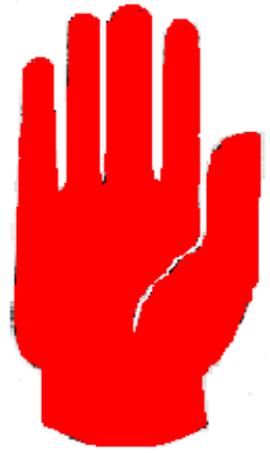


The 2002 50p TWELFTH

CELEBRATION—NOT PROVOCATION



1690—2002: 312th Anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne

NO SURRENDER!

THE TWELFTH is Europe's largest indigenous cultural and folk festival. For tens of thousands of Ulsterfolk the colour, crack, noise and atmosphere of the Orange parades are the highlight of the year. The 12th July celebrations are a social, communal and commemorative event. No one should be offended by it. However, pan-Irish national chauvinists – Sinn Féin, the SDLP, Leinster House and elements of the Catholic church – claim that the Twelfth is a 'sectarian coat trailing exercise.' Some go even further and claim that Ulster Protestants have no culture. Why?

There are two main reasons. Firstly, many pan-Irish national chauvinists are Orangeophobic – they have an irrational fear and loathing of Ulster Protestants. They are simply bigots who just hate 'Huns'.



They talk about an 'Ireland of equals' but the truth is that they don't want a Prod about the place. In 1934, DeValera declared that Éire would be 'a Catholic country for a Catholic people'. And Catholic sects like **Maria Duce** flew a Green, White and Gold tricolour – Gold for them representing the supremacy of the Papacy. For them Protestants were beneath contempt.

Today, one only has to look at the trouble in North Belfast to see that this anti-Protestant hatred and bigotry hasn't gone away. It still exists.

Secondly, many pan-Irish national chauvinists cannot – or will not try to – understand the mindset of Ulster Protestants. All they want is an all-embracing 'one-size fits all' Catholic Gaelic culture. They are cultural imperialists who tolerate no dissent from

their Hibernian culture.

All peoples and nations have the right to preserve their unique identity. To those pan-Irish national chauvinists who would deny the right of Ulster Protestants to celebrate their heritage and culture, we have a simple message. Your anti-Protestant bigotry is wrong – and your cultural imperialism will be resisted. That old slogan is still relevant - **No Surrender!**

Read *The Twelfth* on-line. Visit www.the-twelfth.org.uk/

END THE REPUBLICAN BLOCKADE! Let the Ballynafeigh Orangemen walk!

FOR OVER one hundred years, Ballynafeigh Orangemen have walked in peace from their Orange Hall on the Ormeau Road to join the various main traditional demonstrations in Belfast City centre.

However, since 1995 they have been stopped from attending various Orange walks and Church services. The main 12th July Celebrations, the 'mini-Twelfth' - held on 1st July to remember the blood sacrifice of thousands of Ulstermen at the Somme - the annual Orange Widows service and small Church parades have all been targeted.

This situation has not come about by accident. Pan-Irish national chauvinists know that the IRA were unable to break the resolution of Ulsterfolk in 25 years of bombing and killing. Their sectarian and imperialist 'Hot War' gave way to a war of cultural position - a new 'Cold War'. Gerry Adams, at an internal republican meeting in 1997, confirmed this new strategy. Talking about the targeting of another traditional Orange walk - Drumcree - he noted: "*Ask any activist in the North if Drumcree happened by accident and they will tell you 'No'. Three years of hard work went into creating that situation; and fair play to those people who put the work in. These are the type of scene changes that we have to focus on, develop; and exploit.*"

Pan-Irish national chauvinists in South Belfast have worked very hard to bring about the 'scene changes' that Adams spoke about. These 'scene changes' include successfully twisting the English language (so that peaceful and traditional Orange walks are now viewed as 'sectarian coat trailing exercises') and convincing the world that there is a 'Lower' Ormeau Road - a Catholic road in its own right!

The people behind this massive orangeophobic propaganda onslaught cannot be dismissed as a bunch of 'ignorant mad paddies'. Far from it! Pan-Irish national-

chauvinists have become masters of the dark arts of political spin-doctoring through years of practice. They can raise millions of dollars through their worldwide distribution network, mostly from gullible Americans who have more money than sense.

However, they don't always get things going their own way. The embarrassing Provo links with the ultra-leftist Colombian terror group, FARC, have left Gerry Adams floundering. For the first time in ages, the republicans have been shown in a bad light in North America. Unionists could have had a field day if they had the media savvy but they haven't pressed home their temporary advantage. Republican cheerleaders in the US like Fr Sean McManus are already doing all in their power to bury this story. We can be sure that they will hype up more stories about rampaging Orange mobs in the coming weeks of the 'marching season'.

We can learn a lesson from this. This new 'cold war' is largely media driven. To have any chance of success in countering the anti-Orange hatemongers, their defenders will have to be careful in their language. They will have to explain their principles and traditions in the simplest of terms. They will have to repeat their key words and phrases constantly to show that the Orange Order is simply a traditionalist Protestant fraternal organisation which seeks to offend no-one and that Catholics have nothing to fear from Orange walks. These celebrate the achievement of civil and religious liberties for all.

The truth is that hatemongers operating in the lower end of the Ormeau Road have succeeded in blockading it against their neighbours because they don't like how Orangemen celebrate their traditions, how they dress, what music they play and the way they conduct themselves on the way to their place of worship. Ballynafeigh Orangemen have every right to walk the length of the Ormeau Road. It's high time that the blockade was lifted!

YOU'LL NEVER WALK ALONE



BRIGHT SUNSHINE greets Ballynafeigh Orangemen and their loyal comrades, LOL 17 from Larkhall, Scotland. This was the scene at last year's Twelfth, as the Orange peacefully attempted to walk the length of the Ormeau Road. Again the Parades Commission ruled that Ballynafeigh district could not use this route to join the main Belfast demonstration.

The bizarre and arbitrary nature of Parades Commission decisions was vividly illustrated over the last year. In Easter 2001, the Apprentice Boys of Derry were given permission to walk the Ormeau Road - although the ABoD called off their planned parade due to the outbreak of Foot and Mouth disease. A few months later the Parades Commission refused the Orange Order's request to walk the same road.

This year, the Commission refused permission for the Apprentice Boys to walk the road on Easter Monday. What's going on here?

IT'S GOOD TO TALK

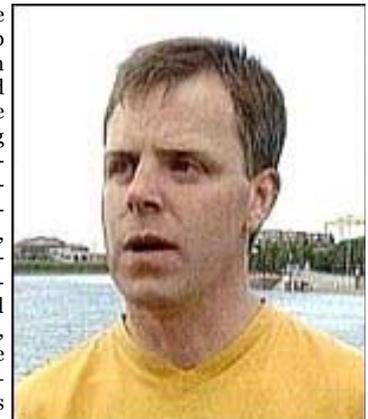
Mr. WILLIAM CALDWELL, an Orangeman from Ballynafeigh meets Rabbi Mayer Schiller from New York. Inspired by reading *The Faithful Tribe* by Ruth Dudley Edwards, Rabbi Schiller has twice visited Ulster on fact finding missions. Mr. Caldwell explained why Orangemen should be allowed to walk from Ballynafeigh Orange Hall along the Ormeau Road to Belfast City Centre. He noted that the 'Lower' Ormeau Road doesn't exist and slammed the intransigence of the Sinn Féin front-group, 'Lower' Ormeau Concerned Citizens.

Glenwood Publications - the publishers of *The Twelfth* - intend to produce a booklet aimed at North America, which will look at traditional Orange walks. This booklet, in part, will feature the discussion between Mr. Caldwell and Rabbi Schiller. For an earlier interview with Rabbi Schiller see issue 32 of *Third Way* magazine or visit www.ulsternation.org.uk



THE FACE OF HATE

GERARD RICE is the main spokesman for the Sinn Féin front-group, 'Lower' Ormeau Road Concerned Citizens. In the late 1980s he was jailed for IRA membership and arms offences. Pan-Irish national chauvinists like Gerard Rice falsely claims that Orange walks are 'sectarian coat-trailing exercises'. This is a lie. As anyone knows, the 12th July celebrations are generally held in a carnival atmosphere. Noise, colour, crack and banter are an important ingredient of Europe's largest indigenous folk and cultural festival. On the Twelfth day, hatemongers like Gerard Rice are the real sectarian bigots - not the thousands of participants and onlookers.

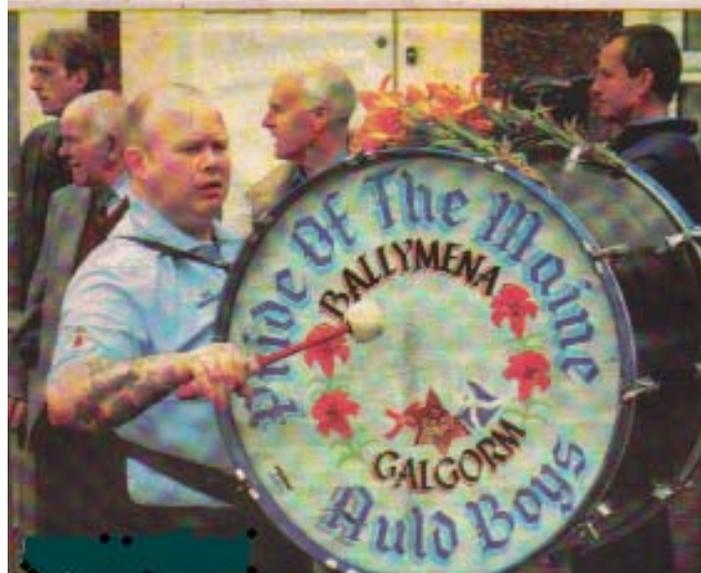


WHAT THE TWELFTH MEANS TO ME

WHY DO Protestants celebrate on the 12th July? Is it simply just an excuse for an Ulster-wide 'booze-up' and a chance to rub Catholic noses in the dirt? Or does it represent something much deeper? Here, Jerry from Castlecaulfield in Co. Tyrone, explores the culturally conservative values that underpin the Twelfth. His Co. Tyrone "country Twelfth" is a "social, communal and commemorative" event. He acknowledges that the Twelfth is a triumphant occasion – but not a celebration of Catholic subjugation. For as Jerry notes: *"for thirty years Orangemen ourselves have been the subjugated. It is rather the triumph of the underdog, an entire community celebrating our own survival in the face of midnight assassination, of economic war and of the state sponsored anti-Protestant discrimination... It is a celebration of our community, our shared heritage, our place in the world"*.

WHEN I WAS four years old, my Father brought me on my first Twelfth Parade up the Main Street of our home village of Castlecaulfield in County Tyrone. I remember the day well, the earliest memory which I can actually date. Orange and purple and black, umbrellas and the smoke from Gallaher's Blue cigarettes, cheap hamburgers with tomato sauce that tasted of vinegar, strawberries and cream. The broadest of Tyrone accents; the damp sweaty smell of pipes; the beat of the Lambegs and my extended family come down from the hills. Old men and young men, laughing girls and family fall-out's. Canon Williams complementing me from the top table at having walked the whole mile and a half there and back, roast beef and dried potato. Childhood memories of a folk festival anywhere.

There are three elements which make up a country Twelfth: the social, the communal and the commemorative. As a child I was mainly aware of the first and last elements; that our relations descended upon us like a swarm of locusts; that old friendships were renewed, new ones cemented, deals struck and - occasionally - matches made. I was also taught that very long ago, a great man called



"The triumph of the underdog"

King Billy had come to Ulster and saved us from being killed or forced to go back to Scotland from where we came. It was in his memory that we marched. King Billy himself along with the Marshall Duke of Schomberg and even George Walker, a Governor of 'Derry who was Rector of St Michael's, a local Church, were displayed in all their glory on gorgeous banners. This is the most obvious significance of the Twelfth, and the one which any unbiased observer can see. It is a carnival complete with fancy dress bands and festive food. It is the commemoration of a 17th century victory by the re-creation of a 17th century army, complete with banners, fifes and drums.

As I grew older and was taken into the confidence

of my elders, I became aware of the deeper significance of the celebration – its symbolic representation of community solidarity. The village where I was raised lies just by the foothills of the Cappagh mountains. For all the joy of the occasion; the carnival atmosphere, the hamburgers and the games, there were always whispered and half-remembered conversations about the shootings; the burned barns; the bullets pushed through the letter boxes; the intimidation that Protestants in Coalisland, Pomeroy, Cappagh, in fact all along the mountains, have had to bear for the past thirty years. The knowledge that we are on our own made, and makes, the significance of the occasion much more than simply social. The saying 'Where Orangemen cannot walk,

Protestants cannot live' has been ridiculed many times. In spite of the ridicule no one has explained why, where Orangemen cannot walk, the Protestant population disappears like snow off a sheugh. The Twelfth also represents continuity in our community, values and ideals passed from old to young and held in common by those of all ages. Freedom to worship and think and say what we like; our Protestant religion; the Union; our support for the British State and our independence from its corruption and secularism. Most of all, the Twelfth is about our survival as a culturally and religiously distinct people.

The Twelfth is therefore a triumphant occasion. It is not a celebration of our neighbours' subjugation - for thirty years Orangemen ourselves have been the subjugated. It is rather the triumph of the underdog, an entire community celebrating our own survival in the face of midnight assassination, of economic war and of the state sponsored anti-Protestant discrimination which encourages so many of our young people to emigrate to England and Scotland in search of work. It is a celebration of our community, our shared heritage, our place in the world. It is also a statement: *'we are not defeated, we will not be defeated, we are the people. We go on.'*

PRODS JUST WANNA HAVE FUN!

Cultural Protestants and the Twelfth

SINCE THE MID 90s pan-Irish national-chauvinists have successfully waged an Ulster-wide Orangeophobic campaign of hatred, defamation and slander. The Orange and Black institutions and the Apprentice Boys of Derry have been the main targets for all the poisonous invective. Also in the firing line have been a number of small isolated Protestant communities in rural areas - and trouble is virtually a way of life for the patchwork of small Protestant areas in North Belfast.

For some reason, the Unionist and Orange leadership has been unable to respond to these hate mongers. Indeed, they don't seem to have a coherent strategy to counter this viciously intolerant hatred of any public display of Protestant culture and identity. This public relations failure has allowed pan-Irish national chauvinists to paint a picture of 'Orange Monsters' rampaging through quiet and peaceful Catholic areas. It has also allowed the hate mongers to portray all Protestants as belonging to a monolithic block of Bible-bashing fanatics, drunks, murderers and bigots.

So what's the truth? Are Ulster Protestants just one intolerant monolithic block? Are we all morose bigots - or, individually, are we as diverse as any other ethnic or religious grouping? For a deeper understanding of cultural Protestantism - and the importance of the 12th July celebrations - we spoke to David Gilliland. David is a former full-time community worker and is now active within the cultural sector. He has lived all his life in a working-class area of North Belfast.

The Twelfth. Do you think it's fair to say that the vast majority of urban Protestants would be 'cultural Protestants' and the majority of rural Protestants would be 'Bible Protestants'?

David Gilliland. I would certainly accept that there is a very strong rural/urban split within the Protestant community. I would also accept that urban Prods now tend to be much more secu-

larised. Many sociologists would argue that this is the case across the world in terms of city dwellers being more likely to have a secular outlook than their rural counterparts.

I remember being at a conference many years back at which some of those present were talking about two issues - the first was all about 'Popery and Superstition' and the other was in relation to how 'Catholics were more likely to be

'doing the double' etc. I remember being very unpopular for challenging both of these assumptions - one on the grounds that we were living in the 20th Century, and the other on the basis that if they looked at any Loyalist enclave in Belfast, then they were just as likely to find people doing the very same thing - it was a necessary step for survival for many fami-

are drifting away from the old certainties that many of their elders hold dear. I have a friend from rural County Armagh whose parents are heavily involved in the church, and she and her siblings were brought up in this milieu, but all have now left a large part of it behind, none go to church on any form of regular basis - typically weddings and funerals which tends to be the case with most urban Prods.

But despite this apparent rejection of the values many within the community still hold some vestiges of

“...many within the Protestant community wouldn't have the first idea about any of the principles of Protestantism”

lies. I think that was probably the first time that I became aware that the rural/urban divide was so wide.

I also know from my work within the Loyalist/Unionist community, that many loyalists outside Belfast regard it as 'a den of iniquity'. Although here there is also the added complication that there is also an age divide. Younger people are more secular in outlook. Young people

religious belief, indeed at the time of the vote regarding Sunday opening of pubs, one of the UUP MP's was witnessed staggering from the Members Bar drunk, to vote against Sunday Opening. I have also been at meetings where men who normally swear like navvies hold their tongue when a minister is present. That said, many within the Protestant community wouldn't have the first

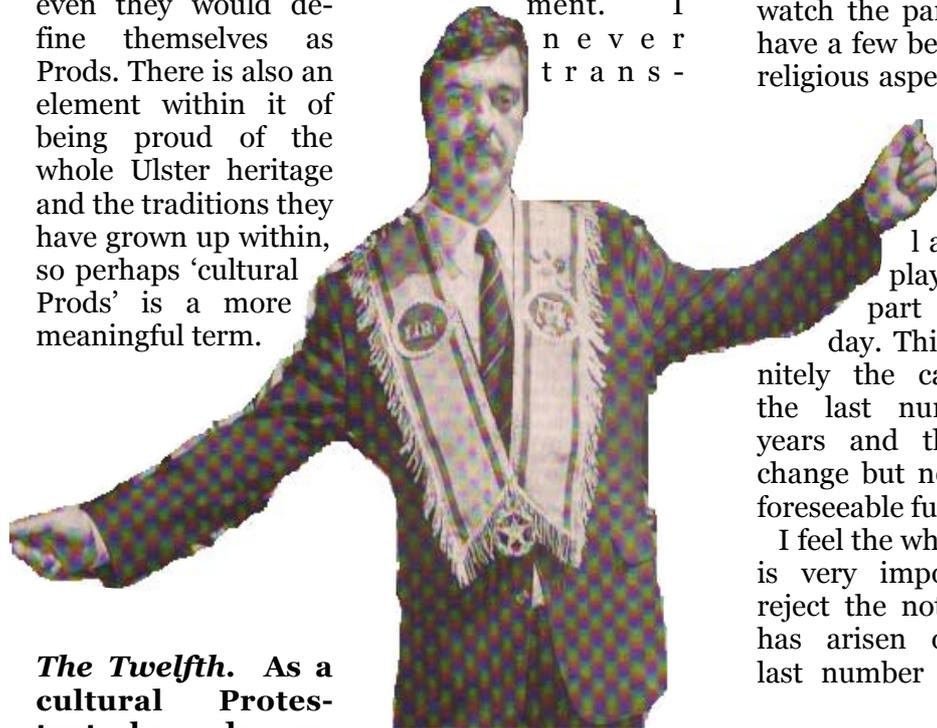
idea about any of the principles of Protestantism, and not all in the rural areas would be Bible-believing Protestants waiting for the latest broadcast by some Jimmy Swaggart type.

The Twelfth. How would you define 'cultural Protestantism'?

David Gilliland. I think in some ways it could be a polite way of saying 'nominal Prod'. Many people within the Loyalist/Unionist community are not really Protestants but call themselves Prods as a way of letting you know they are not Catholics.

There is, however, a large number for whom some of the aspects of Protestantism are very important, but cannot, or perhaps will not, accept the religious baggage. I would probably class myself in this category. I am a believer to a point, but as yet I cannot make the leap of faith required. However the whole tradition of Protestantism and the belief structure is very important to me. I have friends who were quite shocked when they found out I was a

'believer' as they have rejected the whole notion of God, but yet even they would define themselves as Prods. There is also an element within it of being proud of the whole Ulster heritage and the traditions they have grown up within, so perhaps 'cultural Prods' is a more meaningful term.



The Twelfth. As a cultural Protestant, how do you view the Twelfth? Do you see it as colour, excitement and music? Do you take any interest in its religious aspect?

David Gilliland. I have grown up with the Twelfth. I joined the Orange Order at about 12 years of age, and for about four years carried the District Bannerette every year on the Twelfth. I got involved in political circles round about 17 and sort of drifted away from the Orange Order, probably because I thought they

weren't being direct enough in opposing the Anglo-Irish Agreement. I never trans-

as anything else. I enjoy the day out. I meet up with friends and we watch the parade and have a few beers. The religious aspect of it is always in my mind, but largely plays little part in the day. This is definitely the case over the last number of years and that may change but not in the foreseeable future.

I feel the whole thing is very important. I reject the notion that has arisen over the last number of years

"The Twelfth used to be a good day out for all, and can still be. No one should be offended by it, nor should it be allowed to perish."

ferred from the 'Juniors' into the Lodge proper, and despite being asked many times over the years since I have never wanted to join again. I think that is in part due to the fact that I couldn't in all conscience take the Oath of Allegiance to the Queen.

I always however go to watch the Twelfth, as much for the bands

that it is an exercise in coat trailing. Many of those making these claims are bigots who hate all expressions of Protestantism, either religious or cultural, yet cannot be honest enough to say this is the case. The Twelfth used to be a good day out for all, and can still be. No one should be offended by it, nor should it be allowed to perish.

THANKS TO David Gilliland for this thought-provoking interview. He has successfully articulated the views held by many ordinary working class cultural Protestants. A stark contrast exists between this position and the naked hatred and anti-Protestant bigotry of pan-Irish national chauvinism. Hate mongers like Gerard Rice claim that they want a 'united Ireland of equals'. However, the truth is that they 'don't want a Prod about the place'. If you'd like to share your thoughts and memories of the 12th July celebrations – Europe's largest indigenous cultural and folk festival – get in touch with us today! Write to: Glenwood Publications, First Floor, 316 Shankill Road, Belfast, BT13 3AB. Telephone: 077 9047 4353.

LET'S TELL THE TRUTH!

ARE YOU fed up with the way the media reports the Twelfth of July celebrations? Are you fed up with pan-Irish national chauvinists painting a picture of 'Orange Monsters' rampaging through quiet and peaceful Catholic areas? Are you also fed up with the inability of Orange and unionist leaders to explain their position? You are? Then why not do something about it?

Take extra copies of The Twelfth and distribute them to friends and relatives at

home and abroad. We particularly need to step up the propaganda war abroad. The article below is aimed at an overseas audience – that is why it has been translated from English into Serbian. Other language versions are planned. It

shows how the 'Twelfth' is not some reactionary sectarian circus but a turning



point in European history. Far from being a hangover from the seventeenth cen-

tury, the celebrations are a distinct part of Ulster's cultural identity.

1690 – THE YEAR OF EUROPEAN FREEDOM



English

THE TWELFTH celebrates the Williamite victory of 1690. This was when the forces of William, Prince of Orange defeated those of his father-in-law, James Stuart at the Battle of the Boyne. This was no family squabble, but a real turning point in European history.

King James II was a stout

defender of the doctrine of 'the Divine Right of Kings', as practised in France by the 'Sun King', Louis XIV. Louis was the absolute dictator of France and James wanted to have the same dictatorial powers in England, Scotland and Ireland. In England, the principle had become well established that elected representatives of his subjects should check the King's actions and that those representatives should be able to make laws. It was by no means truly democratic, but it was a step away from 'absolutism'. It is not surprising that James encountered strong opposition, which

led to his removal by William and his final defeat at the Battle of the Boyne.

The accession of William and Mary to the Throne was a progressive step forward for the British peoples. The Stuarts' tyrannical arbitrary power was overthrown and the Constitutional Monarchy and parliamentary government were established. (We now know that the system of parliamentary representation is not in itself genuinely democratic. However, it's better than the royal tyranny and arbitrary power that James represented).

As we all know, the limited

freedoms gained by the Glorious Revolution are still remembered today. Celebrating the Williamite victory is not a 'sectarian coat-trailing exercise'. 'The Twelfth' is Europe's largest indigenous folk and cultural festival. Historically and culturally, it inextricably links Ulster with Europe. It marks one of the most pivotal dates in the shaping of European history – for 1690 was the year of European Freedom. That's why we ought to carry on remembering 1690!

1690 – Година Европске Слободе



Serbian

НА СРПСКОМ

Дванаести прославља Виљамовску победу 1690. Тада је војска Виљјама, Принца Ораншког победила војску Џејмса Стјуарта, његовог таста, у бици на Бојну. То није био породични обрачун већ права тачка преокрета у европској историји.

Краљ Џејмс II је био чврст бранилац доктрине "Божанског права Краља", као што је било практиковано у Француској од стране Краља Сунца, Луја XIV. Луј је био окрутан диктатор Француске те се Џејмс трудио да се угледа на њега желећи да има исте диктаторске власти у Енглеској, Шкотској и Ирској. У Енглеској, добро је учвршћен принцип да изабрани представници од његових поданика могу проверавати Краљеве поступке и да ти представници могу да издају закон. То свакако није било демократско, али је био само корак даље од "апсолутизма". То

није сукобило јаку опозицију, која је довела до Краљевог смакнућа од стране Виљјама и његовог коначног краха у бици на Бојну.

Ступање Виљјама и Мери на Престо је био прогресиван корак напред за британски народ. Стјуартска тиранска самовоља је била превазиђена и Конститутивна Монархија и парламентарна Влада је била успостављена. (Сада знамо да тај систем парламентарног представништва није изворно демократски. Ипак, боље је него краљевска тиранија и самовоља коју је Џејмс представљао).

Као што сви знамо, ограничене слободе добијене Славном Револуцијом су и данас запамћене. Прослава Виљамске победе није "верска вежба". "Дванаести" је највећи европски домаћи фолклорни и културни фестивал. Историјски и културно, фестивал непогрешиво спаја Алстер са Европом. Фестивал обележава један од средишњих датума у формирању Европске историје – за 1690 била је година Европске слободе. Зато ми тежимо да наставимо памћење на 1690!

Thanks to Marko from Novi Sad for translating this article into Serbian.

HOME & AWAY ...

LAST YEAR we featured an article by Stephen Moore entitled *What the Twelfth means to me*. He termed the 12th celebrations "Ulster's Fourth of July, Ulster's Mardi Gras" and called for the Northern Ireland Tourist Board to market the 12th July accordingly. Following this theme, we spoke to two members of the German Rangers Network - Hermann from Hamburg and Chris from near Frankfurt. We asked them to record their memories of the colour, noise and flavour of the 12th celebrations - Europe's largest indigenous folk and cultural festival. Here are their stories...



HERMANN MULLER, Hamburg Rangers Supporters Club.

I HAVE ALWAYS fancied the famous Glasgow Rangers. It became clear that there is a deep-rooted love among the travelling Bears for a country on the far western margin of Europe, a country I then only knew as a rather backward, religion-ridden region. I simply had to find out myself. Going to Belfast, after having made friends with some of the Ulster-based Rangers men, was just the logical consequence, as it always seems to be better to make use of one's own eyes before passing judgement.

I was eagerly awaiting the 12th of July. I understood roughly what was going to be celebrated. King William fought a battle close to a river known as the Boyne and defeated his opponent James II (or *Jakob der Zweite*, as the German authors have it). But it took me ages to get the historical background: What was the situation like in Europe at that time? Why was it that a Dutch king crossed the channel to support the English and Scottish Protestants? And where was the link between Protestantism and a quarrel that was obviously succession-related? I did not have a clue, and frankly, I do not think I really have today! All I know was that on the 12th, people in Belfast would celebrate the victory of "their King Billy".

I was picked up by my friends on the 11th night and

driven all over East Belfast to see those mighty bonfires. The 11th night really sticks in my mind. Fragments of impressions are still in my head: that huge flickering bonfire, cans of beer, techno music, short hair, tattooed forearms displaying the Red Hand, balclavas, salutes and shots fired in the air. It was an atmosphere that was both thrilling and deeply frightening, an atmosphere in which you are glad to be part of it all and accepted as a friend.

The 12th, however, was different. The mood of East Belfast had been left behind, and Shaftesbury Square was crowded with families, old people and kids. What a joy it was for me to see that the Krauts are not the only nation who enjoy marching! What a sight it was. All those bands with their different colours and flags, those young boys in front of them hurling around their sticks, not to forget members of the audience who were actually clad like the celebrated king himself! It was enjoyable, it was fun. But there was a certain 'stoutness', a strange determination beneath the obvious celebrations, a 'will' to be proud which made the whole event completely different to the shooters' marches which I am used to in Germany. This was fun, but there was more to it. Nevertheless, I enjoyed myself, because I felt part of it.

CHRIS K, Frankfurt, a loyal Rangers Supporter.

I LOVE ULSTER, the country is very fine and the Protestant people are brilliant! I came over for a week to see the 12th parade last year. On the Saturday I saw a fantastic parade of a lot of flute bands on the Shankill Road. On Sunday I went with friends to Portadown to support the Orange Order at Drumcree.

In the night of 11th I saw a big, big, bonfire on the Shore Road in North Belfast. It was unbelievable. Hundreds of people came to see the bonfire and to cele-

gave me one of their polo shirts.

Then the parade began. It was brilliant!! I had to march a very long way through the streets of Belfast. It was a fantastic feeling to hear the wonderful sound of all the flutes and drums all the time and to see thousands and thousands of people standing at the streets, shouting and celebrating. The people came from all over to see and celebrate the 12th.

On the return part of the

" I love Ulster, the country is very fine and the Protestant people are brilliant! "

brate. It was 12 o'clock when the highlight began and an Eire tricolour went up in flames.

The next morning, I was wakened very early. It was the greatest event of the year: the 12th parade! Everyone was dressed in their best clothes and the streets of Belfast were decorated with flags and different colours. Thanks to my friend Billy, I was allowed to march with the local band - *Pride of the Shore* - who

parade, everybody in the Flute Band got a sombrero! It was very funny and all the people on the streets laughed about this joke. In the evening after the parade I celebrated the 12th with a drink, but I was very tired and I could hardly move my feet. However, this day was one of the best moments in my life! It was a great honour for me to have marched with my friends and the band. It was a fantastic and brilliant week in Ulster. I'll come over again in 2002.

REMEMBER 1690

WELCOME to issue 3 of *The Twelfth*— produced by **Glenwood Publications** to present a positive side of the 12th July celebrations. We want to counter the lies and misrepresentations told about Europe's largest indigenous cultural and folk celebration.

The Twelfth has a dual purpose. Firstly, it seeks to capture the flavour, colour and atmosphere of the parades. We seek to carry as many reports as possible on what the Twelfth means to you. Secondly, it has an important educational and cultural role. Thus, one of our main aims is to communicate the fact that King William's triumph at the Boyne was a victory for democracy against dictatorship.

The Twelfth also plays a vital role in our strategy of building the infrastructure of an alternative mass media of news and entertainment. And the need to organise such a media can be best illustrated by taking a look at the situation in North America. Over forty million Americans claim to be of 'Irish' descent. However, around twenty million of them are actually of Ulster-Scots/Scots-Irish blood! They are the descendants of those who fled these shores because of anti-Protestant bigotry and oppression. Yet how many of these folks would know anything about what's happening in Ulster? How many would know the true significance of the Battle of the Boyne in 1690? Indeed, how many would hear anything positive about the 12th July celebrations?

In America, virtually all news about Ulster comes from a pan-Irish national chauvinist perspective. And it's not hard to see why - Irish-Americans are very well organised. As well as several newspapers such as the *Irish Voice* and *Boston Herald* they also operate radio stations. For instance, they have an internet radio station - *Radio Free Éireann* - in New York City. The Catholic **Fordham University** also features 'Irish' programmes on its radio station.

Isn't it about time this media stranglehold is challenged? For too long Irish-Americans - the 'raucous caucus' - have had it all their own way. Instead of just moaning about how 'the Taigs are good at propaganda' we need to start building the infrastructure of our alternative mass media of news and entertainment.

We need to communicate with - and educate - those millions of Americans who are of Ulster blood. The Twelfth is not some 'sectarian coat-trailing exercise'. Nor is it some reactionary sectarian circus. As we noted earlier, King William's Glorious Revolution was a victory for democracy against dictatorship. The Glorious Revolution heralded the principle of civil and religious liberties for all. That's why we ought to carry on remembering 1690 - and that's what we need to keep telling our American kinsfolk.

But to do this we need several more web-sites - with one being specifically about the Twelfth celebrations - and we need at least one internet radio station. We also need to produce many booklets on various aspects of the Twelfth. To do this we need to attract new writers and build both an effective fundraising and distribution network. Can you help with any of these important tasks? If you treasure freedom and liberty, get in touch today!

THE TWELFTH

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This issue of *The Twelfth* is dedicated to the memory of Billy Johnston and John Everitt. Billy Johnston was only in his early fifties when he died of cancer on 25th August, 2001. He was an enthusiastic reader of both *The Twelfth* and *Ulster Nation* magazines. Billy was a true Ulster patriot. John Everitt died suddenly of a brain haemorrhage on 4th March, 2002. He was 38. John will always be remembered for his sledgehammer wit - he was never afraid to call a spade a spade! Both are gone but not forgotten. In proud and loving memory.

MAIL ORDER MERCHANDISING

One of our main aims is to build the infrastructure of an alternative mass media of news and entertainment. And if we are serious about building this alternative media, we need money - and lots of it.

The items listed below therefore serve a dual purpose - as each item sold helps us raise money to spread the word. We can guarantee that all money goes into building this mass media, as those involved with *Ulster Nation* and *The Twelfth* don't take a penny in wages or expenses. Please make your cheques or postal orders out to ULSTER FUND. For a new catalogue, write to the address below or e-mail us at catalogue@ulsternation.org.uk

FLAGS

Ulster National Flag. Fly the world's most dynamic national flag! The red Cross of St. Patrick overlaid on the blue field of the St. Andrew's Cross charged in the centre with a golden star bearing the traditional Red Hand of Ulster. Excellent quality double-sided polyester flag. Measures 5x3 feet. The *Ulster National Flag* costs only £10.00 (including post and packing).

CDs

A Clatter O Fowk. This excellent CD celebrates the ancient cultural links between Ulster and Scotland. It features everything from the *McNeilstown Pipe Band* to unaccompanied singers like *Elizabeth McLeister*. You'll love the *Appalachian Strings* - and listen out for *My Darling's In Tennessee* by *Roy Arbuckle*. *A Clatter O Fowk* costs £11.00 (including post and packing).

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**W F McCoy:
Prophet of Ulster-nationalism**

The Real McCoy is the first volume in our series of Northern Ireland politics booklets. These are designed to promote interest in all aspects of Ulster politics from a radical Ulster-nationalist perspective.

W F McCoy, QC, MP was unionist MP for South Tyrone in the old Northern Ireland Parliament. He caused uproar among the cosy Unionist Party establishment in the late 1940s and early 1950s when he called for total legislative independence within the Empire - 'Dominion Status' - for Ulster. This booklet from the editor of *Ulster Nation* tells his story. Get your copy today. Only £2.00 (including postage and packing).

