

Women In Struggle



MNA I STREACHAILT

Volume 3

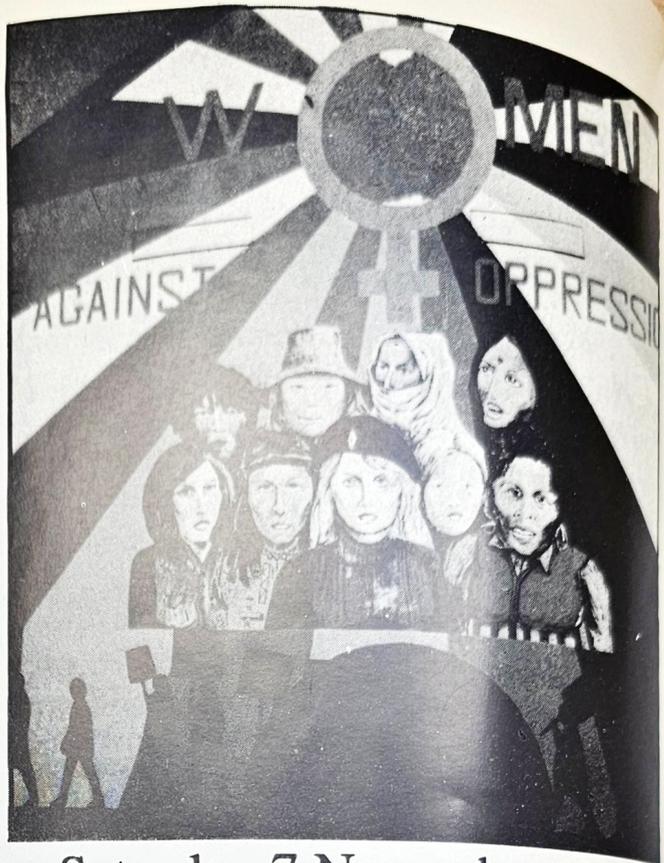
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"YOU CAN CENSOR US, call us thugs and murderers, call us fanatics and lunatics, you can refuse to speak to us, extradite us, ban us, torture us and kill us, but there will always be enough of us to ensure that one day you will talk to us." — Sinn Féin Councillor Jim McAllister speaking at the graveside of Sheena Campbell.

What choice for Irish women?



Saturday 7 November 1992

10.00a.m. - 4.00p.m.

A.O.H. Hall, Foyle St.,
Derry.

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EDITORIAL

THIS OCTOBER marked the 16th anniversary of the death of Máire Drumm, Vice President of Sinn Féin. Máire was assassinated by a pro-British death squad as she lay in her hospital bed. Máire had devoted her life to the republican struggle.

Never in Ireland's history have women played a more vital role in challenging British rule than they have in the last 23 years. Their courage and determination to bring the final phase of the struggle to a peaceful conclusion is a fitting legacy to those countless numbers of Irish women down through history who fought, sacrificed and paid the ultimate price in opposing the British occupation of our country.

This October we lost a friend and comrade when Sheena Campbell was assassinated by a pro-British death squad. Sheena dedicated her whole life to this struggle and she now joins her comrade Máire Drumm, and the countless numbers of Irish men and women who have paid the ultimate price for freedom.

This edition of 'Women in Struggle' is dedicated to the women active in our struggle. It is dedicated to the memory of all the women who have given their lives to bring peace to our country.

On January 1973 several hundred women marched in Belfast in protest against internment and were addressed by Máire Drumm.

She said:

"For every woman they try to intern, I am confident that another 50 women will step forward to take their place in the struggle for justice. The British can't put the women down and they will never put the women down."

The British government should pay attention to the words of Máire Drumm.



● MAIRE DRUMM



● SHEENA CAMPBELL

Sheena Campbell — An Appreciation

17 NOVEMBER 1962 — 21 OCTOBER 1992

— DODIE McGUINNESS

THE KILLING of Sheena Campbell shocked all of us who knew her. To her son Caolán, her mother and father, her brothers and sisters and her partner Brendan, on behalf of Sinn Féin we offer our sincere condolences.

When I heard of Sheena's death, I was devastated. In my mind all I could see was Sheena's smiling, laughing face, her hair perfect and her make-up immaculate as ever. I didn't want to believe she was dead.

When Sheena spoke about going to university to study law — not for her own gain but for the benefit of the organisation and the community — we talked about her own personal security and the risks that might be involved. But Sheena was determined to continue her studies.

Sheena was a remarkable strong, capable person who played many different roles within Sinn Féin. She served as Women's Officer for the Six Counties, as a member of the Ard Chomhairle (National Executive) and as Chairperson of the local organisation in Lurgan. She travelled to England, the United States, and as far away as Korea to promote the republican cause and bring the truth about the situation in Ireland to many peoples. She dedicated her life to the struggle for freedom and democracy in Ireland. She carried a heavy workload in addition to raising her son Caolán. As a woman, a parent and a republican activist, I appreciated the energy and organisation this demanded of her, and I admired her tremendously as a person.

Sheena was an articulate and astute woman. I used to enjoy watching her deal with people who tried to pull the wool over her eyes. Sheena took no nonsense, and if there was a job to be done, it had to be done properly — that was the only way Sheena knew.

Yet she wasn't an aggressive person. If you would ask her to do something, she would say "why me?" and laugh, or say "don't be asking me to chair that meeting"! But like everything else asked of her, she did it, be it sorting out the organisational problems of an area, helping win a by-election, or travelling halfway across the world for the republican cause.

She was one of a small group of people who were given the task of going into areas experiencing problems, to support the local organisation in resolving their difficulties. More recently we worked on the by-elections in North Belfast, Torrent in Tyrone, and South Derry. Sheena helped pioneer "the Torrent strategy" which proved so successful, helping elect Joe Austin, Patsy Groogan and Francie Molloy as councillors. Sheena went in and managed the campaigns, and did it with great energy. Sheena and I had many late night phone



● Sheena Campbell — she dedicated her life to the struggle for freedom and democracy in Ireland

calls discussing the various crises that inevitably arose in election work!

Sheena inspired the people she worked with. Everywhere she went, to do whatever job she had been given, she became part of a team. She was always available with support and advice, not only for work problems but personal matters as well.

The large turnout at her funeral shows how well loved and respected Sheena Campbell was by all of those who ever came in contact with her. We will all miss her, and humanity is diminished now that her smile and quiet confidence is gone.

When I heard of her death on the midnight news while travelling home, I was numb. But a poem I had been given some time ago came into my head. It was called *A Strong Woman*. That's what Sheena was to me, and I picked out the relevant lines to read at her funeral, because they said everything that had to be said:

"A strong woman is a woman determined

to do something others are determined not to be done.

A strong woman is a woman who loves strongly and weeps strongly and is strongly terrified and has strong needs.

A strong woman is strong in words, in action, in connection with feeling; she is not strong as a stone

but as a wolf suckling her young. Strength is not in her, but she enacts it as the wind fills a sail.

What comforts her is others loving her equally for the strength and for the weakness from which it issues lightning from a cloud. Lightning stirs, in rain, clouds disperse, Only water of connection remains; flowing from us.

Strong is what we make each other Until we are strong together."
(poem by Marge Piercy)

A Voice for the Voiceless

A NEW WOMEN'S DRAMA GROUP made its appearance on International Women's Day this year. Calling themselves Guth na mBan (The Women's Voice), seven Derry women performed four sketches they had created themselves on the stage of the Britannia Hall, venue for the social held to celebrate International Women's Day in the city. The reaction was strong and almost entirely positive. Many women identified strongly with the experiences they dramatised, and since then other women's groups have contacted them to get the drama performed in their area.

I asked Julie, one of the women in the group, how Guth na mBan came together and how they happened to do these four skits for International Women's Day.

"We have had a variety of things going on in Derry each year for International Women's Day — workshops for delegations which have visited us, marches, socials, a mural and a conference last year. As women we feel solidarity with women all over the world in oppression and welcome International Women's Day as an opportunity to share this. But in addition to the universal oppression we share as women in a male-dominated society, our situation in the Six Counties means we have to deal with additional oppression. We wanted to express and communicate the specific military oppression of living in an occupied country, and the political oppression of living in a setting where your national identity is not recognised as legitimate.

"None of us were into speeches and lectures. We didn't feel they could communicate this as well as drama. Not to say that any of us had any stage experience to boast of! Most of us are mothers of young children, a fair few of us single parents, so "leisure" isn't really a problem we often have to deal with! But some of us were active with Doire Eile (Another

Derry/Alternative Derry) during the hunger strike, and I guess we were game for anything!"

"Doire Eile was a pub drama group we pulled together — it was a mixed group — during the lead-up to the hunger strike of 1980-'81. The situation was dire, it was difficult to get publicity, and we decided to go to the people, so we put on dramas and skits in pubs, lasting five minutes or so, and went from pub to pub with them. People found it a powerful experience.

"Anyway, Guth na mBan met in one of our houses, so childcare was easier. We decided our theme would be 'Violence Against Women' and began looking where we saw violence in our lives. We settled on four areas: Violence in the home; Violence on the streets; The violence of Strip-Searching and the experience of Castlereagh interrogation. We felt we had to give voice to what was generally unvoiced in our society. It's as if society thinks, 'Well, you're republicans, you're supposed to suffer this violence and oppression at the hands of the state, so when it happens, keep your mouth shut and don't complain.' For example, the attitude from a lot of people towards strip-searching is 'Well, what do you expect?' We know full well that it is a reality, we don't accept it. It's not right and we don't intend to stay silent about it.

"We were working on our sketch on strip-searching well before the mass strip searching of women prisoners in early March. We just think it is a really important issue: women are being degraded in Maghaberry just because of their sex, and through sexual assault.

"One sketch was 'Violence in the Home'. We felt this was really important. Even if a woman is politicised, or living in a supposedly politicised community she still must deal with the authority of men and violence and abuse from men in her life and in the home. We need to get this out in the open so women don't feel ashamed of it or blame themselves, but seek strength that comes from sharing with each other.

"In one sketch, we portray the aftermath of a rape, what the woman is going through in terms of feelings of guilt and shame, wondering if it was her 'fault', the helplessness she feels and working out how she will deal with the situation and her life afterwards.

"Our method was that after we discussed the sketches, one woman or another would take responsibility for writing it and bringing it back to the group.

"Mostly this worked well. It was a very intense experience for each woman. But with the Castlereagh interrogation scene, we found this was impossible. But all of the women in the group had been arrested and taken to Castlereagh for interrogation, so on the night we improvised the entire thing. We all knew the routine so well, it just flowed out of us. Funny enough, this didn't harm the scene at all. People found this an extremely powerful sketch.

"We had two rehearsals before the night of the International Women's Day social, and then we did the lot on stage! In fact on the night, we threw a ten-year-old girl into the sketch on violence in the home. Her line was asking 'Mammy, Mammy, are you all right?' Twice! She was brilliant!

"Basically, I suppose we had a real need to say something to other women on International Women's Day, to feminists and women in general. We have this sense of sisterhood and shared oppression for the injustices of life in a male-dominated society, but the added burden of oppression, of life under military rule and occupation, needs to be known and acknowledged too.

"Everyone had a strong reaction to the sketches. Most people felt very positive, really encouraging us. Some women actually wept. Some women felt it was 'too one-sided' and others felt it was 'anti-British'. They felt a bit attacked because they were from the unionist or Protestant community. However, we make no apologies for the play not that we were asked for any! We got a lot of support for it. Our attitude is all women were asked for contributions, and that it would be great if next year some of the women who felt excluded or attacked might create some drama themselves, and share it with everyone at the next women's social.

I asked Julie how they came up with the name. "We felt so much that we were creating a voice for women who hadn't one before, certainly not in the mass media. We chose an Irish name because that's part of the message too — you have to learn the language we speak and the culture we live in, not just assume anything. Guth na mBan, Women's Voice, seemed to fit."

Although Guth na mBan came together specifically to contribute to International Women's Day in Derry this year, the group has met several times since and hope to create some more drama. If anyone wants to get in touch with Guth na mBan, they can contact them at 1 West End Park, Derry, or telephone Derry (0504) 370234.

— Martha McClelland.

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS

■ INTRODUCTION

In recent months there has been a massive increase in the number of women in the Six Counties who have been targeted for harassment, intimidation, arrest and interrogation by British state forces.

Many women are uncertain as to their rights in these situations and as a result many can feel intimidated and frightened by the experiences they are subjected to.

This information bulletin is designed particularly for women. If you are aware of your rights you will be better equipped to deal with situations you may be confronted with.

If you are in any doubt say nothing, sign nothing, contact your solicitor or Sinn Féin centre immediately.

Emergency legislation changes all the time so always check that the information you have is up to date.

■ STOP AND SEARCH

This is a situation which has given British crown forces the opportunity to harass, intimidate, assault and sexually assault women. Emergency legislation gives the RUC/UDR and British army the power to stop and question any person and to stop vehicles and question their occupants. They can only ask your name and address and for a reasonable explanation of where you are going to. You do not have to answer any other questions especially your date of birth, where you work etc.

If you are asked to remove shoes or articles of clothing, refuse. They are not allowed to search your children or their schoolbags etc.

Do not allow a male to search you, always ask for a female RUC officer to carry out the search. Male members of British

crown forces are not allowed to search your handbag. If they ask you to let them do this refuse and ask for a woman to do it.

If stopped remain in a public place where there may be witnesses.

You also have the right to demand to know why you are being stopped and searched.

If you are threatened, verbally abused or assaulted in any way, contact a solicitor immediately.

■ ARREST, DETENTION AND QUESTIONING

Emergency legislation allows British crown forces to arrest any person in any place or at anytime under suspicion. No warrant is required for arrest by the British army or the UDR under Section 14 of the EPA*. If arrested a person can be detained for four hours and then released or else handed over to the RUC for rearrest. The RUC can arrest under Section 14 of the EPA which means a person can be detained for 48 hours and this can be extended for a further five days.

If you are arrested the children have to be left with someone you name over the age of 18, you cannot be taken anywhere until this is done.

■ IF ARRESTED

1. Give your name and address and the name of your solicitor and request to see him/her as soon as possible.
2. Request that someone be informed of your arrest as soon as possible.
3. You will be examined by a police doctor. Do not get involved in conversation with them.

Many women are made to feel vulnerable and intimidated during interrogation *Emergency Powers Act

particularly if they are menstruating, have young children at home, are pregnant or have recently had a baby. Your interrogators know this and will try to use this statement incriminating yourself or others.

Be aware at all times that this is what they are trying to do. Many women in this position have been sexually assaulted or borne the brunt of a barrage of verbal abuse. At no stage are they allowed to carry out a strip search, the only conditions under which they may take your clothes is if they are taking them for forensic evidence. Then you will be given a boiler suit to put on.

If you are abused in any way during interrogation, tell the person taking you back to your cell that you wish to see the duty sergeant to make a complaint. Also inform them that you wish to see the doctor, ask that your family doctor be allowed in to examine you.

If you are held for longer than 48 hours your solicitor will be allowed in to see you. Your conversation with the solicitor will be listened to — be careful what you say. If you have been abused get your solicitor to register a formal complaint with the RUC on your behalf.

When you are being released you will be informed of this fact and asked what transport arrangements you want to make. Ask that family or friends be informed of your release and that they should come and collect you. Never take a lift from someone you do not know. You will be examined by the police doctor before you are released. You will be given your personal property and asked to sign for it. Sign nothing, you don't have to. If the RUC have removed any of your property (eg family allowance or benefits books) demand that it be returned immediately, they are not allowed to keep any of your property, if they refuse contact your solicitor and do not sign for any other property.

The RUC may try to bribe or blackmail you to become an informer. With women their favourite threats are that they will get their children taken into care or that they know you are in debt or a single parent and finding it difficult to cope financially. If they have tried these arguments on you rest assured you are not alone, they will have tried it on every other woman they have arrested or have targeted for harassment. However if you have succumbed to these threats or blackmail tell someone immediately. Contact Sinn Féin, your solicitor or clergy. Making the issue public is your only safeguard.

■ HOUSE SEARCHES

Thousands of women have been through this experience but if you are unsure of your rights it can be a very intimidating experience.

Several sections of emergency legislation allow either a search for firearms, explosives, ammunition and transmitters or for "material" relating to "terrorist" investigation.



● If we are aware of our rights we are better equipped to deal with the terror tactics employed by the British crown forces

tions. If it is for the former they are not allowed to read or remove any documents etc in your home.

■ IF YOU ARE INFORMED THAT YOUR FILE HAS BEEN PASSED ON TO LOYALISTS

This is something which has happened to thousands of people in the Six Counties and is happening more and more to women.

If the RUC come to your house to inform you that this has happened, take the name and number of the officer who has given you the information and the barracks which they have come from. Contact your solicitor immediately a) to try to find out the circumstances of the leaked information and b) you may be able to take a case against the NIO. If this has happened you may if you wish to leave your home be put

on the A1 priority housing list. What has happened in practice is that women have been offered hostel accommodation. Before making this decision contact your solicitor or Sinn Féin advice centre. You may also be entitled to a DHSS grant for adding security to your house. For this you will have to show that the RUC have come to inform you of this.

■ GENERAL POINTS

1. If you are being stopped, harassed and abused on a regular basis keep a note of the date, time, location and any other relevant information. Inform your solicitor immediately.

2. If you're being assaulted or harassed by British crown forces tell someone, especially your solicitor. You may be able to take a case against the RUC or the NIO for assault, sexual assault etc.

Why must children suffer
the pain that they go
through?

To live without parents
it is a lot for them to do.

When they make that
journey

to a prison very week,
there is happiness in their
eyes.

But when they hear that time
is up

there are teardrops in their
eyes.

So when they ask when are
you coming home

I cry and cry again,
but it's hard to say what I
said before

because the children are left
waiting at the door.

— Frances Symington,
Maghaberry Jail.

These dreams
make me scream with pain
make me cry for help
no one can help me.

Please leave me alone!
I don't deserve this
leave my clothes on
You have no right to do this

It's only a dream
only a dream, you're OK!
I wish I was, please
comfort me.

These dreams are so real
my clothes pulled off
and searched, me
left crying in pain.

I wish it was, only
a dream — I could handle
them.

I wish I was OK, but I'm not
you see, the thing is
it's all so very real.

— Paula Burns,
Maghaberry Jail.

Arrest, Detention and Interrogation

The process of arrest, detention and interrogation is carefully designed and structured in such a way as to have the maximum effect on the arrested person.

Arrest has a greater impact if the woman is taken from the security of her own home. This gives rise to the feeling of helplessness and frustration, especially when children are present and witness the whole scene.

Once detained a woman is often stripped of her personal effects. Sometimes familiar clothing is replaced with shapeless, comfortless, ill-fitting overalls. All jewellery, money etc is confiscated and the woman is placed in a dull windowless cell with an artificial light which remains switched on day and night. This procedure is geared towards demoralising the person, leaving her feeling disorientated, powerless and depersonalised.

After these initial procedures are completed the interrogations begin. These can last for hours without a break, beginning in early morning and continuing until after midnight over a maximum seven day period. Women are interrogated by a mixture of female and male detectives who are highly trained in psychological torture. From the beginning to the end of the interrogations women are bombarded with questions, insults and abuse — the objective being to make them implicate themselves in activities which will result in charges being brought and the woman's imprisonment.

Techniques include verbal abuse in the form of insults about the woman's appearance, hairstyle, weight and so on. She will be called a variety of names such as 'whore' and 'slut' and will be threatened with being raped in the interrogation room or cell. These tactics are designed to leave the woman feeling exposed, helpless and too frightened to sleep, shower or undress. Female detectives are just as abusive as males, taking part in physical violence and leaving the woman alone when sexual attacks are being threatened. Such sexual abuse ranges from obscenities being shouted or whispered into the woman's ear, attempts to kiss her, rub her thighs, touch her breasts or rub up against her. Physical violence can take many forms including slaps to the back of the head and face, kicks to the legs, twisting ears, pulling hair and spitting into the woman's face. She may be ordered to stand, sometimes spread eagled,



● British crown forces use women's sexuality as a weapon against them

for lengthy periods of time, or to sit on the floor when the chair is forcibly removed from beneath her.

The presence of a camera in the interrogation room serves no protective purpose for the woman and if anything it reinforces the fact that her interrogators are free to do what they wish with official sanction.

A woman with children, particularly a single mother, is in an extremely vulnerable position, as interrogators use threats about her children to gain a 'confession'. This woman will be told that social workers

have taken custody of her children and she will never see them again unless she agrees to 'cooperate'.

The whole interrogation procedure with regard to women is orientated around verbal obscenities, physical and sexual assaults, threats against children and the denial of personal hygiene and sanitation facilities. In other words, interrogators attempt to use a woman's sexuality as a weapon against her.

— Mary McArdle & Ailish Carroll, Maghaberry Jail.

OBITUARY

FOR ANNIE

ADAMS

MONDAY 7 SEPTEMBER saw hundreds of people attend the funeral of Annie Adams. Annie who died suddenly of a stroke on the previous Friday, had lived all her life as a committed republican.

From the Falls Road area, Annie was born into the Hannaway family on 29 November 1924. Annie's father, Willie was a trade unionist and worked alongside James Connolly in his campaigning for the mill workers.

By the age of 14, Annie was working in the mills herself where she was employed as a doffer.

When Annie was aged 17, Tom Williams was hanged in Crumlin Road Jail. Annie was present among the mill-workers as they stopped work in order to pray for Tom. This was her first taste of confrontation with the unionist state — the first of many.

On 11 July 1948 Annie married Gerry

Adams. Gerry had recently been released from prison after being shot and captured by the RUC on the day after Tom Williams was hanged. This marriage united two republican families. Annie and Gerry set up home in Ballymurphy in 1953 and brought up a family of ten children.

When the civil rights marchers were batoned off the streets in 1968 and the British army were redeployed by the unionist government in 1969 Annie once again found herself confronting British rule in Ireland. Together with the women in Ballymurphy Annie provided comfort and shelter to the many nationalist people who found themselves burned out of their homes in the loyalist pogroms of August 1969.

By 1970 the Ballymurphy area was at the heart of the resistance to the Brits and Annie played her part — her door was always open to the many republicans who passed through her home. This resulted in

the Brits constantly raiding and ransacking it and no more so than on internment morning in 1971 when after arresting her husband Gerry and one of her sons, the Brits proceeded to drive a saracen armoured car through the gable wall, rendering the house uninhabitable.

As the conflict intensified in the '70s Annie could be seen at the many anti-internment marches — from Belfast to Dublin to London Annie was a familiar sight. She was also a regular visitor to Long Kesh, the Maidstone prison ship, Magilligan and Armagh Jail. At one stage she had three sons in Long Kesh at the same time. Indeed the last 21 years were a constant heartache for Annie as far as jails were concerned with her husband, five sons, son-in-law, brother, nephews and nieces and now one of her grandsons all experiencing terms of imprisonment.

Despite this, Annie never missed a visit or letter and was always a great source of encouragement to her sons and daughters.

As the blanket protest and hunger strike came and went Annie involved herself in the Relatives' Action Committee and continued her support for republican prisoners and the IRA through the '80s and up until her untimely death. This support was acknowledged by the many mass cards from POWs and a wreath from the Belfast Brigade IRA.

Annie sent hundreds of Christmas cards to POWs everywhere and those who regularly received them will go without, but the love Annie held for them will always be there.

Annie will be missed by the republican family everywhere but nowhere will she be more missed than within her own large family circle.

To her husband Gerry, daughters Margaret, Anne, Frances, Maura and Deirdre, sons Gerry, Paddy, Liam, Seán and Dominic we offer our sincere sympathy and compassion.

Go ndéanfaidh Dia trocaire ar a anam.
— Irene Sherry
(Sinn Féin Women's Department).

Articles Two and Three — what they mean to me

People with any sort of a nose for politics should be smelling a very large rat at the current furore around Articles Two and Three of the Irish Constitution.

Nationally-minded people have by and large, cultivated a healthy scepticism about anything said or done by Dev. This coupled with the republican camp's rejection of the 26-County Constitution from its inception have, I believe, allowed us to kid ourselves that it's not really important to our situation today. We are without a doubt, as Robert Ballagh puts it, "sleepwalking towards disaster".

If nothing else would convince me of the crucial importance of these two articles, the vehemence and persistence of the lobby for their deletion, and the people involved in this campaign, would be sufficient.

The fact that the Irish Constitution could be such a thorn in the side of Messrs Paisley, Molyneux and Maginnis suggests that nationalists need to look very carefully at the issues involved before dismissing them out of hand as unimportant.

Northern unionists and the anti-nationalist elements in the 26 Counties can be described as many things, but (with few exceptions) they are not stupid.

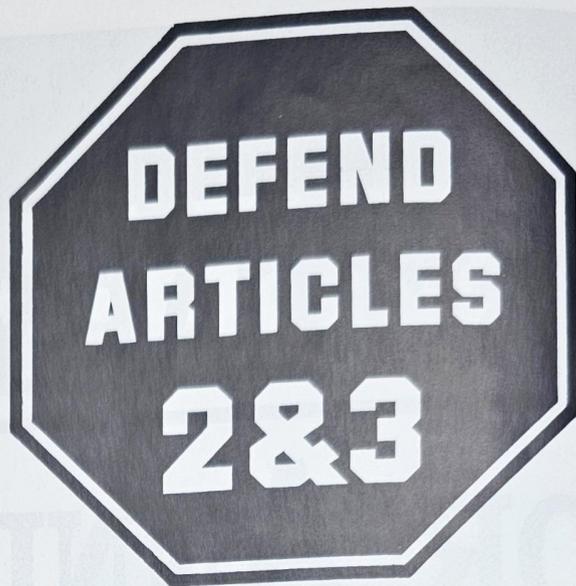
Now the reasons put forward by these factions for requiring changes in Articles Two and Three are so obviously farcical that it is difficult to take them seriously at any level. Arguments like the IRA needing Articles Two and Three to justify the war, and that the Protestant community feel threatened by the prospect of the 26-County army mobilising to reclaim the Fourth Green Field!

For Paisley and his cronies to come out with this stuff, which they know to be pure hogwash, is bad. But to have to listen to people like John Bruton clucking sympathetically and agreeing is beyond endurance!

What these people are in fact doing is blaming 70 years of violence, discrimination, sectarianism and oppression on Irish democracy, rather than on British imperialism.

I can handle that from unionists, but I won't take it from people purporting to be Irish!

Make no mistake, there are pressing rea-



sons why the unionists north and south want, indeed need, major changes to the Constitution. But they aren't about to come clean and tell us about them, and I honestly believe that they think we won't figure them out by ourselves.

The question raised by this debate are pivotal to the whole issue of partition and indeed to the Irish nation's very right to existence. That's the real reason why Articles Two and Three are 'offensive' to unionists.

The preamble to the Constitution speaks of the struggle to regain the rightful independence of the nation and looks forward to the time when "the unity of our country is restored".

Article One deals with the right of the Irish nation to democratically choose its own form of government, and Article Two goes on to define the national territory as including the whole island of Ireland.

These articles are therefore a clear and unambiguous rejection by Irish democracy of Britain's right to govern any part of this country. They stand in the eyes of Irish people and of the international community, as a necessary counter-claim to the Government of Ireland Act whereby, it is claimed "the supreme authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters and things" in the six north-eastern counties.

They clearly assert the claim as of right to national self-determination for all Irish people, whether in Derry or Dublin, Belfast or Ballydehob.

To change Article Two would serve to institutionalise and entrench a unionist veto in Irish constitutional law — some coup if they could pull it off!

Furthermore, if less importantly, the whole Anglo-Irish process becomes a nonsense, for what right — if they accept Britain's jurisdiction over the North — have the 26-County government to meddle in the affairs of a 'foreign country'?

Excuse me if I sound like a DUP

spokesperson, but those are the facts!

Article Three is a bit of a mouthful, but basically what it says is that until such times as we have reintegration of the "national territory" and without conceding the right to govern the whole nation we'll just legislate for 26 Counties in the meantime.

There is not a whisper of any rallying to the flag, nor sending wee Free State jeeps up to chase the Brits home — simply the assertion that things should not be the way they are.

The interpretation of the Supreme Court of this in the McGimpsey case was logical and straightforward in that it imposes a "constitutional imperative" upon the 26-County government to actively seek reunification.

This of course does not mean that they have to use violence or that they should not seek majority consent within the North. The obligation is clearly and unambiguously stated. It is about ends rather than means.

Northern nationalists have never been in any doubt as to their status on this island. We know that we have as much right to call ourselves Irish as any. We know that we are fully justified in seeking independence, in developing our lives — political, economic, and cultural — in accordance with our own genius and traditions.

We know that we have been trapped behind an artificial border drawn around a sectarian headcount, and we know why, but we know that we are part of a proud and ancient nation and that fact sustains us through our current temporary difficulties.

Articles Two and Three of the Irish Constitution belong to all of the Irish people, but especially they belong to us. They give us not merely a passport but an acknowledgement of the past, recognition of our present state and most importantly they give a hope for the future.

Paisley and his cronies know all of this — we have yet to learn it.

— Ann McCluskey

Women detainees sexually abused in Basque country torture centres

THE DEGREE OF SADISM in the torture of detainees takes on a special meaning for women subjected to the so-called "anti-terrorist legislation" in the Spanish state.

Arantza Zuleta, a Basque lawyer who has documented a number of recent cases in which women were detained and tortured, warns of a "grave deterioration" in the treatment meted out to women by the state forces, especially at the hands of the Civil Guard. According to Zuleta "the horrifying tortures, which 90% to 95% of Civil Guard detainees suffer, are especially worrying in the case of women".

The majority of women detainees suffer a similar fate: "As well as the punches, electrodes, suffocation and submersion in a tub of water, women suffer every kind of sexual humiliation from insults, gropes, threats of rape, cigarette burns on the breast, to attempts to penetrate them with objects such as broomsticks etc."

■ A TESTIMONY OF BRUTALITY

A number of recent statements by women charged with membership of ETA, some of whom were subsequently imprisoned, constitute definitive proof of the sexual abuse of women.

The experience of Anatxo Morante, arrested by the Civil Guard in Bilbao last March, indicates the degree of sexual abuse to which women detainees are subjected. She alleged that "all the interrogation sessions were the same" and that she suffered "every kind of sexual abuse... I was forced to masturbate myself and them" (the civil guards).

Anatxo Morante was detained alongside her husband Ramon and was tortured together with him on several occasions. She pointed out that "the night before signing a statement, and even though Ramon was within hearing distance, they kept coming into my cell, making me undress and lie down on the floor where they forced my legs apart. The man who was interrogating me ran his hands over my body or rubbed his testicles against me before letting me dress and go back to bed. Every few minutes I was forced to go through the same performance. I don't know how long this carried on for. Once I was made to lie down and open my legs while he put his hand



● Sexual abuse is part of the normal interrogation process in Euskadi

into my vagina... speaking all the time at the top of his voice. I thought the night would never end."

The treatment meted out to Enkarni Blanco, arrested last January in Santurzi, is in every way as crude as the abuse to which Anatxo Morante was subjected. It is worth noting that Blanco was held in the Civil Guard barracks in Madrid*.

■ ABUSE AND HUMILIATION

Enkarni Blanco explained, "they put me in a room. I had a hood over my head. Then they forced me up against a wall with my arms and legs outstretched. I don't know how long I was in that position. They came in, asked if I was tired and then forced me up against the wall again. They pushed my legs apart and kicked me in the genitals. Then they left. Afterwards they took me out and put me in another room where the interrogation started. I told them I knew nothing. They took the hood off me and put a plastic bag over my head. One of them grabbed my arm and the other my head."

Enkarni Blanco spoke of how, during another of the interrogation sessions "three men came into the room. They forced me to undress and began touching me, first at the front and then from behind. One was

touching me while the other two were doing the questioning. One was sitting down while the other stood beside the door, leaving and entering from time to time. The one who was touching me kept saying "she's got no breasts, what a shit of a woman."

"The interrogation sessions lasted about an hour, I think. When they finished they left me up against the wall. I asked if I could put on my clothes, which I did. Then I heard Josu in the cell next door. They hauled him out and began shouting 'right, if you don't start talking I'll kill you, or better still, I'll haul your wife out by her pubic hair and hang her upside down'. He said it loud enough for me to hear it, again and again."

■ 'CONVENTIONAL' TORTURE

In every case sexual abuse is accompanied by the more 'conventional forms' of torture. In her statement Enkarni Blanco explains how, "suddenly, the one who was questioning me ran a kind of bar up my legs. It was live. Then he ran the bar along my arms, genitals and breasts. I was thrown backwards onto the floor. Before I knew it the hood had fallen off and they hauled me up onto my feet by the hair and began running the bar all over my body. I collapsed again: they put me on my feet and hit me around the head. Then they pushed me up against the wall. They decided to rape me and ordered me to undress. I couldn't because I was shaking so much. Three of them volunteered to rape me. I could feel them groping me. One of them said 'I don't like this whore', then another answered 'I don't rape whores, but I can stick this bar up her backside'."

Dione Ugalde, who was detained in April and questioned in La Salve and at Civil Guard headquarters, suffered a similar fate to that of the women above. In her official complaint she states, "they threatened to stick a bottle into my vagina. They said 'no, better not. It's covered in blood and that one had hepatitis or AIDS."

They also threatened me with electrodes and I panicked. They kept on saying that they would begin with a low current but would increase it little by little. It went on like this the whole time... threatening me with electrodes or the bottle."

* The Civil Guard in Spain are usually more lenient on detainees than their counterparts in the Basque country.

● (Article by MG, extracted from the Basque newspaper EGIN, Sunday, 2 August 1992)

Dodie McGuinness

Republican and public representative

BY MARTHA McCLELLAND

When I asked Dodie McGuinness how long she had been a councillor, she said "Too long, and the last three and a half years have been the longest of my life!" She was laughing, but her workload would make you cry. Actually she was elected to Derry City council in 1985. She juggles being a councillor (representing the 13,000 people of Creggan), with being the leader of the Sinn Féin councillors grouping in the Six Counties (for the past three and a half years) and being a single parent to her three children.

Like many young people in the late '60s, Dodie got involved at the time of the civil rights struggle, as a direct result of her life experiences.

■ BURNTOLLET

"I was nursing at Altnagelvin Hospital at the time of the ambush at Burntollet Bridge, just outside the city and a mile or so from the hospital. I remember seeing the people come in. We were working up on other wards and were sent down to casualty on our lunch hour to see if we could give a hand there. I'll never forget seeing the people carted in with blood flying out of them. There seemed an endless stream of them, exhausted and shocked. There was a terrible atmosphere around the hospital that day — the staff were as shocked as the victims.

"Incidents that I witnessed around the town had their effect too. I remember once coming home from Altnagelvin Hospital, after a split shift and seeing an old man, drunk, huddled in the doorway of Tracey's Bar in William Street. He was doing nothing and there was no riot on or any disturbance. The next thing the RUC arrived and beat the lining out of him.

"I don't remember the day the British army came onto the streets. I'd been away on holiday at the time, and just came around Littlewoods' Corner at William Street and almost bumped into one of them with a rifle. I suppose I was pretty open-minded at that time — I thought that they might be better than the RUC.

"In and around Creggan, where I lived, I saw an increase in patrolling by the RUC, in people getting lifted under the 48-hour arrest section. Creggan used to be a quiet place — youngsters used to run when they saw the RUC coming — and now there was all this huge presence, people getting arrested and beaten up, and I began to wonder why. My house began getting raided and friends and neighbours began stay-



● On Burntollet — "There was a terrible atmosphere around the hospital that day... the staff were as shocked as the victims"

ing out of their homes for their own safety. I'd work a shift in the Waterside, then have to go through four or five checkpoints to get into my own estate once I crossed the bridge. There was the anger at strangers coming into my house at 6am and getting me out of bed to search the house, again and again.

"During the early '70s I worked out of a Sinn Féin Centre in Creggan in Central Drive. We didn't deal with social complaints so much as monitor harassment by the RUC and British army, try to find out who was lifted and where, and go down to the barracks or British army camps to find out what was happening. When homes were raided, we went to be with people.

"After internment, when there were a lot of prisoners, Nellie McGlinchey and oth-

ers founded the Prisoners' Dependents Fund and I tied in with them. We organised buses to Long Kesh, paid out PDF money to people on a weekly basis, taking it to their own houses, and saw to the prisoners' welfare. Internment Day itself didn't hit Derry that hard, for it was our holiday fortnight. It was mostly the arrests after. I would have known Seán Keenan, but most of those lifted in Derry on internment day were older than us and we wouldn't have known them well. It was a new generation that came after that!

■ BLOODY SUNDAY

"No one in Derry will ever forget Bloody Sunday. I was on the march when the shooting started and remember jumping over barricades at Rossville Flats. Div-

ing around a corner, I collided with someone who had got shot in the face, blood pouring from his nose. I don't know who it was to this day. Going back up to Creggan, I heard there were five or six dead. Then I met Mitchel McLaughlin who said there were seven or eight dead. It just got worse as the day went on.

"There was an awful numbness in Derry afterwards. I remember the people streaming into the city from every part of Ireland — priests, nuns, everyone — all wanting to be in Derry. I'll never forget the day of the funerals..."

"It is hard to describe the effect the funerals had on the people. It was scary. Everyone knew what the march was about, and knew that the people were deliberately shot dead at a peaceful march. Shortly afterwards I remember taking part in a march going to Guildhall Square. We were carrying black flags, and it was all women at the front — deliberately so. We were drowned with water cannon at William Street and the British army turned us back so that we had to go to Free Derry Corner. It was part of their plan of keeping you in the Bog, in the ghetto and out of the city — our city. But we didn't realise this then — we were politically immature at the time.

"By the time Bloody Sunday took place, I was already a republican. But Bloody Sunday made me realise much more deeply how deadly serious the struggle was. From that time on, you always had it in the back of your head that this could happen again, particularly any time you organised anything. It not only deepened my commitment, but it also did for a lot of people who up until then would have been fairly uninterested in what was happening."

■ POLITICAL PRISONER

Dodie was arrested in the summer of 1974 in Sligo, and charged, along with two other women and two men, with the possession of thousands of rounds of ammunition, a rifle and other materials. She and the other women spent weeks on remand in Mountjoy Jail before being acquitted and released. She describes Mountjoy as "a horrific place to be in", commenting that the three of them had been put into a cell together, and as republicans had a strong comradeship. But it was the treatment of the other women that horrified them.

"The rest of the women in Mountjoy were prostitutes, drug takers, thieves, etc. They were all treated like animals. They had no support network and couldn't really defend themselves. They were at the mercy of the screws and the administration, who treated them with total contempt. From what I've heard over the years, Mountjoy hasn't changed to this day."

After her release, Dodie returned home and continued her involvement with the republican struggle in and around Derry. In 1976 her younger brother, Danny, was arrested along with several others, and was eventually sentenced to ten years on explosive and



● On the day Bobby Sands died — "It was like a death in your own family"

membership charges. In Long Kesh, he immediately went on blanket protest.

■ HUNGER STRIKE

Dodie says this period was one that deeply affected her whole family. Prison conditions were vile and deteriorating by the day. Her mother, Eileen Harkin, became one of the founding members of the Derry Relatives' Action Committee and toured Ireland and America, putting forward the case of the political prisoners. During this time Dodie got married and had two children, and was active on a daily basis on the streets for the community. She became involved in the local H-Block/Armagh Committee as soon as it was established.

She recalls this as a time when "you felt you had to be out, no matter what. I remember being down at the Guildhall Square at a midnight rally to mark the start of the first hunger strike, and someone asking me 'What are you doing here?' as I was nine months pregnant. But you just felt you had to be there." (Her daughter Aileen was born a few days later.)

When the first hunger strike ended on 18 December, she speaks of the strong sense of disbelief and feeling of being tricked by the state, both among activists and POWs. "When I visited Danny, or any of the prisoners, I could see the disappointment on their faces. As it came to looking like a second hunger strike, we all knew that this time the prisoners wouldn't be caught out again. This was desperately hard for the families especially knowing that prisoners would die this time. There were hundreds of daily protests, and then the RUC began singling out individuals who were fined heavily and sometimes jailed, to break the back of the street protests. It was hard, watching families go through this.

"When it came that Bobby Sands died, we had been sitting up all night for days, watching and waiting for word. It was like a death in your own family. But it came closer to

home with Francis Hughes and Tom McElwee. Because they were from Derry it hit even harder. We went up and spent two or three days sitting at their houses for the funerals. It was horrific. The worst for me to see was Martin Hurson — you could just see in his face the agony he'd been through.

"Derry had the privilege of providing the guard of honour at a number of the hunger strikers' funerals. That helped people cope — people felt proud even through the devastating grief.

"Even now, eleven years later, talking and thinking about it, I can still feel the pain and horror of it all. Sometimes it's hard to believe it actually happened."

■ ELECTORAL POLITICS

After the hunger strike, with three children — the youngest only a year old — and a brother still in jail, Dodie has limited her involvement to what was absolutely necessary. Family commitments have always been important to her. During this time, the British began using the supergrass system. A wry smile comes as she recalls her lucky escape during this bleak period: "Derry was one of the first places the Brits hit with a supergrass. In one morning 38 people were arrested because of Raymond Gilmour. Our house was raided but I was in hospital having an operation on my eyes that morning. But it had a big effect on my family..."

Bobby Sands' election had made a big impact on Dodie, who saw the value of his election in terms of winning world-wide recognition and legitimacy for the republican struggle.

When asked why she agreed to stand, she laughs and says honestly, "I says 'Yes' because I thought I wouldn't get elected! But I agreed with our contesting seats at local council level, in order to have a voice in local government."

■ TOPPED THE POLL

The woman who is now the leader of Sinn Féin's councillors in the North goes on to say that "because we were unable to quantify the Sinn Féin vote in the area in this first election, we put up three candidates in Cityside (Creggan and part of the Bogside), two to get elected and one to trawl for votes. I stated I would be the trawler, having no intentions of actually being a city councillor. Two high-profile people, Hugh Brady and Mitchel McLaughlin, stood in Cityside. All three of us were elected. Much to my shock, I topped the poll, coming in ahead in first preference votes even in front of the SDLP Mayor. Because of the recounts which take place in proportional representation however, the three of us weren't actually the first to be declared elected to Derry City Council. Republicans didn't see the value and strength of their vote. Another 30 republicans voting would have made that difference."

■ COUNCIL POLITICS

This background makes her involvement in electoral politics as a Sinn Féin

councillor seem like a natural progression. (Note: She disagrees!) So I put some questions to her about how her being a Sinn Féin councillor and a woman has affected local politics.

What's the council doing about women's issues? I asked.

"Very little," says Dodie with real regret. "Sinn Féin put in a motion demanding that Derry City Council examine the possibility of funding crèche facilities for their workers, but the legal position — due to the lack of power for councils in the North — was that they could not legally fund any childcare, even for their workers. Councils are responsible, as you know, to British government auditors before they can pay out any money, and childcare was ruled out as not the council's responsibility.

"The report highlighted another issue relevant to women, and that was the serious absence of women in management level jobs in the council. No women were employed at senior management level, and very few at junior management. Most were at the clerical level.

"If this were Catholics or Protestants instead of women, there would be an outcry at such clearly economic discrimination."

Dodie is clearly dissatisfied with action taken: "Since this discovery, it would be nice to report that a policy of positive discrimination has been adopted. But this isn't true. Women with relevant experience have been encouraged to apply for management jobs as they become vacant, but we have a long way to go before we correct this type of discrimination.

"As part of the development of council structures, Derry City Council have decided to appoint a women's officer — the first in the North as far as I know. But we are having difficulty actually getting the appointment made. Budget problems are cited as the reason we can't appoint the women's officer till next year, although I am putting pressure on to get her appointed in October. Her job will be to liaise with women's groups in the town, advise them on how to make successful applications for council funding, and to push their projects and ideas within the council.

■ MALE-DOMINATED COUNCILS

Councillor McGuinness is clearly frustrated by the failure of the councils to achieve much for women: "Throughout the North, the councils are always male-dominated, be it with elected representatives or employed officials. As a result, women's issues are never to the fore. Massive as this problem is, another problem is probably worse. Time and again, councils respond to Sinn Féin demands by pointing out that they are not responsible for women's issues. For example, they cannot legally fund any social welfare, health or childcare projects. Statutory Health and Social Services Boards have this responsibility. When demands are made of these bodies, we discover they only can fund childcare for chil-



● On Sinn Féin — "Sinn Féin members, including councillors, often have problems about discipline, accountability and responsibility within the organisation"

dren at risk, not children in general. Massive cutbacks have been made even in provision of playgrounds. I have fought against these cutbacks, together with parents and staff.

"The councils have a reputation for starting projects off then abandoning them to die. In fact they can only legally make seeding grants, to start a project off, or grants for research. The women's officer will be useful to the various women's groups in advising on how to write grant proposals which fall within the council's legal funding parameters.

■ COUNCILS IMPOTENT IN NORTH

"People need to understand that once the vote was granted to every adult in the Six Counties, as part of the civil rights demands, all real power was basically stripped from the councils. The councils now have no responsibility for housing, employment, education or social welfare. They can be — and Sinn Féin uses them as — public forums on important issues. But look at important 'women's issues', childcare for example. The north of Ireland has the worst record of childcare provision in Europe, not just for working mothers, but for all children. But although we can use the city council and our media profile as councillors to highlight the issue and the deprivation, the council really has no power to do anything about it.

"I have led or been quite active in a number of campaigns — for example, to save preschool playgroups, to save Anderson House maternity unit, to resist the closure of Erne Hospital's maternity unit and transfer of its facilities all the way to Omagh. But all these decisions were taken at central government level, and in the Six Counties, this is done by faceless civil servants employed by the British government's Whitehall desk on Northern Ireland. There is absolutely no accountability; no one here elects these people. This is a major difference between local government here and in the South, in England, or in the Unit-

ed States, where there is more accountability because officials elected by the people have decision-making power."

How is Dodie treated by male Sinn Féin councillors and the organisation as a whole? "I'll be perfectly frank. Some, but not all, dismiss me as 'just a woman.' Not in words so much as by deeds. For example, despite my senior position, some other Sinn Féin councillors exclude me when discussing projects, in preference to male colleagues. This is political game-playing and has no place among comrades.

"Other problems I encounter in my work have nothing to do with me being a woman — my male predecessor experienced precisely the same problems. Sinn Féin members, including councillors, often have problems about discipline, accountability and responsibility within the organisation. Some operate as if they exist on their own, or as independent councillors.

"It's important for people to understand, especially those readers from outside Ireland, that society as a whole here has very strongly defined role expectations for women, which doesn't include women taking a leadership role in public life. This is changing, due to a lot of effort and women trail blazing and fighting their own corner, but people in some places — particularly in rural areas — still haven't grown out of the idea that women aren't capable of doing the job. In many rural communities, women stay home and still don't have a role outside the home, don't go out, and if a woman is out and about for whatever purpose, it causes comment.

I suggested that some men in these communities wouldn't want their wives, daughters or sister imitating Councillor McGuinness, the Sinn Féin leader laughed and said, "Probably true! Some attitudes really need changing! I remember travelling some miles cross country to a house for a meeting. There were ten or eleven men, and myself. The man in whose home we were meeting was clearly embarrassed and apologised for being unable to offer me a cup of

tea — because his wife was away at Lough Derg for three days!"

"These attitudes prevail throughout society, not just among Sinn Féin members. As an organisation — as you'd expect — Sinn Féin would be much more progressive than society as a whole. The problem is that these attitudes permeate the whole community and are taught to both men and women from earliest childhood, and thus are difficult to shift. Republicans aren't alone among left-wing activists who can have good anti-sexist politics in theory but failing in day-to-day, unconscious actions and practices!"

■ WOMEN CANDIDATES

There are very few women councillors. Are there problems getting women to stand as candidates? Dodie believes again that social conditioning plays a powerful role. "Both as men and women, we've been conditioned that if there's something to be done, it is the man who goes out and does it. Even if a woman wants to do it, in this society it's almost always the woman who has the responsibility for sorting out home and family. Being a councillor demands a lot of your time, and it's not even structured hours. You're out at meetings all hours, and when you're in your house people are constantly calling in with crises of various sorts. It's a full-time job — a full-time UNPAID job!"

Readers from outside the North mightn't realise this, so I asked Dodie to elaborate: "Councillors receive attendance allowances for meetings. But if you're unemployed, as most of us are, any payment you receive for council work is deducted directly from your state benefit. We get no allowance for telephone or any other work you must do from your home

which is council-related. Despite being a single parent, there is no childcare allowance — although when I need childcare, I have to pay £5 per session — that means if there's two meetings a day I need childcare for, I'm out of pocket £10. I could easily have six meetings in a week. Sinn Féin locally gives me £30 a month towards childcare, but that obviously doesn't cover costs.

How does she manage, with three children and her numerous responsibilities?

"I depend on my family, particularly my mother. This isn't fair, as she is a pensioner and has already reared seven children. She does it to support the republican struggle as much as to support me. My children have been really great, especially as they are getting older. William, my eldest, has been particularly supportive. They have all had to deal with the impact my involvement made on the family. I haven't been able to spend as much time as I'd like with them, especially when they are doing their exams, for example, or other times when they need me. I just haven't been able to be there. I don't think it's been a negative experience for them; they are wonderful children and I'm very proud of them. But it has been difficult for them. It's probably made them more mature earlier.

"Another reason women don't want to stand has to do with the public perception of women. Irish society has taught both men and women to look down on women for taking on the council role. Both women and men see it as a threat. This criticism by your friends and neighbours is a very real consideration. You hear 'You should be home looking after your children,' when you are out doing council work. Yet if you were out working at Essex (a local factory) nine to five, no one would ever pass com-

ment. It's hypocritical, it's self-oppression, and part of what we have to struggle against.

"The threat of assassination by pro-British death squads is another reason women are reluctant to stand, especially in a society where they have the responsibility for family and childcare. Even if the woman is prepared to risk assassination herself, she can often be 'persuaded' by threats to her family, where her children, brothers, sisters, or parents are threatened and she doesn't want to bring this worry on to them. The danger is real, especially if they live or work in an isolated area.

"Unless your family supports you 100%, you can't stand. This is true for men as well as women, but I think women need it even more."

Concluding the interview, I asked Dodie for her recommendations.

■ SUPPORT NEEDED

"First, more women should stand as councillors. Say yes, then start making effective demands on the organisation for support, both in terms of being treated as an equal in nitty gritty things, and in practical terms such as childcare allowances.

"Second, we need to work to change the attitudes of society as a whole towards women in political life, especially as councillors. We need to actively support groups who are doing this. We need to constantly keep up our own internal Sinn Féin education to combat sexism.

"It's really down to fighting your own corner. Society never changes if you just accept what you are given, or shrink away from the struggle.

"Finally, those who purport to care about women taking part in political struggle and in electoral politics in particular should note that most women make a difference between electoral politics, such as what the council deals with, and 'women's' or 'community' politics.

This is clear from the numbers of women prepared to get involved in the one and not the other. It's not just that council politics has to deal with everything while women's politics are usually issue-specific. It also has to do with the fact that in women's campaigns or women's groups, women often feel they can just get on with getting the job done, without the hassle encountered with men's and society's expectation and perception of women. The "games" men can play in excluding others from power are pretty real on the councils, and they are not all about party politics!

■ ROLE MODELS

"When we were growing up, it was never presented to you that you would ever be a councillor. We would be wives and mothers; our job was to finance the family. There were no different role models for working-class girls, or very few. There's a new generation coming up now. My daughter will see different roles for women, and me being a councillor is part of that."



● On role models — "There were no role models for working-class girls... My daughter will see different roles for women, and me being a councillor is part of that"

slide electoral victory and set up their own (illegal) parliament, Constance Markievicz — a 1916 leader — was named Secretary of Labour. She and Alexandra Kollantai in the new Soviet Union were the first women at cabinet level.⁶

The partition of Ireland and the ensuing Civil War ensured the victory of Pro-British, socially conservative forces in government. In the 1930s many of the remaining Irish radical leaders fought and died for the Spanish Republic. This paved the way for the 1937 Irish Constitution, Article 41 of which states that, "by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved."⁷

In the late 1960s the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, inspired by the African-American Civil Rights Movement, waged a non-violent campaign to win equal rights for the Catholic nationalist people of the partitioned Six Counties. Women made up a large proportion of this movement but, except for Bernadette Devlin, the entire leadership was male. When peaceful marches were continually beaten and shot off the streets (culminating in Bloody Sunday, January 1972, when British paratroopers killed 14 unarmed demonstrators), the armed struggle was resumed.

Also in the early 1970s a women's movement was emerging in Dublin, inspired by those in the United States and other European countries. Irish feminists agitated for reforms in the welfare system for single mothers, for access of women to equal jobs, pay and education, and for legal divorce and contraception.⁸ One of the women's first actions was the Contraceptive Train to Belfast in May 1971.⁹ Since contraceptives were legal in Northern Ireland, 47 women travelled there and bought large quantities of contraceptives, which they openly declared at Irish Customs on their return. This action attracted a lot of media attention and sparked a large campaign, which led to the partial legalisation of contraception.

In 1975 the Northern Ireland Women's Rights Movement was founded in Belfast to demand parity with British laws on women's rights. This was a middle-class, legalistic movement, which took no position on working-class or nationalist women's issues. The following year, when the NIWRM criticised the Troops Out Movement, a Socialist Women's Group split off from it. Then in 1977 the Socialist Women's Group split again, and the Belfast Women's Collective was formed to work more closely with the Republican Movement, especially around women prisoners' issues. A final split, in 1978, produced Women Against Imperialism, which had even closer links with the republicans.¹⁰ The centrality of the national struggle and the polarised positions on it kept a united feminist movement from developing in the North of Ireland.

To understand women's conditions in Ireland, one needs to know a little bit about



● Women's social conditions haven't improved significantly since the 1970s and even divorce is still illegal in the 26 Counties

Irish society and its economic conditions. The occupied Six Counties of Northern Ireland is a British colony, ruled directly from London. The southern 26 Counties, or "Irish Republic", is a neo-colony — nominally independent, but with its economy completely dominated by multinational investment. In economic terms, Ireland is a Third World country. Officially, unemployment in both parts of Ireland exceeds 17%. But in some working-class areas, it is over 80%.¹¹ Politically, both parts of Ireland are conservative confessional states. The South is dominated by the Catholic Church, and the North by fundamentalist Protestantism. Both states are extremely conservative in social legislation, and both use repressive measures and censorship to try to maintain the status quo.

These social and economic conditions impact heavily on women. Although more women have entered the labour force in recent years, they are highly concentrated in service industries.¹² Women in the 26 Counties earn only 60% of male wages, while those in the Six Counties earn 73.5%.¹³ Over one and a quarter million Irish women (at least half the female population) is classified as living in poverty.¹⁴

Women's social conditions, influenced by strong links between conservative churches and states, haven't improved significantly since the early 1970s. Contraceptives can now be legally prescribed in the 26 Counties, but many doctors and pharmacists, especially in rural areas, refuse to provide them. Condoms can only be sold in pharmacies, and a record store in Dublin which challenged the law by selling them was prosecuted successfully in 1990. Abortion, which has always been illegal in Ireland, was made unconstitutional in a 1983 referendum. Even non-directive pregnancy counselling, with options for abortion in Britain discussed, is illegal. In the North abortion is also illegal, even though the Six Counties is supposed to be an integral part of the United Kingdom. Divorce is still illegal in the 26 Counties, although a campaign is growing for a new referendum on this issue. Women in the Six Counties also have to contend with sexist harassment from

armed soldiers on their streets, constant house raids, strip-searching, and caring for families alone while their partners are imprisoned or on the run.

Feminists and republican feminists propose different solutions for women's oppression. The largely middle-class feminist movement sees the solution as working toward equality and gender-neutrality in the legal system. The Commission for the Status of Women, a government-appointed advisory body, recommended many changes in employment and social welfare laws, which ameliorated some of the worst inequalities.¹⁵ Many feminists also see the need for steps beyond formal equality, such as day care facilities, maternity leave and control of their own fertility, as necessary prerequisites for equality. Single-issue campaigns on many of these issues have been and are being fought by feminist groups. Women's cultural groups, such as writing groups, self-help therapy groups, sports groups, etc, are seen by many as "an alternative environment in which women can explore ideas and support each other away from the constraints imposed by patriarchal structures".¹⁶

Republican feminists say that this approach is too fragmented, dealing with symptoms, rather than the cause of women's problems, which they see as capitalism and British imperialism, along with patriarchy. As Mary Nelis, a Derry Sinn Féin activist, puts it: "The system of patriarchy, with its sub-structures of imperialism and capitalism, can accommodate reforms and even allow women to be the power figurehead (Maggie Thatcher) given that the ground rules establishing essential inequality remain intact."¹⁷

The fragmentation of a multitude of single-issue women's groups, each lobbying against the others for funding and attention, is seen by republican feminists as "the old divide and conquer trick".¹⁸ They also believe that "the state apparatus, to an extent, has absorbed the women's movement. The more acceptable feminists have become part of the establishment and enjoy the freedom of the airwaves, which we, as republicans, are denied under Section 31

[censorship law]. So, what is the real threat?"¹⁹ Nell McCafferty, a feminist journalist whose work is known around the world, has broken laws on behalf of women's right to contraception for years and had reported on this "criminal activity". As she said, "It did my career no harm at all".²⁰ But then she gave an interview expressing support for the IRA. She was immediately banned from the Irish airwaves.

Feminist objections to the Irish republican struggle usually fall into three main categories: (1) "It's a man's war;" (2) "Women should concentrate on our own liberation as women;" and (3) "It's different from legitimate struggles in the Third World."²¹

Cathy Harkin of Derry Women's Aid, a refuge for battered women, puts forth the first objection. She calls Derry "an armed patriarchy" and says that women in the Republican Movement have "seldom risen to positions of authority except where they adopted the male ideals, aims and discipline of the movement."²² This argument, which has been debated in feminist circles for years, presupposes that women are "naturally" pacifist and that any woman who takes part in a struggle which includes a military component is going against her true nature and only following men. This is a dangerous argument for feminists to make, because women's supposed biological and psychological "differences" have been used against them throughout patriarchal history. Besides, as women IRA Volunteers have stated, "This is not a man's war, but a people's war."²³

Margaret Ward, a feminist historian, raises the second objection. She asks, "Can feminism offer such unqualified support [to national liberation] and retain its ability to encompass the reality of all women's oppression, to fight without compromise for women's interests?"²⁴ This criticism raises two questions: (1) What are women's issues? and (2) Is the Irish Republican Movement fighting for them? To the first question, the Irish Women Prisoners of War have answered, "Women within the occupied Six Counties of Ireland are oppressed by both a foreign imperialist state and the sexist ideologies which suppress women worldwide."²⁵ And Bernadette Devlin McAliskey added that, "We are not oppressed simply because we are women but also because we are working-class women and because we are working-class republican women."²⁶ As a woman Sinn Féin activist stated, "Just because an issue also affects men, doesn't mean it's not a women's issue."²⁷

But what about the issues that are specifically of interest to women? As asked in question two above, is the Republican Movement fighting for them, as well? Sinn Féin has an extensive policy document which states its positions on women's issues. It calls for, among other things, legal divorce; free and accessible contraception; non-directive pregnancy counselling embodying all choices; childcare to be



● BERNADETTE DEVLIN McALISKEY

shared by both parents; 24-hour public childcare; and an end to stereotyping of sex roles in education and advertising.²⁸ Plus, Sinn Féin members are active in women's centres and in campaigns for divorce, non-directive pregnancy counselling, and against rape and battering.

The third objection to republicanism, that it isn't a bona-fide Third World movement, has been dealt with earlier in this paper, where Ireland's economic status as a

Third World country was explored. Many people are more comfortable supporting liberation movements that are far away from their home and are waged by people who look different from them or speak a different language than they are supporting a movement closer to home.

The distance and suspicion between feminists and republicans is harmful to both movements and to all women's liberation. As the coordinator of the Falls Women's Centre in Belfast explains, "The right wing has no trouble in uniting to defend its interests while using the distortions caused by British imperialism to divide us and divert our energies."²⁹ The inability of the women's movement to mount an effective opposition to the current conservative backlash is attributed by Marron to this "sectionalism and fear".³⁰

Both the feminist and republican movements have a lot to offer each other and the Irish people. Nell McCafferty comments that:

"It has so far proved easier to feminise republicans, who have much to gain from the inclusion of women in the struggle, than to republicanise feminists, who have much to lose if women's interests are totally subordinated to a resolution of the war.

"However, experience around the world shows that social protest struggles have been obliged to take steps to resolve sexist problems once the women's movement has become involved...

"It poses a challenge to the Irish women's movement of developing a theory and practice on feminism and war. The active involvement of women is imperative if women are to have, when the war is resolved, the freedom of free men."³¹

— Jan Cannavan

Notes

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3. *Ibid.*, p.4.
4. Mary McNeill, *The Life and Times of Mary Ann McCracken: A Belfast Panorama* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1960), p.126.
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6. Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1983), p.137.
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15. Beale, p.186.

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17. Mary Nelis, "Real Change Still Beckons," in *Unfinished Revolution: Essays on the Irish Women's Movement* (Belfast: Meadhb Publishing, 1989), p.5.

18. Máiréad Keane, head of Sinn Féin Women's Department, unpublished speech (1989).

19. Rita O'Hare, Sinn Féin Publicity Director, unpublished speech (undated — about 1987).

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21. Jan Cannavan, "Irish Freedom Fighters," *Womanus*, 9, No 3 (March 1988), 7.

22. Nell McCafferty, *The Armagh Women*, p.88.

23. *Notes for Revolutionaries* (Belfast: Republican Publications, 1983), p.1.

24. Ward, p.262.

25. Women POWs, Maghberry Gaol, "Women and the National Struggle," *Women in Struggle*, No 1 (Spring 1991), 14.

26. Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, "What Price Reunification?" *Counterspy*, 8, No. 2 (December, 1983), 41.

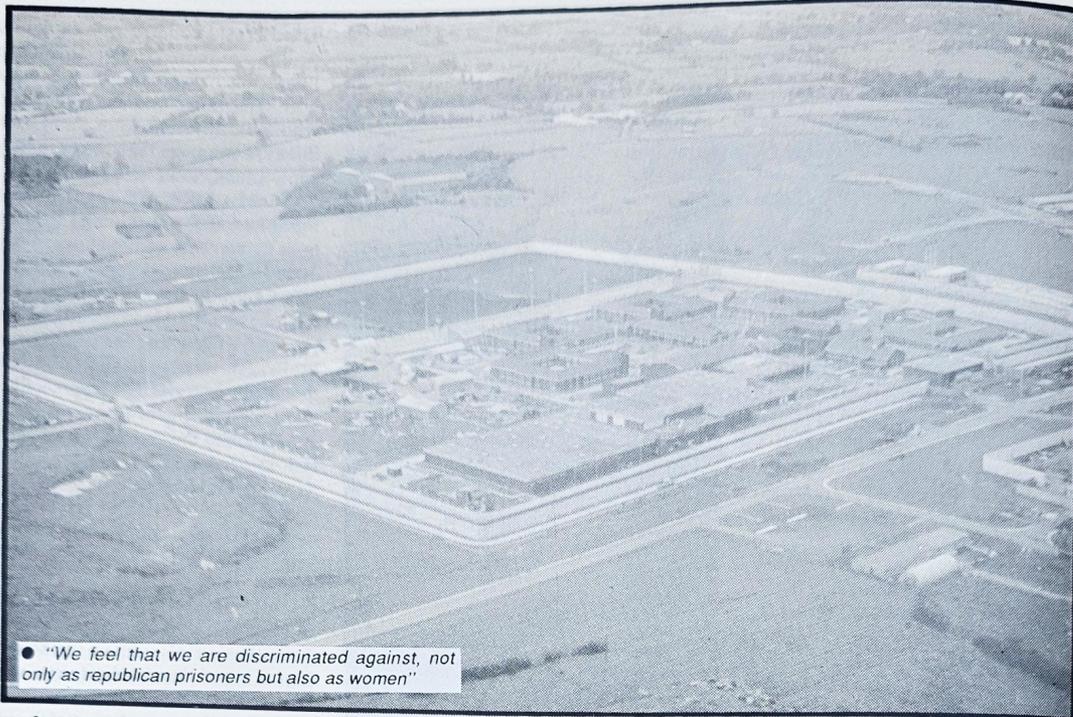
27. Cannavan, p.7.

28. *Women in Ireland: Sinn Féin Women's Policy Document* (Sinn Féin, 1992).

29. Oonagh Marron, "The Cost of Silencing Voices like Mine," in *Unfinished Revolution: Essays on the Irish Women's Movement*, p.42.

30. *Ibid.*, p.40.

31. McCafferty, *The Armagh Women*, p.90.



● "We feel that we are discriminated against, not only as republican prisoners but also as women"

Inhumane Conditions in Maghaberry Jail

I WAS ARRESTED on 16 March 1991 and although I was aware of the torture dispensed in Castlereagh, nothing could have prepared me for the five days of physical and mental abuse I received. As soon as my abusers had ascertained that I was a single mother of four young children they continually threatened me, stating that my children would be taken from me, if I didn't "cooperate". They told me that I wasn't fit to be a mother, and that my children were all bastards. The threat of having my kids taken from me was far worse than the physical abuse, such as, having my face slapped or my hair pulled. I found myself forgetting about the pain, because in comparison to the remarks it was the lesser form of abuse. That torture lasted for five days along with the verbal insults about my body and my general lifestyle.

I thought I was free from the degrading and humiliating treatment I received in Castlereagh when I was brought to Maghaberry Jail. That was until Monday, 2 March 1992 when I and the other 20 women republican prisoners were forcibly and brutally strip-searched, by female screws dressed in riot gear, carrying batons and shields, and backed up by male screws. They forced their way into our cells, dragged us to the floor, stripped us naked, leaving our bodies bruised and battered. We are now living in fear of another attack, and tension here is very high.

The visiting conditions here on the female side of Maghaberry have been an ongoing problem, along with censorship, inter-wing association, education and exercise.

Visits here are supposed to start at 10 am in the morning and again at 2 pm in the afternoon. However our relatives are left waiting for long periods of time for although they are actually in the prison grounds on time they aren't called into the visits until 10.45 am and 2.45pm respectively at the earliest.

There are only eleven tables which are back to back in a very small room leaving us no privacy whatsoever with our families and children. With the screws sitting in the middle of the room watching and listening to everything, a private conversation or open affection to loved ones is impossible.

There are no crèche facilities here on the female side of this jail. The NIO and the prison administration have repeatedly ignored our representations on this issue. Instead the NIO recently said that they felt that female prisoners would have preferred to have their children with them during visits. However not all the children who visit the prison are the prisoners' own children and even prisoners who are mothers need to have the choice of crèche facilities.

In the same statement the NIO said that on busy days two visiting rooms are opened, this is not the case. Recently women were told that there was no staff to cover the other room, which means that women are taken off their visits early to make room for others. There are approximately 50

women prisoners here and there are so few tables to accommodate all the visits. It is a disgrace that we are forced into taking our visits with our loved ones in these conditions. Our regular complaints to the NIO have fallen on deaf ears and nothing has been done, as the situation seems unlikely to change as we are told that one visiting room is all that is required.

On the male side of Maghaberry the visits start at 9.00am in the morning and again at 2pm. They get lengthy visits and have crèche facilities. Male prisoners also have inter-wing association even though there are far more men on the male side. We are denied these facilities. We also have our education and exercise cancelled at short notice because of a so-called "staff shortage", but again the men get their education and exercise without interruptions.

We feel that we are discriminated against, not only as republican prisoners but also as women. The NIO insist on presenting this jail as their jewel in the crown, and as "one jail", when in fact two different regimes operate. We women prisoners are denied exercise, education and inter-wing association. If this is all one jail, as claimed by the NIO, could this department explain to us why so many differences are made between us and the men? Perhaps if we publicly reject our republican beliefs the NIO would have no difficulty in finding the means necessary to provide us with the facilities that are afforded to those in the male section who have done just that.

— Maureen Delaney,
Maghaberry Jail.

Where were you in 1969?

ON WEDNESDAY 5 AUGUST, 35 republican women activists gathered together, as part of the West Belfast Festival, to relive and discuss their personal and political memories of 1969, and how those events shaped their role in today's struggle.

The light-hearted discussion was introduced by West Belfast Councillor Tish Holland.

Marie Moore began the proceedings by

informing those present that on 16 August 1969, when everyone else was fighting off the loyalists and defending their local areas, Eileen Crooks, was getting married at St John's Chapel on the Falls Road. To much laughter Eileen recounted how, because of the rioting, it took her one and a half hours to make what would normally be a five-minute journey. Upon arriving at the chapel the wedding party found that the priest had all but lost hope of them ever appearing and he rushed through the cere-

mony so quickly that Eileen believes that she was 'not married properly at all!'

Rosie Shannon recalled how, after months of trying, she eventually got a job in the Ministry of Defence, only to be paid off because she was termed 'a security risk' — "not that I knew what a security risk was"! Rosie described how watching the people running about in their underwear and bare feet during the burning of Bombay Street was one of her most vivid memories of the 1969 pogroms.

Marie Moore remembered how the bells of Clonard Monastery were sounded to summon the people of Clonard to protect the Monastery from loyalist attack, and while this defence was successful, local homes were being burnt to the ground.

Despite the tragedy and the suffering, Marie recalled some humorous moments — like how Scobie McParland was shot and had to be carried screaming down Clonard Street by local women. Scobie was more concerned with the women seeing his backside than with the injuries he had received.

As the yarning and storytelling continued, Colette Adams, described how in the Westrock Bungalows, the older women carried on with their bingo nights as gun battles raged around them. Colette laughed as she told how she and her friends were ducking for cover as the older women continued marking their bingo books as if nothing unusual was happening.

The conversation was then directed to Councillor Lily Fitzsimmons. Lily spoke of the 'refugees' from the Falls arriving up into Turf Lodge and how the women of Turf Lodge banded together and organised food and billets for all who needed them.

Lily told of one occasion when the RUC arrived and this led to verbal exchanges between the RUC and the women. One woman was so busy cursing the RUC up and down the street that she failed to recognise that the person beside her was the local priest.

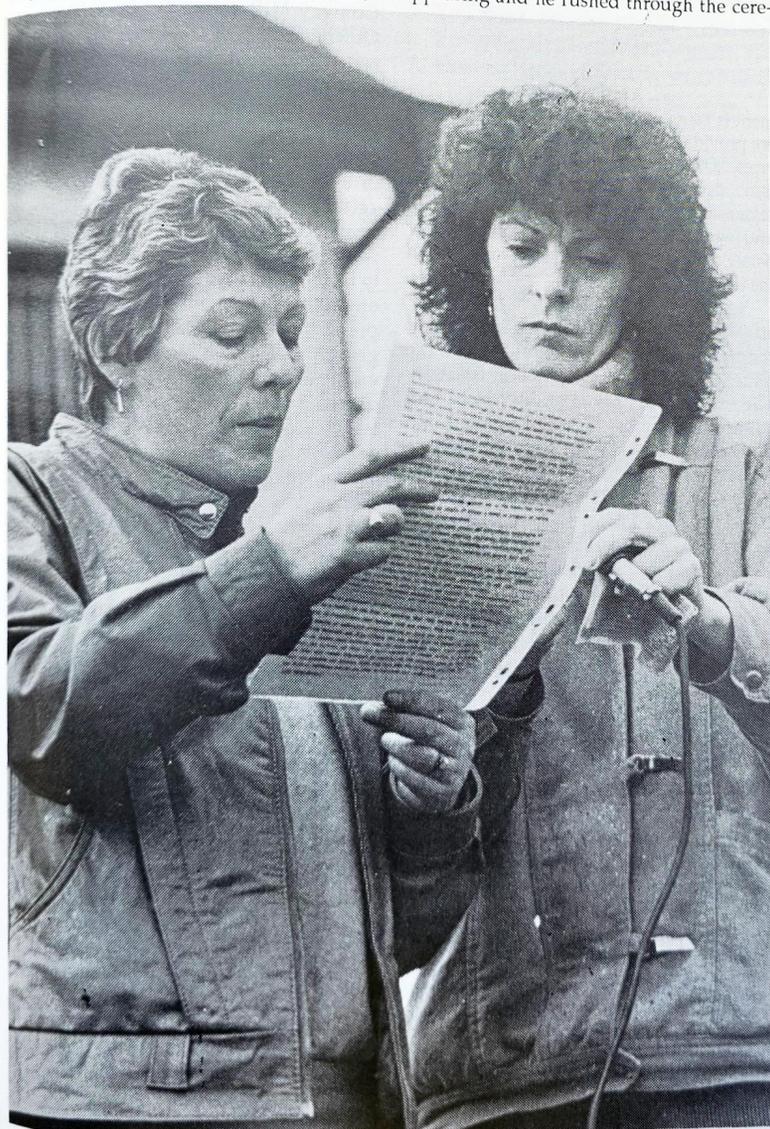
When it was Chrissie McAuley's turn to speak, she described her bewilderment at seeing people burned from their homes solely because of their religion.

Another local woman, Sheila McVeigh, described how, "because she had nothing else to do", she got involved in helping the refugees who had been billeted in St. Louise's school and how this initial involvement led to her increased role in the struggle and her politicisation.

All the women present agreed that their experiences of the loyalist pogrom led to them becoming the political activists that they are today. Women have stood in the frontline of struggle and have grown in maturity and confidence from those first days in 1969 into the political activists they are today.

The day was rounded off with a women's table quiz and light refreshments. As the women left the venue, they quipped to each other as they spied Councillor Alex Maskey washing their dishes!

— Irene Sherry



• Sinn Féin Councillors Lily Fitzsimmons and Tish Holland

Book Review

Grant Aided or Taken for Granted? A study of Women's Voluntary Organisations in Northern Ireland is essential reading, not only for those with an interest in the state of the women's movement, but also for anyone concerned about the difficulties faced by community and voluntary organisations in general. Published by the Women's Support Network a coalition of women's groups, mainly based in working class areas of Belfast — the densely written report is packed with information, not only about women's groups themselves, but about the policies and practice of most of the potential sources of public funding for voluntary organisations.

Almost 200 women's organisations were surveyed and detailed case studies of 34 of these are included in the report. These highlight the great variety of activities of different groups as well as information about where they get financial support and how they came into existence. The net has been cast very widely to give a comprehensive assessment of the contribution of women to the community. While the emphasis is placed on groups which "are involved in some way in improving the status of, or the quality of life for, women in society", the entire spectrum is covered — from the Women's Institute to Coiste na mBan.

Not surprisingly, the survey reveals that women's groups are badly resourced and the work of women in the voluntary sector undervalued; "... they are often providing quality services at a fraction of what it would cost for equivalent services provided by either private or public sector agencies. ... Many groups and individuals feel, however, that their commit-

ment is being exploited. They argue that they are providing high quality and vital social services... Despite the high levels of professionalism demonstrated by many of the organisations, in the majority of cases salaries and working conditions are considerably below what a similar post would command in the public sector."

Some groups, however, are "doubly disadvantaged". One of the great strengths of the report is that, it does not discuss the issue of gender discrimination in isolation. The experience of women in "social and cultural minorities" is well integrated into the overall report. Not only do women from minority communities suffer from prejudice and discrimination in society at large, in some cases, they receive little recognition or support from other women.

"Cultural identity and language are central issues for Asian women, Travelling women and Gaeligeoiri. Each of these groups have been subject to considerable victimisation and unfair treatment based on prejudice. All have found that access to resources has been for them doubly problematic — as women and as cultural minorities. But for women in these communities, their identity as women and their cultural identity are inseparable and equally important. Indeed, they all too often find that women from the 'majority' community are unable or unwilling to accept or appreciate their determination to maintain their own cultural identity.

"Sometimes they find it difficult to challenge the problems they face as women within their own communities, because of pressures on the community as a whole...

"Whatever problems 'mainstream' women's groups may have in attracting resources, these groups are doubly

marginalised. The needs of immigrant women have been virtually ignored by most statutory bodies; like Travelling women they have found themselves victims of racism and active neglect. Some Irish-language groups have come under attack..."

Likewise, groups active on issues related to sexuality such as reproductive rights or on behalf of lesbians have found themselves isolated and with few sources of financial support. Others, such as those involved in the arts or publishing, have been under pressure from potential funders to censor themselves. One group reported, "When asking for funding, we often find that funding bodies ask us to be more 'moderate', that is, give less prominence to lesbian issues/censor out republican women/give more 'balance'."

Women's groups are certainly not exempt from political and religious discrimination. Some of the case studies relate the problems women's groups have encountered. The report points out that the first group to be 'politically vetted' was the Conway Mill women's self-help group. Other groups have had funds withdrawn or refused by their district councils because their activities were not politically acceptable or simply because they are located in a nationalist area. On the other hand, ample funding is available for activities which fit in with the British government's political agenda. "The only apparent growth area in regard to statutory funding... is for work which is deemed to be related to 'community relations' ...there is considerable pressure on groups to be involved in 'reconciliation' projects in order to obtain funding. Thus groups feel that their agendas are being externally, and sometimes artificially, determined to the detriment of important issue-based activity for women, including valuable 'cross-community' work."

Perhaps less interesting than the experience of the women's groups, but nonetheless extremely useful, is the section of the report dealing with the policies and practice of statutory bodies and the charitable trusts. Very few of the funders have policies specifically dealing with women's groups, and so the report is relevant to the voluntary sector in general. While ultimately, most of the money is coming from the public purse, it is filtered through a maze of statutory agencies, boards, councils and trusts, all of which have different policies and discretionary powers. There is very little accountability regarding who does or does not get money.

As the report says, "information is the vital first step outwards equality of opportunity". There is plenty of information here, and for good measure, the study concludes with almost 50 detailed recommendations for change.

Grant Aided or Taken for Granted? A study of women's organisations in Northern Ireland by Ruth Taillon, published by the Women's Support Network. Available from 79 Shankill Road, Belfast BT13 1FD. Price £3.50 & p+p.

Name the Artist

- Rod Stewart had a hit with 'The First Cut Is The Deepest', but who wrote this song?
- Mick Jagger and Keith Richards wrote 'Ruby Tuesday' and the Rolling Stones had a hit with this song, name two female artists who had also recorded this song.
- In 1980, which group invited you to 'Shake Your Body Down'?
- Which Brenda Crawford song did Oletta Adams record in 1991?
- a. Name the male singer who is the lead vocalist with Mike and the Mechanics?
b. Also, with Paul Young he recently had 'Don't Dream Until It's Over' in the charts — who wrote the song?
- Who wrote "All The Young Dudes" for Mott the Hoople?
- The Proclaimers had 'King Of The Road' in the 1980s charts — who also had a hit with this song some years earlier?
- Roy Orbison recently put 'I Drove All Night' back in the charts — who also had chart success with this song and wrote it?
- Johnny Marr is a guitarist with the group 'Electronic' — which group is he a former member of?
- Who in 1985 'Built This City On Rock n' Roll'?
- Name the female artist who sang 'I'm Gonna Run Away With You' in 1971?
- Name two female artists who have recorded songs with 'The Pet Shop Boys'?
- Name the 1960s/1970s group which Eddie Grant was part of?
- (a) In 1983, Tina Turner had 'Let's Stay Together' in the charts — who wrote and also recorded this song?
(b) Name the successful band that helped to produce this song for Tina Turner?

Answers:

1. Cat Stevens; 2. Melanie & Martianne Faithfull; 3. Odyssey; 4. Get Here; 5. a. Paul Carrac; b. Crowded House; 6. David Bowie; 7. Roger Millar; 8. Cindy Lauper; 9. The Smiths; 10. Starship; 11. Tammy Lynn; 12. Liza Minnelli — Dusty Springfield; 13. The Equals; 14(a) Al Green; (b) Heaven 17.

NAME THE ALBUM

- 'Going to California' — A Led Zeppelin song — which LP does this song come from?
- Name the Bruce Springsteen LP that the hit 'My Home Town' was taken from?
- Dire Straits, had hits with 'Walk Of Life', 'Why Worry', 'Money For Nothing' — name this best selling album.
- (a) Which Neil Young LP produced the classic 'Heart of Gold'?
(b) The title of this album was a hit for which band?
- 'The Great Gig In The Sky' was on which classic album?
- Staying with best-selling albums, name the album that Fleetwood Mac had the following songs; 'Dreams', 'Don't Stop', 'Secondhand News'?
- 'Two Out Of Three Ain't Bad', 'Paradise By A Dashboard Light', are both well-known songs — name the LP.

Answers:

1. Led Zeppelin 4 or the Symbols LP; 2. Born in the USA; 3. Brothers in Arms; 4(a) After the Goldrush; (b) Prelude; 5. Dark Side of The Moon; 6. Rumours; 7. Bat Out Of Hell

NAME THE SONG

- 'We skip the light fandango'?
- 'When your down and troubled and you need a helping hand'?
- 'If life is a river and your heart is a boat'?
- 'Saturday night at 8 o'clock, I know where I'm gonna go'?
- 'You think your smart you broke my heart'?
- 'I'm lying alone with my head on the phone thinking of you till it hurts'?
- 'Dearest darlin' I have to write to say that I won't be coming home anymore'?
- 'Heard it from a friend who, heard it from a friend who, heard it from another'?

Answers:

1. White Shade of Pale — Procol Harum; 2. You've got a Friend — James Taylor; 3. No Frontiers — Mary Black; 4. Saturday night at the Movies — The Drifters; 5. The Heart You Break May Be Your Own — Patsy Cline; 6. All Out of Love — Air Supply; 7. 24 Hours from Tulsa — Gene Pitney; 8. Take it on the Run — Reo Speedwagon



FILL IN THE MISSING SPACES TO GET THE TITLE OF THE SONG

- California.
- Not
- Help .. Make The Night.
- Out .. My
- .. Leaving .. Is
- I .. Know What Is
- .. I Is The ... That I
- On The
- I .. I .. I ..
- Brown

1. Hotel California — The Eagles
2. She's Not There — Zombies/Santana
3. Help me Make It Through the Night — Kris Kristofferson/Gladys Knight
4. Out of My Life — Michael Jackson
5. If Leaving Me Is Easy — Phil Collins
6. I Want To Know What Love Is — Foreigner
7. All I Need is the Air that I Breathe — The Hollies
8. Fool On The Hill — The Beatles
9. I Am I Said — Neil Diamond
10. Golden Brown — The Stranglers

NO **X**
YES
YES

**Defend a woman's right
to travel, to know,
to live**

**Sinn
Féin**

