into debate. Examples that directly or indirectly refer to sexual pleasure are above all perceived by the adversaries of free choice.<sup>5</sup> Advocates of free choice confront the adversaries with the sociological, legal, and political argumentation, which points out that a direct link between free choice and phantasmatical unrestrained sexual life is practically non-existent. In any seriously prepared data on abortion, "ordinary" family women represent the largest proportion among all women who make use of the procedure of abortion. Those women, who may be marked as "promiscuous", appear only in a marginal – almost insignificant – ratio. Finally, all data clearly indicate that abortion is one of the instruments of a control of reproduction, which makes sense considering the changing role of women in the society and in the economic and political systems. Considering these facts, it seems odd that adversaries of free choice, almost without any exception, insist on their phantasm of abortion as the cause of supposed widespread over-indulgence in sexual activities. Why is it so? The answer is not easy to be found, but it should be sought in the origins of the phantasm of sexual pleasure. As we know, and especially taking into account catholic and some other religious terminology, sexual pleasure is to the extent, in which it does not serve procreative purpose, marked as the most sinful among all possible pleasures. However, this fact alone cannot explain fully why abortion is solely such an important point in the constitution of the right wing and conservative ideologies. It is known that abortion, as almost the only method of controlling the birth rate (along with big health risks for women), existed already in previous centuries but it did not cause any significant political response (Petchesky, 1986). The reason is not so hard to see. Considering the organisation of the family, especially in the 19th century, from which at least some raw data on abortion are accessible, it is obvious that what had been going on has been happening in the framework of the bourgeois patriarchal family.

## Sexual Pleasure is Male

"Non-functional" sexual pleasure was in such a patriarchal society clearly regulated by a number of moral, ideological, religious and even quite decidedly legal mechanisms, and accordingly, forbidden to women. A woman, as a wedded person and mother, simply was not a subject of sexual pleas-

The declaration of the Fourth UN World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995), which includes a clause on the right of women to have a satisfying sexual life, should have brought about a turn in the stalemate discussions concerning abortion. Of course, it did not.