“Urban guerrilla warfare is based on the conditions that will be ripe for armed struggle, it will be too late to prepare for it.”

R.F.A.

The murder on October 18 of the three Red Army Faction prisoners, Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe at Stammheim was the culmination of the West German state’s recently developed double strategy of holding each of its 120 or so political prisoners as hostages against further guerrilla activity, and of destroying the political situation of the guerrilla opposition psychologically through use of the media. These were not the first results of the Federal Republic’s new tactic. Holger Meins was murdered at Willich prison on November 9, 1974, to break the second RAF hunger-strike. Siegfried Haussener was murdered at Stammheim on May 4, 1975 in answer to the attack against the West German embassy in Stockholm, in which he was wounded and captured, and because he could prove that the explosion at the embassy was the work of a West German special police squad. Ulrike Meinhof was murdered at Stammheim on May 9, 1976 shortly before a petition was to be presented to the court proving the complicity of the F.D.R. in the Vietnamese war.

Each has been a carefully planned action, with the murderer intended to appear as suicide or the result of dangerous medical condition. This preparation has not been restricted to the carrying out of the murder but has taken time extended to psychological preparation of the public for weeks in advance through the media, to insist among other things that suicide on part of RAF prisoners equals disillusionment with RAF politics. What follows is an outline of how the West German state was able to carry out its strategy.

On April 7 this year, during the fourth hunger strike, Federal Attorney-General Behrman, who had been responsible for the deaths of Ulrike Meinhof, Siegfried Haussener and Holger Meins, was executed in Karlsruhe. The Ulrike Meinhof Commando claimed responsibility. The hunger-strike prisoners were immediately transferred to total isolation conditions, that is, held as hostages. They automatically went into that strike. Earlier the prisoners’ lawyers had finally forced the authorities to conduct a medical inquiry into the conditions under which West Germany’s political prisoners were being held. This investigation recommended that political prisoners should in future be held either in ordinary prison conditions or at one special location, or in groupings of 15 at different locations. The central demand of the fourth hunger and now third strike was that these recommendations be implemented. After four days the total isolation became too much for the authorities to openly justify and was lifted. The prisoners ended their third strike, but the hunger strike continued. On April 30 the Regional Justice Ministry of the Baden-Württemberg area, which includes Stuttgart, announced that a high level decision had been taken to concentrate all political prisoners into groups of 15. Given this assurance the 80 prisoners ended their hunger strike.

The concession of allowing prisoners to concentrate into groups of 15 directly obstructed the authorities’ anti-terrorist tactic of holding all political prisoners as hostages. All the more so because by now it had been decided to solve the problem at Stammheim, as it had become clear that the hunger strikers were in council for all. Accordingly as soon as pressure on the government had eased (the possibility of hunger strikers dying on the one hand, and public concern at legitimacy of the hunger strikers’ demands on the other) the new Federal Attorney-General Behrman, who had himself conducted negotiations with the hunger strikers, set about sabotaging the implementation of the demands.

It now became obvious that the one final obstacle to the extermination strategy were the prisoners’ lawyers who clearly understood their role in being the lives of their clients and ensuring their human rights. In the weeks that followed the authorities, fronted by Behrman, launched a campaign with the complicity of the media to systematically defame and criminalize all lawyers and people working with political prisoners. The state called it “stirring up the sympathizers’ swamp”. After the hunger strike Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe, Ingrid Schubert and Margarete Müller were the only prisoners on Stammheim’s seventh floor. Then three more RAF prisoners, Werner Hoppe, Wolfgang Beer and Helmut Pohl, were shipped in from Hamburg. After being wounded and captured in a shoot-out Gunther Sonnenberg and Verena Becker arrived. Gunther Sonnenberg, who had been shot in the head, was almost immediately transferred to a psychiatric clinic near Frankfurt. Finally, a tenth prisoner arrived, Sabine Schmitz. Stammheim was the only prison where the authorities’ assurances were even partly implemented. Verena Becker and Sabine Schmitz were held isolated from the other prisoners and only managed to obtain contact with them (an hour or two a day) after a long and severe hunger strike. During this time their two Stuttgart lawyers, Arnd Muller and Armin Newerla were charged with attempted murder since they hadn’t intervened to stop the hunger strike, a clear expression of the new tactics used to consolidate the prison system. After further waiting for the government to implement its assurances, 16 people, including the Holger Meins Commando which had attacked the Stockholm embassy and other prisoners not in Stammheim, resumed the hunger strike and now became clear that the state was preparing to use this new situation to murder RAF prisoners. Behrman launched a counter-information campaign including production of a document detailing “outstanding prison conditions” of the political prisoners and thus publically undermining the hunger strike. Next the campaign against defense lawyers and “sympathizers” was reinforced. In practice this meant regular raids on houses and offices, and finally a discussion of the politics of force-feeding, was started in the press with the aim of preparing the West German population for the use of the so called “medical method”. As long as the prisoner is fit mentally or he either eats or dies, he is treated as if he were a criminal and given as little food as possible in order to force him to let slip. “It’s always had if prisoners die, but the population wants the state to behave towards the prisoners as it’s entitled to.”

On July 23 Jurgen Ponto, head of Dresdner Bank and board member of Kammers, Daimler-Benz, AG and Telefunken, was shot dead when he resisted kidnapping. He had in a report made on the continued next page.
Ireland's first... 

On the weekend of Oct. 1/2 the first ever Irish National Women's Conference was held in Dublin. The organizers had anticipated a large attendance but had been unable to get a hotel to host the event. Hence, the conference was held in the Phoenix Park, where the weather was cool and the atmosphere was conducive to serious discussion.

The conference was attended by over 500 women, representing a wide range of organizations and interests. It was organized by the Irish Women's Movement and was supported by the Irish Women's Council.

The conference was divided into two main sessions. The first session was devoted to the issues of violence against women, and the second session was devoted to the issues of women's economic empowerment.

The discussion was lively and passionate, and the participants were united in their commitment to ensuring that women's voices are heard and that women have equal rights.

The conference was a success, and it is hoped that it will be held again in the future. The organizers are already planning for the next conference.

Barcelona '77... 

Last year, when I was in Andalucia, a young student from Madrid was arrested and given a large fine for distributing leaflets. He was supported by many students and others, and the fine was later overturned. This year, the situation is different. The Spanish government is more repressive, and the students are facing much greater pressure.

In Barcelona this year, the students are calling for the right to strike, and the government is trying to prevent this. The students are not going to be intimidated, and they are determined to fight for their rights.

The situation is serious, and the students need our support. If you can, please send them money or other support. They are fighting for a just cause, and we must stand with them.

Grunt Rogaly, 

When two people upset you, you can either give up or fight back. My advice is to fight back. This way, you will not only get what you want, but you will also feel better.

In my town, there is a group of people who are always fighting with each other. They are always yelling and screaming, and it is very disruptive. I have tried to talk to them, but they will not listen. I have decided to fight back.

I have written a letter to the mayor, and I have also talked to the police. I am hoping that they will do something about it. If they do not, I will have to take matters into my own hands.
Tescos ‘checked’

The South East London Anarchist-Feminist Group consists of twelve women who live in an area from Brixton to Bickley. We heard via the Rape Crisis Centre that Tescos had purchased Home and Wear sections, men’s underwear, with no one there to sign the contract. They have done this in order to stop the local Home and Wear section, men’s underwear, ‘Our Friendly Neighbourhood Raper’ and decided that direct action was called for.

In our search for the underpants locally, we found that the leader of the local anarchist friend came with me and asked if they had any particular line. The man asked if the we could make a deal and agreed to a home delivery. My friend said she felt like Jack the Ripper. It transpired that they had sold out, but they had other items like ‘I’m Laid A Million’. We went next to Islington where the man snatched and said that they had sold out. At Cathcart we were rewarded with a pair of underpants costing 69p, depicting a dirty old man with no trousers on and creeping along underwear the caption ‘Your Friendly Neighbourhood Raper’. I’ve phoned my wedding planner, my Home and Wear manager, saying that we found the underpants offensive and not appropriate about the ways of the man. He replied ‘It’s a very good line, we sell lots and have no intention of withdrawing them’.

On Thursday October 6 we made placards saying ‘Since When Has Rape Been A Joke?’ and ‘One Woman Raped Is Every Woman Raped’ as well as ‘Men Against Rape’ for some male supporters to carry. We also put a short leaflet to give to shoppers.

On Friday October 6 a group of us, including four men assembled outside Cathcart Tesco and started giving out leaflets and talking to people in the shop. We were overwhelmed by the response, women were particularly angry and eager to sign our petition. Many people said they would write to Tesco head office personally. One

Dial a dyke

Lesbian Line is a new phone service for women operated entirely by women and offering help, advice and information. The service is run collectively, both administration and phone duties are rotated and shared equally. Decisions are taken at regular meetings.

This is the first time a woman has been able to ring up and be sure of speaking to another woman, whether she wants information, help or just wants to talk to another woman who will have experiences similar to her own. Lesbian Line is open for anyone who wants to ring between 2-8pm on Monday and Friday. Letters may be sent c/o BM 1514, London WC1V 6XX. Small social gatherings will also be held to enable women to talk and get to know other Lesbians. Lesbian Line’s telephone number is: 01 794 2042

Half Moon rising

The Half Moon Theatre is a small company which performs in a converted music venue in Aldgate, which has built up a reputation for left-wing political theatre, very much in the East End tradition. For the past five years, the Half Moon Theatre, in Stepney, probably the oldest and smallest of the East End community. Their rivals have been the Village Music Hall, which wants to remove the building exclusively as a Music Hall, but in May 1977 it is feared that the GLC’s Labour-controlled authority would lease the building to the Half Moon, after the latter had raised loans and promises totalling £400,000.

The Half Moon has experienced some drastic changes over the past few years—industry has been moving out and the docks have been rundown to a close. This has left vast areas of land available for development, but the property firm are now swooping down on the East End.

When the Tories regained control of the GLC in the May 1977 elections, they announced a ‘review’ of the position regarding Wilton’s, and immediately Taylor-Woodrow, a huge property company, put in a bid, saying that they would rebuild it elsewhere if it couldn’t be renovated on its present site. The aim is to move its development scheme at St. Katharine’s Dock, which isn’t
Trespassing criminalised

Next month sees the arrival of the Criminal Trespass Law as part 2 of the Criminal Law Act 1977. This law creates five new offences involving trespass, which gives the police the power to enter, search and arrest, without a warrant, on the grounds that they suspect that one of these offences has been committed. They carry maximum penalties of six months in jail and/or a £1,000 fine. Furthermore, they will be tried only in magistrates' courts, making conviction a virtual certainty.

Briefly, the offences are as follows:
1. Living or threatening violence to secure entry to premises.
2. Adverse occupation of residential property.
3. Trespassing with an offensive weapon.
4. Trespassing on embassy premises.
5. Revisiting or obstructing a bailiff or sheriff.

It is clear that these measures provide the state, property speculators and industrial barons with plenty of scope to create laws. Like the Immigration Laws, the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the extensive use of conspiracy and public order laws, they have been passed with the active collusion of all parties in Parliament: true to form, the various factions of the ruling classes have united in the face of growing direct action over the last five years.

The state, with the cooperation of the media, have sought to present these new rules as being directed solely against the squatting movement; undoubtedly they will be the first target. There are already at least two attempts to use the law as if it is already in force.

However, the Criminal Trespass Laws are potentially a very effective weapon against all forms of occupation—industrial occupations have been successfully used to fight back in the face of redundancies, evictions over wages, reductions, closures, equal pay and other issues. Add to this number the workers involved in hospital work-ins, the occupations of empty homes, women’s centres and refuges, colleges, rent offices, towns, social services offices, nurseries, community centres, embassies and recently a sewage shaft in North London, and it becomes easy to understand this use of squattting as a smokescreen. The number of ‘criminals’ created by this law is a stroke of staggering.

Although this law has arrived with little fanfare, opposition to it is widespread, and includes trade unions at national and local level, student unions, as well as tenants, squatters and other community organizations. Generally, the state is quite immune to paper resolutions, effective opposition will be achieved only by continued use of occupations in the future. This will be possible only if occupations are supported and defended by all sections of the broad working class movement.

In order to consolidate opposition, the Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law is holding its second conference on November 26/27 at Dickens Civic Hall, Birmingham. The conference aims to discuss further opposition to the law, the defence of occupations which are threatened or attacked and to act as a forum for the exchange of experience gained in the use of all forms of occupation.

Information on the campaign and the conference may be obtained from: CACTL, c/o 35 Wellington Street, London WC2 6JZ 01-229 3877.

Ray Martin

On October 31 the GLC housing policy committee agreed a scheme to offer tenancies in “hard to let” flats to squatters in their properties. While the scheme is being amended squatters will be offered licences to stay in their present homes. The licence fee is likely to be £1 to £2 per week per room and will not include an obligation on the part of the GLC to do repairs.

Generally families will be reassured together, single, i.e. unmarried, people will not.

The result of this ‘magnumopus’ offer from the Tory GLC will be: an end to squatting by the simple expedient of changing the name ‘squatter’ into ‘tenant’ or ‘licence holder’, huge support for community groups at present based in squats will be destroyed and the political significance of these groups; people will be given the ‘privilege’ of paying a licence fee for the use of the home they live in, any of the protection of being a squatter, etc.

This is in the context of the backing of the Criminal Trespass Laws.

Fare fight in Milan

Ever since Milan’s Communist Socialist government proposed a fare rise for the city’s bus and underground services a constant direct action campaign has been waged against the public transport authorities, not only resisting the proposed increases but demanding free public transport. Buses have been hijacked, trains harrased and underground stations regularly occupied to prevent the payment and collecting of fares. The campaign, which has attracted support from autonomous groups, e.g. Cinque Giovani (Youth Circles), the Indians and also the highly opportunistic Leninist group Lista Continua and ML, has been organised by the recently formed Lega Libertaria (Libertarian League).

A fake occupation on a Saturday in October went like this: several Leather jackets were on the move in the morning to decide which of Milan’s underground stations was to be ‘liberated’ that day. Various jobs were assigned and ‘propaganda materials’ (leaflets, posters, etc) were distributed in the group. After the place and exact time of the ‘liberation’ were decided twenty to thirty people set off immediately to the
Tokyo towers

The Japanese government's climax to have removed the last obstacle to the construction of the New Tokyo International Airport at Narita (Santoku) is propaganda bulletin. What they did was have a surprise early-morning victory by pulling down the farmers' iron towers that had been erected to prevent planes from taking off and landing. No one denies them this victory, despite the action's being based on a dubious point of law. What can be refuted is the govt's claim—splashed all over the two-willing mass-media—that the airport can now be opened within the year. By removing the biggest obstacle first, instead of leaving it till last as was confidently expected, the govt aimed a psychological knock-out punch at the movement's chin. No question that many are stunned; but equally no doubt that the movement is far from dead.

The farmers of Santoku resisted govt attempts to throw them off their land, a few days ago erected two iron towers which effectively blocked the flight path and prevented the start of orientation flights for pilots. In order to forestall a govt attempt to push them off the towers, the farmers had built living quarters inside them, thus converting them into houses and therefore more difficult to remove.

Back to the night

On Saturday November 12, hundreds of women invaded the night streets of Brighton, Bristol, Guildford, Lancaster, Leeds, London, Manchester, Nottingham, Oldham, Salisbury, Sheffield, Sunderlad, Tyne-Wear and York. The actions differed from city to city, but all the said women are angry we exist and we are going to be seen and heard.

We demand the right to be on any street at any time, to walk alone or in groups without men protecting us from other men. We take action because the fear and reality of rape is always with us and will always be used to keep us in our place—down.

Some women are afraid to walk alone of their own estate to see friends. A woman in Bradford was beaten and raped on her way to work. She died from injuries she sustained two days later. In Leeds six women were raped. They were chased down but were only seriously noticed by the press when a 'good man' was wounded. Four women were prostitutes, and violence against prostitutes goes unreported. Is it a largely invisible part of the Game of power over women? The local police inspector publicly warned women to keep off the streets (at all times of the day).

Soho, London. We, as London women, chose Soho because it is a symbol of all exploitation. Five hundred women started off from Leicester Square. Some held torches, some held handbags, some wore masks and street makeup. One elegant Dracula in grey cloak bore her fans at passers-by. 

We whispered and yelled. We sang and shouted—Yes means yes—no means no. We dance and wherever we go... just because a woman's a wife doesn't mean she's for the rest of her life. There were symbols, party spotters, whistles and tin cans clacking.

Men hassled and period—from shouts of 'Shame! Women!' to 'We're all women, don't worry about it.'

Margot Farnham

Without obtaining formal sanction, however, the government actuated. Soon after dawn on May 6, while already engaged with farmers' representatives in the two-willing legality at the Santoku, the集中求めを断じ、農民の気をむくにした新東京国際空港の建設を止めるための最初の障害を除き、川村一郎は、予想以上の勝利を収めた。彼らが初めて築いた鉄塔は着陸と離陸を妨げ、計画が実現できるかどうかを示唆していた。しかし、政府の告訴は何も示唆しなかった。法院は、この訴訟の正当性を疑問視した。告発者は一方で、それを讥笑したが、政府はこの警告を無視した。政府の次の目標は、この運動を一蹴することであり、それは完全に挫折している。新東京国際空港の開港が今年中に実現できるかどうかは、この運動が生きているかどうかを示す。外見に驚かれるため、政府はこの運動を一度に破壊することを試みた。それは効果を発揮し、この運動はきわめて大物である。
WEST GERMANY:
A MODEL OF REPRESION

The three most important guerrilla groups—the Red Army Fraction (RAF), the Second of June Movement (responsible for the kidnapping of leading Christian Democrat Peter Lorenz in West Berlin in 1975), and the Revolutionary Cells (RZ)—describe West Germany as an example of "new fascism." "New fascism" is a kind of institutionalized fascism, where total control is exercised by the social and political institutions of the state, and not necessarily by its police forces. I would prefer to describe West Germany as an authoritarian bourgeois democracy, which is using more and more overtly fascist measures to destroy all forms of both legal and illegal political opposition. Further the guerrilla groups believe West Germany to be the loyal servant of US imperialism—the US policeman in Europe. Although the growth of West German neo-imperialism—the interventions in Portugal, Italy and Spain—show this clarification: the description of the Federal Republic as a dependent loyal servant of US imperialism both simplifies and underestimates the nature of West German exploitation and its particular brand of neo-imperialism.

In any case, the urban guerrilla have declared war on this state, and despite the massive attempts by the state to destroy them they have survived for seven years. The state has not even succeeded in substantially reducing their capacity to attack. What the state has succeeded in doing is to criminalize all legal forms of opposition, and in presenting and selling "terrorists" as a species of subhumans. Everybody who tries to regard "terrorism" as political, and who sees the explanation for "terrorism" in the repressive nature of the state itself, are called "sympathizers," and are criminalized by means of guilt through association. In the last few weeks the so-called sympathizers have even been seen by the state as the people who "have to be eliminated if the terrorist groups are to be neutralized."

This kind of propaganda is accepted unquestioningly by the entire population. In the best manner of Goebbels' press and television as organs for the official version of events, have succeeded in putting over "terrorism" as the real threat to the West German working class. They have successfully diverted attention from unemployment (West Germany has lost a million unemployed for more than two years), an issue such as the practice of the urban guerrillas. The logic of the state has demanded, for instance, the state not possible without the terror (police), but the media to attack any only aimed at the or less as normal as possible people. The hijacking of an armament company message is clear—everyone. When people believe logical that they share interests by joining RAF describes this psychological warfare for guerrillas which they are in contradiction in the fight effectively, the state have adopted some apparatus itself. The state has carried the practice of the RAI. Nevertheless, the West German west and its repressive system in terms of the anti-social of the last seven years. All integral part of all creatives of the state have been taught as extremist other than the government in its opposition. After the Party (KPD) was not limited to illegal party, they didn't kind ideology between a should stop or thought to should regard them and capitalists were. Then placed in the bureaucracy. The state is in return for the fact, they went to give. They accepted.

What this means experience of practice in their common more recently yet are initiatives against a direct physical police conflict is a distant spectacle for mediation of press. 40,000 demonstrators gathered in September, requesting, and arrested—against fascism. Fascism was never is the result of military "model" state from the blueprint worked. The authoritarian hardly charged own Germany (both East accept what they are understanding of the democratic, the 1930s exist. Demos fought, in contrast, against fascism. Fascism was never is the result of military "model" state from the blueprint worked.
The Left and Its Response

The left has been torn apart by the events of the last year. In West Germany there are two main tendencies, sectarian Maoists (with the exception of the Kommunistische Bund Kabi) and the anti-authoritarian movement. Trotskyists play almost no role. The sectarian Maoists are all true to the Peking line and spend most of their time howling in the desert, without recognising it. It is difficult to talk about them seriously. Large parts of the non-sectarian left have become involved in the hysteria of dissociation. They are rarely able to attack attacks made on them by the state, the authorities, or their opponents. The Left has been crushed. The question is, which political possibilities remain?

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Against Our Will, Men Rape Women and Men. By Susan Brownmiller. (Penguin Books 95p.)

Susan Brownmiller has so thoroughly researched this book that it is a matter of fact that she has come to the conclusion that men rape women. She also concludes that rape is a form of domination by men over women. She further states that the practice of rape is not limited to any particular group of men, but is practiced by men in all walks of life. She also states that the practice of rape is not limited to any particular group of women, but is practiced by women in all walks of life.

The book is divided into three parts: The first part deals with the history of rape, the second part deals with the social and economic consequences of rape, and the third part deals with the legal and political consequences of rape.

In the first part, Brownmiller traces the history of rape from the ancient world to the present day. She shows how the practice of rape has been used as a tool of power by men to maintain their dominance over women.

In the second part, Brownmiller examines the social and economic consequences of rape. She shows how the practice of rape has been used to maintain the economic dominance of men over women.

In the third part, Brownmiller examines the legal and political consequences of rape. She shows how the practice of rape has been used to maintain the political dominance of men over women.

Overall, Brownmiller's book is a powerful and persuasive argument for the need to end the practice of rape and to protect women from its harmful consequences.
Half the Sky

Yu Shu, a former Cantonese Red Guard, fled to Hong Kong in 1973, thoroughly disillusioned with the 'Great, Glorious, Socialistic Red China'. Despite Maoist accusations that she had become a rightwinger she realized herself in social-revolutionary struggle on arrival. In 1974 her essay The Dust of Rationality was published, criticizing Maoism and exposing the real conditions inside China. She then edited, with Wu Mu, The Revelations That Moved The World To Tears a collection of stories, letters and short stories written by young people inside China. Yu Shu is currently writing a book analysing the roots of China's presentsday totalitarian character. Zero talked with her about the role of women in the country where according to Mao's phrase, women hold up half the sky.

Zero: Can you give a general outline of the position of women in Chinese society and compare it with the situation in Hong Kong?

Yu Shu: It's much better if you ask specific questions because I don't know much about Hong Kong.

What is the family structure like in today's Red China? Are there any differences from the traditional type, where there have been any moves to change it since 1949?

Yu: There are no changes at all. Very much the same as in the traditional way, the father is still the head of the family and everyone else is under his authority.

How about freedom and living together, is this allowed in China?

Yu: Of course it is not so open as it is in Hong Kong, especially since it is not discussed within the family. For example, if you and I talk about this question you don't feel surprised or broken out—but, in China, if you talk freely to anyone that you are living with someone then people will probably show surprise and even embarrassment.

Do the parties take any action against those that live together?

Yu: Yes, it's illegal—you can be sent to labour camp.

What is their excuse?

Yu: Illicit intercourse.

Will they condemn us as petty-bourgeois?

Yu: Of course, but this is not the reason for your arrest. It's only one of their charges.

If there is a legal marriage at the moment?

Yu: There is a legal marriage at the moment.

If there is a fixed minimum age for marriage?

Yu: Yes, 25 for men and 26 for women.

How about divorce?

Yu: Yes, you can get a divorce, but you have to get permission, I.e. a divorce certificate.

If the divorce is only raised by one side, what happens?

Yu: There has to be agreement on both sides before a divorce can be granted. I think it's the same everywhere in the world.

Are abortion and contraception available in China?

Yu: Yes, as China advocates birth control, it is available. But it is not free, and you can get in trouble and contraception. Additionally, this is a recent development, and the average population control, China's population is too high.

If an unmarried woman becomes pregnant, it is not possible for her to get an abortion.

Yu: I think their laws for abortion is very simple, they don't consider whether you're married or not. But the people in your area know about it, it can be sent to labour re-education for having illicit intercourse.

Next, it's quite easy for the people in the unit to know about it, so in other words, it's very easy for you to get sentenced.

Yu: Yes.

Is there any incidence of rape in China?

Yu: Yes, a lot. Many prisoners are jailed because of this.

What is the court's attitude to the woman in such cases?

Yu: I don't know about that.

Are there any cases of battered wives in China, as it is very common in Hong Kong?

Yu: Yes, it's the same in China. I would say that marital abuse is even greater in China than Hong Kong. In Hong Kong, women are more independent and if such things occur, they can leave the family, or get a divorce, but it's very difficult to get a divorce in China, or to leave the family, so even if women are beaten up, there is still nothing they can do.

How about the government? Do they have any organisations which are trying to raise the position of women in China?

Yu: Oh, this is really for their own political reasons. What they want is to have some women to participate in some roles in the administration. For example, in the factories they want some women to become part of the administrative staff, or in the Standing Committee of the Peoples Conference there may be some women to vice-chair some committees. In other words, they just want to put some women in some positions in the government or party. This to me, is not women's liberation at all. It is only a type of official politics; they just want as many people to participate in the political system as possible. It is to serve their politics, and it is not going to get you freedom. In production, they are trying to get more women to work. For example, in factories they set up nurseries, the reason being to get more women to work, because in the remote rural villages, there are still a large number of women not taking part in production as they have children to look after, and thus reduces the production force. It is for this reason they set up the nurseries, not for women's liberation. So, their 'women's liberation' is designed to get more productive labour and to provide more tools to make people participate in their politics. It is very much the same as in Hong Kong.

Can you give a general outline about the nursery system? Do women have to go to the nursery to look after their children during their two-three breaks?

Yu: The nursery is available to all babies and children up to ten years. It only opens during the daytime and the children have to be taken home after they close. It depends how old the children are, if they need to be breastfed, then the mothers have to go to the nursery to feed them, if they don't need feeding then the mothers aren't allowed to enter the nursery. They only breastfeed children in China, only one tin of powdered milk is issued when a child is born. Anyways, in most of the farming villages they don't have any nursery.

Is there any difference in education between the sexes?

Yu: No, there are none, but I think that it's going that way and that sooner or later there will be a difference.

Is it easy for women to get into higher education?

Yu: It is still less in percentage terms, but I don't know the reason.

Is there any difference between men and women in wages?

Yu: There is a difference in the farming villages, but not in the factories—the class of skilled labour you are determined your wage. In the farming villages, it is quite common for women to get two work points less than men.

In the factories, what class of skilled labour do the women usually belong to?

Yu: I don't know much about the factories. I believe there is a difference between men and women. It is usually that men are skilled workers and women are not, and therefore get lower wages. I believe it is a culture which makes women less important than men, so they tend not to become technically skilled.

Is there any sex education in Chinese schools?

Yu: No, there is no sex education in schools. And even in higher education where the teacher mentions sex, they laugh.

Is there any difference in expectations regarding the sexes?

Yu: No, except in old peoples' minds. However, as the children grow up, they realize that they have less and less control over their lives—they give up.

Do people talk about masturbation?

Yu: No, they don't. They may not even know about the term at all. I think if you talk about it, they'd probably see you as a freak and monsters!! Of course, in reality it exists; someone told me that in the labour camp he saw people punished for it.

And what is their attitude towards homosexuals?

Yu: Floods and monsters!!

How are women in China treated about the women's movement in the West?

Yu: No. The only one who talked about it is Chiang Ching,4 and what she said is what I have just told you.

During the cultural revolution, did you ever think about the problems that women face?

Yu: No, we were only studying, we didn't suffer much repression, so we didn't thought about it at all.

What is your view about women's liberation now?

Yu: I think it is very important and it is very basic thing, because the family is the basic unit of our society—without its liberation we cannot have the liberation of society. 1) Yee Wing

NOTES

1. Labour camps used to 're-educate' offenders.
2. While not actually illegal it is officially unacceptable to marry between classes.
3. Trilbs are not used in China but they are unmentioned. Consequently most Chinese know about nothing about the functioning of the salary system.
4. Work savior system by which village and agricultural workers are paid.
5. Floods and monsters is a Chinese expression for something that is so dangerous nothing can stop it.

Chiang Ching, member of Central Committee until early this year when he was arrested as one of the 'gang of four'.
Dear Zero*,
I have only just discovered your great magazine, in New Wave Record shop. It's very good that it got in there because shops that specialise in New Wave rock are, naturally enough, frequented by New Wave fans, a fair number of whom are very discontented with the current order of things. Young people must be reached because few of them have clear political ideas, so if they can be convinced of anarchism's beauty and perhaps even more important, its practicability, this will be a crucial gain. My main reason for writing, apart from my excitement at discovering Zero is to offer the services of the group to which it belong, the Outsiders in playing benefits for Zero.

Adrian

Dear Zero,
Here is New Rare, I think we are in the same business.

Love Peace
Jaimie (for New Rare)

Dear Zero,
A few people I know thought it was a bit thin on feminist content, but I'm sure that was the same.

Love Be: Love

Dear Zero,
I think you are developing. Our anarchist group is relatively small, but we have had many interesting discussions, and decided we will develop. Anarchist theory is relative small, but we have had some really interesting discussions, and we are not alone.

Love Be: Love

Dear Zero,
I was very impressed with Zero 3, especially the letters page. I was on or (rather near to) writing a letter for the same reason, North London, 2A. Glad they did it for me. As for myself, rape is a means by which all men hold all women in a state of powerlessness. Not that I feel any great desire to go out and rape. If I did recognizxe and am working on—my murky subconscious. Rather, that I can walk home at night without trouble. Sometimes, usually during the nice days, I can even walk home at night without trouble.

Love Be: Love

Dear Zero Collective*,
I was sent this paper by a friend, saying you might want to look at it. You might want to look at it.

Love Be: Love

UK Distribution: Publications Distribution Co-op 01-751-4970. USA Distribution: Carrier Pigeon, 88 Fisher Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02120.
ISSN 0140-3826

Formats: Available for this year's Zero is a libertarian magazine, in fact not all its members are libertarians. One motorway play mentioned as Black August's next production is in fact being worked on by another group. Sorry for the confusion.

Letters marked* have been cut for reasons of space.

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GRUNKWICKS. By Joe Rogaly (Penguin 50p)

When two sides in a conflict have unequal power, "fair play" will always favor the side which is stronger. This is what Joseph Rogaly shows in his book. Unfortunately, this is true of the GRUNKWICKS situation. The employers have all the power and control the means of production and the workers only their ability to work. This gives an overwhelming strength to the employer, who follows his own interests. His workers, who are called "fairies," form the mainstay of the organization. Thus a gap is formed between them and the workers.

The book is very well written and Rogaly has put in a lot of effort in researching his subject. He is critical of the GRUNKWICKS workers and their union, the Amalgamated Workers Union (AWU). Rogaly believes that the GRUNKWICKS workers have been used by the AWU and that they have no control over the means by which they work. He also criticizes the unions for not being strong enough to protect the workers' interests.

Rogaly sees the strikes as not only the fault of the workers but also the employers. He feels that the employers are using the workers as pawns in their struggle. However, he also acknowledges that the workers have been used by the AWU and that they have no control over the means by which they work.

The book is an eye-opener and should be read by everyone who is interested in industrial relations.

THE ULSTER CONFLICT. By Derek Atkinson

Interrogations is a quarterly International Review of Anarchist Research which began publication at the end of 1974. For two years it was edited by the anarchist newspaper Labor Mercier Vega, for a year it has been produced by an anarchist collective in Paris, and so far there have been eleven fat issues containing long articles in four languages - French, Italian, Spanish and English.

The main problem of such a publication is of course that few people can read more than one language, and even with abstracts in the other three languages most of each issue is inaccessible to most people. Those who read only English have had relatively few articles, virtually all from the United States, but the last two issues (10 and 11) contain 40,000 words of British anarchist press, and for the first time there are classified in the British press as "interrogations" directly relevant to readers in this country.

The Ulster Conflict is, however, a disappointing attempt to find in a paper which is both international and anarchistic something that really speaks to the British reader.

Manuel mentions the importance of class struggle, and although he doesn't explicitly reject or accept it, his approach does have some validity. It is of course important to include such economic factors as class structure, land ownership, modes of production, multinational capitalism, and imperial exploitation in the discussion of Ulster, as of any other political problem, but, as Tom Nadel emphasised in his book The Break-up of Britain (New Left Books, 1977), a Marxist analysis misses precisely the essential factors which dominate Ulster—religion and nationalism.

Manuel states that the Ulster conflict has been not over territorial differences, which are true but not foremost. Few would argue that there have been doctrinal differences, and religion, not religion per se, but the problem of belief and behaviour, which gives a community to its identity. In contrast to Catholic and Protestant "identity" in Ulster is the question of church and state. Freedom of conscience is a fundamental human right, and the government's interference in this is not acceptable.

PHILADELPHIA. By David Lamb (Solidarity 50p)

In 1971, a group of Jewish radical intellectuals in Philadelphia published a pamphlet called "The Case for Revolution."

"The Case for Revolution" was a call to arms for the working-class youth of Philadelphia. It was written by a group of radicals who had grown disillusioned with the failure of the civil rights movement to achieve its goals.

The pamphlet was well received and quickly became a bestseller. Its message resonated with many young people who were disillusioned with the political process and were looking for a more radical solution to the problems of the day.

The pamphlet is divided into three main sections: "The Problem of Revolution," "The Case for Revolution," and "The Way Forward." Each section is further divided into subsections that provide a detailed analysis of the issues.

The pamphlet is written in a clear and accessible style, and it is easy to understand even for those who are not familiar with the issues. The authors use a combination of personal anecdotes, theoretical arguments, and examples from history to make their points.

The pamphlet is a classic piece of socialist literature, and it has been translated into several languages. It is widely regarded as one of the best works of socialist thought of the 20th century.
Events

- MARCH AGAINST NATO, 20th May (Embassy of France), 1pm. March starts at 3pm. Speakers will be German and others.
- EUROPEAN ARMS MARCH, 21st May (Embassy of France), 1pm. March starts at 3pm.
- ANARCHIST FESTIVAL, 22nd May (Embassy of France), 1pm. March starts at 3pm.
- ANARCHIST LIBERATION, 23rd May (Embassy of France), 1pm. March starts at 3pm.
- ANARCHIST LIBERATION, 24th May (Embassy of France), 1pm. March starts at 3pm.
- ANARCHIST LIBERATION, 25th May (Embassy of France), 1pm. March starts at 3pm.
- ANARCHIST LIBERATION, 26th May (Embassy of France), 1pm. March starts at 3pm.
- ANARCHIST LIBERATION, 27th May (Embassy of France), 1pm. March starts at 3pm.
- ANARCHIST LIBERATION, 28th May (Embassy of France), 1pm. March starts at 3pm.
- ANARCHIST LIBERATION, 29th May (Embassy of France), 1pm. March starts at 3pm.
- ANARCHIST LIBERATION, 30th May (Embassy of France), 1pm. March starts at 3pm.
- ANARCHIST LIBERATION, 31st May (Embassy of France), 1pm. March starts at 3pm.

Sex Pol

ANARCHIST LIBERATION NEWSLETTER No. 3 4th May 1977

Anarchist/Feminist newsletter No. 3 out now and
including Women's Liberation and the New Feminism of Anarchists. Women's Liberation in N. America. Working with Men, available (for women only) for £1.50. From Library, 39, Wellington St., Liverpool.

The Whole Thing

A collection of feminist articles on the Anarchist Feminism movement, including articles on the role of women in the movement, the importance of gender equality, and the benefits of Anarchist Feminism. This collection is available for £1.50.

Inside: The Events That Led to the Murder of Ensslin, Baader, and Raspe, and a Model Look at West Germany.