggle for the hearts and minds of the American people while not succumbing to personal or sectarian conflicts that siphon the power from our vision and struggle.

Far from being a complete disaster, or an omen that portends the destruction of the women’s movement, the recent Missouri decision may create a groundswell of activism, anger and politically strategic creativity that could well fuel a whole new order.

ON THE ISSUES VOL XIII 1989

“Search your heart. Are you ready for war? How much are you willing to sacrifice to see this massacre ended? The day of distress has dawned.” (Randall A. Terry’s Rescue News Brief, August 1989)

The fact that the abortion issue has the potential of splintering the society and, in fact, has been called the “second civil war” and “the Vietnam of the ‘80s”, still has not translated into the importance of women’s personal lives, in the scheme of things in general, and in the abortion battle in particular.

What issue is more central to the collective than whether or not to bring another life into it? If abortion were ultimately a “women’s issue alone”, by
definition mere fluff, not nearly as important as the Pentagon, or Stealth Bomber, why all this fuss in the first place? If it is not politic to speak of women's rights, women's demands, women's needs, women's "issues", because they appear too strident, too radical, too unfeminine, too selfish — let us not forget that this is the reality of the issue. Minimizing abortion to be merely a "women's issue" gives the lie to the passions and profound responses that it generates.

As more and more young women are brought into the abortion rights struggle, as more and more people get up at 5 a.m. to physically defend abortion clinics, as more and more people march in the streets, as more and more sit down, lie down, in acts of civil disobedience, as more and more women say out loud, "I had an abortion", as more and more students become activated on campuses, as more and more checks are written to pro-choice organizations, as more and more people ask "are you pro-choice?" of their political candidates, there is a new recognition of "Me" being part of a larger "We". As more and more women of color join hands with their white sisters, and as more of the old-guard leadership allows young women to take active roles and leadership positions, the women of the movement may gain what it so desperately and continually needs: the assurance of legacy, the knowledge that the torch will be passed onto the next generation, and the possibility of unifying behind a transcendant political vision.

The historic bifurcation of the service end of the pro-choice movement with the political end has begun to dissolve, forming the beginnings of a powerful new alliance. Through participation in direct action against Operation Rescue at clinic sites, ideological and activist feminists touch the direct reality of abortion. Once viewed as either the "dirty end of the business" by many medical professionals, or the "capitalist establishment control of the women's health movement" by socialist or radical feminists, the reality of over one million women each year having abortions at clinics across the country, and their ultimate vulnerability to Operation Rescue, harassment, violence and more restrictive and dangerous regulations in upcoming Supreme Court cases, place the clinics and their staffs in the forefront of the abortion rights struggle.

Patients themselves, in the midst of the most personal and intimate of decisions and life events, are thrust into a vortex of politics and passion. It is possible that all this attention, all this passion, all this resistance will enable women to feel stronger and more centered in their decisions, rather than weaker and riddled with guilt, as the opposition of choice would like us to believe that they do.

Item: this past summer, I was called to assist an abortion clinic in the middle of an attack by Operation Rescue. It was a busy Saturday afternoon and the waiting room was crowded with patients, husbands, lovers and friends. In the middle of the waiting room, Operation Rescue faithful were lying on the floor attached to a "Cryptonite Block". This madly creative device allows a group of protesters to attach themselves to specially designed bicycle locks that defy police attempts to free them. Used successfully in clinics in the Mid and Southwest, Operation Rescue (OR) targeted New York City for the strategy.

By the time I arrived at the clinic, five OR participants had been in the same positions, leg to neck to ankle to thigh, for approximately three hours; it would be at least another two before the police would dismantle them. One Catholic priest, attached to five women, was sitting with his neck chained like a dog, screaming to the women in the waiting room "Go home, go home. There'll be no baby killing here today — go home. You will not be killing your babies this Saturday."

Far from being intimidated or ashamed by all of this, the patients became electric and erupted with what was basically a spontaneous rally and speak out. "Who the hell are you to tell me what to do with my life anyway?"

"Hey man, are you going to raise my three other kids too?" "Go home and pray in your own church." Not one patient changed her mind or turned away.

We may only guess what seeds of dissent were planted that day in those people.

Obviously, much more needs to be done. The early work of the New York Pro-Choice Coalition, the Bay Area Coalition Against Operation Rescue and an Atlanta, GA coalition that stood up to months of assault by OR in the summer of 1988, should be formalized and reinforced. No clinic should ever be closed, no woman should have to be brutalized by the continuing harassment of Operation Rescue. Clinics should, and can, become training grounds for both activists and patients. Patients can be politicized through their individual experiences; activists should be educated about the reality of women's direct abortion experiences. Feminist counseling centers can evolve as natural extensions of abortion clinics and other women's health care facilities to offer on-going support for women who may be experiencing ambivalence or difficulties with their abortion decisions.

And there is a secondary gain: clinic workers and professional staff would gain immeasurably by a broader understanding of the ultimately political nature of their work.

But other tasks also exist. Clinic owners should create financial policies that allow subsidies for indigent women. This is particularly critical in states that have no Medicaid funding. No woman should be turned away from a legitimate abortion provider because of an inability to pay. All women, feminists and those who are not historically affiliated with the movement (including moderate Republican women), should consider tithing a certain percentage of their incomes so that the chronic lack of funds that besets all progressive and feminist causes can be minimized.

How to think about abortion?

How to think about women and their place in society?

In a sense, the way we think about abortion mirrors the way we think about ourselves. It touches, as well it should, the deepest, most personal core of our image of the world and our place within it. While every poll taken on this issue shows that the majority of Americans are pro-choice and don't want government interference in this decision, they also show very clearly that the majority of Americans are ambivalent when it comes to the reasons for abortion —
otherwise known as the “Rape, Incest or Me” position.

According to a recent New York Times poll on the women's movement (August 22, 1989) “roughly half of the women who say America needs a strong women's movement favor more restrictions on abortion than exist under current law.”

For the anti-choice movement, this ambivalence often centers around sexuality. Many in anti-choice groups truly believe that sex resulting in pregnancy has to come to fruition — sex for pleasure is unacceptable. The fact that some anti-choice activists would allow abortion in cases of rape or incest says it's all right to “kill a baby” if the woman is forced to have sex, but, let a woman be an active participant — choosing her partner and her involvement — then abortion becomes absolutely unacceptable.

Larry Letich, writing in Tikkun, July/August 1989 says that “Reproductive Freedom and the ‘right to choose’ seem to emphasize the primacy of the individual and neglect other moral considerations. Sadly, these phrases conjure up a vision of self-indulgence and selfishness.” This thinking from a supposedly pro-choice person reflects much of a general attitude that reads: women are having abortions for selfish reasons, meaning that “women are having abortions for reasons that I wouldn’t have them for.” I have personally heard countless women, prior to their abortions, say “I’m not like all those other girls in the waiting room; they don’t seem upset about it at all; I don’t take it as lightly as they do;” etc., etc. This lack of empathy from woman to woman is the microcosm of the macrocosm — the lack of empathy from woman to woman — to the separation of the importance of women's lives and women's equality from the general agenda of the society. Underlying this reality is the strong assumption and myth that women are just not to be trusted with moral and/or life and death decisions.

The words “pro-choice” are really not descriptive of what we are talking about anything but a theoretical, ideological level. We are talking about pro-woman politics that are pro-women’s lives and pro-women’s sexuality. If, in fact, there are millions of Americans who are ambivalent about abortion, this must be acknowledged. Yes, there are people who will not agree with my reasons; who will decry them. Should we limit the number of abortions? There are many avidly pro-choice people who are very disturbed about multiple abortions and say perhaps we should only allow “them” to have three or two or four, etc., etc. They must understand that when one goes into that slippery slope of what is an acceptable number, or an acceptable reason, we begin to be the regulators.

It may, in fact, be necessary for the pro-choice movement to cloak to some degree the crushing, blinding, primary reality of abortion — that it is absolutely necessary for women's survival and participation as full citizens in this society; that the price of women's equality may ultimately have to stand on millions of aborted fetuses — into palatable political terms for the majority of the American people. According to Celinda Lake, a Democratic pollster, “The opponents of abortion would like to frame the debate as one of ‘irresponsibility and excess.’” Lake advises the advocates of abortion rights to steer the debate to the issue of government interference with individual rights. (New York Times July 21, 1989)

It seems that women's rights, women's lives and women's equality and autonomy just doesn't sell in the American marketplace. In the struggle to win the “hearts and minds” of the American people, the pro-choice and women's movements must take care not to lose their souls. Self-reflection is necessary for any type of personal or political growth, but its purpose should be to strengthen and inspire, as opposed to defensively explain. Certainly we must look to our movement for more reality — and then move on creatively and boldly to address the issues that are raised.

We must also understand that when we argue that the anti-choicers don't care about people after birth, that they turn a deaf ear and cold heart to the economic and day-to-day sufferings of much of the population, that both sides are really looking at reality through a far different set of glasses. Jay Baggett, writing in the Victims of Choice Journal, has problems with a “pro-choice” ethic that says “unless the child is wanted, unless the mother won't end up on welfare, unless the child will be loved, then it should be aborted.” She and many of the anti-choice advocates see this as a “terrorist ethic” holding the “weak and defenseless” hostage in a utopian vision of society. For the anti-choice movement, showing compassion and love, caring for the weak and helpless are good and noble things, but they are outweighed by the one objective overriding value: the sanctity of human life. All other issues are relegated to second place — life, regardless of how it is lived, is the ultimate priority.

Using this understanding, the pro-choice movement must move to a position where “choice” truly exists — not one where economic deprivation, racism or despair dictates the outcome of pregnancies. Choice diminishes in relation to the equity of the opposing options — a 12-year-old victim of incest does not have much “choice” — 63 percent of women who are economically driven to choose abortion do not have much “choice”. Instead, the pro-choice movement must move to a position where “choice” is truly possible, not where it is always the lesser of two evils.

If our movement has not been there in terms of adequately supporting women who are young and wish to continue their pregnancies against all odds (without parental or economic support), we must answer not only with the rhetoric of abortion, but by posing an alternative program or “feminist birthing home”, where women and girls can choose to have their babies in supportive enriching environments. If it is true that there are endemic concerns in this society about the loss of parental control, the growth of “decadence” (sexuality among the young), the feminist movement has a responsibility to address these issues in a more thoughtful way. A deeper understanding of the limitations of education regarding birth control usage is imperative so that we are not caught in the trap of believing that better and more effective methods are all that is necessary. Methods and education about them must be combined and integrated into the individual and collective political psyche so

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OPPRESSING WHOSE RIGHTS?
(The following was submitted to us by Laura Blinderman of California)
From a piece by Katie Deininger, Daily Aztec staff writer. The Daily Aztec publishes out of San Diego State University:
The Daily Aztec's editor-in-chief, Jon Petersen, has banned advertisements that offer abortion services, although ads for other women's medical services will still be accepted.
Petersen cited a Daily Aztec advertising policy that states ads "must not primarily serve to oppress the rights of a certain group" as his reason for discontinuing the ads.
His decision has drawn national media attention.
Petersen said he considers unborn babies a group. "Because I interpret the advertising policy, it indirectly would be a Jon Petersen-referred abortion, and I can't live with that on my conscience."
"For me it's black and white that an abortion-referral ad violates our policy that we won't run ads that primarily oppress the rights of certain groups."
Petersen said ads for 976 telephone numbers, research papers and nude or topless bars will still be accepted because they do not violate Daily Aztec ad policy or state and federal advertising laws.
Said Adrian Vore, a city editor of the Daily Aztec: "It bothers me that Jon won't accept abortion ads but will accept ads that sell sex over the phone, research papers and entertainment at topless bars. It also bothers me that a person can't have access to an ad from a business that gives abortions. It's a woman's right to have an abortion and it's her right to have information that deals with it."
Vore also objected to the way Petersen made the decision. "I was troubled because he didn't consult with anyone on the editorial board, which consists of the editor-in-chief, the managing editor, the opinion editor and the two city editors," Vore said. "I know his mind was made up, and he doesn't have to consult with anyone, but it would have been nice if he talked to us before he made the decision."
Assignment editor Donna Marie Branton called the ban "childish and ridiculous, the brainchild of some male ideal. If they're going to have these sex-kitten ads, then I think it's a double standard that they're not going to have abortion ads."
The Aztec is independent and supports itself through advertising. The university provides free office space and pays for electricity. The paper has no faculty adviser.
Mr. Peterson doesn't understand that pornography oppresses women. Or, more likely, he doesn't consider women as people, so he needn't worry about it. We are pleased that others on the editorial staff have very different thoughts on the matter.

SOME THINGS DON'T CHANGE
The following poem by John Russell McCarthy was first printed in The New Yorker in 1941:

Morning Question
What shall I kill this morning, sir,
To prove that I am I?
The cricket leaping across the rug,
The too inquisitive fly?
Cut down the tree for firewood,
Uproot the heading weeds?
Sprinkle a dusty poison where
The quiet aphid feeds?
Chlorinate the tiny ones
In water that I drink?
Trap the slim and silken mouse
That beds below the sink?
Catch a rabbit for a stew,
A chicken for a pie?
What shall I kill this happy day
To prove that I am I?
Oh when will we ever learn?

ANOTHER DESIGNER JOINS THE RANKS
According to "Insider New York" in Newsday: Designer Giorgio Armani who once dealt in furs, has banned animal skins from his boutiques. In Manhattan, his boutique, Emporio Armani, now sells only fake furs, priced from $500 to $1200. He is also marketing a line of bath oils with the promise that they have not been tested on animals.

Now that furs are no longer considered chic and people have become aware that they're wearing murdered animals, perhaps more celebrities will join the ranks of the converted. And shame on skater Dorothy Hamill for her TV ads for Flemington Furs.

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JUST A PIECE OF PAPER
Sheila Ann Feeney in the New York Daily News:
Elizabeth Croff, Lydia Grohoski, April La Salata and Erica Due had something in common: they all had orders of protection warning their abusive husbands to stay away from them. All four women are now dead. Charlotte Watson, executive director of a Westchester, NY shelter for battered women, calls the orders of protection “orders of illusion.” Court officials admit that restraining orders are designed to protect the abused more frequently place women in danger. Legal technicalities prevent police from arresting a violator even when a woman tells them to and the cops are eager to oblige. Lawyers and women’s advocates say the heart of the problem lies in a defective system that must be dramatically overhauled. Among the problems they cite:

- Reluctance by judges concerned about unlawful eviction, to grant “full” orders of protection specifying that the abuser vacate and avoid the home of the victim.
- Judges routinely allow first offenders — and even repeaters — to be freed on low or no bail.
- Judges too frequently declare assaults and violations “adjourned in contemplation of a dismissal”, which results in repeat offenders never being convicted.
- No cross-referencing between family and criminal courts.
- Drastic lack of jail beds and counseling programs for violators.
- Lack of resources and services to help battered women flee their persecutors.

Charlotte Watson says: “People always say “Why doesn’t she leave?” About 75 percent of woman killed by their batterers had made at least one previous attempt to leave. Surveys indicate that between one third and one half of the 4,611 women murdered last year in the U.S. were killed by a husband, boyfriend or an ex. More women are admitted to emergency rooms after being battered by their partners than are treated for muggings, car accidents and rapes combined.

Until harsher, swifter penalties are instituted against offenders, until women are warned when their abusers are released from jail and until the law takes domestic violence as seriously as other crimes, women will die.

APARTEID, U.S. STYLE
Isabel Wilkerson, New York Times: A study conducted by Douglas S. Massey, professor of sociology and director of the Population Research Center at the University of Chicago, and Dr. Nancy Denton, a research associate at the University, shows that racial segregation in 10 of the nation’s largest cities is more deeply entrenched, and takes more forms than social scientists previously thought, being most pronounced in Northeastern and Midwestern cities.

The study measured unevenness of racial distribution, lack of potential contact between Blacks and whites in the clustering of Black neighborhoods, the concentration of Blacks in the inner city and the population density of Black neighborhoods. Moreover, the study said, “if they [Blacks] go to adjacent neighborhoods, or to the neighborhood adjacent to that, they are still unlikely to encounter a white resident.” On the other hand, non-Black Hispanics do not live in the extreme levels of segregation found for Blacks, although Black Hispanics experience similar segregation. According to Professor Massey, “Whites find Hispanics more acceptable than Blacks. There’s not the same level of fear.”

The effects of such prolonged and severe segregation are apparent, he said, citing higher poverty, crime and unemployment rates among Blacks isolated from the mainstream and benefits of the mainstream. “Where you live determines the chances you get in this world,” said Professor Massey. “It determines the school your children go to, the crime you’re exposed to, the peer influences on your children. If you’re isolated from the mainstream, it’s not a fair world, it’s not a fair contest. Segregation is structural underpinning of the underclass.”

Segregation also creates a “Them and Us” mentality that contributes greatly to fear and hatred. You can hardly “love your neighbor” if there’s a wall of segregation between you.

FAT FOOD FOR SCHOOLKIDS
AP news dispatch: School lunchroom cooks have a hard time providing nutritious meals because the government donates mainly fatty foods such as ground beef, pork and luncheon meats, according to the PublicVoice for Food and Health Policy, a consumer health group. The group said that 67 percent of 1,127 school food-service directors surveyed cited the U.S. Department of Agriculture’s commodity distribution program as one of the most significant barriers to their efforts to provide nutritious meals. Scott Dunn, acting administrator of USDA’s Food and Nutrition Service, stated that the department is committed to dietary guidelines developed jointly with the Department of Health and Human Services.

And ketchup is a vegetable! With the high incidence in this country of coronary artery disease, high LDL cholesterol levels in the young and the generally poor eating habits instilled in children, deliberately contributing to poor nutrition should be viewed as nothing short of criminal.
THE EASIEST PREGNANCY
From two articles, written independently in the New York Daily News by Sheila Ann Feeney and David Horowitz:

There's a new device for expectant fathers, supposedly designed to give them a real feeling of pregnancy. Called "The Empathy Belly," it's a strap-on vest that presumably simulates about 20 different symptoms of pregnancy. A water-filled pillow gives the feeling of carrying the unborn fetus at various stages of development. Lead balls press in on the upper rib cage, just like the knees and elbows of the growing fetus, while a pendulum simulates the motion of the fetus in the uterus. The cost of this little present for the father-to-be? A not-so-little $500. The device is the brainchild of a counselor in Washington state. Feeney questions whether, at this price, syrup of ipecac will be included.

And how do you simulate heartburn, puffiness of ankles and wrists, and all the other little discomforts of pregnancy? It also seems highly unlikely that "daddy" will wear his belly to the office. Somehow we think "daddy's pregnancy" will end in a very quick abortion.

STOP THE DELIVERY
Domino's Pizza has been in the press a good bit lately. There has been heavy criticism that their promise of a 30-minute delivery has resulted in a number of traffic accidents, including 20 fatalities in 1988. However, ordering Domino's Pizza can be even more dangerous than that. The chairman and founder is Tom Monaghan, a contributor to the anti-choice movement. In a letter to the editor (Newsday, August 13, 1989), Ronald A. Hingst, national director of public relations for Domino's, states: "On the subject that Tom Monaghan made a personal contribution to the Committee to End State-Funded Abortions in Michigan, we do feel that Mr. Monaghan is entitled to his opinion, and the National Organization for Women folks are entitled to theirs."

ON THE MOUTHS OF BABES
Linda Wells in The New York Times Magazine: Even before they're old enough to have allowances, little girls are playing with makeup and fragrance, getting them from toy manufacturers and cosmetic companies alike. Mattel makes makeup, a doll that resembles a 5-or 6-year-old girl. When cold water is poured on the doll, it develops make-up, a doll that resembles a 5-or 6-year-old girl. When cold water is poured on the doll, it develops eye shadow, blusher, nail polish and lip colors. Maybelline has instituted a bubble-gum flavored lip gloss. Tinkerbell has for years sold fragrances, lip gloss and nail polish but not eye shadow or mascara; according to Tinkerbell's president, Martin Greenfield, "We don't want to sell an eye shadow or mascara."

And the cosmetic and toy industries want to be sure to get their piece of the action, no matter what the psychological cost to the children. We can look forward to a country full of living Barbie dolls with ever-younger children getting into the act. We anticipate free make-up kits with every potty to encourage quick toilet training!
ON THE ISSUES VOL XII 1989

Sexual Malpractice

Therapists Who Seduce Their Patients

By Fred Pelka

Judith Daire began therapy in 1971 with a psychiatrist who ended sessions with "a light embrace, and a kiss on the cheek." By 1975 he was kissing her on the lips. By 1976 they were having sex.

Carolyn Bates had been seeing her therapist for nine months when he began "sexualizing the relationship." The abuse continued for another 10 months, until Bates terminated the therapy.

The sexual exploitation of patients by physicians is nothing new. The Hippocratic Oath, written more than 2,000 years ago, requires doctors to abstain "from the seduction of females or males, of freemen or slaves" who are patients or living in a patient's household. Presumably, its author would not have included the prohibition if the problem didn't exist.

Neither is the sexual exploitation of clients by psychotherapists anything new. No less a figure than Carl Jung is reputed to have "seduced" at least one of his patients.

It is, however, only recently that the medical establishment has begun to even acknowledge the problem publicly, much less deal with it. The traditionally male-dominated psychiatric and psychological associations, left to police their own, chose in many cases to pretend that the abuse wasn't happening. Medical review boards refused to take the issue seriously. Therapists, fearful of lawsuits or the disapproval of their colleagues, kept quiet even when they knew of instances of abuse. It is no surprise, then, that fewer than five percent of abuse victims ever report their experience to a licensing board or professional association.

"We live in a very patriarchal culture, where the sexual abuse of women and children is highly prevalent," says Dr. Nanette K. Gartrell, associate clinical professor of psychiatry at the University of California in San Francisco.

Gartrell, a leader in the movement to address this issue, believes that the sexual exploitation of patients by therapists "is an extension of the general cultural acceptance of sexual abuse of women and children."

In a ground-breaking study published in February 1987, Gartrell and her colleagues concluded that "the best available data indicate that six to 10 percent of psychiatrists have had sexual contact with their patients." Most experts consider this to be a conservative estimate, especially when other types of psychotherapists — psychologists, social workers, chemical dependency counselors, religious and family therapists — are included. Many of the offending therapists have sex with more than one client, some of them abusing hundreds of patients in the course of their professional lives.

Sixty-five percent of the psychiatrists polled in another study said that they had trusted at least one client who had been sexually exploited by a previous therapist. The Walk-In Counseling Center in Minneapolis, which has a national reputation for creating victims of therapist abuse, has seen more than 1,400 such cases in the last 15 years. Of those cases, roughly 50 percent involved male therapists exploiting female clients.

Widespread is the abuse, and so devastating its consequences, that several states have passed or are considering laws making sexual contact between therapist and client a crime, punishable by fine and imprisonment. Civil codes have also been amended to allow abuse victims easier access to redress through civil lawsuit.

The ethics codes of every psychiatric and psychological association in the country say that sexual contact between therapist and client is unethical. One study indicated that close to 90 percent of clients who have sex with their therapists suffer long-lasting, harmful effects. Drug or alcohol-dependent clients sexually exploited by their counselors often lose their sobriety. Many victims end up in psychiatric hospitals for problems directly related to the exploitation.

Nevertheless, throughout most of the country, becoming a "psychotherapist" involves little more than hanging out a shingle or placing an ad in the paper. This means that "counselors" who are not psychiatrists or licensed psychologists or social workers are not bound by any code of ethics.

A former school teacher with a background in engineering, Carolyn Bates is now completing her doctorate in psychology, and has co-authored a book, with Dr. Annette M. Hrdsky, called Sex in the Therapy Hour: A Case of Professional Incest, published by Guilford. Bates was 19 years old when the abuse began.

"I went into therapy because I was depressed. I'd left home and a very sheltered family, and I didn't know a lot about how to structure my life. My father had died three years before, and I was still mourning him. I had had my first sexual experience, and felt incredibly guilty about it, coming from a religious background that spoke against that."

Bates trusted "Dr. X," regarding him as a compassionate man with only her interests at heart.

"One session he asked me if I'd lay on the floor, to relax. About two sessions later he sat down next to me, and rubbed my belly. He told me he was..."
that's very common. Patients very rarely question their doctors.

"I felt exposed," says Bates, "laying there with my belly up. I had my arm over my face. He just pulled down my pants and penetrated me."

The abuse continued over the next 10 months of "treatment", as the teenager struggled with her feelings of shame, confusion and betrayal. Unwilling to sacrifice the attention of a man she had come to see as a "father figure", she responded in ways similar to those of incest survivors.

"What I experienced was a lot of confusion, and numbness, not understanding why it was happening, but being caught up in the belief that he was there to help me. His standard line was, until I learned how to relate to him in the office, I would never be able to relate to men outside.

"We had sex probably eight to 10 times, about once a month. I knew we were going to have sex when I came into the office and he locked the door behind us, and closed the drapes. There was one time, right after sex, when he said, "I really felt a breakthrough there."

Judith Daire also went into therapy for depression. Her psychiatrist began treatment by prescribing psychotropic drugs, which Daire believes was a part of his pattern of abuse and manipulation.

"He was considered to be one of the best therapists in Waterbury (Connecticut). Other members of my family had seen him, previously. Very soon after we started therapy he initiated a light embrace, a kiss on the cheek before I left. He always had his door locked. We were always locked in."

Daire's therapist, a married man, promised to divorce his wife, and marry Daire.

"He said he wanted to do everything for me. He didn't want me to go to anyone else for any of my problems."

Daire eventually became so disturbed about what was happening that she attempted suicide.

"I don't think I really wanted to kill myself," she says. "I just wanted to stop the pain."

Victims of therapist abuse, like rape and incest survivors, are often held responsible for their own victimization. Few people recognize the imbalance of power in a therapy/client relationship.

"People have a hard time with this," says Nancy F. Biele, president of the National Coalition Against Sexual Assault, and director of the Sexual Violence Center in Minneapolis. "They say, 'Look, you've got two consenting adults.' They don't understand how it's possible for this to be called 'abuse'."

Dr. Judith L. Herman, assistant clinical professor of psychiatry at Harvard Medical School, likens therapist/client abuse to incest. Dr. Herman, a co-author with Dr. Gartner of several studies on therapist abuse, is also the author of Father/Daughter Incest, published by Harvard University Press, and considered to be a major work on that issue.

Good therapy, according to Dr. Herman, is dependent upon the client placing trust in her therapist. Clients come to therapy to address their deepest concerns. They often feel vulnerable, confused, frightened. A client may discuss troubling experiences, thoughts and feelings with her therapist without boundaries, the significant other doesn't know what to do. They have a real hard time seeing it as victimization. They're much like other secondary victims, angry and depressed and sad."

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**WARNING SIGNS**

Barbara E. Sanderson, coordinator of the Minnesota Task Force on Sexual Exploitation by Counselors and Therapists, lists these warning signs.

- If the therapist:
  - singles out a client as "special" or "favorite";
  - suggests special arrangements, such as meetings after office hours, or at the home of the client or therapist, or waives fees contrary to normal office procedure;
  - focuses on sex (unless the client has a specific sexual problem), tells sexual jokes, or asks intimate questions unrelated to the therapy, or "ogles" the client, undresses, or suggests that the client undress during therapy;
  - shares personal information about himself or herself, talking about his own problems rather than the client's;
  - uses alcohol or drugs during therapy, or suggests that the client use alcohol or nonprescription drugs;
  - asks the client to keep secrets about the therapy;
  - is uncomfortable answering questions about his credentials, or where the therapy is going;
  - suggests unusual financial or business arrangements with the client;
  - If a therapist asks for a date, or suggests that the client start a romantic or sexual relationship with a client.

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**ON THE ISSUES VOL XIII 1989**
The sad fact is that a victim of sexual malpractise may end up losing her therapist, her self-esteem, and sometimes her marriage or love relationship as well.

Minnesota and Wisconsin were the first states in the nation to make the sexual exploitation of clients by therapists a criminal offense. In Minnesota, this legislation came as part of a three-year effort by a special task force funded by the state legislature, and coordinated by Barbara E. Sanderson, director of the Minnesota Program for Victims of Sexual Assault. One of the recommendations of the Task Force on Sexual Exploitation by Counselors and Therapists was implemented in 1985, with passage of a law that made sexual contact between therapists and clients, either during therapy or within two years of its termination, a felony offense. A separate bill, passed a year later, made such contact specific grounds for civil suits.

Says Sanderson, "What this does is send a message. It tells the victims, even if they don't file a complaint, that what happened to them is so serious, so bad, that the state has passed a law against it. Victims tell us that alone has been healing."

"It has led to a dramatic improvement," says Gary R. Schoener, a licensed psychologist and executive director of the Walk-In Counseling Center in Minneapolis. Schoener also cites the various workshops, conferences, pamphlets, and articles generated by the Task Force, all with the theme, "It's Never Okay."

"The goal of all this, quite frankly, was to come down on the profession like a ton of bricks, to say to them: 'That's it. No more.' The professional mechanisms are not adequate, and so it has become a social, and therefore a political problem."

Schoener believes that the greatest impact will come as a result of the revision of Minnesota's civil statute, which now holds employers and colleagues of therapists potentially liable for damage caused by sexual exploitation. And so clinics, hospitals and counseling agencies have become much more conscientious when checking the credentials of prospective therapist-employees.

"Just before this law passed," recalls Sanderson, "one of the reputable agencies in Minnesota hired a therapist who had worked a block from them. They didn't check his references because he was so well known." What wasn't well known, says Sanderson, was that this therapist had been fired "for being sexual with his patients".

Another important feature of the Minnesota package is the mandatory registration of all psychotherapists or counselors. Unlike psychiatrists, and licensed psychologists and social workers, who must conform to professional ethics codes to keep their licenses, unlicensed therapists can operate with relative impunity. Even psychiatrists and licensed therapists who have lost their licenses for ethical reasons can,

"Several states have passed or are considering laws making sexual contact between therapist and client a crime, punishable by fine and imprisonment."

in many states, continue to practice. By requiring that all therapists be registered, professional associations and state regulatory agencies have greater clout when faced with an unethical practitioner: they can put him out of business by revoking his registration.

Even with mandatory registration and/or licensure, many experts believe that criminal laws such as the one passed in Minnesota are needed to deal with worst case, multiple offenders. Says Biele, "We can slap your hand by fine or imprisonment."

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Several days before the Supreme Court gutted the historic decision in Roe v. Wade, the 1973 case which gave women the right to terminate unwanted pregnancies, more than 1500 members of the National Right to Life Committee (NRTLC) met in Minneapolis. Heady with anticipation of a court victory, they set out to discuss tactics and map strategy for the coming year. From planning what they hope will be a massive April 28th "Rally for Life", to organizing legislative lobbying in the 50 states, they bolstered one another's morale, taught concrete skills and provided a theological and political framework to support their agenda.

The all-white, (there were no more than five people of color, two male rabbis and three members of the Hari Krishna sect) largely female crowd included a large number of Catholic priests and nuns alongside the leadership of the many NRTLC chapters and affiliates. More than 100 "Teens for Life" held a simultaneous convention.

The NRTLC has, since its founding in 1973, been considered the most staid organization in the anti-abortion movement. Their work takes place in Congress and the statehouses and reflects a penchant for legislative wrangling and electoral involvement. On the grassroots level, they organize letter writing and petition drives, visit elected officials and provide direct service help to pregnant women and girls through the (non-deceptive) Catholic church sponsored group, Birthright. While some of their members may be involved in Operation Rescue and other "militant" organizations, the NRTLC keeps a marked distance from the largely evangelical, Fundamentalist Christian rescue movement. Religious, tactical and stylistic differences keep the disparate components of the anti-abortion movement at arms length; not surprisingly, the leadership of Operation Rescue, the American Life League and Joseph Scheidler's Pro-Life Action League of Chicago were nowhere to be seen at the NRTLC convention.

In fact, James Bopp, NRTLC counsel, explicitly criticized these groups before a packed press conference. "It is our policy to pursue only lawful means in creating an abortion-free America," he said. "The appropriate way for us to reach our goal is to operate within the legal system of the United States. Others have been motivated by other rationales. If they commit unlawful acts that are violent we condemn them. We condemn violence in all forms, whether it is the violence of abortion or violence against property."

NRTLC president John C. Willke and executive director David O' Steen were quick to point out that they both oppose capital punishment. Willke also said that on a recent trip to the Middle East he told Israeli government officials that that country would be better served if women in the military carried pregnancies rather than guns. Although Willke was unclear about his reasoning — does he think women are unsuited for the military and capable only of mothering, or does he oppose the Israeli military and support a two-state, negotiated peace? — his past support for ex-president Ronald Reagan and current man-in-the-White House George Bush, cast doubt on his pacifism and respect for women's capabilities.

Nonetheless, the fact that the NRTLC is not a monolithic lot was continually underscored. Feminists for Life, a secular group whose members support the ERA and a host of other pro-women, progressive positions, wore stickers urging the government to "eliminate human problems, not human beings". At the same time, members of various Knights of Columbus chapters, Lu-
Theakers and Presbyterians for Life and Columban Fathers and Sisters were on-hand with misogynist, anti-choice messages about love, marriage, sexuality and family life.

Although many of the conferees were traditional Catholics, when discussions veered from the subject of abortion there were questions and disagreements. Nowhere was this clearer than in the seemingly tireless push from NRTLTC staffers to broaden the movement agenda to include infanticide and euthanasia. While not new, this emphasis resulted in confusion about organizational priorities that was never completely resolved; virtually everyone seemed to agree that the three are linked, yet, they never ironed out strategic plans for legislative and legal actions and expressed uncertainty about how to do this.

But that did not matter. The supposed link between the “three evils” was hammered home repeatedly, as though getting the ideology out, and not setting an actual action plan, was the goal of the 1989 conference.

“The charter of the NRTLTC says that we seek protection under the law for all living humans,” said James Bopp. “This means that we oppose abortion, infanticide and euthanasia. The denigration of human life has dulled our consciousness in this society. The very same rationale—inconvenience—that leads a woman to kill an unborn child can lead to the killing of unwanted Aunt Mary or a handicapped baby.”

“Euthanasia violates justice,” added John Dolan, a philosophy professor at the University of Minnesota. “Judging a life as not worth living is what the Nazis did. It contravenes the demands of common decency. A doctor or nurse should not decide if a person is worth saving. Their job is to save them.”

Examples were given: a selfish daughter, estranged from her mother for 25 years, reenters the picture and says that she wants the elderly woman unplugged from life support systems. Is the mother ready to die? asked the speaker. Of course not, the conferees agreed. If God wanted her to die, she would die while hooked up to the machinery. But what about a terminally ill patient who has decided, for him or herself, that s/he wishes to die? Do we honor living wills? asked Dolan. Can death ever be perceived as a friend, or must it always be an enemy, to be fought and hated?

Many in the crowd nodded in horror as Dolan posed these ethical dilemmas, visibly angry that human beings are making decisions they deem inappropriate for God, and God alone.

Dolan then threw an unexpected curve to the plenary crowd. In opposing what he called “institutional heartlessness”, he made some concrete proposals that merit looking at. “We need to ask why people are so in need of desperate measures like assisted suicide,” he said. “We need to develop crisis critical care centers.” He also recommended lobbying for pay hikes for those working in the caring professions, the nurses, nurses aides, orderlies and recreational therapists who “are the lowest paid and least respected”. Lastly, he cautioned against using loaded, offensive language; referring to people as vegetables or as defective, he said, “reflects a corruption of moral attitudes”.

The crowd’s humanity and moral soundness was reinforced again and again. “We must lead the nation,” said NRTLTC executive director David O’Steen. “There is no organizational opposition to these practices out there. The burden is on you to turn the nation around and restore sanity.” This so-called burden infused the conferees with a sense of purpose, putting them on the side of God, the angels and political correctness.
Details were unnecessary as the "high moral ground" unified the crowd, at least on the surface. But while abortion and euthanasia - and the allegedly horrible social consequences of them — were discussed in detail, infanticide was barely mentioned. No one referred to the highly publicized case of Rudy Linares, the young man who unplugged his infant son after watching him lie hopelessly in a hospital bed for months. Nor did they cite other instances of the practice.

Instead, they allowed Debbie Petrie and her four-year-old son Trent to tell their story in the exhibit hall. A mother of four, Petrie told anyone who would listen that "I knew there were problems with my last pregnancy from the very beginning. The doctor said everything was okay. Then one day I felt something really wrong and I returned to the doctor. I was dilated at the time of the exam. They gave me medicine to prevent contractions and the doctor kept saying that if the baby was born now he (sic) would not survive. I was 20 weeks pregnant. The doctor never mentioned the neonatal intensive care unit. Luckily a nurse asked me if I wanted someone from intensive care to come and see me. I said yes."

Once the 12-ounce, 10-inch-long baby was delivered, he was resuscitated and put in the unit where he gained weight and began to develop. Although Trent is blind, Petrie is outraged that "there would have been no legal problems if we did not choose life supports for him."

Her emotional, heartfelt presentation, aided by Trent riding his tricycle around the exhibit space, was gauged to elicit both sympathy and empathy and force us to conclude that her brave decision was the only compassionate option. Since no one was on hand to counter her experience and offer testimony about the agony of watching a terminally ill child hang on to life supports without any sign of improvement, or to discuss the impact of such a decision on other children or the household unit, Petrie's one-dimensional saga was meant for the heart, not the head, and attempted, once again, to impose an absolute moral standard on the rest of the world.

But not everything was presented as a moral absolute. A particularly eye-opening workshop on Project Rachel described Catholic church efforts to create a "pastoral ministry of reconciliation for women who have had abortions". Victoria Thorn, of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee, helped create Project Rachel in 1984 because she felt that it was possible for women "traumatized by abortion to move beyond the point of guilt and intense grieving". Project Rachel trains professional counselors and clergy to work with Catholic women who wish to put the abortion experience behind them.

Although hardliners within the church have lambasted Rachel for weakening the papal stand on abortion and making grave sins permissible by removing the long-term penalties for them, Thorn sees it differently. "To be healed after an abortion is a way of encountering the Lord," she said. Faithfully, she has dedicated her life to the task of "entertaining kids who are on the chastity issue because of AIDS. It's now seen as a healthy option and if more people embraced chastity before marriage there would be less abortion."
We need to reach the potential educators in the audience. I care about you and I need you in the pro-life movement. We will win. We have God on our side, but the timing of the victory depends on the involvement of our youth.

She then went on to describe how to teach, exhorting the crowd to motivate, activate and freely communicate. Describing a blend of folksy humor and concrete, factual material, she urged the potential educators in the audience to "affirm our young people. Respect engenders respect. If you treat young people like animals, they'll act like animals. Answer their questions. Send them out on a high. Don't be judgmental.

When debating someone who is pro-choice, she said, it is imperative that you be direct and clear. She cited a recent situation in which the moderator asked a pro-choice speaker to discuss when life begins. The woman answered glibly, telling the group "that doesn't matter. It's irrelevant." This, smiled Kelly, gave her an opportunity to go for the jugular. And she did. "Always identify the problem. Identify the solution and identify which side you are on. Interject yourself in the talk. Tell them why you're doing this work. Verify your information. Be truthful. If they catch you in a lie it's all over."

Kelly's fire and passion are contagious, and even if you vehemently disagree with her conclusions, she is clearly a leader to be learned from and perhaps emulated. The fact that more than 100 teens attended a simultaneous "Teens for Life" conference is largely due to her efforts. While many of the youths in attendance were the daughters and sons of anti-abortion leaders, it is significant that they are not rebelling by rejecting religion or finding separate spheres for activism, but rather, are marching to the same tune as mom, dad and Molly Kelly.

In blue jeans and tee-shirts, mini-skirts and tank tops, the teens did not conform to stereotypes about anti-choice, fanatical young people. They rallied, told personal stories, honed debating skills, ate pizza, swam in the hotel pool and elected officers. For them, abortion and sexuality are simple matters — the choices are between right and wrong, morality and immorality, good and evil. Sixteen-year-old Karen Gloe of Watertown, SD, for example, said that she is anti-choice because "I just adore little kids. I don't see how anyone could ever not give a child a chance, how they could kill a baby." A lot of her peers, said Jennifer McNearney of Rosemont, MT, have been forced to abort "because their parents aren't ready to be grandparents yet", something she sees as both disrespectful and unfair. Wearing, "I'm worth waiting for" buttons to indicate their preference for chastity before marriage (if there is any option save heterosexuality, any choice but marriage, these young women are oblivious to it) these devout Catholics are surefire candidates for the services of Project Rachel should they ever weaken and get unintentionally pregnant.

"Teens for Life" is training its membership in the rudiments of grassroots, community organizing. By the time they are out of high school, members will have participated in electoral work, lobbied their legislators, participated in walk-a-thons and marches, organized rallies, designed leaflets and brochures, gone house-to-house discussing the issue and distributing material, sold literature and buttons, held fundraising events and led discussions and debates. Some of them will undoubtedly go on to become seasoned, skilled organizers for this or other movements.

While the teens, seemingly equally divided between females and males, shared information and got to know one another, the adult conference attended plenary sessions and workshops on everything from working with state legislators, to debating abortion in the media and making links with anti-choice activists from around the world. They questioned each other, argued, shared resources and experiences, laughed, cried and planned for the future. A 54-person board was elected (38 of the members are women) as were officers (five men, four women). Uniting them throughout the three days of sessions was a fierce belief in the ecclesiastical righteousness of their mission. Prodding them is government, and a videotaped welcome from President George Bush made them giddy with pleasure and gave them confidence that they will win this battle. Far from being polyester-clad fanatics, they demonstrated themselves to be formidable foes and intelligent, able strategists and planners. With 50 separate battles looming in 50 state legislatures — and a Supreme Court perched to winnow away the right to abortion — the pro-choice community has its work cut out for it. It will not be easy.
America's most dangerous woman?
Manacled and shackled, Susan Rosenberg sits behind a plexiglass wall in a Washington, DC courtroom, April, 1988.

Rosenberg is considered by law enforcement authorities to be "a grave danger to the security of the United States".

"...it was the prison that had proved the best school. A more painful, but a more vital, school. Here I had been brought close to the depths and complexities of the human soul; here I had found ugliness and beauty, meanness and generosity. The prison had been the crucible that tested my faith. It had helped me to discover strength in my own being, the strength to stand alone, the strength to live my life and fight for my ideals, against the whole world if need be."

Emma Goldman — Living My Life, Volume I 1931

She signs her letter, "Vencemos, Susan Rosenberg". The old slogan of the Cuban revolution — We shall overcome — seems ironically symbolic of the plight of a woman whose political beliefs have led her into direct confrontation with the United States government, and to the prospect of virtual imprisonment.

On the far left of the political spectrum and a self-proclaimed revolutionary, 34-year-old (Oct. '89) Susan Lisa Rosenberg's path of dissent against government policies has provoked an extraordinary reaction on the part of judicial and law enforcement authorities.

"Your background paralleled mine to some degree and but for fate, fortune or choice I could be where you sit now."

Free-lance writer Patricia Golan was living in Tucson, AZ when she first heard of Susan Rosenberg. Rosenberg had been sent to a Federal lock-up in Tucson when she was first imprisoned.

"I had never before considered the possibility that there could be 'political prisoners' in the United States," said Golan.

"For all my adult life I have held a certain set of political beliefs, and have lived my life accordingly. What, I wondered, would happen if my politics were so fundamentally opposed to the government in power that I would feel forced to break the law? How would I behave in a situation similar to that of Susan Rosenberg's? Would I refuse to renounce my politics, or become a psychological cipher by giving up the 'me' that has invested so many
years in an ideal? “It was this aspect of Susan Rosenberg’s story that made me want to meet her and to find out more about her.”

Despite her many months of harsh incarceration, which included a 20-month ordeal in a women’s “control unit” in Lexington, KY, Susan Rosenberg remains articulate and self-assured. Whatever one’s political stand or attitude towards the movement that led her to her present plight, there is something about her quiet, unwavering presence that inspires respect.

In April, 1988, Susan Rosenberg, considered by law enforcement authorities to be a grave danger to the security of the United States, sat manacled and shackled behind a plexiglass wall in a Washington, DC courtroom.

Already serving an unprecedented 58-year sentence for the possession of arms and explosives, 34-year-old Rosenberg was under indictment again. Along with five other radical activists (Alan Berkman, Tim Blunk, Marilyn Buck, Linda Evans, Laura Whitehorn) who had long histories of political involvement and most of whom also were serving lengthy sentences for politically motivated offenses — Rosenberg was indicted for complicity in a series of bombings in 1983 in and around Washington, following the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

The seven were charged, among other things, with “engaging in a conspiracy to resist foreign and domestic policies of the United States government”. The defendants’ attorneys and supporters maintain the indictments are politically motivated.

The government has been extremely vindictive in this [“Capitol Bombing”] case because of the leftist, communist politics of the defendants,” comments Ronald Kuby, a cooperating attorney with the Center for Constitutional Rights.

Why, asks Kuby, should abortion clinic bombers be allowed to plead to
lesser offenses? “It’s clear,” he says, “these kinds of indictments are exclusively reserved for political radicals.”

Last spring, the charges against Rosenberg and two other defendants were dismissed by a U.S. District Court judge on the basis of double jeopardy. As of July 5, 1989, the U.S. prosecuting attorney has appealed the ruling, but whatever the outcome, the publicity surrounding the case has revealed a side of the American system of justice of which few citizens are aware.

Rosenberg has already served four years of her 50-year sentence. Most of it has been in isolation. For 20 months she was held in a special “high security” facility for women at the Federal Correctional Institution in Lexington, KY. Described by Amnesty International as “deliberately and gratuitously oppressive,” and by the ACLU as “a living bomb,” the unit—ordered closed down by a federal district judge—had been specifically designed as a control unit for women convicted of politically motivated crimes. Unfortunately, in mid September the U.S. Court of Appeals overturned that lower court decision. At the present time, the federal government has been given a green light to create “control units” for female political prisoners like Rosenberg. (See box “Lexington.”)

Her photo appears among a series of headshots under the banner WANTED! She is a smiling, pretty young woman with curly hair, magnetic green eyes and gold hoop earrings. “These fugitives are dangerous and may be armed,” reads the caption in the lurid 1984 Reader’s Digest article “Terror Network, U.S.A.,” which describes what the magazine terms “self-styled revolutionaries engaged in a war on American society.”

How does a “nice,” middle-class, Jewish girl end up with her mug shot on the FBI’s most wanted list? Rosenberg was the intellectually privileged daughter of liberal activist parents who grew up in comfortable surroundings. How did it happen?

“It’s hard to answer,” Rosenberg replied. “I think it’s a combination of time, place and conditions.”

Indeed, it’s a long way from the Washington, DC jail to Candlewood Lake, a serene, haven near Danbury, CT, where Dr. Emmanuel and Bella Rosenberg have had their summer home for 20 years. A semi-retired dentist, the 71-year-old Emmanuel Rosenberg keeps up his practice two days a week at his clinic in Spanish Harlem. Bella Rosenberg was a theatrical producer. Today, most of their energies are taken up with rallying support for their only child, fighting each legal battle as it comes up. They also help in the legal battles of others.

“It is a matter of principle,” says Bella Rosenberg simply.

Matters of principle were a part of the Rosenberg household when Susan was growing up on New York’s Upper West Side. Emmanuel Rosenberg has moments when he blames himself for the path his daughter took. “We were always liberal, always into causes, taking part in Civil Rights demonstrations and anti-war marches,” he recalls. “Susan asked to go with me even though she was only 11 or 12 at the time. I never pressured her.”

Susan attended Walden, a progressive private school. A gifted child with a talent for singing and acting, the young Susan Rosenberg was an accomplished athlete and straight-A student. A political prodigy, politics were her passion from an early age. At 11 she wrote a paper on the effects of McCarthyism; at 17 she went to Cuba with an American youth work brigade.

She was accepted to prestigious Barnard College after 11th grade. Then, finding Barnard too isolated and protected, she transferred to City College where she earned a degree in history.

Lisa Roth, a political activist living in San Francisco, has known Rosenberg since Susan was 17 and remembers her having a maturity beyond her years. “I was always surprised at her age,” says Roth. “She had a very clear political vision for someone so young.”

“Susan was always very fierce and tenacious, but she also loved to laugh and have a good time,” says Roth.

After college, Rosenberg became a drug counselor at Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx, then studied for three years to become a doctor of Chinese acupuncture and holistic medicine. Through this period she was deeply involved in radical politics, working with the New African and Puerto Rican independence movements and the May 19 Communist Organization, an offshoot group of the earlier Weather Underground. (May 19 was the birthday of Ho Chi Minh and Malcolm X.)

Rosenberg was working in a radical health center in Harlem using acupuncture to treat drug addicts, when Brinks happened.

In October, 1981 a Brinks’ armored truck was held up in Nyack, NY, allegedly by members of groups known as the Black Liberation Army and the Revolutionary Armed Task Force. There was a shootout. A Brinks’ guard and two policemen were killed.

Brinks would prove a turning point in the U.S. government’s efforts to eliminate what was seen as a dangerous threat. Through a concerted effort by law enforcement agencies, anyone who had ever associated with the groups involved in the heist was rounded up or issued grand jury subpoenas. This included a long list of radical groups, including May 19. Susan Rosenberg was on the hit list.

There were those who wanted to jail rather than cooperate with the grand jury investigation; although she has always denied any part in the heist, Rosenberg went underground. “I did not believe I or anyone else could get a fair trial given the incredible hysteria generated by the FBI around the case,” she says. “I also knew that because of my long history of support for Black liberation I was a target of the investigation, and I believed that going underground would enable me and others to continue our work in opposition to the U.S. government.”

(The indictment linking Rosenberg to Brinks was eventually dropped. But references to the original indictment persistently appear in subsequent documents and reports. Thus, while the indictment implicating Rosenberg in the Brinks’ case has long been dropped, she may be forever stigmatized by it.)

Since litigation in her case is ongoing, Rosenberg’s life as a fugitive for two years cannot now be known. What is clear is that, having previously worked with various national liberation, “anti-imperialist” groups active in the U.S., she was drawn further into clandestine political activities.

In November 1984, she and Timothy Blunk were caught by police and the FBI in Cherry Hill, NJ, in possession of several weapons and a carload of explosives and carrying false identification. At the subsequent trial, the two
Women’s HSU at Lexington was cited by the Soviet Union as an example of human rights violations by the U.S.

WOMEN’S HIGH SECURITY UNIT (HSU) AT LEXINGTON

We arrived here (in Lexington) last night at five in the evening...caravanned with four cars and a van.

We drive right up to the entrance of this unit. The entire prison was locked in, and there were hundreds of prisoners’ faces at the windows watching this entrance. There must have been 25 police of one type or another. One woman screamed out “Hello Susan, we know it’s you.” I started jumping up and down, and screamed “Don’t let them bury us down there.” Someone else screamed, “We won’t.” They hurried us inside. Inside three doors and into the unit’s own R & D (receiving and discharge). Such a big deal for the two of us; it was frightening and ridiculous at the same time.


Susan Rosenberg and Alejandrina Torres, a Puerto Rican nationalist were the first inmates of the special unit. The two were joined by Silvia Baraldini who had also been convicted of politically motivated criminal offenses, and later three other women. (As of this writing, Silvia Baraldini is awaiting transfer to her native home to serve in an Italian prison according to the Strasbourg Convention.)

In his order to shut down what was, at first, a secret underground unit, Judge Barrington Parker said the treatment of the women “skirted elemental standards of decency.”

Widely publicized before being ordered shut down, the Lexington unit was the first prison specifically designed with politically motivated offenses in mind. At last year’s summit in Moscow, the Lexington unit was cited by the Soviet Union as an example of human rights violations by the United States.

“Consigning anyone to a high-security unit for past political associations they will never shed unless forced to renounce them is a dangerous mission for this country’s prison system to continue,” Judge Parker said in his ruling.

The unit was unlike any other in the prison system. Kept in isolation in small, starkly lit cells, the women were monitored constantly by 11 surveillance cameras operated by male guards who watched even while they took showers. They were subjected to random full-body cavity strip searches, kept awake for long periods and denied medical treatment. All the women suffered extreme physical and psychological deterioration.

A video segment “American Gulag?” on the Lexington unit from independent film maker Nina Rosenblum was shown on NBC’s “Today” show. Originally commissioned by ABC’s 20/20, that network, apparently under pressure, decided against showing the segment. 

Sociologist Gilda Zwerman, an associate professor at The State University of New York at Old Westbury in Long Island, has done extensive research on women in the American prison system. She maintains that the HSU at Lexington reflected “the emergence of a new strategy in correctional philosophy.” The HSU, Zwerman writes in Social Justice, “utilizes and manipulates the ‘terrorist’ label...in order to justify the ‘special’ treatment of political prisoners,” and represents “an expansion in the use of incapacitation, surveillance and deterrence as mechanisms for social control and repression to a degree heretofore unprecedented in the U.S. correctional system.”

Susan Rosenberg and Alejandrina Torres were each sentenced to terms of 58 years, with a recommendation of no parole.

According to Arizona State University associate law professor Jane Aiken, who has followed Rosenberg’s case since she was first held at a federal lockdown in Tucson, the severity of the sentence, on a first offense conviction in which no one had been hurt, was unprecedented — 16 times longer than the average sentence meted out to weapons-possession offenders, and twice the average for first-degree murderers in the Federal Courts.

Clearly, maintains Aiken, the judge was responding to the political nature of the case. Rosenberg, writing from the DC Jail, August 8, 1989, says “[Judge] Lacy’s sentence of us was a vicious political move. We suggested at our sentencing that our 58 years could read “The God that failed”...

At their trial, Rosenberg and Blunk, acting as their own attorneys, tried to introduce a political defense. Describing themselves as "resistance fighters" in a "revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism," they cited Nuremberg, Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international law which gives citizens the right to resist the war crimes of their own nation. Among other things, their brief outlined U.S. crimes against Central America, the Contra war, crimes of colonialism and genocide against Puerto Rico and Native Americans.

The judge refused to allow this line of defense.

Nina Rosenblum, an independent film maker now completing a film on United States prison abuses, has followed Rosenberg’s case and interviewed people who were present at the trial. She believes the handling of Rosenberg’s case in court damned her.

"Their friends were coming into court wearing Arab head garb and raising clenched fists," said Rosenblum. "Blunk put his feet on the table, to show they had been shackled and that he did not recognize the court's authority."

"It became so theatrical, the worst that could happen did."

Professor Aiken agrees. "There is no question that Susan prejudiced her own case by putting on a political defense," she says. "If you behave as if you're contemptuous of the court, you
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Society really hates women. Most women who are imprisoned are in for social crimes—crimes of survival

Rosenberg's case, relitigating her original trial in New Jersey.

"It's like the '50s," states attorney O'Melveny, "only instead of communists, it's the rubric of terrorism. The point is, if these people are terrorists, then their rights can be abused. And then, there was Rosenberg's religion.

Although both her parents come from Orthodox Jewish homes, for the most part they led secular lives. Since her imprisonment, Susan Rosenberg's reaffirmation of her Jewish identity is, she says, connected to the "profound" Anti-Semitism she has encountered in prison and at the hands of law enforcement officials.

Carrying false identification at the time of her arrest, Rosenberg refused to reveal her true identity. The police had called in FBI agents, one of whom looked at her and told the police officer, "That bitch is a kike. Go check the records for a name."

"When I heard that," Rosenberg recalls today, "I knew that I was at the beginning of a whole new stage of my life. I knew I had really been captured."

"Anti-Semitism in prison is really extreme," she says, "more so than I ever experienced growing up in New York. This has really pushed me along, along with my own internal processes, to fight very hard to be a Jew in prison."

Rabbi Sholom Kalmanson, director of the Chabad House in Cincinnati, often visits Rosenberg in his capacity as Jewish chaplain at Lexington. The Rabbi was the only visitor allowed other than her parents for 14 months.

Kalmanson agrees that anti-Semitism exists within the prison system, despite the fact that there are relatively few Jewish prisoners.

Despite her request to observe Chanukah her first year at Lexington, her second year she was allowed to light a menorah. "Susan and I fought strongly for her to be part of the Jewish services and to take part in the Seder, but she was forced to do chores during the holidays," he stated.

The dialectic between the Chabad Orthodox rabbi and the anti-imperialist revolutionary woman must have been curious for both of them. Kalmanson calls Rosenberg "an interesting, seeking person, but very gullible. Had she been more exposed to Judaism she would have been a very different person."

Perhaps.

Whatever the case, Rosenberg is convinced that prison authorities view her requests to practice Judaism as a ploy.

"I can't tell you how totalmente enraged that is to me — being Jewish is just part of who I am."

"There are not many Jewish women in U.S. prisons, so I am a rarity for many reasons," she continued. "At first it would bother me when they'd yell 'Rosenberg!' [in a deprecating tone] at me, and now I'm just glad."

Those who have met Susan Rosenberg, both before and after her imprisonment, have been powerfully affected by her. Among her political friends and supporters there is a tendency to idealize her, to speak of her in terms of near martyrdom. Women especially find her inspiring.

"She brakes that part of us that is dissatisfied with the way the world is," remarked one woman attorney who has befriended Rosenberg.

"Her strength and honesty and willingness to 'put her money where her mouth is' is a challenge to us all," says Lisa Roth. "You look at her and think, if she could survive Lexington, then you could too."

Many women identify with Rosenberg. "I can imagine myself, under different circumstances, taking the route Susan took," says a legal aide who works with prisoners.

Another woman attorney, after visiting Rosenberg in prison, sold her business and is dedicating her life to helping a woman who, in all probability,
I'm not involved in revolutionary social change because I love the violence

MH: You know, there's a wonderful saying by Ghandi, "The means are an end in process." One must question what kind of "just society" is built on the foundation of armed struggle.

SR: I agree. It's something that I've thought a lot about in the last number of years, I wish I had then.

MH: Many people have feelings for the oppressed and the injustices of this world and many people connect on different levels of political struggle, but you put yourself at risk of completely losing your freedom. What motivated that level of activity? Is it just the final step in a political process?

SR: In part, I really believe that you have to do what you say you believe in. Do you say you believe in nonviolence? Fine, so then you must put yourself at risk of completely losing your freedom. What motivated that level of activity? Is it just the final step in a political process?

SR: That includes armed struggle — does it not?

SR: Let me put it this way. I believed then and I believe now that under international law oppressed peoples/nations have the right to determine their own destinies, and that includes the right to wage an armed struggle — and that's happening — it's happening all over the third world and it's happening here as well. I believe that and I support that. I also believe that when you come from a country with the greatest war machine in the world and a country and a government that is responsible for state terrorism all over the globe, we, as citizens of this country, have an absolute responsibility to try and stop that in a number of ways. At the time I felt that supporting national liberation struggles that were fighting the United States was the most important way I could make a statement and say "No, this is not going to go on in my name as well." So in that sense I support armed struggle.

SR: Yes, but I like to think that the best part of my life is in front of me. I like to think, and I do think, that most of the contributions that I made and the other imprisoned people in this case have made are important. You have to make certain sacrifices. The limitations on physical freedom are so profound. Last weekend was the first time any of us [in this case] had been outside in almost a year — literally, we finally got a court order from the judge to let us go outside. I guess he decided a year was enough, and it did a lot of good on the human rights record. We went outside for two hours — what can I say, it was great. For me it was the biggest space I've been in for four-and-a-half years. What you said about the physical reality of spending a lot of time under these kinds of conditions is very true, but, at the same time, it's also true that I feel freer in my heart than I ever have before.

MH: There are wounds and there are very intense scars, I'm sure.

SR: And I haven't begun to fully understand them yet.

MH: Tell me about your days here — what are they like?

SR: DC is a county jail and we are in a category that is known as "pre-trial detention". So, we technically have a lot more rights than federal prisoners. However, we've been in jail probably longer than 80 percent of most people now than ever before. But, I couldn't tell you that I would condemn violence.
who ever even go to prison; my term 
now stands at 58 years. DC is totally 
different than federal prison which is 
centralized, bureaucratic, repressive 
and a much more controlled environ-
ment. Most of the time that I've been 
in prison I have been in solitary confine-
ment or in small isolation with a group 
of three of four other people. Now as a 
result of a lot of legal and political 
ights with the courts — I'm in the 
general population. I've never been in 
the general population before. It's both 
completely better on a human level 
and also very, very difficult. 

MH: How is it difficult? 
SR: Well, you get used to being locked 
up and you make a certain kind of 
mental adjustment...there is a ques-
tion of resocializing. It's very intense. 
This is a 99 percent Black jail and we 
are white prisoners in for a political 
crime, so there is a very great divide 
between what we are here for and what 
the majority of the prisoners are here for. 

MH: But aren't you here for them in 
essence? 
SR: Absolutely, but when we first got 
here, the authorities locked us up, put 
us in individual cells, and called meet-
ings of the prison population saying 
that we were racists who had tried to 
 bomb Jesse Jackson. For the first 
couple of weeks they created a very, 
very dangerous situation, basically 
hoping that somebody would do some-
thing to one of us so that we would 
have to ask for protective custody. Pro-
tective custody in prison marks you 
forever because it implies that you are 
working with the police. So they put 
out all these rumors, and, fortunately, 
we were able through talking and 
through our reputations that preceded 
us and through some people being 
conscious, to say — no we're here for 
the exact opposite. Since then, we have 
been able to build a lot of unity with 
the population, but it's not perfect be-
cause even inside this situation, rac-
ism continues to function. Now things 
are okay, and people have an 
enormous amount of respect for us and 
we've been able to organize here. I 
write letters to judges for people, 
which is clearly one of the reasons why 
they put political people in isolation or 
control units: They know we are going 
to organize against the conditions 
that exist. There are no real programs 
here as resources for people. There's no 
rehabilitation to speak of. The main 
things that exist are the religious 
ministries that do try to provide some 
kind of social services for people. There 
is one educational program and two
Women committed to a cause, especially one being fought at the grassroots level, are often labeled “hysterical”. When Cora Tucker, a Black woman who’s been organizing in the South for years, was called a hysterical housewife at the Virginia General Assembly, she said, “...You’re exactly right. I’m hysterical. And when it comes to matters of life and death, especially mine, I get hysterical.”

Women activists are proud of the energy and emotions which some people call “hysteria”. They know these emotions express their passion and strength, and enable them to confront “city hall” — to stand up in a general assembly meeting and fight for their right to clean water, no matter how Black, how white, how poor, or how rich they are.

Cora Tucker is just one of thousands of women working at the local level to protect their environment from the hazards of toxic waste. Although toxic wastes don’t discriminate on the basis of race, religion, income or education, people do. And because of this, the majority of people being dumped on are poor, uneducated minorities who are seen as weak and expendable. Or, they are white, working-class communities where people have strong religious convictions about respecting authority. It is happening through the United States, in places like Emelle, AL — home of the world’s largest toxic wastes dump — and a community which is 69 percent Black. In Riverside, CA, teenagers live with the chronic debilitating illnesses they contracted as children 10 years ago when the Stringfellow Acid Pits overflowed into the school playground. In Bloomington, IN, young Black kids rummage through junk piles outside a Westinghouse plant for transformers. They take the transformers home, tie them up in a tree and let the oily stuff drain out onto the ground. They pull them apart to sell for scrap, not realizing that the oil is full of PCBs — a chemical that destroys the liver, reproductive organs and central nervous system.

The pattern is the same throughout the world, with the United States being particularly at fault. In the U.S., while our right hand is dumping wastes in the small, forgotten towns of America, our left is guiding barges full of toxic ash and PCB-laden soil to third world countries, searching for a community desperate enough or unknowing enough to take toxins in exchange for a few American dollars.

CCHW, the Citizen’s Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes, is a national organization working to develop local leadership to end these injustices. Together, these leaders form a grassroots movement against toxics. The movement is made up of more than 4,600 community groups, led almost unanimously by women, throughout the US, Puerto Rico and Canada. By providing information, assistance and training, CCHW helps these women and men fight against unsafe chemical plants, toxic waste incinerators and leaking landfills. The work of CCHW is doing more than just protecting our fragile earth. It is building strong, self-sufficient leaders who can take control locally and win their own battles on their own turf with their own resources. It is empowering women who would never call themselves activists to take charge and to make a difference.

Although CCHW is a dynamic, national organization, it comes from humble beginnings with an angry young woman in a quiet, dying town — Lois Gibbs, Executive Director of the Clearinghouse and founding mother of the toxics movement.

Lois Gibbs was a young mother of two when she first discovered contamination at her son’s school in Love Canal, NY. She had moved to Love Canal in 1974 with her husband, Harry, and their one-year-old son, Michael. Shortly thereafter, Michael developed asthma, epilepsy, blood disorders, immune-system deficiencies and urinary tract...
infections. By the age of five, he had already undergone two operations to try to alleviate the problems. Lois' daughter Melissa, conceived and born at Love Canal, was born with a rare blood disease that often left her black and blue.

In the spring of 1978, a local newspaper reported that the 99th Street School which Michael attended had been built next to a toxic waste dump and the 20,000 tons of chemicals buried beneath the school playground were beginning to rust holes in their containers and rise to the surface.

Lois immediately linked her son's illnesses to the leaking chemicals at the school. She went to the local school board with two doctors' statements to get him transferred, but the school board refused to recognize the letters and the concerns of "one over-emotional mother". Lois sought help from local, state and federal officials and from national environmental groups. Repeatedly she was told to "just move, if she was so concerned". But that wasn't an option for her family of four living on an annual income of $19,000 and paying a mortgage. She decided that the only place left to look for help was in her own community. Lois didn't consider herself a leader or an organizer so going door-to-door and talking to her neighbors about a sensitive subject wasn't easy for her. But it was a better option than watching her son's health deteriorate and wondering what would happen to her daughter.

She learned that she was not alone in her fears. Household after household contained another sick child. One woman's attempts at childbearing had yielded only miscarriages. These concerned people came to form the Love Canal Homeowner's Association, with Lois as their president. The more they looked into the contamination, the more the real danger became and they decided they wanted OUT.

State agencies tried to compromise with some minimal clean-up efforts. They put up a green fence around the site and sent workers in to dig up a foot or two of the toxic soil for removal. Love Canal residents, mostly mothers with strollers, protested this gross, inadequate and dangerous step by blocking the entrance to the site and restating their demands for evacuation.

In the summer of 1978, the first string of evacuations were granted. Pregnant women and children under two who lived in the first ring of homes around the school were allowed to leave their homes and stay in a local hotel. Lois lived in the third ring of homes and Melissa, her youngest, was already three. They couldn't leave and they were warned not to grow vegetables, go into their basements, or let their children play in their yards. "But," officials told them, "there is no cause for alarm."

The Love Canal Homeowner's Association decided to hold the incumbent New York State Governor, Hugh Carey, personally accountable. They and their allies followed him around the state, showing up at his election rallies and fundraisers, asking him why he was there.

Although toxic wastes don't discriminate on the basis of race, religion, income or education, people do allowing continued risk to the children and families at Love Canal. Concessions began to trickle down from the state, proving the effectiveness of political pressure. Learning from this, they want next to the President of the United States. Lois began contacting Jimmy Carter and, with the Homeowners, used the media and direct action to gain national support for their fight. The breaking point finally came in May of 1980 when two representatives of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) came to announce the results of a chromosome study of Love Canal residents. On Tuesday, May 19, the EPA officials stated that they had discovered chromosome breakage in Love Canal residents, but, again, that there was "no cause for alarm". This infuriated the people of Love Canal almost beyond control. For five hours, the two officials were virtually held hostage by the homeowners. During this time, they called President Carter with an ultimatum to evacuate them by Wednesday, May 20 at noon, or "what they had seen here today would be a Sesame Street picnic in comparison to what they would do next." On Wednesday, at exactly 12:00 noon, Lois received a call from the White House announcing the terms of their evacuation.

They won. President Carter flew to Love Canal to stand with Lois and personally deliver the emergency declaration that gave Love Canal residents their ticket out. The leadership of Lois Gibbs and several other Love Canal women saved a generation of lives and launched a new movement of women leaders fighting to protect life.

In the final stages of uncovering the problem, for example, most of these women have blind faith in the government. They are motivated not by suspicion or mistrust, but by concerns for their health and the health of their children and they believe that if they only tell the right person the right facts, the problem will be solved. In their search for the "right person", they are frustrated at the lack of response from state and local officials, and as their search continues, outraged at the cover-ups and compromises they find. They keep searching and educating themselves and before long, they are more knowledgeable about the issue than their "authorities". For every woman who becomes a community leader, there comes a point when she learns to rely on herself for answers and action, instead of her public servant. It is at this point — when she realizes that no one else is going to solve this for her — that she is ready to fight, to take the risks of speaking out in the community, of disrupting the pattern of her life and the stability of her home in order to protect her community and her children. As these women make the transition from "housewife" to activist, they become part of the history of women standing up for their rights. As each woman talks about her personal experience, she tells a story of growth, empowerment and change.

The process of organizing a community, learning new skills, and fighting for a child's life is stressful on many levels. As one woman described it: "You become obsessed. You just don't know where to stop. You're driving down the street and noticing the leaves are already green and thinking "Wow, it's continued on page 30
"I was never a man minister," said the politician of question number 6 when questioned about being the first woman foreign minister of her country. Can you identify her and the other outstanding women described in the following questions?

1. Who founded Troy Female Seminary in 1821 as part of her lifelong effort to improve the education of women? She taught subjects (mathematics, history and foreign languages) not commonly taught to women and in 1832 founded a teachers' training school for girls in Greece.

2. An American social reformer in 1824 accompanied General Lafayette on his triumphant tour of the U.S. In 1825 she established a colony of emancipated slaves at Nashoba, TN. She advocated marriage as a free union based only on moral obligation and opposed private ownership of banks. What was this social reformer's name?

3. A controversial politician, who was the first woman to sit in the British Parliament, once said, in exasperation, to Winston Churchill, "Winston, if I were married to you, I'd put poison in your coffee." Churchill replied, "And if you were my wife, I'd drink it." Who was this first female member of Parliament?

4. The first Black woman to serve in the U.S. cabinet was Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and then Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Who was the Black lawyer and public official so honored?

5. Indira Gandhi, prime minister of India, had a very democratic administration and would not suspend civil liberties though urged to do so. True or False?

6. When asked by Julie Eisenhower, how it felt to be appointed the first woman foreign minister in 1965, the minister said, "I don't know, I was never a man minister." Who was this politician who started out as a teacher and went on to be minister of labor, minister of foreign affairs and a distinguished prime minister?

7. This woman served in the Connecticut Legislature and the U.S. House of Representatives before becoming the first American woman to achieve the office of governor in her own right. Who was she?

8. Betty Friedan, founder of the National Organization for Women, attacked the traditional notion that women find fulfillment only through homemaking in The Feminine Mystique. True or False?

9. Charismatic Eva Peron commanded a huge political following and virtually ran the ministries of health and labor while her husband was Argentina's president. Before Eva married Peron she was a secretary/teacher/minor actress/nurse.

10. An escaped slave became a very successful "conductor" on the Underground Railroad leading more than 300 slaves to freedom. During the Civil War she worked for the Union forces as a laundress, nurse and spy. Who was this leader?

ANSWERS
THEN, in the 1930s, the Jamaican Black Nationalist Marcus Garvey. Then, in the 1930s, the African Blood Brotherhood."

In the early 1920s they targeted Jamaican Black Nationalist Marcus Garvey. Then, in the 1930s, the Scottsboro Boys garnered worldwide attention — and sympathy. The case involved nine Black Alabama teenagers who were sentenced to death for the alleged rape of two white women. The Communist Party, an ever-present thorn in Hoover's side, was active in their defense. To Hoover, this show of support could only auger badly. The Party's alliance with the Black cause raised the specter of 13 million colored people willing to follow Communist leadership and led him to question the loyalty of an entire race."

By 1942 a "Negro Question" investigation was launched to study "foreign inspired agitation in colored areas...Hoover wanted to know why particular Negroes had evidenced sentiments for other dark races (mainly Japanese)." Informants were recruited, organizations were bugged, phones were tapped, Olympic track and field champ Jesse Owens was "checked." Letters to potential NAACP and Urban League donors warned of Communist influences in an effort to starve such groups into disbanding. Even Eleanor Roosevelt was investigated; she had the audacity to visit the Tuskegee Institute in 1941.

Despite his efforts and the work of a loyal cadre of FBI ideologues, by 1954, when the decision in Brown v. Board of Education was handed down, "Hoover knew that the [civil rights] movement was a gathering social and political force that was already beginning to develop its own political culture, its own leaders and its own ideas."

Hoover responded to this recognition by creating a program to squelch the most dynamic women and men entering the fray. He did this in Knoxville, TN by utilizing a strategy that he would continue through the 1960s, '70s and early 1970s. When that city's Human Rights Council complained of Bureau footdragging on complaints about civil rights abuses in the st ate, Hoover responded by ordering a full-scale investigation into the records of Council members to ascertain if any of them had radical affiliations.

"Hoover's attitude about what the FBI could do meant that Southern sheriffs and Klansmen could beat voter registration workers right under the FBI's nose. According to the Office of Legal Counsel, Bureau agents could make an arrest if they observed a crowd of white citizens pursuing and beating a Negro student. But the 'no arrest' policy ruled...So the FBI stood, watched, took notes and sometimes even snapped photos while the resistance beat up voter registration workers and other movement people."

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"Hoover's attitude about what the FBI could do meant that Southern sheriffs and Klansmen could beat voter registration workers right under the FBI's nose. According to the Office of Legal Counsel, Bureau agents could make an arrest if they observed a crowd of white citizens pursuing and beating a Negro student. But the 'no arrest' policy ruled...So the FBI stood, watched, took notes and sometimes even snapped photos while the resistance beat up voter registration workers and other movement people."

Although such tactics had some success, when 250,000 Black and white civil rights supporters came to the March on Washington in 1963, Hoover was forced to concede "that the civil rights movement would not wither away on its own, that he would have to smash it before it irreparably damaged his America." Martin Luther King became the focal point of FBI antipathy. Robert Kennedy approved the director's request to wire tap King's home and office and a fishing expedition to gather data on King's alleged sexual promiscuity and political associations was off and running.

The same time King was being watched, the FBI wrote phony letters to the husbands of white women active in the movement alleging adultery. But with few exceptions, these tactics did not work. Activists continued to pour into the South and King continued his vibrant leadership. By early July, national outrage over the deaths of three volunteers, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, forced the Bureau to change its public stance and do the look of an agency that cared about its sons and daughters. Despite considerable lag time in initiating the investigation of the murders, the killers were eventually rounded up and the FBI trumpeted its efforts.

Business as usual reigned for the rest of 1964. But by 1965 something happened. Urban violence escalated and...
Black areas became scenes of unrest. Despite "Great Society" reforms, the movement's left wing demanded power, not paternalism, and offered a critique that undermined the President's constituency. In addition, by 1967 "some civil rights leaders had moved beyond a limited moral struggle to raise questions about power and national policy from Watts to Saigon." King was speaking out for a redistribution of political and economic power and against the Vietnam war. Even the Kerner Commission, set in motion by the government, warned of the emergence of two societies, one Black, one white, separate and unequal, unless something major was done.

By now totally discouraged and frustrated, President Lyndon B. Johnson began pushing for the establishment of local police intelligence units. As a result, counterintelligence was stepped up in unprecedented ways. Every Black leader, whether active in local Democratic Party politics or the newly-formed Black Panther Party, was investigated. Informants were recruited by the hundreds.

The Nation of Islam came under the Bureau's watchful eye and squabbles between different factions of the Black movement were encouraged and exploited. Offices were destroyed, homes were ransacked and sometimes burned and individuals were tormented by FBI "visitors".

It is ironic that after successfully destroying the Panthers, the FBI itself came in for scrutiny. After Hoover's death in 1972, the Congressional Black Caucus held hearings on government lawlessness and witnesses brought reams of FBI files on Black Americans to the Caucus's attention.

A Senate Subcommittee investigating the FBI campaigns against both King and the Panthers found enough evidence to push the Justice Department to indict three FBI agents for conspiring to violate the civil rights of movement members. Not surprisingly, Ronald Reagan pardoned the agents in 1981. Still, 72 years after the FBI launched its first program to destroy the movement, Hoover's influence remains visible in the courts, the Congress and the White House. Central American solidarity activists have been subject to unlawful investigations, as have individuals active in a wide range of progressive movements. One can only wonder what the files would reveal were we to investigate the women's, lesbian and gay, ecology, peace and racial justice efforts of the late 1970s and 1980s; what the file on Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition would tell us.

Kenneth O'Reilly has given us the tools to question government complicity in keeping justice from our shores. The book is a page-turner of tremendous significance. But, "Racial Matters" would have been a better book had he included some notice of gender differences in his analysis, for while he mentions individual women in the movement, he rarely, if ever, goes into the specificity of the harassment of women activists. This hole left me pondering whether the FBI lumped all "rabblerousers" together without regard to gender, or if, in his seemingly thorough research, O'Reilly himself chose to ignore these distinctions.

Yet, despite this grave shortcoming, "Racial Matters" is an eye-opening, breathtaking introduction to a government ruled by pathology, fear and hatred. It evokes deep respect for the brave women and men who have shouldered responsibility for the 213-year struggle for social justice in the United
States. And it leaves us feeling that it is our duty to carry on, lifting each other as we climb the rocky road to freedom and equality. We shall, indeed, overcome someday.
— Eleanor J. Bader

BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT HANDED by Bouthaina Shaaban (The Women's Press Ltd., 34 Great Sutton St., London, EC1V ODX, U.K., 5 pounds ninety-five pence paperback)

Bouthaina Shaaban describes Both Right And Left Handed as a personal book in which she has acted as "an enabler only, a microphone through which my speakers could speak and my readers could hear, through barriers of class, race, and culture." The Syrian-Lebanese, Palestinian and Algerian women interviewed represent a new class of highly-educated women, beneficiaries of the radical social changes which have affected their countries in the past 20 to 40 years. Most began their lives in peasant villages where female life was proscribed by traditionally ingrained social and religious traditions. By virtue of the educational reforms of the '60s and '70s they have been able to move up in social class, and outward in world view, through university and post-graduate experience.

The basic question for Arab women is freedom. What does it mean to have achieved personal goals, public status in societies where only men have power? Farida, an Algerian speaks. "Education liberates a woman from her own ignorance, but it doesn't liberate her from her own social fetters. I feel free when I'm on my own, but I am not free when I'm with my husband and I am not free in society... this freedom is limited and personal... because I can't do what I want. I can't even say what I want."

These women are very angry. Many of them have fought in wars of political liberation, have carried arms, acted as spies, have demonstrated when the men in their armies were, of necessity, hiding underground. Once the wars were over, the "liberation" achieved, they saw themselves reduced, once again, to chattel.

Um Mohamed Biadoum of Lebanon, Zehra in Algeria and the author in Syria, all speak of the anti-woman bias built into the Arab legal code. "Most Arab men, with a large percentage of Arab women, believe that outside marriage and children women just don't exist. Legally, no woman can be entered in the census of any Arab country. An Arab nation's citizens are all men — with daughters and wives as their property."
In her 1962 book, *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson told a parable of a terrifying rain of death that spewed indiscriminately, silencing the songbirds, fouling the waters, despoiling the land, littering the lifesless vegetation with the carcasses of poisoned creatures.

Her chilling prophecy aroused the world to the danger of chemical pesticides and led to a much-heralded ban on DDT, aldrin, dieldrin and other chlorinated hydrocarbons. (In fact, the so-called "ban" did not recall stockpiled chemicals or prohibit sale of DDT to other countries.) Carson warned that unless government officials and the pesticide industry ceased their ruthless effort to turn "plewarthe into spraysguns", the elixirs of death would silence the earth.

Now, a new feminist critique by an environmental engineer reveals the silent conspiracy of pseudo-regulation and cover-up within the pesticide industry. Patricia Hynes, a former section chief in the Hazardous Waste Division of the Environmental Protection Agency, founding director of the Institute on Women and Technology, documents the evisceration of the pesticide regulatory laws — the bitter legacy of *Silent Spring*. In her scholarly and well-researched expose, Hynes chronicles the chemical industry's favored status and the federal government's capricious enforcement policies. When a pesticide's registration is "cancelled" because the chemical is found to be hazardous, the EPA, by law, must allow the manufacturer to continue to sell its remaining stock or pay the company the retail value of the pesticide withdrawn from the market. (No such provision applies to recalled cars.) Hynes' far-reaching analysis explores the misogyny that undermines environmental public policy decisions involving both pesticides and the new biotechnologies.

"Silent Spring" struck, like lightning, at the heart of the pollution crisis: man bestowing nature into submission with pesticides, as she saw it. Hynes writes. "The pesticide industry, skilled in the metaphor and habit of war on insects, turned the force of their armaments against her book. They tried to stop its publication; they proscribed it; they withdrew advertising and support from journals and media programs which favorably reviewed the book. One corporate scientist claimed that *Silent Spring*...would cause famine and death.

By examining Carson's struggle against what she called "the brutal, senseless things" man perpetrated against nature, Hynes explores the political and ethical urgency that sustained Carson as she struggled to stop man's assault on the environment. The original attacks on *Silent Spring* were built on twin pillars, of militarism and misogyny," Hynes writes. "Militarism is the glorification of dominance, combat, warlike relationships and policies. In this worldview, security is maintained by stockpiling tools of destruction, such as bombs, missiles, and other pestle weapons.

Among the tragedies of World War II was the development of chlorinated hydrocarbons as agents of chemical warfare. When the atomic bomb imme- diately Hiroshima and Nagasaki and brought the war to a sudden end, chemical manufacturers sought "peace-time" uses for their weapons of destruction, which could kill insects as well as humans. Between 1945 and 1960, chemical pesticide use increased fivefold as pesticides and herbicides were relentlessly marketed to farmers who were told that they would no longer have to till and plow their land to reap abundant crops.

Hynes draws a striking parallel between the scientists who worked on the development of the atom bomb and those who today are tampering with the inner workings of the cells in an effort to bioengineer new organisms. She warns of a new scientific frontier along which men are massing all the weaponry of war: the new biotechnologies as in vitro fertilization, and genetic engineering.

The atom bomb, conceived in secrecy, finds its counterpart in the modern biotechnologies that are silently being developed in laboratories across the country. Radiation sickness was an unpredictable side effect of nuclear fusion; scientists now are poised to open a Pandora's box of genetically engineered organisms with the potential to unleash unforeseen devastation on the world's fragile ecosystems. Once released into the environment, these mutant creatures cannot be recalled. Major chemical companies are retooling for the "age of Biology" with herbicide-resistant crops, genetically engineered organisms, and cell fusion techniques. Recombinant DNA is today's "hot handle", where the research dollars flow, while integrated Pest Management, a low-tech ecologically based solution, languishes in under-funded obscurity.

Just as pesticides were once touted as a quick fix for insect pests, today's reproductive biotechnologies offer the fast track in infertility research. Although IVF was supposedly developed for a small number of women whose blocked or missing fallopian tubes prevented conception, today hundreds of clinics are holding out empty promises to desperate women with a variety of medical ailments. Whether the woman or her partner is infertile, she can be over-coupled with massive doses of sex hormones and undergo risky and ineffective procedures that have at best a 10 percent success rate. "IVF technology is a male-centered technical response to the social condition of women," Hynes asserts. IVF nourishes in a world in which women have little self-worth apart from bearing biological children.

Rachel Carson herself was portrayed by the pesticide industry as a "nature fanatic" who liked birds better than children. One man asked why, since she was a spinster, she was so interested in genetics. Another called her a "quiet little government employee who lived with her mother and kept a cat."

Hynes peers beyond the myth of Rachel Carson to the gifted writer who was passionate about nature and sought fulfillment in her relationships with women. "Rachel Carson's pro-
found influence on women generates from the vitalism of her own work but also from the primary and vital place that women held in her own life," writes Hynes. "This may explain the contagious quality of her work for women since. She was profoundly influenced by women and, in turn, she has done the same, living on in the minds of those who did not know her."

Insecticides, to Carson, were weapons; nature, the battlefield. In Silent Spring, she urged us to take another road, one "less traveled by," which "offers our last, our only chance to reach a destination that assures the preservation of our earth." In her new book, Hynes echoes Carson's Cassandra-like call as she alerts us to the new scientific weapons arrayed against the delicate machinery of the living cell.

Hynes is also a freelance writer specializing in women's health, new reproductive technologies and environmental issues.

FILM/VIDEO

GIRLTALK

Produced and directed by Kate Davis
Assistant director/cinematographer: Alyson Denny
Running time: 90 minutes

GIRLTALK, a special "P.O.V." presentation, will air nationwide on public television on November 20, 1989. If you are looking for entertainment, for mindless relaxation, don't watch it. If you care about what is happening to too many of our children, don't miss it. You will be in for 90 grueling minutes as you watch three very young women—two barely more than children—struggle to survive in a world that never provided them support or security; that, in fact, raped and exploited them.

Pinky, at 14 is a truant and runaway from a brutal home. We see her living on the street, in foster homes, even sleeping in an alley with rats.

Mars, raped by her stepbrother at 12, left home at 13. She does a strip-tease act in a bar, dressed as a child, riding a tricycle, wearing white anklelets and little girl clothes. Most repugnant, part of her act is pretending to have sex with her father, saying to him, "Thank you, Daddy." Mars also was gang-raped by six men in a situation set up by a man she considered a friend, and left unconscious on his wife's running path. What a gesture of contempt for women to leave Mars where the wife couldn't help but find her!

One thinks that for Martha there is hope that she can turn her life around. The child of a mother diagnosed as paranoid-schizophrenic, Martha left home at 12. She has been in foster homes, group homes and shelters. Her adoptive father abused her both sexually and physically. Pregnant at 18, she now has a baby boy and she fears she may repeat the pattern of abuse with him (something I've heard from other mothers who similarly had been abused as children). Martha is highly intelligent and articulate. She also is adept at writing poetry; much of her writing is extremely moving.

There is no message to this film. There are no moral judgments and no solution. It is remarkable that Kate Davis has been able to capture these young women on film without their seeming self-conscious or aware of the camera. The amount of editing must have been mind-boggling!

I have been told that the Women's Crisis Line in Oregon was offended by the film, thinking it was "exploitative". In no way can it be called that. This is a remarkable film by women, about women. How many women than ever can imagine have gone through some or all of the horrors experienced by these three. If I have any quibbles they are that the film could be cut by 10 or 15 minutes without losing anything and, in my opinion, gaining in "tightness".

Martha responded to the Women's Crisis Line in a wonderful letter that sums up the film better than any outsider could: "All Pinky, Mars and myself have ever wanted was someone to listen to us and accept us despite our pasts, our problems and the ways we chose to deal with them. Kate Davis and Alyson Denny, the creators of GIRLTALK, did just that.

"GIRLTALK is a film about inspiration and desperation...It poses many questions that only society can answer. Yes, GIRLTALK can be quite disturbing — it's supposed to be. Reality is often disturbing with no clear explanation."

I have watched this film four times; each was more disquieting than the one before. The plight of these children is one we all must answer for. Each time we turn away, another girl becomes a victim.

If you have a VCR, tape this. If you don't, be sure to watch it.

"These young women have exposed themselves to talk to us. We must listen."

— Beverly Lowy

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ON THE ISSUES VOL XIII 1989
The vast majority of mental health professionals are good and caring and ethical.

Even more disturbing, studies by Gartrell, Herman and others, demonstrate that sexual boundaries are also violated in therapist training programs and medical schools. One study, by Los Angeles psychologist Kenneth Pope, found that one in four women with

The system is contaminated from above," says Estelle Disch, clinical associate with Tapestry, a feminist counseling and education center in Cambridge, MA who runs support groups for victims of sexual

The Minnesota Task Force has recently published It's Never Okay, a collection of 50 articles on every aspect of sexual exploitation of clients by therapists. The teachers are sleeping with their students, the supervisors are sleeping with their supervises. They're not exactly great role models.

Even so, Gartrell and others are pleased with the progress made in the past two years. They point to the formation by the American Psychiatric Association (APA) of a working group on sexual malpractice, which has produced several videos and other educational materials on the subject. Efforts are underway to strengthen the ethics codes of the various psychotherapy associations. Medical schools and training programs are beginning to include discussions of sexual abuse in their ethics courses. And legislation criminalizing therapist abuse, and calling for mandatory registration of psychotherapists, is being considered in states all across the country.

This is in marked contrast to the situation a few years ago, when the APA refused to sponsor Gartrell's study on the incidence of sexual malpractice, and funding for the project had to be solicited from sympathetic therapists.

"We have a long way to go in most states," says Gartrell, "to get anywhere near what has been accomplished in Minnesota." She calls for a national response to the problem.

Importantly for us as women, the grassroots movement against toxics unites us through persistence, through trust and through sisterhood. As Cora Tucker says, "When women set out to do something, it just doesn't work, we still do it. And I think it's something special for us. We do it and we know we can do it." And with a group of women," Reverend Linda Powell reminded me, "we're already accepted before we begin. This unity is our life line, but it is also fragile. Anger, stress and misunderstanding can threaten the bonds we, as women, have with each other.

Sofia Martinez expressed it this way: "We internalized a lot of society's hatred of us as women and as Chicanos and as Black people. As leaders, we're not only the focus of all the hope, but also all the anger, and that's what we're finding. But when people can't break us down, they'll realize we mean business and we're not going away."

Despite the stresses of loss and change, the work of community organizing is satisfying and empowering for these women. It challenges people like Jessie Dear-In-Water who told me, "I love a challenge! I'm half Irish-American and half Native-American and those are two races that have been struggling against great odds for hundreds and hundreds of years. I was born not knowing anything else but a racial memory of struggle." It inspires people like Theresa Freeman who shares her skill and enthusiasm throughout her state of Vermont. "I gain satisfaction from seeing others standing up for their rights," she says. "Helping them stand up for what they believe, figure out what they want and go after it, that's what I do."

It brings recognition to people like Linda Burkart of the Wyoming Pollution Board. The fact that she could run for office for the State Senate in Wyoming and get 8,000 votes was, she declared, "overwhelming, unbelievable." She says, "When our problem began over two-and-a-half years ago, I was the 'hysterical housewife.' Later..."
ally no more than three people really understood the problem. Now, two-and-a-half years later, I run for office and 8,000 people vote for me. That says an awful lot."

And, like Diana Steck, the 90-pound woman fighting a billion dollar corporation, it changes us. Diana says of her work, "It changed my personality from being a person who thought that she always had to go along with the system, into a person who had learned to speak up and really take control. I believe wholeheartedly that one person can make a hell of a difference. Anything that you set your mind to, you can achieve. And I never ever thought that way in my life."

It is because of the Lois Gibbses, the Cora Tuckers, the Diana Stecks and countless others that this movement exists today. They are to be thanked for the hard work they are doing, for the risks they are taking with their health and their lives, and for the role models they are providing to women everywhere. Thousands of women in all areas of the United States and millions throughout the world are fighting toxics because they have to. These women should be joined by those of us who still have a choice, to preserve their victories and to win new ones for ourselves.

Karen Jan Stults writes for the Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes (CCHW) in Arlington, VA (703-276-7070), where she is documenting the achievements of women activists in the grassroots movement against toxics by recording their oral histories. She also coordinates the McToxics Campaign against styrofoam.

ROSENBERG from page 21

thinking that I'm repudiating revolutionary struggle for the United States because I'm not. I think all kinds of resistance are necessary. At this moment in the United States we live in a violent society where the question of morality and ideology is defined by the ruling class. There is no alternative vision in place within any of the organized political movements. I think, for example, of the escalating violence that is going on against women and children in this society and the fact that there is no response.

MH: Let's talk about women and feminism.

SR: I always felt independent and that being involved in social protest wasn't enough without a very clear and conscious struggle about women. I wouldn't say until recently I considered myself a

ROSENBERG from page 21

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MH: Let's talk about women and feminism.

SR: I always felt independent and that being involved in social protest wasn't enough without a very clear and conscious struggle about women. I wouldn't say until recently I considered myself a
feminist, although I was in on the Women's Liberation movement and involved in organizing and consciousness raising when I went to Barnard College where I met a number of women who were influential in the growth of women's centers and the development of consciousness. I was also involved with women in the anti-apartheid movement where we tried to organize and deal as women within that reality.

MH: Define what you mean by political prisoners.
SR: I would define political prisoners as people who, because of their beliefs, their associations and their actions, have come into direct conflict with the United States government and, as a result of that, have been incarcerated. There are over several hundred in prisons in the United States.

That's a very generic and broad definition, but one that I think is acceptable to the world. It is also one which we fall under whether we're in prison for being part of social movements that oppose nuclear arms, support Puerto Rican independence or are fighting against racist violence; are a product of reactionary movements, are looking at U.S. foreign policies in Central America, are resisting the attacks that have gone on against women. Under that definition there are also other people who are still in prison from what the counter-intelligence program of the FBI did in the '60s and '70s — people who were framed by the government. But most people in America don't believe that there are political prisoners or political oppression.

MH: How to stay in the world because what you know now, no longer is what it is — but from what I can tell, there seem to be viable movements of social change.
SR: I don't think I'd put them in a men's prison. It's the worst possible place for anyone, for men or women. It's built to be harsh.

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MH: But they did pick you up with handfuls of pounds of guns and explosives.
SR: They did, but what I'm convicted of is possession, not use. Don Black, one of the imperial wizards of the Ku Klux Klan, was arrested with a boat load of weapons the same time that I was. He was on his way to invade Dominica to try to overthrow the government. He got four years and was out after 23 months fundraising for the Ku Klux Klan. If it's from the right it's terrific and if it's from the left — it's death.

SR: I don't believe in prisons any longer. I don't think I'd put them in a men's prison. It's the worst possible place for anyone, for men or women. It's built to be harsh.

MH: Why do you think that is?
SR: Right, nothing. We're democratic and free. One of the reasons the government has gone to such great lengths to bury us in prison — given us the incredible sentences — separated us — sent us to different places — is to try and keep a lid on the fact that there is social opposition — there isn't exactly 100 percent social peace inside the United States. To recognize our existence means to recognize that there is something going on with social movements in America (as limited and marginalized as they may be).

SR: They don't see it that way, that's why Lexington was able to be turned around. They never expected the kind of opposition that merged around the high security unit at Lexington. I think that now we will see more substantiated and not quite as extreme forms of political and social control over women who resist.

There's a new place that they built, a high security unit in Marianna, FL, which is 100 women in an enclosed place, inside a male prison. That's where all the federal, maximum security, high profile criminals go; it's completely controlled. It's not as bad as Lexington; it's not an experiment in total psychological torturing behavior, but there are no programs, no education and it's completely deviant being to a man's prison. I've been a woman in a men's prison. It's the worst possible thing I spent seven weeks in segregation in Tucson in the man's wing. It was the frightening time I spent in prison. For example, I was in one cell
and a man in another. When he heard there was a woman (this man hadn't been near a woman in years) it was an obvious barrage of verbal abuse — 24 hours a day. It was okay with the guards, it was okay with the men prisoners. That mentality is the same mentality that's constructed a situation like Marianna.

The men's prison has educational classes — you can go to college and get a degree. I'm not saying that prison for men is good, but relative to what they want to create for women, it's better. So, I think they are trying to use women political prisoners and our so-called "special security needs" to justify increasing the repression for all women in prison. Society really hates women. Most women who are imprisoned are in for social crimes — crimes of survival. Let me tell you a story: In this place, like many places, they distribute sanitary pads. You're given a certain number a week. If you need more, you have to ask for them. One day there was a woman in my unit yelling, "I need more than my four sanitary pads I'm allowed." The male guard said, "Why?" And she said, "I need more sanitary pads." He said, "If you don't tell me why, forget it." She said, "Fuck you," and he said, "Well, you're not going to get them," and she started screaming, "I'm bleeding, I'm bleeding, and if you don't give them to me, it's really going to get rough." He said, "I'm really glad you told me that. Bleed, bitch." And walked away.

MH: How do you deal with the rage and the frustration?

SR: I got sick at Lexington from that kind of rage; I didn't make myself sick — they made me sick. You get sick because you contain the rage.

MH: What do you miss the most?

SR: I've been victimized by the state in terms of its repressive apparatus; but, on a subjective level, I've not a victim — I made my choices and commitments — I'll stand by that.

MH: Do you believe many of the same things — I do. But in terms of a view of the world — dogma; you can't resist repression with dogma. As far as prison, the repressive apparatus tries to dehumanize you and create a mentality that's defined by brutality. If you abuse that humanity, then they win and you lose — you have to identify with the people that you're with and love them — understanding all the contradictions — there is something to be gained and learned from every intercession at every level. It's a challenge to one's own continuing racism and arrogance. Even in this system where you get labelled to be the most extreme of the extremes, there's always a choice — at every corner.

MH: What do you rank the most?

SR: I think, aside from the human touch, the ocean, I miss the ocean — very basic things. I miss the social contact, I miss having any children.

MH: Is there a message in all this?

SR: I can't say I don't believe many of the same things — I do. But in terms of the politics, I do. But in terms of a view of the world — dogma; you can't resist repression with dogma. As far as prison, the repressive apparatus tries to dehumanize you and create a mentality that's defined by brutality. If you abuse that humanity, then they win and you lose — you have to identify with the people that you're with and love them — understanding all the contradictions — there is something to be gained and learned from every intercession at every level. It's a challenge to one's own continuing racism and arrogance. Even in this system where you get labelled to be the most extreme of the extremes, there's always a choice — at every corner.

MH: So you would never see yourself as a victim?

SR: I've been victimized by the state in terms of its repressive apparatus; but, on a subjective level, I've not a victim — I made my choices and commitments — I'll stand by that.
IS THERE AN "ISM" IN THEIR FUTURE?

No matter what the excuse, animal research is inexcusable.

Speciesism shows itself in many forms. The worst of these is vivisection. Animal experimentation claims tens of millions of lives each year from induced diseases, psychological torture, toxic substances, burning, battering, and surgery, often without anesthetics. Only a small fraction is related to the kinds of biomedical investigation cited by animal researchers to excuse all experimentation.

Speciesism drains our resources. The cost of government funding for animal research is enormous. Yet alternative methods have proven to be better, faster, and cheaper. More scientists should spend their time developing alternatives.

Speciesism, like other bad "isms," calls forth our worst instincts. In fact, the more we learn about animal research, and speciesism, the more inexcusable it becomes.

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COMING ATTRACTIONS

"TALKING FEMINIST": Letty Cottin Pogrebin, author and a founding editor of Ms. Magazine, interviews journalist and political radical Renee David about French feminism and Jewish identity.

"ON THE TRAIL OF JANE THE FOOL": a female jester in the court of Queen Mary I — and why we never heard about her by freelance journalist Denise Selleck.

"FAMILY ENGINEERING": Alison Morrill, researcher on international trafficking of children, discusses "political justification" for removing children from one family and putting them into another.

are being spent. The health care industry spends billions of dollars each year on research into esoteric and elitist technology, useful for saving the lives and health of the few. Where is the concerted political pressure for drug companies to spend research dollars finding safer and more effective methods of birth control? A focused, powerful and consistent lobbying effort must be employed in terms of making the drug companies accountable to the world's women. New, safer, more effective birth control must be researched and eventually made available. RU486 is merely one possibility — not the panacea. We should not be lulled into thinking that if we are able to produce and market one abortifacient, that we have won any kind of battle, let alone the war.

If we should not, or will not, "love our enemies" as Millay exhorts, we must, at the very least, know them and use them.

Know the breadth, scope and limitations of their ideology and understand the passions from whence they sprung. The pro-choice movement must speak to the hearts of people — challenge the best part of their consciousness.

The movement for reproductive freedom must be grounded in the understanding that the right to choose is a fundamental civil right. Abortion is the fulcrum of a wheel whose spokes include economic parity for women, child care, health care, housing, etc. In a word, all the communal, societal relationships that integrate, relate and define women in relationship to their families and society. If the right to abortion is a "single issue", it is the apex of many others that both support and define it.
PROVIDING FOOD FOR THOUGHT
Just wanted to drop you a line and say how much I enjoyed the most recent issue [Vol. XII]. I don't always agree with your writers (would there be any point in reading if I did?) but they all make me think. And it's refreshing to find people who aren't afraid to stand up and be heard on the tough issues. So: congratulations and keep up the good work!

Michael A. Gunderloy
FACTSHEET FIVE
Rensselaer, NY

Delighted with your journal, perhaps especially with "The Press Is the Issue" but also for all the contents.

I've already sent in my nomination for a censored story to Dr. Jensen re: Computer Voting Fraud Feared (in '84 but highly relevant now!)

Merle Hoffman's feature gave me new insights and I'm intrigued with Roberta Kalechovsky's "Gender and Science," and eager to read each work.

Sorry I didn't know of your journal before.

Elise Merkel McCullough
Lake Mills, WI

Just as the woman in your last issue said — I don't know where you got my name but thank goodness you got it.

Please keep up the good work. I sure did enjoy the article on "The Press is the Issue" by Carl Jensen, Ph.D. In fact, I sent it to our paper's ombudsman. He has agreed to speak to our group about their policies etc.

Thank you, thank you.

Bee Johnston
Louisville, KY

SHELVING LESBIAN ISSUES?
I was both stimulated and disappointed by the interview, "Women and Friendship" with Susie Orbach and Luise Eichenbaum. I thoroughly agree that we need to redefine what "having it all" means for women and men, and that feminists must allow for introspection and self-criticism.

However, I was very disappointed in the heterosexual, upper-middle-class perspective presented in their view of the women's movement. "The difficulties of class, culture and, ultimately of difference" are reflected in the article's focus on women winning management positions in the workforce and on heterosexual relationships. "Minority" women, who are the world's majority, have been balancing work, children and homes for hundreds of years, out of necessity. The image of the women's movement has been of white women fighting for white male's jobs, an image which does a disservice to the thousands of women who fight for abortion rights, affordable day care and other issues critical to low income women. The article seems to support that image.

Further, lesbian's rights and needs have been shelved in the name of broad support for the women's movement, which only gives credence to the overall society's view of what is acceptable for women, feminists and otherwise. Whatever love relationships women choose, we need to look at the dynamics of women's deep friendships. In this way perhaps we can stop distancing ourselves from each other and create a movement which is comfortable and welcoming to all women.

Kate Shackford
New York, NY

EDITORS NOTE:
Considering that the same issue containing the Orbach/Eichenbaum interview [Vol. XII] also had an in-depth article by Monika Kehoe on Lesbians Over Sixty; that we were the first publication to do a two-part story/interview on Karen Thompson and Sharon Kowalski at a time when only gay publications even mentioned the issue [Vols. VII & VIII]; and that we have interviewed other lesbians who discussed their sexual preference, we find it difficult to believe that any reader can accuse us of "shelving" lesbian rights and needs.

VOICES FROM ABROAD
As Secretary of Political Affairs and Diffusion of the Student Association of the School of Social Sciences, National University of Buenos Aires, I request your cooperation for our Students' Periodical Section.

Our Periodical Section is the result of an initiative carried by the undergraduate students, consisting of a broad file of journals, scientific essays, magazines and books, etc., available for consulting among both students and faculty members. We consider your publication an important contribution in terms of the political and theoretical activities carried by the student body within our School.

Emilio H. Taddel
Buenos Aires

Serving as a Peace Corps volunteer in Honduras, Central America, and working with women's groups in the areas of development, one can become quite frustrated. I am working and living in an extremely "Machisto" society. It was a wonderful fortune that your magazine was passed on to me; it has given me strength and encouragement by reminding me there are women and men fighting for EQUALITY.

The situation in Latin America is atrocious; women's rights are at least 50 years behind the times and I do not foresee any radical changes in the near future. Women in third world countries are suffering in the extreme. Please, if possible, emphasize to your readers that women all over the world need to stick together and work for Peace, Harmony and Equality for all.

It is a pleasure to be part of On the Issues.

Sister Sue
Honduras, C.A.

RESERVED FOR WOMEN ONLY?
Your "Win Some/Lose Some" section in Volume XII was highly illuminating, grouping together all those cases involving women's rights. But I felt the item on the tender-hearted dogcatcher was both off the topic and offensive, in that a woman was identified only as "his wife" and was described as being "content" without being allowed to speak for herself. This item is illustrative of the bad practice of the source it came from, The New York Times.

By the way, did you know that 29% of your editorial space went to male bylines and stories about men in this edition? With so few publications focusing on women's issues, I hope OTI will continue to keep that a priority. A conscious editorial policy is useful to keep space available for the women, who are still less frequently heard.

Frieda Werden
Co-producer, radio news
WINGS: Women's International News Gathering Service
San Francisco, CA

EDITORS NOTE:
We are a non-sexist publication with our strongest emphasis on women and women's issues. We never have denied space to a female writer in order to publish an article by a male. However, we also never will deny space to a male whose article is concerned with vital issues. Carl Jensen's Project Censored is important to all of us; and surely John Stoltenberg's piece on the difficulties and rewards of being a feminist male expresses a view that should be read and understood by women and men. The latter article obviously could not have been written by a woman.
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