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# The American Acupuncturist

AAAOM's Official Publication

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AAAOM CONFERENCE 2011

## Whole Medicine: Teaming Up for Our Patients

May 12 - 15, 2011

Baltimore, Maryland



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The American Association of Acupuncture and Oriental Medicine and  
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Supported by

The American Oriental Medicine Institute

Spring 2011

Volume 55

# Acupuncture, 1965-85: Birth of a New Organized Profession in the United States, Part 2

By Sherman Cohn, BSFS, JD, LLM

## Part 2 of 2 Parts:

As noted in Part 1, Robert M. Duggan played an important role in helping establish the licensing requirements for acupuncture education and practice in California. He also worked hard towards its recognition in Maryland. Bob, originally a Roman Catholic priest, had been mentored by the great iconoclast, Ivan Illich. In 1967 he resigned from the priesthood and studied humanistic psychology with Rollo May, among others. In his studies, Bob repeatedly came across the concept of human “energy,” but he never found any clear explanation about what it is.

He received a master’s from New York University in 1970 and married Dianne Connelly, also a graduate of NYU. They traveled for a year throughout Asia from India to Japan and back, although not to mainland China, exploring various ways of thinking and looking for an explanation of human “energy.” While in Asia, they came across charts of human beings illustrated with points and lines. When they asked what those charts meant, they were told to ignore the charts—they were merely “grandmothers’ nonsense.”

In August, 1971, when they stopped in London on their way home, they were both quite ill, and no medical doctor had been able to help them. A friend suggested they visit J.R. Worsley, an osteopath who had been studying and practicing acupuncture. Although his office was a four hour drive from London, they went to see him. After two treatments each, they both recovered.

Having personally experienced the effects of acupuncture, they urged Worsley to spread his knowledge. They arranged for him to do speaking tours in the U.S. When they asked him to teach acupuncture to them, his response was: get a class together, and he would teach them and arrange for others to teach. Bob and Dianne recruited thirty-four other interested people, and in September, 1972, Dr. Worsley started a school in Kenilworth, England. Most, but not all, of the thirty-six students were from the United States. This group included Fritz Smith, Harriet Beinfeld, Efrem Korngold, Jack Daniel, Jim McCormick, Julia Measure, Marion Skelly, and Hal Bailen, MD. In Bob’s words, “All these people had been interested in the art of healing before they were interested in acupuncture. They knew something about the life force and were looking for a deeper understanding. Many of them had been connected with humanistic psychology, some with distance healing, some with various forms of body work and the martial arts.”

(This paper was first presented as a talk at the 2008 AAAOM conference. It is still a work in progress, with plans to turn it into a published piece. Part 1 appeared in *The American Acupuncturist*, Vol. 54)



Class was held 10 hours a day, 7 days a week, for 4 weeks—twenty-eight straight days of lectures by Dr. Worsley and the other practitioners he recruited to teach. At the end of the instruction he gave them all diplomas and said: “Now, go do it. See what works for you,” but the students protested that they needed clinical experience. So in February, 1973, Worsley gathered them for two weeks of clinical experience and again sent them off. Bob and Dianne and a few others rented some space in a Buddhist monastery outside Oxford, England, and started a clinic.

Later in 1973, Bob and Dianne recruited another group of about thirty students who came to study with Dr. Worsley for a month of classes followed by a month of clinic instruction. Bob and Dianne helped with the teaching. The school repeated the same program with more students in 1974. After this, Bob and Dianne were ready to return to the United States to open a clinic and a school. They chose Maryland, as it had a statute which permitted the practice of acupuncture under the general supervision of a medical doctor who need not be on the premises.

A personal note: This is when I first became involved. In the late 60s or early 70s, I did some consulting work with a New York lawyer, Mark Penzer. Mark’s wife had a medical condition for which there was no allopathic treatment and which was fatal. Mark scoured the world for help and found J.R. Worsley. When he took his wife to see Dr. Worsley, he met Bob and Diane. He helped them decide that Maryland was an appropriate place for them to settle and start their work. Mark then referred them to me in my capacity as an attorney. (When they came to my office, I am not sure that I had ever heard of acupuncture.)

Of course, there were problems. To open a school, there had to be approval by the Maryland Commission on Higher Education. The Commission said that to approve anything in the health field, we need guidance from the Board of Medical Examiners. The Medical Examiners said, “We know nothing about acupuncture.” (This “Catch-22” was eventually resolved in 1980.)

Meanwhile, Bob and Dianne opened the Traditional Acupuncture Center. Haig Ignatius,

MD, a 1973-74 graduate from the second Worsley program, was the supervising medical doctor for the acupuncture treatments. In 1975 they also founded the Traditional Acupuncture Institute to teach acupuncture. Students officially enrolled in the Worsley school in England and attended classes there, but they also attended “seminars” and did some clinical training at the Institute in Maryland. The students were officially graduated from the Worsley school in England. Thus, beginning in 1975, the Worsley school was located both in England, where it was legal to teach acupuncture, and in Columbia, Maryland.

During these early days, the Maryland Medical Society decided to go after acupuncturists for practicing medicine without a license. At one point, the sheriff actually showed up to arrest Bob and Dianne, who asked me to represent them. It took a bit of time, but ultimately the sheriff was convinced that acupuncture was legal in Maryland and that general supervision by a medical doctor on the premises satisfied the Maryland law.

How was the political problem solved in Maryland? Here is some background: Bob treated the wife of the then United States Attorney for Maryland, but this person could not help with Bob’s situation. He had, however, been a partner at Piper Marbury, a major Baltimore law firm. The U.S. Attorney contacted one of his Piper Marbury partners who had been the campaign treasurer for the then governor of Maryland. The governor became interested and told the Board of Higher Education to “solve the problem” so that the school could open legally, which it did in 1980.

There were other important pioneers in these beginning efforts, such as Dr. Mark Seem in New York and Connecticut, who studied in the French tradition in Canada, Rick Kitaeff in Washington State, who studied in Japan. There were Dr. Peter Eckman, Dr. Leon Hammer, Bryan Manuella and Paul Zmievski in Chicago, and many more. And, of course, there were Asians who were quite instrumental in getting legislation passed, particularly in California—people like Miriam Lee and Miki Shima. Each played a significant role.

A word about Bryan Manuella and Paul Zmievski. In 1978, they started the Midwest Center of Acupuncture in Chicago. In 1980, they created the North American Acupuncture

Association to accredit schools and certify practitioners. Their promotion of the Association for these purposes helped people begin to think about the benefits of accreditation and certification and that an organization was needed for this purpose.

(Note: At that time, very little material was published in English, which included notes from the lectures of Dr. Kim, Dr. So, and J.R. Worsley. Felix Mann had written a small book, and Dianne Connelly published *Traditional Acupuncture: The Law of Five Elements* in 1975. In the late 1970s, a book in English from the Peoples Republic of China titled *Outline of Chinese Medicine* arrived in the United States. In 1983, Ted Kaptchuk published the very influential *The Web That Has No Weaver*, and Dr. So published *The Book of Acupuncture Points* in 1984. Despite these publications, teaching in the U.S. was mainly oral.)

In 1973, Nevada, Maryland, and Oregon were the first states to pass acupuncture laws. Each has its own interesting story.

Nevada: *The Wall Street Journal*, April 17, 1973, reported that the moving force in this area was a semi-retired New York lawyer and real estate developer, Arthur Steinberg, who, along with his wife, had acupuncture treatments in Hong Kong. The treatments improved Steinberg's failing hearing, he says, and cured his wife's migraine headaches.

Steinberg sought to invite his Hong Kong acupuncturist, Professor Lok Yee-kunk, to give demonstrations in Nevada, but the state medical society objected, saying this would be practicing medicine without a license. The society threatened to have the professor put in jail. Steinberg convinced the state legislature to enact a special law authorizing the professor to demonstrate acupuncture without fear of prosecution. Prof. Lok Yee-kunk did these demonstrations from March 19 to April 6, 1973 by holding a "clinic" in a hotel room of the Ormsby House, a casino across the street from the State Capitol in Carson City. Legislators and newsmen received free treatments as did a diverse assortment of other folks. Around 100 people were treated with positive results.

The important fact is that the legislators saw what acupuncture could do. To quote the *Journal*: "Cranford Crawford, a State Assemblyman, says he had chronic sinus congestion. Prof. Lok stuck needles in both sides of his nostrils, in both hands, and in the middle of his forehead. 'It opened up the passages,' Mr. Crawford says, 'and I sleep better at night and my head clears better now. I am 90% cured.' Senate Majority Leader Mahlon Brown had a muscle spasm in a shoulder. He says Prof. Lok put needles there and on the base of his neck and 'I had enormous increase in energy within 24 hours. Within the week all traces of the pain were gone.'"

The legislature immediately passed an act making acupuncture legal in Nevada. It was signed by the governor.

Maryland: This story is quite different. After James Reston's treatment in China broke in the *New York Times* in July, 1971, an enterprising medical doctor, Arnold Benson, recruited acupuncturists in Chinatown and opened clinics for the general community in New York City. He was able to do this for a time, but then the authorities began to arrest the acupuncturists for practicing medicine without a license and for "quackery."

However, Dr. Benson's clinic had acquired quite a following. He convinced the medical board in the District of Columbia to permit him to open a medically supervised acupuncture clinic. He brought in acupuncturists mainly from New York's Chinatown. Busloads of patients came from New York, New Jersey, and other places. He had so much business that he had to recruit additional medical doctors to assist with the supervision. One medical recruit was Dr. Ralph M. Coan, MD, who had just left the military and was looking for employment. Dr. Coan was amazed at the busloads of patients coming to the clinic from out of town. He was even more amazed by the results of the acupuncture. This is important as Dr. Coan, though not an acupuncturist became quite involved with the profession and was one of the organizers of the original American Association of Acupuncture and Oriental Medicine in 1981. (see Endnote)

After a time, some of the acupuncturists began to practice on their own, with several of them locating in Maryland. The Maryland Medical Society was quite concerned. It located a legislator who was quite favorable to its position. In 1973 they recruited a Maryland legislator, Torre Brown, also assistant dean of the Johns Hopkins University Medical School, to introduce legislation, which made acupuncture legal in Maryland if done under medical supervision. However, unlike California at that time, the level of supervision was not defined by the Maryland statute. While the Maryland medical board might have promulgated regulations defining supervision, such as requiring the medical doctor to be actually in the room where the acupuncture was being done, it failed to do so. Also, acupuncture in Maryland did not need to be done as part of university research, which was still required in California in 1973. Thus, when Bob Duggan, Dianne Connelly, and Haig Ignatius, MD, joined by other Worsley graduates, opened the Traditional Acupuncture Institute in Columbia, Maryland in 1975, they were actually quite legal—though the sheriff and some other authorities needed to be convinced of that fact.

Because of the economic success of Dr. Benson, other doctors began to open similar clinics. Washington, D.C. became a mecca for acupuncture; at one time, there were thirteen such clinics. The medical society then prompted the District of Columbia legislature to enact a statute in December, 1974, limiting the practice of medicine to medical doctors and dentists. Dr. Ralph Coan organized a group of patients who called themselves "The Friends of Acupuncture,"

which sued on behalf of acupuncturists and their patients. In March, 1975, Judge Fred Ugast of the District of Columbia Superior Court enjoined the enforcement of the law. He ruled that the law was unconstitutional on the grounds that it violated the right of a physician to choose the treatment that was best suited for his patient and for the patient to choose the type of health care that he or she believed best. Judge Ugast found that acupuncture helped people, was not harmful, and that only 8 D.C. physicians and no dentists were trained how to do acupuncture, which was not enough for all who wanted treatment in the District of Columbia. This ruling was not appealed and still stands today.

Oregon: The first state to pass a licensing law was Oregon in 1973. As was noted earlier, the National Acupuncture Association, consisting mainly of Steve Rosenblatt, Bill Prenskey, Gene Bruno, and David Bresler, gave seminars to MDs throughout the country, including Oregon. One medical doctor who took the seminar was Dr. Joel Sears. An influential Oregon medical doctor, Dr. Sears appeared before the Oregon Medical Board and obtained its support for a law providing for the practice of acupuncture by non-MDs, though under medical supervision. The National Acupuncture Association group that was formed at UCLA was important as consultants in the writing of this law. It was the first law in the nation to provide for the licensing of acupuncturists.

There was one problem: Who were going to be the licensing examiners? At that moment, there were no licensed acupuncturists to take this role anywhere in the United States. Bill Prenskey and Dr. Mifu Shu were named as the first examiners. But first, each of them examined and passed the other. Thus they became the first two persons to be licensed acupuncturists in the United States. Dr. So, Steven Rosenblatt, and Gene Bruno were next. Gene was then immediately appointed to the Oregon Examining Board—even before he moved to Oregon.

By 1981, there was a group of acupuncture and Oriental medicine schools: the New England School of Acupuncture, in Boston, Tristate in New York, the Traditional Acupuncture Institute in Maryland, Midwest in Chicago, Southwest Acupuncture College in Sante Fe, California Acupuncture College, Samra University of Oriental Medicine and Emperors College in Los Angeles, the American College of Traditional Chinese Medicine and San Francisco College of Acupuncture in San Francisco, Oregon College of Oriental Medicine in Portland, and Northwest Institute in Seattle. They were graduating more and more practitioners who were not medical doctors. By then, several states had joined the original three in permitting the legal practice of acupuncture.

It was time for national organizing to begin. The first move in this direction was a meeting in Los Angeles on June 27, 1981. A letter from Ralph Coan, MD and Louis Gasper, PhD

invited people to an organizational meeting of the American Association of Acupuncture and Oriental Medicine. Neither Dr. Coan nor Dr. Gasper practiced acupuncture. (Dr. Coan is an MD who first supervised acupuncturists in the District of Columbia and later worked closely with Dr. Grace Wong, an acupuncturist, in the District of Columbia and then in Maryland. Dr. Gasper, who died in 2004, was a professor at Los Angeles University, where the meeting was held.) The invitation was sent to medical doctors and dentists who used acupuncture and to non-MDs who practiced acupuncture as well as to others who, like Dr. Gasper, had an interest in the area.

Some seventy-five people attended. Some were medical doctors who were practicing acupuncture or otherwise interested in it. Others were non-MD acupuncturists. The first board, elected at the Los Angeles meeting, consisted of seven members, two listed themselves as medical doctors, four were non-MD acupuncturists, and one listed himself as "doctor" without any other designation. The first president was Dr. Lupo Carlota, MD. Robert Sohn, PhD was named vice president.

This meeting brought together three distinct groups. First, and probably the largest at that meeting, were the MDs and dentists who had received some acupuncture education in the various weekend lecture series but whose main vocation by and large was medical and dental practice. They were mostly interested in using acupuncture as an anesthesia. The second was

a group of MDs who did not call themselves practitioners of acupuncture. They employed acupuncturists, mainly Asians, and nominally supervised them. The last group consisted of AOM practitioners who had more extensive education than just from the weekend lectures and who were trying to make AOM their principal vocation. While Dr. Gasper, Dr. Coan, and Dr. Carlota tried hard to bring these three groups together in one tent, there were seeds of discord.

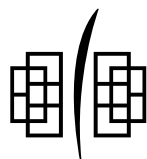
The second national gathering was in October, 1981, in Inner Harbor, Baltimore, Maryland, and was sponsored by the Traditional Acupuncture Foundation (started by Bob Duggan as an adjunct of the Traditional Acupuncture Institute). This was an academic-type meeting, concentrating on substance. Some 400 people attended, including many of the people who were emerging as leaders in this new profession as well as representatives of many of the schools, all young, freestanding, and relatively weak. There was much "corridor conversation," including agreement among many that an organization of schools should be formed. The decision was made to extend the weekend conference into Monday morning for those interested in talking more about the profession; as many as 125 people attended this meeting.

A decision was made for the schools to meet in February, 1982, at the Midwest Acupuncture School in Chicago. Invitations were extended

to all known schools, and a significant number of them sent representatives to this meeting. This resulted in the organization of the National Association of Schools of Acupuncture (now known as the Council of Colleges of Acupuncture and Oriental Medicine) and a decision was made to create both a commission to accredit schools as well as a separate commission to certify acupuncturists. Task forces were appointed to organize each of those commissions.

Some disagreement surfaced at this Chicago meeting. Some believed that the education should be taught at the doctorate level and that graduates should be given doctorate degrees. Others argued that this would create the same type of regimentation and conformity that was typified by the American Medical Association, against which this new profession was rebelling. Mark Seem argued in favor of training independent "barefoot doctors of acupuncture," modeled after the China of old. Neither of these positions was accepted, leaving the issue unclear in the minds of some.

There was also discussion about the AAAOM and its upcoming second "organizational meeting," which was scheduled for the next month, March, 1982, at the Del Coronado Hotel in San Diego. Those meeting in Chicago decided that as many AOM practitioners as possible should attend the San Diego meeting and participate fully, with the intent of ultimately taking over the organization from the medical doctors and dentists.



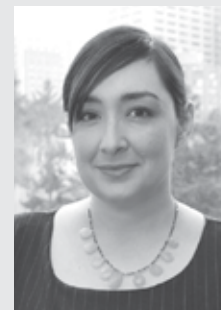
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The March, 1982, “organizational meeting” of the AAAOM in San Diego had higher attendance than the June meeting held prior in Los Angeles. A new board was elected consisting of five medical doctors and six non-MD acupuncture practitioners. Lupo T. Carlota, MD was renamed president. Dr. Robert C. Sohn and Dr. Harry Tam, each an acupuncturist, were elected as vice presidents. By-laws were tentative, with a resolve that they would be finalized before the next meeting. Tension between the MD acupuncturists and the non-M.D. practitioners surfaced without resolution.

The Accreditation Commission, created as a result of the Chicago meeting, met for the first time in early 1983 in Columbia, Maryland. It consisted of five representatives of schools and two public members: Robert Mulligan, SJ, assistant to the president of St. Louis University and former university president, and myself. The chair of this initial meeting was John Myerson, then-president of the New England School of Acupuncture. Unfortunately, an upheaval occurred at NESA shortly thereafter, and John could no longer serve as the institutional representative from NESA and had to resign. At that point, I became chair of the Commission.

The National Certification Commission was to be a joint creation of the National Association of Schools and of the AAAOM. Each organization was to appoint four members, and the eight were then to appoint a ninth. The National Association of Schools acted rather quickly; the AAAOM dragged its feet. It is clear from the correspondence that the medical doctor members of the AAAOM board, led by President Dr. Carlota, wanted to delay the Certification Commission as long as possible. The tension became quite heated between those who—as was put forth in one communication from Robert Sohn—were using acupuncture as their principal vocation and the others, i.e., the medical doctors, for whom it was only a sideline. Dr. Carlota refused to call a meeting of the AAAOM board to resolve the issue. An attempt by Bob Sohn to have the matter voted on by mail failed when there were objections to its legality. All of this led to the third meeting of the AAAOM at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C. in May, 1983.

The Traditional Acupuncture Foundation, which had been so successful with its first academic conference in October, 1981, scheduled another academic conference for the two days prior to the AAAOM meeting at the same hotel. Dr. Carlota scheduled a board meeting of the AAAOM in the middle of the TAF conference when some of the non-MD members of the AAAOM board members could not attend. After a round of protests, the AAAOM board meeting was rescheduled for a later time that same day. The meeting elected the four AAAOM members of the Certification Commission—all of them non-MD practitioners of AOM.

The result of this board meeting was the resignation and walkout of all of the MD

members except for Ralph Coan. The split became complete; Dr. Coan was elected as the new president of the AAAOM. The Certification Commission then organized and named Stuart Kutchins as its first chair. The first certification examination was administered in March, 1985. Over 300 people took the examination. There were also about 500 applications for examination by credentials—a form of grandfathering, which came to a close on June 30, 1985.

The organization of the profession was well under way, but all was not easy. *The American Acupuncturist*, April, 1985, reported that in the preceding year acupuncturists were indicted—charged with the crime of practicing medicine without a license—in Alabama, Illinois, Missouri, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

Another example of these difficulties was a book published by the United States Government on May 31, 1984, titled *Quackery: A \$10 Billion Dollar Scandal*, which stated (p. 47) in capital letters: “ACUPUNCTURE IS QUACKERY.” Congressman Pepper, the chair of the committee that issued that book, introduced a bill in Congress to outlaw all quackery. After some good lobby work by the AAAOM, through its then-legislative chair, Dr. Ralph Coan, Congressman Pepper retracted that statement in a letter dated February 5, 1985. (*American Acupuncturist*, Vol. IV, Issue 4, December, 1986. p.2)

Congressman Pepper played another role in the development of acupuncture in the United States. He stood in the well of the United States House of Representatives and held up a diploma he had just received that gave him his doctorate in AOM. The requirements, he stated, were to write six one-page book reviews on six books he had read at some point in his life and pay \$1,000. He denounced this as a fraud upon the people who were beguiled into paying the \$1,000. The doctorate was issued by one of our early schools.

Now let us move to May, 1985. The Accreditation Commission was faced with grave difficulty. Accreditation agencies must themselves be accredited—the technical term is “recognized.” The most important person to recognize an accreditation agency is the United States Secretary of Education. For the students of a school to be entitled to federally guaranteed student loans, the school must be accredited by an agency that is recognized by the Secretary of Education. As we found out, this is a long and arduous road.

We filed one extensive application in 1984 and were turned away. The problem was that we had not really defined ourselves and sought recognition for all the types of education—from bachelors through doctorate—that we might give some day. The profession needed to define itself. When the AAAOM met in the Oak Park area of Chicago in May, 1985, the accreditation commission called a meeting that included the members of the accreditation commission, the certification commission, the association of schools, and the

officers of the AAAOM. I chaired that meeting and stated that I was the one person in the room who did not care what the result would be, but that we had to have a result. We decided that we would not adjourn until we had arrived at an agreement we could live with.

To facilitate this process, I suggested that we start with these questions: What is it that a qualified, entry level practitioner should look like? Should this person have the same amount of education and clinical training as a medical doctor? How much didactic education and clinical training was necessary for a qualified, entry level practitioner to have? We decided on three academic years if it was for acupuncture alone and four academic years if it was to include both acupuncture and herbs. The next question was about the educational level of applicants. Some schools admitted people right out of high school; others required a college degree. It was decided that the entering student should have at least two years of post-secondary education.

The next question was what kind of degree was to be awarded. Here, I must admit, I had a view. With the schools all being free-standing, relatively new, and with no research activity or other scholarship by faculty or students to speak of, it would be very difficult to sell a doctorate level recognition to the Department of Education or to the states. Most states thought of acupuncture as a trade, not as a profession. Moreover, the incident with Congressman Pepper’s fraudulent doctorate had just occurred and was in the newspapers. Therefore it was decided that, following the example of some other professions, we would award a professional master’s degree—a Master’s of Acupuncture for those who were trained only in acupuncture and a Master’s in Oriental Medicine for those who were trained in herbs as well. We accomplished all of this in one long day.

The next day I reported these decisions to the assembly of the AAAOM, where many participants wanted immediate doctorates, as many still do. I explained the reasoning behind our decisions, and I made the prediction that the schools would be in a position to consider seriously a doctorate program in the early part of the 21st century.

This is where the profession is now. The accreditation commission was recognized by the Secretary of Education in 1988. There are now approximately 27,000 licensed practitioners in the U.S. The highly respected Certification Commission is recognized. Some serious research is going on in some of the AOM schools, in many medical schools, and is encouraged by the Society for Acupuncture Research. Peer review journals report on serious acupuncture research. There are now fifty-eight accreditation master’s programs, with six more in candidacy. And there are three accredited and four candidate Doctor of Acupuncture & Oriental Medicine programs. Accredited and candidate for accreditation

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schools are now located in twenty-one states. Acupuncture is now legal in forty-five states. An entry level doctorate is now being seriously considered. This profession of approximately 27,000 licensed practitioners is well organized and recognized. It has come a long way in a relatively short time.

**Endnote:**

Organizational names changed; the first organization in the AOM field was the National Acupuncture Association, formed by Bill Prensky, Steve Rosenblatt, and Louie Prince in 1972. (See Part 1 of this article in Vol. 54.) In 1981, under the leadership of Ralph Coan, MD and Louis Gasper, PhD the American Association of Acupuncture and Oriental Medicine was formed. At first, this AAAOM was controlled largely by medical doctors and dentists. It was taken over in May, 1983, by AOM practitioners who were not MDs or DDSs. In 1993 this organization split apart into the National Acupuncture and Oriental Medicine Alliance and the American Association of Oriental Medicine. On February 1, 2007, these two organizations were reunited, and its name again became the American Association of Acupuncture and Oriental Medicine.

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Sherman Cohn, professor of law at Georgetown University, has worked on behalf of the AOM field since its regulatory inception in the late 1970s. He has served as chair of the Accreditation Commission of Acupuncture and Oriental Medicine and as a board member of the former National Acupuncture Alliance. He is an active board member for the Integrated Healthcare Policy Consortium, president of the National Acupuncture Foundation, and chair of the board of the Tai Sophia Institute (formerly known as the Traditional Acupuncture Institute) in Maryland. He has also served as chair of the board of the Tai Hsuan College of Acupuncture and Herbal Medicine in Hawaii.

**Author's Note:** As this is a work in progress, the reader who has any information concerning these matters is asked to submit it to the author. It may be that your recollection of one or more of these incidents is different than what is in this article. If you have any paper records of any of these matters, that would be very helpful. Thank you for your help. [cohn@law.georgetown.edu](mailto:cohn@law.georgetown.edu)