

Interview with Sue O'Sullivan

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A A 16/23

C: I'm interviewing Sue O'Sullivan.

S: OK?

C: Whenever you're ready.

S: OK, well, you're interested in LGBT organising, so presumably if I'm going to talk about my time on Spare Rib that's what you're primarily interested in. I was ... I joined Spare Rib in 1979, and I was at that point ... in - I couldn't call it a relationship, I was at that point within an entanglement with a woman who I'd met in Holloway prison, a younger woman and I was, looking back on it, being very deftly manipulated by her. It was quite fantastic until it sunk into the abyss of hideousness, but anyway, I went to Spare Rib at about that time so I was still living at home with my husband and my kids, my little kids. But then I was also rushing off and having this amazingly exciting time with this younger butch criminal woman.

C: And just to clarify, you weren't a prisoner at Holloway?

S: No, no, I taught. I was teaching, I was teaching ... um, I was teaching women in health. I was teaching about Women's Liberation, I was teaching ... oh, I was doing some kind of health massage class where we all ... I mean you can imagine, it was incredibly popular with the lesbos! (*Laughs*) And anyway I joined Spare Rib in 1979 and I think that, at that point I wouldn't have said that I was joining as a ... as a complete lesbian at that point. I was still in some kind of ... I mean that's what I felt I was, but I still had an attachment to notions of authenticity so because I was still living with my husband and I had my kids, it felt, it would have felt completely fake for me to be there *as* a lesbian.

However, of course that's exactly what, you know, happened, transpired, during my time at Spare Rib, I was completely out, had moved out of my home and was occupying a position at Spare Rib that was as a lesbian, but as many other things. So you may or may not remember that Spare Rib, by 1979 – was ... it was reaching a kind of crescendo of "We represent the Women's Movement and we are the ... we are one of the many voices of Women's Liberation" And it was beginning to reflect in its pages the ... the conflicts and dissents and very difficult times that were to gather speed over the next ... decade.

So one of those, one of them was around lesbian ... lesbian issues, but it was not the only one, so to divide it out is to leave behind the horrible conflicts over the anti

accusations of anti-semitism that ... we went through a whole period of that, and then big, big, big, time conflicts around race and racism.

Now I'm saying that we can't leave them out because we can't, but if we want to use a dreaded word now that I wouldn't have used previously - intersectionality, you know, many of the women who had been involved as lesbians were also involved from their own personal positions as black women or as Jewish women or as ... you know, whoever you were and some of those other conflicts.

I don't really sort of know what would be of interest in this. It's been ... I feel as if I've written an awful lot about it with my friend Susan Ardell, about the LGB ... not LGBT because I've only just started using that phrase, 'cos that's what we use at Age UK now!

C: What about what you told me about once before about the complaint that there were too many lesbians taking over the paper?

S: Well yes, yes, there was ... I mean ... the voices of lesbian readers, the voices of lesbians on the collective did grow stronger and more obvious, and one of the ways in which ... one of the ways that happened was for demands to have more articles about lesbians and lesbianism, and that did not lead to an onslaught of articles, you know, just all by lesbians. However, the conflict that was growing, and it wasn't just in Spare Rib, as always it was reflected out in the Women's Liberation Movement as well, erm was, I remember it, that women who felt, I think, pushed into a corner, heterosexual women, who felt pushed into a corner by the demands of lesbians by accusations of heterosexism, by, you know, the ... real criticisms that heterosexual women had passed over lesbian realities, and not reflected them at all within the writings that they did, left them out, or worse, were anti-lesbian, without possibly even knowing it, and so we were ... all that was coming up in our letters pages and in some of the articles that we were writing, and then ... there was one particular group, a women in particular, who wrote in - I can remember we ... discussing it fully, that "Spare Rib was being taken over by lesbians." You know, it was sort of like "Everywhere you turn, there they are!" You know? "They've taken over."

So, I think it was Susan Hemmings erm ... took a year or two issues and went through them, and actually counted the number of articles there were that were about lesbians or lesbian issues whatever, and it was some very small percentage. But, to me the interesting thing was that this woman was not stupid and she wasn't erm, trying to pull the wool over anybody's eyes, she actually felt that that's what was happening and I think that that was quite common, that women felt that their position of ... of ... they didn't want to be in a position of superiority or they didn't want to think that they were excluding anything, but in fact it was very uncomfortable, to say the least, to be ... to be women in the Women Liberation Movement fighting against male supremacy and suddenly have lesbians turning around and saying, you know "Come on, you're behaving in a terrible way, you're

making ..." You know "Your heterosexism, your anti-lesbianism is, you know, hurting us. It's ... it's wrong and you should get a grip and stop doing it."

And of course this was happening with black women too, so for white women in many ways, white heterosexual women in particular were erm ... white middle-class heterosexual women, because it was the time of the hierarchy of oppression so you kept adding these things on and these women, poor women, that I'd just escaped, because I'd just become a lesbian, were being accused of all sorts of things that I think, you know, they'd never got to grips with, or even considered when they became part of the Women's Liberation Movement. Which is one reason that I, and others, on Spare Rib, I felt no desire to push people who I felt weren't expressing rabid anti-lesbianism sentiments or, you know, homophobia or something, or vicious, deeply held racism or anti-Semitism.

I never really felt the way forward, and I think I talked to you about this, I didn't think the way forward was to accuse and to push somebody into a corner where they had no room to manoeuvre. Because I didn't think, and I still think it's true, that you have to allow people the space to encounter their own prejudices and their own erm ... assumptions that they're being challenged about. You have to give them a little bit of room to let them reverberate and engage with them to try and change. If you push people into the corner it's just, they're just going to, they run...it runs the possibility that they'll just become completely defensive and horrible and freeze in their positions.

C: Do you think at that time maybe there was ... it was a discussion too far with the feminism and the lesbianism going on at exactly the same time amongst the same women or was that a good thing?

S: Well, I don't think, if I've interpreted what you've said correctly, that any ... maybe not none, but very little of the lesbianism that was being discussed was something ... was separate from feminism. It was definitely lesbian feminism, and I mean my God, we probably could have come in for a lot of class bashing if ... if more working class lesbians had been around, and working class lesbians were attracted to the Women's Movement because there was stuff going on about lesbianism. But lots of grief was experienced in clashes, or incomprehension or misunderstanding between working ... younger working class dykes and middle class lesbians within the Women's Movement. Some very fruitful and good things happened as well but there was ...

So I don't think that it was something separate but I think that heterosexual, many heterosexual, not all, many heterosexual feminists assumed that their feminism dealt with inequalities, and so they just assumed that they were good people. So they... no, how could they be racist? They were *good* people. No, they didn't have anything against lesbians but, you know, that didn't, sort of, engage with the complexities of those situations where people ... where they do find difficulties and they do express, or harbour, or convey, perhaps without even knowing it, homophobic positions.

C: So what happened over the period you were there between ... what was the outcome, or ... how did it play out?

S: Do you know I don't know how the fuck it played out! I really don't! I was so ... so sort of caught up in the struggle as it were, I don't know exactly what happened, but I think that ... in the way that often happens, the drama, the excitement, the ... the horror, the tears, the laughter, you know, the whole thing, the whole kit and caboodle of that kind of mish-mash of emotions, accusations, struggle and so on, I think at that point, at the end of the '70s and into the '80s, the ... the ... those who held the moral high ground, quote/unquote, sort of won the day, and erm, I don't exactly know what that means, but I think some people, some heterosexual woman at that point, did drop away from the movement, and did just stop engaging or feeling that it was their movement. Although that is the bizarre contradiction, because of course it was never all ... lesbians never *took over*, you know, any more than transsexual, kind of, male to female women *took over* lesbianism or the women's movement, you know? I mean people get frightened of things, don't they, and it's kind of irrational.

So I don't know because by the, I think, by the '80s, by the mid '80s, perhaps other things that were happening ... so that what was going on ... and lesbianism was falling apart. Of course! Lesbians were falling apart because of the ... the lesbian sex wars, and all that. The presumed togetherness of lesbians fighting for recognition within the Women's Movement and from, you know, like on Spare Rib, that we represented lesbianism. It wasn't ... there wasn't one lesbianism as there wasn't one feminism, there were many lesbianisms, and, you know, all sort of things started appearing all over the place that were going to break apart that spurious unity of lesbian feminism. So ... and that was happening all over the place, fragmentation. So, it wasn't just on Spare Rib or the Women's Movement, so that was that historical time and perhaps we just represented it. Because what was the outcome? The outcome was that by the end of the '80s the Spare Rib collective was being run by a megalomaniac ... woman who was at the helm and ... and basically was running the magazine.

C: Tell me about what you first started working there. Where it was, and what your job was there.

S: You mean what my ... where it was literally? It was located at Clerkenwell Close off of Exmouth Market which is now Trendoid City, but it was really grey and depressing in Exmouth Market at that point. No, we used to walk down to Old Street. There was an Indian restaurant. It was like a big Indian ... real, I've never been to India, but I was told by the people from the Indian subcontinent that it was exactly like it. What was it called? It had some very funny ... Country Life! It was called something like Country Life and it was, it was amazing. Anyway, we used to walk that way to get food erm, for lunch if we were going out, and it was in converted warehouses on Clerkenwell Close that are still there. There's a very ... I don't know if it's still trendy, but something ... Clerkenwell Kitchen, a rather trendy

restaurant is there now, and it's ... They were grubby at the time and many, many, many odd craft things, political things ... Cinema of Women was right across the hall from us, various other organisations and er, yeah, that's where it was, in a big huge open plan office and piles of the magazine all over the place.

Apparently not a very nice place for women coming to volunteer. They would walk in and there would be all these women at their desks with their heads down, and sometimes no-one would even turn around to say hello. Apparently it was *not* a very nice place to come and volunteer at! Although some people managed to break through that and have a wonderful time. We did have lots of volunteers ... and it was there until it went under in 1992 ... It's getting harder and harder to dredge that all up!

C: What was your job when you started there?

S: Oh I was, I had finished a health education diploma at South Bank and erm, I'd been involved in the women's health movement. We had our own conferences. We did things like (*coughs*) self exam. We all went to ... we went to a conference up north, so maybe it was in Leeds? It could have been in Leeds.

It could have been in Nottingham, I'm not sure, where I think there were about 50, maybe 40, 50, 60 of us and we had plastic speculums. I still have my speculum...and mirrors and we had people who were, you know, women, part of the groupings who were midwives or nurses. So we all were ... we all taught, we were all taught how to do self-exam and we'd pop up on one of these tables, whip our knickers off, get the speculum, get our mirrors, and people would be crowding around and there are the mirrors down there and the torches sort of shining and "Oh yes, and now you see ... Now this bit ... you're mid way in your cycle, you can see because of the, you know, the sort of whitish fluid, blah blah blah" and we all, also, at one time we learned how to palpate.

So we were all on these old mattresses on the ground and you'd go in with your hands and palpate the erm uterus and something, because you ... we had gloves, and, you know it was all very exciting. I don't know how many women actually did it in the way the books all ... the stuff coming out of the States and here, you know, you could ... you could track the changes in your cervix and you could, you know, do this, that, and the other and we were proponents of menstrual extraction, which meant that you could control your menstruation with a straw-like thing that you stuck in ... stuck up your cervix and emptied out the content! (*Chuckling*)

C: Was this what qualified you for Spare Rib?

S: What?

C: Your Spare Rib writing?

S: What do you mean?

C: Well you said ... I asked you what you first started doing at Spare Rib.

S: Well, I wrote about all those things...

C: Exactly.

S: Or I got people to write about them, and I mean, interestingly, given the ... the unpleasantness around abortion now and the fact that we know from the States that there's nothing sacred about laws that give women the right to have abortion, all this stuff about women ... groupings of women learning how to give abortions, many of them lesbians, by the way - is very, very important and it existed here. We had a ... there was a secret grouping of women who were all trained to do early, early abortions.

C: Wow ... and so had you written before for a newspaper?

S: Er, yeah, by the ... from the point of which I got involved in the Women's Liberation Movement, in the workshop, London workshop, I was writing in newsletters and then I was in ... on a journal called Red Rag.

C: Was that London based?

S: That was London based, yeah. Red Rag was London based, and it was started by, I think, in fact I'm totally confident about this, by women in the Communist party, and they came together and produced one or two, maybe even three, but I don't ... maybe that many issues and then at the time, in the '70s, the Communist party, the CP, was ... influenced by, you know, was, was ... there were a lot of women who were joining the CP who had been, who were in the Women's Movement and women from the CP getting involved in the Women's Movement, so there was a lot of interchange going on between communist party women and women who were joining. People like, one of the most famous would be Bea ... Campbell. But many other women and er...

I think it was a party policy that if you were, they wanted the Red Rag to be a broad movement, what they called a broad movement publication, so it wasn't to be only CP women. They wanted to involve other synthetic women, women on the Left, I mean, you know? So it was ... did not announce itself in any way whatsoever as a women's magazine of the Communist party. It was not meant to be that. It was the Left ... in its own very particular way, it was their intervention in the Women's Movement but not as a ... not like a Trotskyist group. It wasn't trying to get members. It wasn't trying to sign up everybody who, we all knew, all of us who were non-aligned socialist feminists knew that it had been started by the CP. We knew all the women on it were in the CP. There was no secret.

C: Were any of them lesbians?

S: Sorry?

C: Did you know if anyone involved in that magazine were lesbians?

S: Well, Bea was on it. Was she a lesbian at the very beginning? Everybody was in a kind of transition. Erm ... Angie ... Angie Mason, Elizabeth Wilson - all lesbians. Um ... various experimental things going on with other people on it. I'd had to look at a list and see how many others.

C: And did they write about lesbianism?

S: ...I don't think we did. I don't think we did, but I may be making a mistake big time. I mean there are lots of copies of that around, of Red Rag, it was quite influential at the time, and it had some excellent visuals and good, great covers and stuff. I mean, Elizabeth wrote a particular pamphlet but it wasn't ... one certainly wasn't specifically on ... on lesbianism, although it may have been *part* of it. I can't even remember. But that was great fun and we were located at ... we went round to ... Michelene Wandor was on it, Alison Felm, none of those were lesbians but they were ... we went ... we had meetings in different people's houses and then we ... we worked in, I think we were working in the basement of erm, what was the tenant's office, the Camden tenant's office on Camden Road, just up from the tube, in the basement, we used to lay it out there with...and in fact I hoovered for you because I was going through all this archive, trying to get this stuff into boxes so this young women could look at it, and I kept thinking "What is this skinny little lines of black, what is it? It's sort of breaks? It's not thread. It was Letroset, it was thin lines ... it was boxes, you know, Letroset, round a cartoon or around a column or something like that, but it was all cracked and drying. So we'd get these pages erm ... done and

C: Did you write about health issues for that paper?

S: It was more movement stuff. More Women's Liberation Movement stuff. History. I did a history article with Sally Alexander, yeah, yeah.

C: And what about any other LGBT papers, press, er organisations you might have remembered from that time?

S: Well I did, I did tell you about Brilliance Books, erm that was Roy Trevelion, who you could definitely see because he's around. In fact he's ... he's very ... he's in the um, Hill View estate, which is right behind the town hall, very near to Tavis House, if you, you know ... so, you know, where it is approximately, and he worked with Tenibris Bright. They set up the press. It was at the same time as the Gay Men's Press with David Fernbach and Aubrey Wilson (*editor: Walters?*) they both...they live in Spain now, they're still together like ... I think they've been together like a million years and, you know, I'm probably exaggerating by a few years, but you know they ... And Tenebris and Roy were, I believe, together. In fact I know they were, and they lived in Hill View estate, and they had this Brilliance Books publishers, and they

hired, for a very brief period, in her pre-pre-pre famous stage Jeanette Winterson, so they're kind of interesting and you should talk to Roy. Roy is now very active around organising for elder HIV positive gay men, but LGBT whatever gay things. So, and there was Gay Men's Press and of course I was friendly with David Fernbach and Aubrey because they were also Lefties and ... so we had ...we had all sorts of ... we would see each other quite often around things like ... meetings around China or something like that! But, otherwise, not at that point, because I wasn't a lesbian at that point in the early '70s.

C: What did you do after Spare Rib, work wise?

S: I went to a maternity leave job where a friend of mine worked, for NCVO, which is the volunteering thing. It was called ... was it called Community Action? I can't remember what it was called, and then I went to Sheba.

C: And was Sheba a lesbian press, or a women's press?

S: No. It was a women's press, but it was all lesbians, and it was as much, I would say, a press ... its defining character was as a mixed race collective, and we were all lesbians erm ... and we published ... it was started in '72 by some people who left Spare Rib. In fact Carole Spedding was one of them and Gill Nichols, so they were sort of mixed then, they were not all lesbians. I mean Gill Nichols is not a lesbian, never has been. Carole Spedding was. But they made the decision then that they wanted writing by new women writers, working class women writers ... they may have said black women, and they may have said lesbians. They wanted to cover the bases that hadn't been covered on a lot of the other pub ... er ... publishers.

So when I got there it was at the point where all sort of places were being transformed in terms of race, and Sheba was interesting because it was so small, but the women, the black women who were there had made the decision that they wanted it to continue, but as a mixed race collective. But they made that decision from *their* ... a position of strength. They were, they were the ... the majority at that point, and they wanted to have white women on the collective.

So it was the opposite of what happened in so many collectives where it was white women who said "Oh my God, we've got to have some black women. Oh, can you come and join us? Can you?" They were ... it wasn't the opposite because they were doing it in a much more knowing way, but, um, you know, they wanted it to be mixed race which is when I came on, and that was fantastic. I think I've said that to you before. It was an absolutely fantastic period, because, I think because we were so small, and because I'd gone through the horror of Spare Rib, because I'd kind of firmed up in my ... confidence as a lesbian and I'd been through, at that point, some of the splits and horrors of Spare Rib, so I'd felt that I could take things. I was a seasoned veteran. I could ... I wasn't going to burst into tears every time someone made an accusation! (*Laughs*) And that stood me in good stead. But of course we worked together much more ... much more creatively I think and more positively.

And one of the things, another group that I don't know if you've been in contact with that we had close contact, in fact two of the women on Spare Rib at the time I was on it most intently, Araba Mercer and Michelle McKenzie were part of the thing called the London Black Lesbian and Gay Centre project. Do you know about it?

C: No, no.

S: Oh, well, they were a part of that and it was more than just trying to get a black lesbian and gay centre off the ground, it was a coming together of a particular quite extraordinary grouping of black LGBT activists, but who were very sophisticated in their...particularly, you know, in their ... in their politics, and you really should try ... I think their stuff is ... I don't ... somebody told me where their things were, I was looking at a certain point. Maybe I can find out for you because er, Araba has died. She was my most beloved younger friend, colleague at Sheba. She died and she was only 38. Michelle is around but she's living a good deal of the time in Africa with her girlfriend. The guys were Araba's brother who's a very well-known academic, Kobina Mercer, um ...the filmmaker, Isaac Julian ... Julian Isaac? Isaac ... you know who I mean? The filmmaker? He's very, very, well known. A whole bunch of other amazing men.

But you see that was at a point when we were all still ... that was at the high point of the lesbian sex wars, because we were publishing for instance at Sheba, we were publishing Joan Nestle - A Restricted Country, and Joan wrote a lot about Butch/Femme and she used to, when she was here, she would ... she's a big woman, big ... do you know Joan?

C: No.

S: Oh well I'll show you one of her books when ... when we finish. She's a New York Jewish woman. We're exactly the same age, and she was big and at The Fallen Angel she did a Sheba thing for the book there and she got - you remember The Fallen Angel?

C: Yes.

S: And she got on stage. She would wear a black slip, nylon slip, with this big huge cleavage and read stuff from her work. I mean she was always sort of, kind of a little bit out there, and she was loathed and detested by Sheila Jeffreys. Absolutely loathed and detested, and one time she was here, we were doing an event at The Rio, because you could do events at that point there, and I think it was in ... they had a room in the basement that we had a thing going, and Joan was speaking, and Sheila was in the audience and made some, you know, kind of Sheila-like attack on Joan, and Joan took off her jacket, rolled her sleeves up and said "OK, OK, let's have it out!" (*Laughs*) It was great!

C: Where is The Rio? I don't know...

S: The Rio Cinema in Dalston.

C: Right.

S: Yeah, we did quite a few events there.

C: And what was that interchange about? Can you remember?

S: Oh yes, it was about porn, about ... butch/femme, aping, you know, the roles of heterosexuality and stuff. I mean Joan is an incredibly sophisticated, erm sophisticated woman. She wasn't, you know, she wasn't anybody's fool but she did... she did attract the ire of the likes of Sheila... Jeffries. But of course we did too at Sheba because we published two books of lesbian erotica called Serious Pleasure, and Serious Pleasure 2, and that...we were very much accused of publishing porn at that point so....

But we were, you know, we had this meeting at Conway Hall. I think it was called "Putting the Sex Back into Sexual Politics" or something like that, and it was packed out with men and women, but mainly gay, and erm, we had quite a diverse panel and these ... the people who were the most, to me, interesting ... and John was on the panel but a number of other people and it wasn't all from our position. We also had a couple of Trouble and Strife women up there who were taking an opposing position. But in the audience were these gay black men who were, you know, really interesting about all sorts of issues. So you should try and find them.

C: What sort of year would that have been?

S: That would have been er 19...88? The same time that the Farringdon Lesbian and Gay Centre stuff was all going on, all that, you know, horror, with the London, with, well we had that room called The Lesbian ... what was it? The Lesbian.

It was ... something ... Lesbian Centre? I can't remember what it was. Lesbian Floor or Lesbian Room, and ...

C: In the London Lesbian and Gay Centre?

S: Yes. We had the Lesbian Lounge, the Lesbian Lounge, and we ran a series...when I say "we" there was a widespread group of people. I can't remember who was on it. I know Ange Stuart Park was on it, maybe Mary Mc. I can't remember everyone who was, but we ran a series of ten discussion evenings called "Hot Topix" (i.x.) and, you know, they were all sorts of subjects, all sorts ... But, you know there was a lot of conflict there about exactly the same issues of porn, erm SM, erm...you know, big huge splits there. I wonder if anyone has ever done a proper um study. I did that piece with Susan Ardell called Upsetting an Apple Cart - SM in the London Lesbian and Gay Centre. Have you ever read that?

C: No.

S: Oh you might find that quite interesting. Yeah, that's kind of interesting. It's about the conflict and...

C: Were those conflicts and those arguments related in particular to that centre or did just happen to be where those discussions were held?

S: No, it was where those discussions were held, *but* it was also about whether policies ... and there was the grouping of lesbians, mainly, who were completely opposed to the centre being open to overtly identified SM practitioners, you know, because around that time, I mean, it was mainly guys, but there would be guys sort of wandering around with chaps on or ... something ... ludicrous looking! But, you know, something that was very much a SM look, and a number of those people, of the ... they had meetings there, SM meetings about SM, and the same kind of grouping of London ... there was a group called the Northern London Lesbian Mothers Group, or the North London Lesbian Mothers Group. Those are some people who still don't talk to me, but you should probably try and see someone from there. You know who might be good? Marion McAlpine was in that group but she's much more ... I don't know whether she'd be willing to talk about it now or not, but she's more approachable.

A woman who I used to be really close friends with who just completely blanks me still, I think we sort of go like this "ahah ahah" (*Laughs*) Lynn Harne, she was part of that group and they ...and Sheila Jeffreys was, they were all kind of aligned with Sheila, and they were completely opposed to having any SM presence within the London Lesbian and Gay Centre. We had the most ... tortured, to used the wrong word! erm discussions about what should be allowed and what shouldn't, you know, down to the minutia of costumes. None of us got up in this gear so it was all, you know, I don't know!

C: Were there women around who were into SM as well, or was it mainly men?

S: I think there were women around who were into SM a little bit, but not like the guys, but I think there were, yeah. There were AGMs where people were divided onto either side about the issue and it went so far, and this is where I really ... it really pisses me off just to even think of it now, where somebody, whether ... I don't know who it was, whether it was Sheila Jeffreys herself or somebody very much aligned with her, she wrote to the GLC and said "You should stop funding this place." Oh yes. Oh yes.

So all that was going on while I was at Sheba, and I think it was sort of interesting that we... that Sheba was mixed race, consciously ... self-consciously mixed race ... published a lot of black women's books, and we were the English publishers of Audré Lorde, for instance and, you know, decided to produce lesbian erotica ... which, again it wasn't my idea! But I got accused certainly of ... of it being my idea, probably. But I think the reason that we came out fighting was because we were ... some of the knee-jerk accusations about lesbian porn, or SM, was always that this was anti-black women, and there were all these very powerful black women in Sheba who were

putting this stuff out and writing for it! So it was ... we ... we had a funny position, because to have attacked Sheba would have been to take on something that I don't think some of those women were prepared to take on.

Yeah, so that was, that was ... there was some there's another group that I remember from that time, but you'd have to research it, that you might want to see about, which was called Lesbian Left, did you ever hear of them?

C: Only from you!

S: Right, well they were a group, and they included black women as well, but I ... I think that was earlier, Lesbian Left. Now I'm trying to think of somebody, there's a woman who's around who would be great to talk to, but I can't remember her name right now. It all begins to go! (*Laughs*) Oh dear!

Oh, I wanted ... the other thing I wanted to say, I wondered if you'd actually got in contact with anybody from that ... you know there was this big bi-sexuality conference for women, up at what was the Belsize Park Women's Liberation Centre. It was in some magnificent huge mansion-type place that somehow...

C: What sort of year?

S: That would have been earlier. That would have been in like '78, something like '78. That could ... that might be something that will be lost, you know?

C: Gosh yes...

S: And there was a whole lot of stuff going on around bisexuality from that point, up through The London Lesbian and Gay Centre, which I don't ... I went to the bisexuality conference, and realised when I got there that it wasn't for me. But ... there was a yeah there was quite a lot of ... there was the stuff that was organised out of the...

It would be interesting to find out what was organised *out* of The London Lesbian and Gay Centre, because a lot of different groups were there. Have you done research into that?

C: No, no ... Only my own time there!

S: Yeah, yeah, yeah, but there were, there was, you know, because it was an all inclusive space, a lot of different groups were there....