

MILITANT FEMINIST PROTEST AGAINST THE ABORTION BAN



On 6 June 1971, 374 women caused a public outcry in West Germany by declaring in a joint manifesto in the weekly magazine *Stern* that they had all had illegal abortions. According to paragraph 218 of the Criminal Code of the Federal Republic of Germany, abortion was a punishable act that could lead to a year-long prison sentence for the actors involved. This legislation was based on the Reich Penal Code from 1871, which punished abortions with prison sentences of up to five years. Although socialist and liberal members of the Reichstag called for legal reform, and mass protests were held against the abortion ban in the late Weimar Republic, the law remained unchanged until the National Socialists came into power.¹ During the Third Reich, women who were considered healthy and German could face the death penalty if they had an abortion, while others were forced to have abortions or sterilized against their will. After the end of the Second World War, the Allied Powers revoked this legislation and reintroduced a slightly amended version of the law from 1871. By the late 1960s, even supporters of the abortion ban acknowledged that reform was needed, because the law was applied inconsistently and clearly failed to prevent illegal abortions.² Every year, hundreds of thousands of women in the FRG had abortions, often under insanitary and dangerous conditions.³ By declaring publicly and collectively that they had gone through this experience, the 374 signatories of the *Stern* manifesto broke the taboo surrounding the issue of abortion and underlined the need for legal reform. The women claimed that they would not accept a 'reform in instalments' (*Reform auf Raten*) and demanded comprehensive sex education, unrestricted access to contraceptives and a complete deletion of paragraph 218.⁴

Notes for this section begin on page 86.

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The *Stern* manifesto took inspiration from a similar campaign in France. In April 1971, the French magazine *Nouvel Observateur* published a statement in which 343 women, including a number of famous personalities, had made the same declaration. The German journalist Alice Schwarzer, at that time a foreign correspondent in Paris, followed the campaign closely and decided to initiate a similar project in West Germany. She contacted groups in the New Women's Movement, where her plan met with a divided response. Some activists argued that Schwarzer's plan was not confrontational enough and rejected it as 'reformist' and 'apolitical'.⁵ Many others, however, felt that the campaign would help increase the pressure for an urgently needed reform of the abortion legislation. Within a few weeks, Schwarzer and her supporters collected 374 signatures in West Berlin, Frankfurt, Cologne and other West German cities.

Signatories of the statement included the actresses Romy Schneider and Senta Berger, the fashion model Veruschka von Lehndorff and several other famous personalities, but the campaign mainly focused on the views and experiences of secretaries, housewives, students and other 'ordinary' women. The youngest woman to sign the petition was twenty-one, the oldest seventy-seven.⁶ Testimonies from participants show that they saw their self-denunciation not as a personal confession but as a political act and as an expression of solidarity with other women, which is also illustrated by the fact that a number of signatories had not actually had an abortion.⁷ From the very beginning, the campaign was thus characterized by a strong sense of solidarity that connected the participants with each other and with other women in the FRG.

With their public self-denunciation, the signatories of the *Stern* manifesto adopted a highly provocative and confrontational tactic to make their voices heard in a reform debate, from which women had been largely excluded. Their violation of law met with a great amount of sympathy and support. Polls from 1971 indicate that 83 per cent of women in West Germany declared themselves in favour of a deletion of paragraph 218.⁸ Yet, this demand met with fierce opposition from church authorities, who argued that the issue of abortion was no matter of policy but a question of morality. In 1973, the chairman of the German Bishops' Conference emphasized that 'whatever the German Bundestag decides regarding the reform of paragraph 218, the German bishops will not cease from calling abortion an unjustified act of murder'.⁹

Until the early 1970s, the public debate over the reform of paragraph 218 in West Germany was dominated by legal experts, medical associations and conservative politicians who shared this harsh view of abortion. The *Stern* manifesto challenged this position and confronted state authorities with the lived experience of many women. Due to the public nature of Schwarzer's campaign, it was difficult for politicians and public prosecutors to turn a blind eye to this obvious violation of law. Yet, they were aware of the fact that a hard course of action against the signatories of the manifesto would have been extremely unpopular and could potentially spark further protest. The state response to the *Stern* manifesto illustrates this dilemma: although police authorities initiated

investigations against many of the women involved, none of these cases ended up in court.¹⁰

It is widely acknowledged that the *Stern* manifesto played a vital role in the development of the New Women's Movement. According to Kristina Schulz, the hostile responses to Schwarzer's campaign and the criminal investigations against the women involved had a positive effect on the Women's movement in West Germany because they attracted public support and strengthened social cohesion within the movement. The manifesto led to a wave of sympathy and solidarity within the population. Within a few weeks, 3000 other women publicly admitted to having had abortions, and 86,000 people expressed solidarity with the signatories.¹¹ The following years saw further self-denunciations, e.g. when 329 medics, out of opposition to paragraph 218, publicly announced in the weekly *Spiegel* that they had helped women with abortions and would continue to do so.¹² These and other protest activities in the early 1970s brought the various groups who campaigned for a decriminalization of abortion closer together and helped them to create local, national and transnational networks.¹³ In the following years, these networks proved vital not only for the mass mobilization against paragraph 218 but also for the organization of a range of other campaigns.

Previous studies of the New Women's Movement argue that the *Stern* manifesto is exemplary of feminist protest in West Germany. Schulz concludes that Schwarzer's campaign was a provocation 'par excellence', because it tied in with existing political debates, involved an element of surprise and was conflict-oriented.¹⁴ According to Ilse Lenz, the manifesto provides a powerful example of the use of self-denunciation as a nonviolent tactic of political resistance.¹⁵ While Schulz and Lenz emphasize the provocative nature of Schwarzer's campaign, neither of them reads it as an expression of feminist militancy. This is surprising, because Alice Schwarzer and other former participants explicitly acknowledge the militant nature of the *Stern* manifesto and other feminist protest in the early 1970s.

1971–1975: Campaigning for a New Law

In the early 1970s, feminist activism on the issue of abortion in West Germany focused on three main areas: publicity and lobbying activities, information and support for women who experienced unwanted pregnancies and protest against institutions and groups who supported the abortion ban. While some groups focused on a particular area, most campaigns involved activities in two or more. Although the actors involved employed different tactics and had different political backgrounds, they shared a common goal: free and safe abortions. The Frankfurt-based Frauenaktion 70 was one of the first women's groups in West Germany to publicly campaign for sex education, wider access to contraceptives and a complete deletion of paragraph 218.¹⁶ As early as 1970, the group organized a teach-in with 120 participants, a go-in at a campaign rally of the Social

Democratic Party and other events in Frankfurt. The women also collected more than one thousand signatures for a public letter to Federal Minister of Health Käte Strobel demanding a decriminalisation of abortion.¹⁷ In a public letter to the German Bishops' Conference, members of Frauenaktion 70 criticized the position of the Church on the issue of abortion as classist, misogynist and sexually oppressive.¹⁸

The *Stern* manifesto brought a new intensity to feminist protest against paragraph 218, and women's groups from Berlin and West Germany decided to form a national umbrella organization, AKTION 218, to coordinate and synchronize protest activities in different parts of the country. In the early 1970s, these activities took a range of forms: women leaving the church en masse, tribunals, go-ins at political events, church services and medical conferences, national demonstrations, street theatre and teach-ins at universities and community centres. In addition to these activities, feminists tried to offer practical support for women who experienced unwanted pregnancies. In 1972, the women's group Bread & Roses published a handbook on abortion and contraception and offered a counselling and support service for pregnant women in the first women's centre in West Berlin.¹⁹

Due to its high visibility and growing popularity, the feminist campaign against paragraph 218 further increased pressure on the social-democrat/liberal government. In 1972, Minister of Justice Gerhard Jahn proposed a reform that decriminalized all abortions during the first trimester of pregnancy, the so-called time-phase solution (*Fristenlösung*), which had been adopted in several countries, including East Germany. After several versions of the bill had been rejected, the Bundestag approved the reform with a narrow majority in 1974. Church representatives and conservative politicians condemned this decision, which constituted in their eyes a legalization of murder.²⁰ Immediately after the parliamentary vote, members of the CDU appealed against the reform at the Federal Court of Justice. On 25 February 1975, the highest German court declared the legislation void. The judges found the reform incompatible with the sanctity of human life as defined by the constitution.²¹ They ruled: 'The protection of the foetus, as a matter of principle and for the entire duration of the pregnancy, has priority over the self-determination of the pregnant woman and must not be called into question for any period of time.'²²

The decision on paragraph 218 troubled the judges at the Federal Court of Justice and divided the country. After the president of the court, Ernst Benda, had read the judgement, two members of the court, including the only female judge, announced their dissent. One of the majority judges then left the room as a show of discontent with the two dissenters. This unusual conduct was seen as an offence to his colleagues, and constitutes a unique act in the history of the court.²³ To add to the scandal, the court's internal negotiations leaked to the public more than a week before the judgement. While representatives of the Catholic and the Protestant Churches, the CDU and the German Medical Association all welcomed the judgement, liberal and progressive politicians and

medics in West Germany, who had supported a legal reform, criticized the decision.²⁴ The decision by the judges in Karlsruhe, however, was incontestable. This meant that the many opponents of paragraph 218 were left with no legal means to proceed against the abortion ban. The ruling was a hard blow to all women who had campaigned for years to achieve a decriminalization of abortion.

In February 1976, the parliament passed a modified version of the law that it had adopted in 1974. The new legislation exempted abortions within the first three months from punishment if pregnant women could persuade independent medical experts that their situation was so dreadful that they could not be expected to continue the pregnancy. In the eyes of many women, the so-called indication model (*Indikationsmodell*) was a weak compromise, because it was yet another law that denied women the right to self-determination. After reunification in 1990, East and West Germany kept applying different abortion laws until the Federal Court of Justice passed a law that was mandatory for the entire Republic in 1992.²⁵ Prior to the court's decision, the former East German States continued to apply the 'time-phase solution'. In 1995, the parliament passed an adapted version of paragraph 218 that is still valid to this day.

Although feminist protest against paragraph 218 continued well into the 1990s, it reached a peak of militancy in the mid-1970s. When the decision by the Federal Court of Justice leaked to the public, women's groups organized protests in several German cities, including Bonn, Berlin, Hamburg, Munich and Karlsruhe, that were characterized by a highly confrontational approach.²⁶ The women who participated in these demonstrations made no secret of their disappointment over the decision and their anger towards the authorities and institutions that they deemed responsible for it: the Federal Court of Justice, the Churches and the German Medical Association. Some of this protest caused minor property damage. On 16 February, women poured red paint on the stairs of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, a famous church in Berlin. They had chosen 'red paint as a symbol for blood, the blood of the women who die during illegal abortions'.²⁷ Church authorities condemned the event and called on the state to protect their churches against such radical protests.²⁸ In Frankfurt, police attacked participants in a demonstration with batons and tear gas, allegedly because the crowd tried to prevent officers from arresting a young man who had been caught writing on a wall. During the same demonstration, a group of women burnt three rag dolls – one dressed as a clergyman, one as a medic and one as a judge.²⁹ Apparently, this symbolic act of violence was no isolated event. According to *Der Spiegel*, protesters in other German cities had carried out similar actions for the day of the judgement.³⁰

In July 1975, feminist activists began to organize coach trips to abortion clinics in the Netherlands. Like the *Stern* manifesto in 1971, these trips constituted a highly provocative form of 'limited violation of rules' (*begrenzte Regelverletzung*) and resulted in criminal proceedings for some of the actors involved.³¹ While the organizers of these trips regarded them as a nonviolent form of direct action with the aim of helping female victims of institutionalized sexism and male

violence, state and church authorities considered their conduct accessory to murder. Criminal charges, however, did not stop feminist groups from supporting women who wanted to have abortions. In November 1976, the newsmagazine *Spiegel* reported that in some parts of the country it was virtually impossible for women from poorer backgrounds to have an abortion even if they were legally entitled to do so.³² To help these women, feminist groups in several German cities continued to offer cheap coach trips to abortion clinics in the Netherlands, even if this involved the risk of legal proceedings.

On at least two occasions in the mid-1970s, women expressed their disgust for the abortion ban through physical attacks against the Federal Court of Justice in Karlsruhe. In 1969, the court had moved from its previous seat, the Prinz-Max Palais, into a newly constructed building less than a kilometre away. The new complex had a light and open design to suggest 'democratic transparency'.³³ It was clothed almost entirely in glass and consisted of five parts connected with glass bridges. At the heart of the 20 million DM construction was a three-storey building that accommodated the courtroom, a reception lobby and several conference rooms.³⁴ This part of the court was designed as a meeting point for journalists, visitors and members of the court. It was open to the public during the day. Night and day, two police officers guarded the building, typically from within a sentry box positioned sixty meters from the building. The officers inspected vehicles that approached the court. Pedestrians, however, could access the court through the surrounding Schlossgarten, without having to pass any controls. On at least two occasions, women used this entrance to carry out attacks against the highest German court to protest against the abortion ban. The first attack on the court caused only minor damage. Apparently, a group of feminist protesters entered the compound during opening hours. One observer reported that some of the women distracted the guards, while others wrote 'My belly belongs to me!' (*Mein Bauch gehört mir!*) in big letters on the glass façade of the reception hall.³⁵ The second attack against the Federal Court of Justice took feminist militancy to an entirely new level and shall therefore be discussed in detail.

A Feminist Bomb at the Federal Court of Justice

On 4 March 1975, a group of women planted a bomb at the Federal Court of Justice. It is not clear when and how the perpetrators entered the compound, but there is good reason to believe that they walked into the Schlossgarten in the middle of the day and passed as ordinary visitors. Unnoticed by the two police officers, they attached a time bomb with magnets to one of the steel girders at the glass facade of the reception hall. At 8:07 PM, the explosive device detonated. Since no employees or visitors were in the building at this time of day, the bomb did not hurt or kill anyone. It did however cause substantial material damage: forty-seven linear metres of glass – the entire façade on the ground level and several windows on the first floor of the building – shattered under the pressure

of the detonation. Moreover, the bomb destroyed parts of the floor and the ceiling in the entrance hall as well as furniture in the foyer.³⁶ Overall, the estimated damage to the building amounted to 150,000 DM.³⁷

One day after the bombing, the editors of several West German newspapers and a publishing house in Berlin received envelopes with photocopies of a typed letter.³⁸ Further copies of the statement were found in the following days in a leftist bookstore in Heidelberg and in a telephone booth in Cologne.³⁹ In the short text, the Women of the Revolutionary Cell claimed responsibility for the attack. After inspecting the crime scene and examining the claim of responsibility, police authorities declared that they considered the claims to be legitimate, as members of the Revolutionary Cell had executed similar attacks in the past.⁴⁰ Indeed, a comparison with previous bombings by the RC reveals that the attack in Karlsruhe was typical of the approach of the group for a number of reasons.

Firstly, all bombings that the RC carried out between 1973 and 1975 were directed against buildings in publicly accessible areas. Secondly, the group placed the bombs in locations that could easily be reached without entering the buildings – usually a window on the ground level. In some cases, including the attack at the Federal Court of Justice, the perpetrators attached a bomb with magnets to a steel girder at a front window.⁴¹ Thirdly, the bombs were homemade and had the same components: as much as one thousand grams of strong explosives, conventional batteries and an electric alarm clock that the perpetrators had converted into a time fuse. This detail is significant because, at the time, the RC was the only militant leftist group in West Germany who used bombs of this design.⁴² Finally, the bombs were detonated at times of the day when no staff or visitors were using the facilities – typically in the evening or the early morning hours. As a result, none of the RC attacks prior to the bombing at the Federal Court of Justice hurt or killed people. Evidence in the Federal Archives suggests that these previous attacks had caused property damage totalling at least 850,000 DM. Since the bombing in Karlsruhe complied with all four features, it was perfectly in line with the RC tactics.

The feminist agenda of the attack, however, constituted a novelty in the history of the RC. While the RC wanted to intervene in a range of local and international struggles, there is no evidence that group members were directly affected by any of the oppressive structures that they denounced. Prior to the bombing in Karlsruhe, as a means of expressing solidarity with workers and the local youth, members of the RC had committed arson attacks against the cars of a factory owner and of a politician who wanted to shut down a youth centre in Berlin. They had planted bombs at Chilean institutions and US companies to protest against the dictatorship in Chile, and they had attacked Israeli institutions to express solidarity with the Palestinian people. The Women of the Revolutionary Cell were the first group members who fought for themselves and emphasized the personal dimension of their violent protest. Rather than claiming to fight for workers, people in the Third World or other oppressed people, the perpetrators made demands as women and acted on their own behalf. To this extent, the

attack can be understood as one of the first practical applications of the previously mentioned feminist principle that ‘the personal is political’ in the militant Left in West Germany.

In the claim of responsibility, the Women of the Revolutionary Cell adopted a position that might be described as anarchist feminist. They claimed that it made no difference to them whether six judges or six hundred members of parliament made decisions regarding women’s reproductive rights and other important issues, as they were opposed to all forms of political representation. Contrary to other critics of paragraph 218, the WoRC emphasized that they did not understand the court’s decision as a misinterpretation of the constitution. Rather, the group considered the constitution itself to be an effective tool of state oppression. The women explained that they had planted the bomb:

‘Not to protect the constitution against the Federal Court of Justice . . . , but to protect *us* from the constitution; a constitution that provides the legal framework for the daily exploitation, attrition and psychological breakdown of millions of women and men. A constitution that illegalizes women and that incites the death of many women who do not want to accept that the mafia of medics and judges decides about their relations to their own bodies and the number of children they have.’⁴³

In line with many other women in West Germany, the WoRC demanded the right to decide freely about their bodies and sexuality and criticized the position of judges, medics and clerics who opposed a decriminalization of abortions. However, their tone was more aggressive than that of most opponents of the abortion ban. They referred to politicians and judges as ‘sleazebags’ and encouraged women to publicly shame and beat up medics who made money with illegal abortions. The WoRC accused the Church of being a ‘fascist institution’ (*fascistische Struktur*) dividing women into ‘mothers and whores, “purified” by or punished for their sexuality with pregnancy’,⁴⁴ and referred to priests as ‘pitiful chickenfuckers’ (*armselige Hühnerficker*). ‘We have not forgotten’, declared the group, ‘that, in the Middle Ages, they [i.e. churchmen] burnt our feminist sisters at the stake.’⁴⁵ While their name identifies them as part of the Revolutionary Cell, their statement suggests that the perpetrators also identified as feminists.

The attack itself and the claim of responsibility indicate that the Women of the Revolutionary Cell deemed violence a legitimate and necessary means to overcome patriarchal structures. Even if the perpetrators minimized the risk of casualties by detonating the bomb at the courthouse at a time when nobody was in the building, they were not opposed to violence against people. In the claim of responsibility, they expressed solidarity with all women who ‘got rid of the men who exploit them’,⁴⁶ and they openly called for attacks against medics who earned money with illegal abortions and other ‘enemies of the people’ (*Volksfeinde*) – capitalists, clergymen, politicians, judges and members of the press.⁴⁷ According to the WoRC, the state could not protect all public authorities, and they mentioned the abduction of the politician Peter Lorenz by members of the MJ2 a few days before their own attack as a case in point.⁴⁸ They tried

to encourage workers, students and women to follow their example by forming guerrilla groups and asserting their demands by force. The claim of responsibility ended with the following sentence: 'The day will come, when women will rise up . . . but only if we get things moving today.'⁴⁹

In the first issue of the illegally printed and distributed RC magazine *Revolutionärer Zorn* (Revolutionary Rage), the Women of the Revolutionary Cell expanded on their motives and aims. Here they declared that they had attacked the Federal Court of Justice for two reasons. Firstly, they sought to defend themselves against 'the constitution of this imperialist state, to fight against this shameful verdict of class justice and the hypocrisy of priests and medics'.⁵⁰ Secondly, they wanted to convince other feminists that 'consciousness-raising groups, women's shops, self-help (abortion) etc. are not sufficient to stop the dreadful activities of medics, priests and notorious chauvinists',⁵¹ unless they were combined with militant and violent protest. Both the claim of responsibility and the short statement in *Revolutionary Rage* illustrate that it was a principal aim of militant feminists and feminist militants in the RC to spread militant forms of protest in the New Women's Movement.

'A Substitute for the Slacking 218 Movement'? Responses to the Bombing

It is difficult to draw a nuanced picture of the reactions and discussions that the bombing in Karlsruhe and the statements by the Women of the Revolutionary Cell sparked in West Germany. The claim of responsibility received virtually no attention in the West German media, and most newspapers ignored the attack or mentioned it only in passing.⁵² Only the *Frankfurter Rundschau* and a few newspapers from the Karlsruhe area went into more detail about the bombing. Most of these reports were based on information that Federal Minister of Justice Hans-Jochen Vogel had provided in a press conference the day after the attack. At this conference, Vogel posted an award of 50,000 DM for information that would lead to the arrest of the perpetrators, who had disappeared without a trace.⁵³ He left no doubt that he understood the bombing as a 'challenge to the state' and as an attack 'against the constitutional principle that this institution engendered'.⁵⁴ An article in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* echoed this view: 'The attack in Karlsruhe did not destroy a random building. The bombing was directed against an institution that represents the state. The Federal Court of Justice, a centrepiece of this democracy and accorded great significance by the constitution, became the object of fanaticism that could express itself no longer in anything but blind hatred.'⁵⁵

In the radical Left, the court bombing received little attention. The editors of the Frankfurt based Sponti newspaper *Wir Wollen Alles* (We Want Everything) reprinted the claim of responsibility without adding any comments or discussing the statement any further.⁵⁶ In the following years, the magazine's editors took a

more explicit stance on the politics of the RC and criticized the group openly.⁵⁷ A prison note from Ulrike Meinhof indicates that the detained founding members of the RAF were also dismissive of the tactics of the RC in general and of the bombing at the Federal Court of Justice in particular. Meinhof's scathing criticism read as follows: 'Their [i.e. the WoRC] action against the Federal Court of Justice was shit, a substitute for the slacking 218 movement, which cannot be revived with such an action; especially because they have chosen the wrong target.'⁵⁸ Although this might have been lost in translation, Meinhof used a strikingly phallic metaphor to comment on the development of the feminist movement in the FRG.⁵⁹

Given that the ban on abortion was a central topic in the New Women's Movement, it is interesting that there were hardly any public feminist responses to the attack at the Federal Court of Justice.⁶⁰ On 6 March, the newspaper *Die Welt* reported that thirteen women's groups had distanced themselves resolutely from the bombing.⁶¹ The editors of the fifth issue of the autonomous feminist magazine *Frauenzeitung: Frauen gemeinsam sind stark* (Women's Newspaper: Women Together Are Strong) chose a different path. Rather than condemning or endorsing the bombing, they reprinted the full claim of responsibility by the Women of the Revolutionary Cell and confined themselves to the following comment (capitalized in the original):

AFTER THE EDITORIAL DEADLINE FOR THIS ISSUE, WE RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING DECLARATION BY THE WOMEN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CELL THAT WE PRINT WORD-FOR-WORD FOR DOCUMENTARY REASONS. PLEASE SEND LETTERS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO A DISCUSSION ABOUT THE TEXT OF THESE COMRADES TO THE EDITORS OF THE NEXT ISSUE!⁶²

The next issue of the *Frauenzeitung*, however, included neither readers' letters nor a discussion of the claim of responsibility.⁶³ Whether there was simply nothing to publish, or the editors decided not to include the contributions they had received, the effect was the same. The discussion (or lack of such) in the *Frauenzeitung* is expressive of the public silence with which the bombing in Karlsruhe seems to have been met in the New Women's Movement.

Feminist activists and scholars have critically examined obvious and hidden power structures that marginalize and silence women in patriarchal societies, and they have documented and analysed the voices and experiences of women across the globe. Yet, it is important to acknowledge that there are many reasons for and forms of silence. Róisín Ryan-Flood and Rosalind Gill rightly emphasize that 'one may silence or be silenced, keep silent out of respect, rage, fear or shame, or even as a mode of resistance'.⁶⁴ Since all research involves silences of various kinds, feminist scholars have to pay careful attention to the context in which moments of silence occur in the research process and distinguish between manifestations of restrictive silence (e.g. as a result of censorship or shame) and forms of engaged or oppositional silence (e.g. during silent vigils or protests).

Moreover, we have to be aware of the fact that feminist discourses, too, can marginalize and silence certain views and experiences. Although the lack of public feminist responses to the courtroom bombing and other acts of political violence with a feminist agenda does not necessarily reflect a lack of discussion within feminist circles, it is symptomatic of a wider silence on feminist political violence. Previous research on feminism in West Germany has reinforced rather than challenged this silence.⁶⁵

There are many reasons for the silence around militant feminist protest in the FRG. State and police authorities still know very little about the structure and activities of the Red Zora and other militant feminist groups, and former members and sympathizers of the groups have been anxious not to reveal information that could incriminate themselves or others. As a result, many feminists today are simply not aware of the fact that they existed. Another reason is that highly confrontational protest was the exception rather than the rule, and it is a widespread belief that it had little or no impact on feminist campaigns in the FRG. Ideological differences are a third reason why most groups in the New Women's Movement have paid little attention to feminist ideas and activities in the militant Left: they considered violent protest irreconcilable with feminist politics. One of the main objectives of the Red Zora was to convince other feminists of the worth of confrontational tactics.

The Red Zora: Bombs and Poems against the Abortion Ban

As highlighted in the previous chapter, the Red Zora formed in the mid-1970s as a women's group in the militant leftist network Revolutionary Cells. In April 1977, the group carried out a first attack under the name Red Zora. Like the bombing at the Federal Court of Justice, this attack was directed against an institution that the women deemed responsible for the insistence on the abortion ban: the headquarters of the German Medical Association in Cologne. Shortly after the attack, they released a claim of responsibility that featured, for the first time in history, the name and logo of the Red Zora (see figure 3.1).

The short statement was characterized by an aggressive tone similar to that of the claim of responsibility for the attack in Karlsruhe. The text referred to medics as 'pigs' (*Schweine*) and 'rapists in white coats' (*Vergewaltiger in weißen Kitteln*) and attacked the German Medical Association sharply for its insistence on the abortion ban.⁶⁶ 'Worried about losing the lucrative business of illegal abortions, they [the medics] have successfully opposed the deletion of paragraph 218 with their all-pervading power over the human body.'⁶⁷ However, rather than identifying themselves as part of the militant Left – as the Women of the Revolutionary Cells had done – the Zoras presented themselves as 'ordinary' women with an active interest in the New Women's Movement.⁶⁸ The claim of responsibility for the bombing at the German Medical Association did not mention the activities of other militant leftist groups, and the authors did not endorse

frauen erhebt euch und die welt erlebt euch!

Am 28.4.1977 haben wir uns eine Nacht zurückerobert: die Bundesärztekammer in Köln kann nach unserer Vorarbeit jetzt ihren Frühjahrsputz halten.

Die Bundesärztekammer vereint die Macht der gesamten Ärzteschaft: die Landesärztekammern, verschiedene Ärzteverbände (z.B. den Hartmannbund) und die Kassenärztliche Vereinigung.

Das war unser Beitrag zur Walpurgisnacht. In der Walpurgisnacht zum 1. Mal demonstrieren überall in der BRD Frauen gegen Vergewaltigung - eine Form der Gewalt, die wir Frauen tagtäglich in der Familie, in der Werbung, im Betrieb, auf der Straße und beim Frauenarzt erleben.

Wir verstehen die Bundesärztekammer als Vertreter der Vergewaltiger in weißen Kitteln, die sich über unser Selbstbestimmungsrecht hinwegsetzen und mit unseren Körpern Profit machen wie die großen Chemiekonzerne. Die Handlanger der Chemiekonzerne in Gestalt der Arzneimittelkommission sitzen unter einem Dach mit dem Ärztepack.

Besorgt um den Verlust ihrer Einnahmen durch illegale Abtreibungen und um ihre Allmacht über den menschlichen Körper wehren sie sich bis heute erfolgreich gegen eine Streichung des § 218.

Vor der "Reform" riet uns der Hartmannbund: "Treibt doch mit dem Schürhaken ab!" (anlässlich eines go-ins in Oberursel)

Nach der "Reform" sind wir Frauen vollends des Ärzten ausgeliefert:

- 2/3 der Ärzte boykottieren die Abtreibungen
- Gutachten über die soziale Notlage werden von vielen Chefarzten nicht anerkannt

Gleichzeitig soll auf unsere Kosten gespart werden: die Kassenärztliche Vereinigung fordert aus dem Hinterhof der Bundesärztekammer heraus die Streichung der Mutterschaftsvorsorge und die Streichung sachfremder Ausgaben, die durch den § 218 entstehen.

Dabei geht es den meisten Ärzten schon lange nicht mehr um das gesundheitliche Wohlbefinden ihrer Patienten: ihnen geht es vielmehr darum, die Leute fit für die Arbeit zu halten. Der Vorsitzende der Kassenärztlichen Vereinigung Nord - Württemberg: "Im Krankheitsfall sollte sich in den ersten sechs Wochen zunächst einmal die Einkommenssituation verschlechtern, damit ein Anreiz zum Gesundwerden da ist."

Damit die Ärzte pro Jahr und Nase durchschnittlich 170.000 DM einstreichen können, geht jede 9. von uns verdiente Mark an die Krankenkassen.

Die Schweine haben Namen. Frauen, sucht euch die Adressen, z.B. in Telefonbüchern! Frauen, denkt an Sewering, Alt - Nazi und SS - Mitglied seit 33, heute CSU - Mitglied und Präsident der Bundesärztekammer! Ihm widmen wir die folgenden Zeilen:



ES SCHÜTZT DICH KEINE MAUER
WIR LIEGEN AUF DER LAUER
DIE ROTEN ZORAS WERDEN TRAINIEREN
UND AUCH DIR DIE FRESSE POLIEREN
DAS AUTO FLAMBIEREN
DEN GARTEN SEZIEREN
DIE VILLA DEMOLIEREN

**Rote
Zora**

GRÜNDET EURE EIGENEN BANDEN - GRUSS UND KUSS DIE

Figure 3.1 First claim of responsibility by the Red Zora. Courtesy FrauenMediaTurm, Cologne (FB.07.102).

fatal attacks against perceived oppressors. Although less than a page long, the flyer addressed several central themes in the New Women's Movement: rape and violence against women, reproductive rights, paragraph 218 and the gendered nature of poverty.

The spirit and purpose of the first RZ statement were clearly inspired by the New Women's Movement. The title ('Women rise up, and the world will see you'⁶⁹) was a quote from a giant banner at the Federal Women's Conference in March 1972, the first event where women from towns and cities across West Germany discussed aims and politics of the women's movement. It was also a quote from a song by the Flying Lesbians, the first female rock band in West Germany.⁷⁰ By presenting the bombing as a contribution to the feminist Walpurgisnight, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, the Red Zora associated itself with a transnational feminist protest campaign. On 30 April 1977, women's groups across West Germany organized colourful demonstrations and parties on the streets to 'reclaim the night' and to protest against sexual violence against women and girls.⁷¹ A comparison between a flyer for the feminist Walpurgisnight by an autonomous women's centre in Berlin and the first RZ statement shows similarities in tone and style (see figure 3.2). Using short sentences and a language that can be easily understood, the women's collective in Berlin urged women to reclaim the night and to fight back against violence and rape. Like the RZ statement, the Walpurgisnight flyer featured a poem and a variation of the Venus symbol.

The claim of responsibility indicates that the Red Zora wanted to follow up on previous protest against paragraph 218. The text explicitly mentions a feminist 'go-in' during a meeting of the German Medical Association in 1973 that was met with great hostility by participants.⁷² The text concluded with a poem. Addressed to the president of the German Medical Association, it noted: 'No wall will protect you / We're on the lookout / The Red Zora will train hard / To smash your face in / To flambé your car / To dissect your garden / To demolish your villa.'⁷³ While aligning themselves with feminist activists who drew on explicitly nonviolent protest in the struggle against paragraph 218, the authors called for actions with a significantly higher degree of confrontation. This position isolated the Red Zora in feminist circles in the FRG. The only group who had called for similarly confrontational tactics in the campaign for free and safe abortions was the Women of the Revolutionary Cell.

One of the few studies on political violence in the FRG that mention that there was militant and violent protest against the abortion ban suggests that the groups behind the bombing at the Federal Court of Justice in 1975 and at the German Medical Association in 1977 were identical,⁷⁴ but there is no clear evidence supporting this claim. In 1984, a member of the Red Zora responded to the question 'What have you done so far and against which background?' as follows: 'The Women of the Revolutionary Cell started with a bombing at the Federal Court of Justice in 1974 [*sic*], because we all wanted the abolition of paragraph 218 and not the easily manipulable indication model.'⁷⁵ On Walpurgisnight 1977, we planted a bomb at the German Medical Association, because it blocked even this reduced reform of the abortion law.⁷⁶

The prominent error in the statement (the bombing at the Federal Court of Justice happened in 1975 not in 1974) makes it unlikely that the respondent was

Frauen, wir erobern uns die Nacht zurück!

Wenn Frauen NEIN sagen,
dann meinen sie auch NEIN!

Sie Frauen sich zur Wehr,
gibt es Vergewaltigung nicht mehr

Frauen, hört Ihr Frauen schreiben,
lasst die andere nicht allein!

35.000 Frauen werden jährlich in der BRD und West-Berlin vergewaltigt, weil sie

- nachts alleine auf der Strasse waren,
- angeblich aufreizende Kleidung trugen,
- Autostop gemacht haben,
- alleine in eine Kneipe gingen,
- sich von Bekannten nach Hause fahren liessen,
- mit der U-Bahn fahren,
- im Hinterhaus wohnen,
- bei offenem Fenster schlafen,
- Schichtdienst haben,
- einen Bekannten in die Wohnung liessen,
- Freunde besuchten,
- weil niemand auf ihre Hilferufe reagierte, Nachbarn und Passanten nicht eingegriffen haben, weil sie meinen, daß die Frauen ihre Situation selbst verschulden.

Das bedeutet: 51% der Bevölkerung haben abends Ausgangssperre, nämlich alle Frauen, vom kleinen Mädchen bis zur Rentnerin.

Von frühester Kindheit an wird uns eingebleut, daß wir uns vor Männern in Acht nehmen sollen. Diese Angst hindert uns, uns frei zu bewegen, lähmt uns, wenn wir uns wehren sollten, - sie ist unser unsichtbares Gefängnis.

Frauen, hören wir auf, dies als selbstverständlich hinzunehmen:



schreien wir zurück,
schlagen wir zurück,
wehren wir uns gemeinsam!

FRAUENZENTRUM, Berlin 61
Stresemannstr.40, Tel.251.09.12

Frauen-Nacht-Demo: 30.4.77 Savignyplatz 20⁰⁰

Mit uns Gemeinsam demonstrieren heute
nacht Frauen in vielen Städten der BRD.

Ausgangssperre bei Dunkelheit,
ist das Los der Weiblichkeit!

Frauen, leistet Widerstand
Gegen Vergewaltiger im Land
schliesst Euch fest zusammen!

Figure 3.2 Flyer for the first Walpurgisnight protest in Berlin. Courtesy FrauenMediaTurm, Cologne (FB.07.104).

directly involved in the attack. However, it is worth noting that she mentions the bombing in Karlsruhe, refers to the WoRC and RZ as 'we all' and emphasizes that both groups had a common goal – the decriminalization of abortions. Due to the lack of data, it is difficult to prove or challenge any claim about the

membership of the WoRC and the founding members of the RZ, but there is good reason to believe that both groups were not completely identical. The three women interviewed for this study signalled that they were not in a position to comment on the formative years of the RZ, but they assumed that the founding members of the RZ included not only members of the RC but also feminist activists from outside the group.⁷⁷

What distinguished members of the Red Zora from most other feminists in West Germany was their belief that violence was essential to the liberation of women. In 1993, members of the Red Zora explained why:

But every woman who once threw a stone, who did not quietly accept sexual assault but hit back instead, will understand how liberated we felt when we destroyed sex shops or planted a bomb in front of the Federal Court of Justice on the occasion of the judgement on paragraph 218. In this society, liberation requires destruction. We need to destroy the structures that chain us to the role of the woman; and we can only destroy these structures if we attack the conditions that seek to destroy us. These attacks have to be consistent with our intransigent hatred against this society, but they can take many different forms. Even if this position is hardly developed in the women's movement, we consider armed attacks an essential part of the women's struggle.⁷⁸

The Red Zora considered violent protest legitimate from a feminist point of view for a number of reasons. Firstly, they argued that the existing political regime was sexist and imperialist to the core, and that many women had no other option but to use violent means to defend themselves against legal and illegal forms of exploitation and abuse.⁷⁹ Secondly, the RZ claimed that the use of violent tactics could have an empowering effect on women. In a theory paper from 1981, the group criticized how passivity and submissiveness were instilled in women from an early age. According to the RZ, women had to stop thinking of themselves as mere victims of patriarchy and stand up to fight for themselves and other people to challenge the existing power structures.⁸⁰

Drawing on their own experiences, the Zoras claimed that the use of violent tactics could help women to overcome fear, powerlessness and resignation and to challenge repressive (gender) norms.⁸¹ To the extent that the bombing at the Federal Court of Justice, attacks against sex shops, violent resistance against sexually abusive men and other violent acts by women break with the notion of woman as caring and nurturing mother (to be), as passive victim and as object of male desire, the Red Zora considered them active steps towards the liberation of women. Finally, the RZ claimed that, as part of broader protest campaigns, violent attacks could play a vital role in feminist solidarity campaigns if they took the form of feminist 'counter-violence'. While this approach met with little support in the feminist campaign against paragraph 218, it attracted significantly more attention and sympathy in the movement against violence against women.

Notes

1. D. Rucht (1991), 'Soziale Bewegungen, Gegenbewegungen und Staat: Der Abtreibungskonflikt in den USA, Frankreich und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland', *Forschungsjournal Neue Soziale Bewegungen* 2, 33.
2. Ibid.
3. Previous research suggests that there were between 86,000 and 1,000,000 abortions per annum. See Lenz, *Die Neue Frauenbewegung*, 70; Schulz, *Der Lange Atem der Provokation*, 157.
4. 'Wir haben abgetrieben', *Stern*, no. 24, 6 June 1971, 16–23.
5. A. Schwarzer (1981), *So fing es an! 10 Jahre Frauenbewegung*, 24; C. Schäfer and C. Wilke (2000), *Die Neue Frauenbewegung in München 1968–1985. Eine Dokumentation*, Munich: Buchendorfer Verlag, 170.
6. Schwarzer, *So fing es an! 10 Jahre Frauenbewegung*, 24.
7. A number of testimonies are presented in the *arte*-documentary 'Wir haben abgetrieben' (dir. by Birgit Schulz and Annette Zinkant) from 2011. See also J. Kramm, 'Sie war eine der Frauen, die vor 30 Jahren bekannten: "Wir haben abgetrieben!" Heute, in der Gendebatte [sic], fällt Nori Möding das Argumentieren schwerer: Zwei Leben', *Berliner Zeitung*, 6 June 2001.
8. 'Der Aufstand der Frauen', *Emma*, no. 6, 1991, 16–21, 18.
9. The quoted passage is from a public letter by Cardinal Julius Döpfner featuring a close-up image of an embryo in the tenth week of pregnancy. 'Wie immer die Entscheidung im Deutschen Bundestag zur Änderung des § 218 ausfällt, die deutschen Bischöfe werden nicht aufhören, . . . die Abtreibung als ungerechtfertigte Tötung menschlichen Lebens zu bezeichnen.' Source: public letter from 28 March 1973, FFBIZ, A Rep. 400, Berlin, 20 FZ (1–3).
10. Schulz, *Der Lange Atem der Provokation*, 151.
11. Kramm. 'Sie war eine der Frauen, die vor 30 Jahren bekannten'.
12. 'Hiermit erkläre ich . . .', *Der Spiegel*, 11 March 1974.
13. Schulz, 'Echoes of Provocation', 140.
14. Schulz, *Der Lange Atem der Provokation*, 108.
15. Lenz, *Die Neue Frauenbewegung*, 77.
16. Frauenaktion 70 was a group of socialist and liberal women that had formed in the context of a project on women's emancipation in the citizens' initiative Humanistische Union in 1969. See R. Scheunemann and K. Scheunemann (1971), 'Die Kampagne der "Frauenaktion 70" gegen den § 218. Ein Versuch zur Emanzipation durch Selbsttätigkeit', in H. Grossmann (ed.), *Bürgerinitiativen: Schritte zur Veränderung?* Frankfurt: Fischer, 71–84.
17. Ibid., 79.
18. Ibid., 82.
19. Schulz, *Der Lange Atem der Provokation*, 148.
20. Frevert, *Frauen-Geschichte*, 279.
21. G. Helwig (1997), 'Frau und Gesellschaft', in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (ed.), *Frauen in Deutschland – Informationen zur politischen Bildung*. Retrieved 10 October 2015 from http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/D6SSWQ,0,0,Frau_und_Gesellschaft.html#art0.
22. 'Der Lebensschutz der Leibesfrucht genießt grundsätzlich für die gesamte Dauer der Schwangerschaft Vorrang vor dem Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Schwangeren und darf nicht für eine bestimmte Frist infrage gestellt werden'; Deutsche Welle, KalenderBlatt, '25.2.1975: Urteil zum "Abtreibungsparagrafen" 218'. Retrieved 15 June 2015 from http://www.kalenderblatt.de/index.php?what=thmanu&lang=de&manu_id=123&sdt=20120225&maca=depodcast_kalenderblatt-1086-xml-mrss.
23. R. Lamprecht (2011), *Das Bundesverfassungsgericht: Geschichte und Entwicklung*, Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 157–58.
24. R. Strobel (2004), 'Die Neue Frauenbewegung', in W. Faulstich (ed.), *Die Kultur der 70er Jahre*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 259–72.

25. C. Osborne (2007), *Cultures of Abortion in Weimar Germany*, New York: Berghahn Books, 6.
26. 'Selbsherrlich und zynisch', *Der Spiegel*, 17 February 1975.
27. 'rote Farbe als Symbol für Blut, für das Blut der Frauen, die bei illegalen Abtreibungen ums Leben kommen'; D.E. Zimmer, 'Denunzieren wider Willen', *Die Zeit*, 7 March 1975.
28. 'Von hinten gegriffen', *Der Spiegel*, 24 February 1975.
29. Ibid.
30. 'Selbsherrlich und zynisch'.
31. I. Münzing, 'Ärzte-Anzeige gegen Münchner Frauenzentrum', *Abendzeitung München*, 15 July 1975.
32. '§218: "Mit sozialer Notlage ist nichts drin"', *Der Spiegel*, no. 49, 29 November 1976, 75.
33. On its official website, the Federal Court of Justice states: 'Die offene Bauweise soll den Eindruck demokratischer Transparenz vermitteln'; 'Gebäude'. Retrieved 20 December 2015 from http://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/DE/Gebaeude/gebaeude_node.html.
34. 'Ein Bauwerk mit Anspruch auf Qualität', *Badische Neueste Nachrichten*, 6 May 1969.
35. Lamprecht, *Das Bundesverfassungsgericht*, 159.
36. BAK, B 362/7379, letter from the state criminal police Baden-Wuerttemberg from 29 April 1975, 3.
37. H. Kühnert, 'Vogel: Anschlag auf Rechtsstaatlichkeit', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 6 March 1975.
38. According to a letter from the state criminal police of Baden-Wuerttemberg from 29 April 1975, the perpetrators posted their declaration to the editors of *Der Spiegel*, *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, *Frankfurter Rundschau* and to the Axel Springer publishing house (BAK, B 362/7379, 4).
39. Ibid.
40. 'Spuren zum BVG-Anschlag', *Badische Neueste Nachrichten*, 7 March 1975.
41. BAK, B 362/7379, letter from the state criminal police Baden-Wuerttemberg from 29 April 1975.
42. BAK, B 362/7383, 'telefax des bka, abt. sg., bonn bad godesberg', 18 November 1973.
43. 'Nicht, um die Verfassung gegen das Verfassungsgericht zu schützen, wie Herr Abendroth meint, sondern um uns vor der Verfassung zu schützen. Einer Verfassung, die den legalen Rahmen liefert für die tagtägliche Ausbeutung, Zermürbung und psychische Zerrüttung von Millionen Frauen und Männern. Einer Verfassung, die Frauen illegalisiert viele in den Tod treibt wenn sie sich nicht von der Ärzte- und Richtermafia ihre Sexualität, den Umgang mit ihrem eigenen Körper, die Zahl ihrer Kinder vorschreiben lassen'; FMT, PD-SE.11.15, 'Erklärung der REVOLUTIONÄREN ZELLE zu ihrem Anschlag auf das Bundesverfassungsgericht', in *Frauenzeitung*, no. 5.
44. 'entweder Mütter oder Huren, geläutert bzw. bestraft für ihre Sexualität durch Schwangerschaft'; FMT, PD-SE.11.15, 'Erklärung der REVOLUTIONÄREN ZELLE', 2.
45. 'Wir haben nicht vergessen, dass sie unsere feministischen Schwestern im Mittelalter auf dem Scheiterhaufen verbrannt haben'; *ibid.* .
46. 'die sich ihren Unterdrücker vom Hals schaffen'; *ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. 'Der Tag wird kommen, wo die Frauen sich erheben . . . aber nicht, ohne daß wir uns heute schon bewegen'; *ibid.*
50. 'um uns gegen die Verfassung dieses imperialistischen Staates zu schützen, um gegen dieses Schandurteil der Klassenjustiz, gegen die Heuchelei von Pfaffen und Kurpfuschern vorzugehen'; *ibid.*
51. 'dass Selbsterfahrungsgruppen, Frauenläden, Selbsthilfe (Abtreibung) usw. nicht genügen, daß Ärzte, Pfaffen, notorische Chauvinisten nicht länger ihr Unwesen treiben dürfen'; *ibid.*, 64.
52. A few hours after the bomb had exploded at the Federal Court of Justice, Peter Lorenz regained his freedom after six days of captivity in a basement in Berlin-Kreuzberg. In the following

- days, the cover pages of national and local newspapers were preoccupied with the kidnapping in Berlin. Due to the media hype surrounding this attack, the courthouse bombing received very little attention in the German press. While attacks against property attracted generally less media interest than assassinations, kidnappings and other attacks against people, the bombing in Karlsruhe received considerably less attention than similar attacks in the history of the RC. Only the *Frankfurter Rundschau* and a few newspapers from the Karlsruhe area went into more detail about the bombing.
53. BAK, B 106/106662, 'Auslobung', 5 March 1975.
 54. 'Herausforderung des Staates', 'der das rechtsstaatliche Grundprinzip, das sich in dieser Institution verkörpere, treffen sollte'; 'Anschlag in Karlsruhe noch ungeklärt', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 6 March 1975; Kühnert, 'Vogel: Anschlag'.
 55. 'Der Karlsruher Anschlag zertrümmerte nicht ein beliebiges Gebäude. Die Bombe sollte eine Institution treffen, sichtbare Repräsentanz des Staates. Das Bundesverfassungsgericht, ein Kernstück dieser Demokratie und durch das Grundgesetz mit hohem Rang versehen, ist das Objekt eines Fanatismus geworden, der sich nur noch in blindem Hass zu artikulieren vermag'; 'Blinder Hass', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 6 March 1975.
 56. FMT, PD-SE.11.15, *WIR WOLLEN ALLES*, no. 26, March 1975.
 57. Some of the most vocal critics of the politics of the Revolutionary Cell and other militant leftist groups in the Sponti-scene in Frankfurt were the future politicians Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Joschka Fischer. For a detailed description of the position of both, see A.M. Siemens (2006), 'Durch die Institutionen oder in den Terrorismus: Die Wege von Joschka Fischer, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Hans-Joachim Klein und Johannes Weinrich', PhD thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-University-Munich.
 58. 'ihre aktion gegen den BVG war scheiße, substitut der abschaffenden 218-bewegung, die so nicht hochzukriegen ist. zumal der adressat der falsche war'; HIS, Me, U/008,003.
 59. In a more detailed analysis of Meinhof's writings, Sarah Colvin highlights that the word 'cunt' (*Votze*) was 'standard terminology' in the RAF; Colvin, *Ulrike Meinhof*, 208–9.
 60. I have consulted the following archives: the Spinnboden archive and the FFBIZ in Berlin, the Frauenmediaturm in Cologne and the 'Auszeiten' archive in Bochum. I have also searched for responses to the attack in the Papiertiger archive in Berlin, in the Federal Archives, the IISH in Amsterdam, the HIS archive in Hamburg and in the newspaper department of the Staatsbibliothek Berlin.
 61. 'Frauen bekennen: Wir legten die Bombe', *Die Welt*, 6 March 1975. Alas, the unidentified author decided not to specify this claim any further or to mention the names of the thirteen groups.
 62. 'NACH REDAKTIONSSCHLUSS ... GING UNS FOLGENDE ERKLÄRUNG DER FRAUEN DER REVOLUTIONÄREN ZELLE ZU, DIE WIR AUS DOKUMENTARISCHEN GRÜNDEN IM WORTLAUT ... ABDRUCKEN. ZUSCHRIFTEN UND DISKUSSIONSBEITRÄGE ZU DIESEM PAPIER DER GENOSSINNEN SCHICKT AN DIE READAKTIONSGRUPPE DER NÄCHSTEN FZ!' FMT, PD-SE.11.15, 'Erklärung der REVOLUTIONÄREN ZELLE', 1.
 63. I owe this insight to Jasmin Schenk from the FrauenMediaTurm, who assisted me with the research.
 64. S. Malhotra and A. Carrillo Rowe (2013), *Silence, Feminism, Power: Reflections at the Edges of Sound*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1.
 65. See e.g. Schlaeger and Vedder-Shults, 'The West German Women's Movement'; Altbach, 'The New German Women's Movement'; Frevert, *Frauen-Geschichte*; Haug, 'The Women's Movement in West Germany'; Schulz, *Der lange Atem der Provokation*; Marx Ferree, *Varieties of Feminism*.
 66. Die Rote Zora (1977), 'Frauen erhebt euch und die Welt erlebt euch!' FMT, FB.07.102.
 67. 'Besorgt um den Verlust ihrer Einnahmen durch illegale Abtreibungen und mit ihrer Allmacht über den menschlichen Körper, wehren sie sich bis heute erfolgreich gegen eine Streichung des 218'; *ibid.*

68. In contrast to other militant leftist groups in West Germany, the members of the Red Zora spoke openly about their personal living conditions, circumstances and sexual orientation. A statement from 1984 suggests that the RZ had both heterosexual and lesbian members. In an interview for the feminist magazine *Emma*, the Red Zora introduced itself as a group of 'women between 20 and 51, some of us sell our labour on the market of possibilities, some take what we want, others have not yet fallen through the social net. Several women have children, many others don't. Some women are lesbian, others love men. We shop in terrible supermarkets, we live in ugly houses, we enjoy going for walks or to the cinema, to the theatre, to the discothèque. We like having parties and enjoy doing nothing' ('Frauen zwischen 20 und 51, einige von uns verkaufen ihre Arbeitskraft auf dem Markt der Möglichkeiten, einige nehmen sich, was sie brauchen, andere sind noch nicht durchs soziale Netz gefallen. Einige haben Kinder, viele andere nicht. Manche Frauen sind lesbisch, andere lieben Männer. Wir kaufen in ekelhaften Supermärkten, wir wohnen in hässlichen Häusern, wir gehen gerne spazieren oder ins Kino, ins Theater, die Disco, wir feiern Feste, wir pflegen das Nichtstun'; ID Verlag, *Die Früchte des Zorns*, 457).
69. 'Frauen erhebt euch und die Welt erlebt euch.'
70. In their book *Lesbian Peoples: Material for a Dictionary*, Monique Wittig and Sande Zweig describe the Flying Lesbians as a 'tribe of companion lovers who, as their name indicates, are wanderers. The Flying Lesbians come from Germany and have companion lovers everywhere. Singers and musicians, they owe their celebrity to the fact that they were the first group of wandering lesbians in the raving that began the Glorious Age'; M. Wittig and S. Zweig (1979), *Lesbian Peoples: Material for a Dictionary*, New York: Avon, 56.
71. Chapter 4 offers a more detailed discussion of the feminist Walpurgisnight marches.
72. According to an article in the news magazine *Spiegel*, medics told the women to go home and to abort with an iron poker; 'Abtreibung: Massenmord oder Privatsache'.
73. 'Es schützt Dich keine Mauer / Wir liegen auf der Lauer / Die Roten Zoras werden trainieren / Um auch Dir die Fresse zu polieren / Das Auto flambieren / Den Garten sezieren / Die Villa demolieren'; *ibid.*
74. G. Boeden (1989), 'Die Herausforderung unseres demokratischen Rechtsstaates durch den linksextremistischen Terrorismus', in Bundesminister des Innern (ed.), *Extremismus und Terrorismus*, Bonn: Bundesminister des Innern, 63–79, 71.
75. The 'indication model' (*Indikationsmodell*) exempted abortions within the first three months from punishment if pregnant women could persuade independent medical experts that their situation was so dreadful that they could not be expected to continue the pregnancy.
76. 'Angefangen haben die Frauen der RZ 1974 mit einem Bombenanschlag auf das Bundesverfassungsgericht in Karlsruhe, weil wir ja alle die Abschaffung des 218 wollten und nicht diese jederzeit manipulierbare Indikationslösung. In der Walpurgisnacht 77 haben wir einen Sprengsatz bei der Bundesärztekammer gezündet, weil von dort aus selbst diese reduzierte Abtreibungsreform mit allen Mitteln hintertrieben wurde'; ID Verlag, *Die Früchte des Zorns*, 458.
77. Focus group with three former members of the Red Zora on 17 August 2012.
78. 'Aber jede Frau, die schon einen Stein geworfen hat, die auf Anmache von Männern nicht mit Rückzug reagiert, sondern zurückgeschlagen hat, wird unser Gefühl von Befreiung nachvollziehen können, das wir hatten, als wir Sexshops zerstörten oder eine Bombe anlässlich des Urteils zum § 218 vor dem Bundesverfassungsgericht zündeten. Befreiung hat in unserer Gesellschaft etwas mit Zerstörung zu tun. Zerstörung der Strukturen, die uns an die Frauenrolle ketten wollen. Und diese Strukturen lassen sich nur zerstören, wenn wir die Verhältnisse, die uns kaputtmachen wollen, angreifen. Angreifen in den vielfältigsten Formen, aber immer verbunden mit unserem unveröhnlichen Haß auf diese Gesellschaft. Die bewaffnete Form des Angriffs ist für uns ein unverzichtbarer Teil des Frauenkampfes. Diese Position ist wie wir beschrieben haben in der Frauenbewegung kaum entwickelt'; ID Verlag, *Die Früchte des Zorns*, 214.
79. *Ibid.*, 460.
80. Die Rote Zora, 'Mili's Tanz auf dem Eis'.
81. *Ibid.*