

# ulster NATION

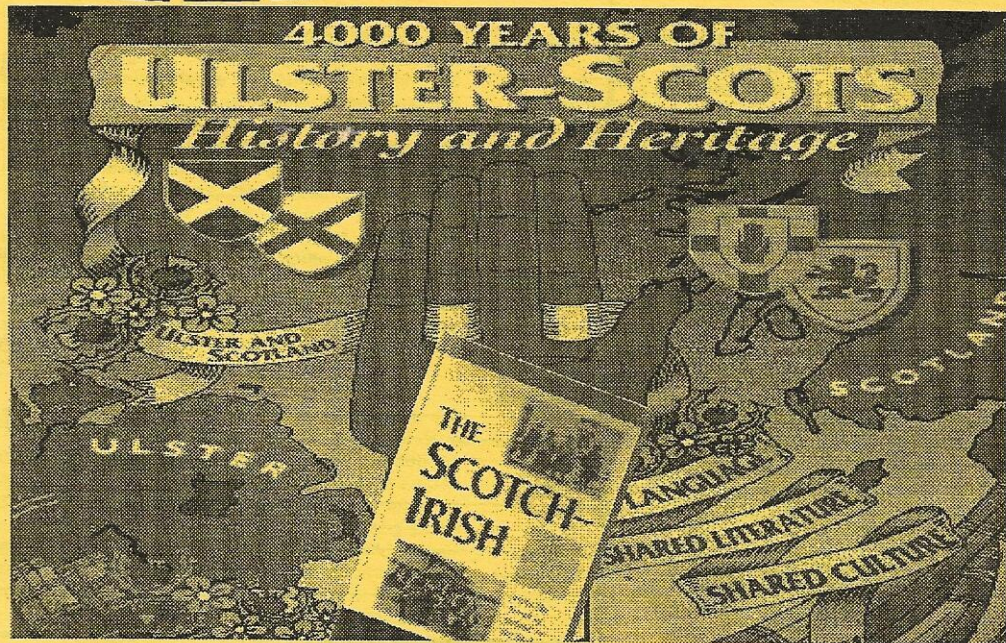
A THIRD WAY FOR ULSTER



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# CELEBRATING



Special focus...

history, heritage and culture



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## ULSTER NATION

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THE SYMBOL below is the Crinon Knot. It has a long history throughout Europe, symbolising for Christians the Holy Trinity - God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit - equal in power and glory. For pre-Christian pagans it represented the Past, Present and Future as equally important in the life of mankind. There can be no political or cultural progress unless we know who we are, where we have come from and where we want to go. The Crinon Knot symbolises this balance and harmony.



## A NEW LOYALTY

**W**ELCOME to this edition of *Ulster Nation*, an educational publication which exists to promote the ideals of national freedom and social justice. We stand for a new loyalty - loyalty to Ulster our Motherland. Our divided people have been prisoners of their traditional loyalties for far too long. We want to give Ulsterfolk something to struggle for - rather than the endless die-in-the-last-ditch rearguard action to defend an already lost cause. We want to encourage the reawakening of Ulster's national identity.

Each issue comments on important political, military, social, economic and cultural developments in Ulster, Europe and the world at large. You can help by contributing letters, reviews, articles, postage stamps and money. Why not subscribe or take out a bulk order?

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## News around Ulster

ULSTER NATION welcomed a distinguished guest to Belfast over the Twelfth week. Rabbi Mayer Schiller teaches Bible and Talmud at Yeshiva University High School in New York City. He has written many books and articles on religious and political matters.

Rabbi Schiller was inspired to visit Ulster during the Twelfth after reading Ruth Dudley Edwards' recent book, *The Faithful Tribe* which he reviews on page 11 of this issue. He wanted to come and see it all for himself. He watched the main Belfast parade along the Lisburn Road and at the 'field' in the Ormeau park. At the field he was interviewed by Paul Clarke from Ulster Television who was somewhat taken aback to discover a 6'3" Orthodox rabbi there. Clarke seemed equally flabbergasted to find opinion of the parade—'I think it's wonderful to see a people celebrating their traditions'.

On the thirteenth, he travelled down to Scarva for the Sham Fight on the recommendation of an Orange chaplain, Rev Ron Johnston from Armagh Free Presbyterian Church. Many folk there had seen him on television the previous evening and he was well-received by many well-wishers.

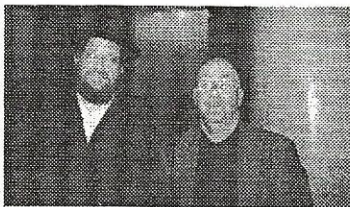
During his trip, Rabbi Schiller and his mother, who accompanied him on their first trip to Ulster, had time to visit the Fernhill House Museum in Glencairn, the World War II Museum in Waring Street, and the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum at Cultra. Rabbi Schiller also visited the grave of Lord Carson in St Anne's Cathedral. In order to gain an understanding of local political issues, he visited a local Ulster Unionist constituency office in North Belfast and several decent bookshops. This was despite the widespread unrest following Drumcree Sunday.

Rabbi Schiller gave a wide-ranging interview to *Ulster Nation* editor, David Kerr. This interview appears in the current issue of *Third Way* magazine. Copies are available from the address opposite for £1.50 in stamps or US\$3.00.

CONFUSION SEEMS to be the order of the day at the *Orange Standard*. The September issue carried two contradictory articles. One lamented the change in American society caused by a high degree of legal and illegal Hispanic immigration which is changing and the whole cultural, religious and ethnic make-up of many states. On the other hand, it calls for greater 'progress' towards a 'multicultural' society here in Ulster and even cites Rabbi Schiller's presence here last July to back up this suicidal

notion. For the record, Rabbi Schiller is not in favour of 'multiculturalism' but in the right of traditional societies to maintain their own distinctive cultural mores and ways of life.

We know that Orangeism as to face much criticism lately, but pandering to 'right-on' trendy liberal notions will impress nobody.



Rabbi Mayer Schiller and David Kerr

SINCE THE middle of August the Shankill area of Belfast has been torn apart by a bloody feud between the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Lower Shankill Ulster Freedom Fighters. Three men have lost their lives and over 150 families have had to flee from their homes.

The Shankill has suffered greatly throughout the thirty years of conflict and has seen a great decline in its fortunes more recently.

Poverty, deprivation, unemployment and few prospects have contributed to this decline. Many of the brightest and best have moved away but much effort has been made by local community activists, especially through the Greater Shankill Partnership, to revitalise the area and bring back hope to its young people. There are signs of this hope. New businesses are opening on the Road and the long-awaited Spectrum Centre is almost ready to open its doors. The last thing the Shankill needs now is for its paramilitary activists to declare open season on one another and their families. We agree with Pastor Jack McKee, this must end now. The UVF and UFF must return to their ceasefires and seek mediation, perhaps through the good offices of a trusted third party like Rev Roy Magee. Ultimately, however, they ought to choose a purely political path and disband their military organisations.

THIRD WAY INTENDS to contest three seats at the next Westminster general election. These will be in Havering, Hertfordshire and West Belfast. Our candidate for West Belfast will be *Ulster Nation's* editor, David Kerr. The people of this constituency have been ill-served by the present absentee incumbent, Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams. The only genuine alternative to his tired old republican rhetoric comes from radical Ulster-nationalism.

One crucial factor in our campaigns will be the level of funding. We so far have £1,600 in the kitty. We can already cover the deposits but we need more for leaflets, other election materials and the purchase of advertising space. Donations can be sent to: Third Way, P O Box 48, Hornchurch, Essex, RM12 4PX.

## News around the British Isles

THE RECENT PROTESTS at oil refineries and go-slows on major roads against high taxes on fuel came as a shock to some, most notably Tony Blair. Conventional establishment thinking was that the Unions were hamstrung and that ordinary workers no longer had any clout. Direct action by farmers, hauliers and taxi drivers supported by the general public has shown this to be false. Polly toynbee, the high priestess of liberal-leftist political correctness, was apoplectic with rage at what she called this 'Poudjaist putsch'. NuLab and tame Union barons sought to turn public opinion against the workers by lying about the effects of action on the Health Service. John Monks of the TUC exposed himself as a despicable hypocrite. A fortnight before the popular revolt broke out, he praised French workers and farmers for their readiness to use 'direct action'. When the same thing happened in England, he called it a "bosses' conspiracy" akin to the 1973 overthrow of the Allende government in Chile. Most people saw through this cynical ploy.

Elements of the 'far-left' were confused to say the least - siding with the liberal-leftist establishment against the workers. Rather than run up a Red Flag they, system sycophants at heart, ran up a White one instead. As did the increasingly statist 'greens', a disappointing number of whom revealed their total indifference to the plight of rural communities and to the poor who of course pay a lot more proportionately.

A NEW Act of Parliament, the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act, is one of the most fundamental attacks on the rights of British citizens ever. Under the Act, the state gives itself powers for intrusive surveillance, bugging and indiscriminate monitoring of electronic mail.

The RIP Act also creates two new offences; being unable to provide the plain text of an encrypted or password-protected computer document or revealing to a third party the fact that you have been served with an order to tap somebody's e-mail. You can even get two years in prison if you fail to enclose the encryption key to such a document, even if you don't have the key! This Act is another step in the construction of the British police state as its starting point is an automatic presumption of guilt. Could you prove that a corrupted document created three years ago on a duff computer you no longer own was not really encrypted with some super-duper code? If not, you could end up in gaol. Several ISPs are moving out of the UK to avoid hosting (at their own cost) monitoring devices for a new mass surveillance facility.

Naturally, NuLab claims that abuse of these powers by the government will never happen because they are all such honourable, decent and upright folk who wouldn't dream of doing such a thing. They would never dream of using their powers to silence their political critics. Yes, we believe them, now tell us the one about the three bears!

## News around the world

DANISH VOTERS have given a well-deserved bloody nose to the Eurocrats who dominate the media, big business, the trade union barons and the five major political parties in Denmark. Despite a strident and at times hysterical 'Yes' referendum campaign, the Danish people voted on September 28<sup>th</sup> - Ulster Day - by a margin of 53% to 47% not to abandon the Danish crown in favour of the European single currency. *Ulster Nation* congratulates the heroic campaigners who refused to bow to the myth that European economic and monetary union is 'inevitable'.

Danes were quite emphatic about their reasons for rejecting the euro. They rejected the whole notion of further European integration and standing up for their distinctive Danish national identity. Fair play to them! Their decision has probably delayed the expected referenda on eurozone membership in neighbouring Sweden as well as in the United Kingdom. This will strengthen the hand of British Eurosceptics who had to face up to the argument that the UK could be 'isolated' and friendless as the only EU member state outside the eurozone. Tony Blair and Peter Mandelson, who want us to abandon the pound and British political, economic and fiscal sovereignty 'when the time is right' will have to do a rethink. It won't be so easy for them to get away with it now. Our guess is that, if Labour wins the next general election, they will do an 'Albert Reynolds' and try to press ahead without a referendum.

The next matter of concern for opponents of a European superstate is the forthcoming Treaty of Nice in December. EU heads of government want to bring in an Orwellian document misleadingly called the 'Charter of Fundamental Rights'. This could be described as an embryonic constitution for such a superstate. The Nice treaty proposes to curb the use of national vetoes and replace them with decisions based on majority voting. It is this prospect which swung the NO vote in the Danish referendum. **Third Way, the Democracy Movement and the Campaign for an Independent Britain** are currently lobbying massive opposition against the Treaty of Nice.

'BLOWBACK' is an American CIA term for the unintended consequences of a course of action taken by the US government. America's arrogance is summed up in the words of Madeleine Albright, "If we have to use force it is because we are America. We are the indispensable nation. We stand tall. We see further into the future." America seeks to remake the world in its own image and impose its will on subject peoples everywhere on the globe. No wonder people are fighting back by whatever means come to hand. The suicide bombing of a US Navy vessel in Aden which killed 16 seamen is the likely shape of things to come if the US insists on its international meddling. Blowback is here to stay.

## Reviews

**Northern Protestants: An Unsettled People**

Susan McKay. Blackstaff Press. Belfast 2000. ISBN 0 85640 666 X £12.99

**S**USAN MCKAY, a journalist with the Dublin *Sunday Tribune*, has written a book that purports to be an 'uncompromising, in-depth look at her own people – the Protestants of Northern Ireland.' She has failed in this aim. This book is nothing of the kind. McKay wears her politically correct liberal-leftist, feminist heart on her sleeve all through the book. Those who do not measure up to her standards are subjected to her patronising comments or her withering sarcasm.

The book's prologue examines two particularly brutal murders. Bernadette Martin was shot in the arms of her Protestant boyfriend by someone they thought was a friend – LVF member Trevor McKeown. Sixteen year-old James Morgan was beaten to death with a hammer and dumped in a pit of animal carcasses by his killers. Such actions, she admits, are not typical of the behaviour of 'Northern Protestants' but she tells us about them 'because it represents the worst outcome of a type of political Protestantism'. Perhaps, but it colours the whole book with the notion that, when push comes to shove, this is the type of thing that Protestants condone. She has met a wide range of Protestants from such diverse areas as the respectable middle class 'gold coast' area of North Down and socially derived North Belfast; the 'Orange Citadel' of Portadown and the almost Prodigy free zone of Derry.

McKay seems to suffer from Guilty Prodigy Syndrome. She has accepted the pan-Irish national-chauvinist interpretation of Ulster history and is full of remorse for the crime of being born among the 'oppressors'. *Northern Protestants* is her Act of Contrition. Guilty Prodigies annoy me and Ms McKay is particularly annoying. She makes a number of untrue and unsupported comments, for example the claim that Paisley's DUP founded the Ulster Clubs movement (page 94) and the outrageous lie on page 139 that 'There are [Orange] lodges in Belfast which commemorate members of the Shankill Butchers'. This latter statement comes in the middle of a sustained rant against Orangeism, which McKay makes no effort to try and understand.

I cheered the comment of the Rathcoole playwright, Gary Mitchell who had something to say about Guilty Prodigy Syndrome. He says he was often the only Protestant in artistic circles. "Well that is to say, a working class Protestant who isn't ashamed of his roots and isn't prepared to avoid an argument by saying Catholics are always right. We have suffered a lot from that. Niceness. People refusing to be drawn in to political talk because they don't want to be seen as bigoted. So they let people walk all over them." Nice one Gary!

For a better understanding of how ordinary Protestants think, the reader would do much better to read a selection of Michael Hall's Island pamphlets. In these pamphlets, we are spared Ms McKay's self-righteous condescension. Avoid this woeful book.

David Kerr

**The Faithful Tribe: An Intimate Portrait of the Loyal Institutions**

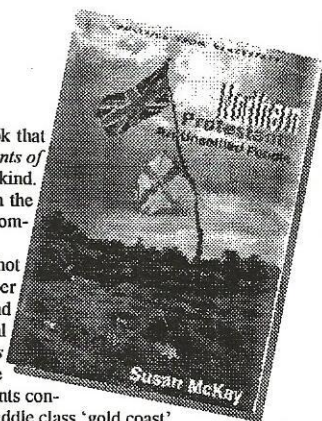
Ruth Dudley Edwards Harper Collins:1999 \$17.99

**W**HAT MIGHT CAUSE an Orthodox Jewish Rabbi to fly from New York to Belfast for the Twelfth? Running the risk of sounding a bit too impressionable I must confess that my decision to visit Northern Ireland was made after having read Chapter One (the first fifty pages) of Ruth Dudley Edwards' *The Faithful Tribe*. Those opening pages describe in detail Edwards' participation in eight parades of assorted Loyal Institutions. I was captivated by the sense that emerged from the narrative of a people who have somehow managed to reject the secular functionalism and cynical consumerism which has enveloped so much of European civilisation in our day. This was something that had to be experienced in person.

Edwards has set herself a difficult task. She seeks to tell the story of the Apprentice Boys, Orange Order and Royal Black Preceptory fairly, yet, with unmistakable sympathy. In order to do this properly, she provides the reader with a brief overview of Ulster history with special emphasis on the Williamite wars and establishment of the Free State. In addition, the inner workings and history of the lodges is gone into with painstaking depth. Finally, in order to render contemporary the ideas and events described, she explores the annual crisis in Drumcree in step by step fashion beginning in the early nineties and extending till the summer of 1998. This meticulous chronology forms a book within a book extending to 254 pages. (The non-Drumcree half of the book is only 277 pages.)

For outsiders unaware of events in Northern Ireland or, aware only through the lens of republicanism's highly successful international media campaign, the book is immediately captivating by virtue of its even handedness. As one who is only beginning to explore the history and culture of Ulster and therefore not yet widely read, it is the best introductory work I have thus far come across. It is also one of the few works at all sympathetic to the cause of Unionism as advocated by the lodges. In fact, a frequent lament of the book is the inferior or non-existent state of Protestant propaganda before the bar of international opinion.

Throughout the book Edwards lets the "faithful tribe" speak. We hear their voices and feel their ideals and fears. The credibil-



# the faithful tribe



An intimate portrait of the Unionist tradition  
Ruth Dudley Edwards

ity of all this is much advanced by Edwards' own Catholic background and current agnosticism on matters of faith.

Of particular note to the reader exploring the North for the first time is Edwards' articulation of the degree that the Orders' position on parades and the like is motivated by their belief in the link between religious and civil liberty and the Reformation. In their minds Rome and the denial of liberty are seen as one. However questionable this might be historically - Were Calvin and Luther really more committed to religious and civil liberty than is the Vatican II Church? - it is, nonetheless, part of the way the Reformation is viewed in the Ulster mythos and to ignore it is to miss an essential element of the Protestant struggle. This goes a long way to understanding the intensity concerning the Garvaghy Road and similar impasses.

Perhaps, one of the most surprising aspects of the Unionist cause to an outsider is how Orangeism, Loyalism and a deep seated attachment to their national history as Protestants survives even among those on whom religious faith itself no longer commands belief. This seems strange at first glance. Edwards however, who is clearly not comfortable with robust, traditional faiths (Catholic or Protestant) makes much of this fact in order to accentuate the fraternal and cultural, as opposed to religious, aspects of the Orders and the Unionist cause in general. In truth this argument only goes so far. Much of Unionism's most fervent backers are to be found in the DUP and the Free Presbyterian Church. Edwards does not sympathize with this perspective and it is not portrayed in much detail in her work. In general, her goal is to portray the Orders' aims in as benign a fashion as possible. This is worthwhile in that it counters the demonisation of the media but it does seem to miss the roots of religious and patriotic passion which has led Ulstermen into battles against overwhelming odds throughout their history.

And, it is true that this passion survives even where its religious underpinnings are gone. Yet, Edwards is as uncomfortable with "blood and thunder" bands of stark, working class, cultural Protestants as she is with Free Presbyterianism. Her vision is one of ultimate reconciliation between Ulster's two peoples. Surely this is a goal all can share. In an appendix she presents a "Draft Speech for the Prime Minister" where her fictitious Prime Minister says "I cherish both nationalist and unionist culture as equal expressions of important traditions which have shaped us all." Further, "The legitimacy and security of Northern Ireland's place within the UK has never been more secure."

However, the question is whether "cherishing traditions" equally can be achieved within the UK, or the Republic, for that matter. Of course, the notion that it is Union itself which presents major obstacles to the survival of faith, memory and identity which Unionists value is a bit much for many tradition rooted Ulstermen.

Ruth Dudley Edwards emerges from the pages of her book as a decent, fair minded woman with the ability to enter the mind set of others with empathy. Her work is a readable and sympathetic treatment of a people who have had little sympathy in the past. Yet, her reluctance to plumb the depths of passionate faith and identity is indicative of an inability to contemplate radical perspectives in general. Her kindly nature precludes the thought of invasive surgery. Yet, for an ill patient, is kindness of this sort, however well intentioned, what the doctor would order? Nonetheless, the final verdict on *The Faithful Tribe* must be, at least for this writer, positive. Without it (and God's help, of course) I would never have been witness to the celebrations of the week of the Twelfth. And that would have been a shame.

Rabbi Mayer Schiller

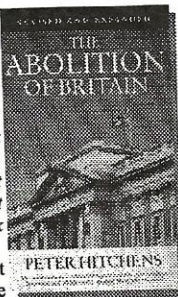
## The Abolition of Britain

Peter Hitchens. Quartet Books, London 2000. ISBN 0 7043 8140 0 £8.00

PETER HITCHENS believes that the country is going to the dogs. It's certainly hard to fault much of his analysis of the state of present day Britain. Most reviews of the first hardcover edition in the establishment press were extremely hostile, and often cases personally abusive. Hitchens, however, believes that he is not the extremist. That label belongs properly to those who, "think it sensible to abolish our national currency and hand over or national wealth to a centralised supranational power over which we have no democratic control. They believe that government can spend our money better than we can. Many of them use to believe that the best way to deal with the Soviet threat was to disarm ourselves and smile. They think that the best response to terrorist blackmail is to lick the blackmailer's toe caps and give him what he wants. They release convicted criminals by the score. Long before their sentences are over and appear to believe that the only people who should have firearms are criminals and the IRA. They think it is right to bomb innocent civilians so that we can feel comfortable about watching atrocity reports from the Balkans on the nine o'clock news. They defend the mass slaughter of unborn infants; they even think that are getting better."

He is devastating in his criticism of the authoritarian illiberalism of the liberal-left. The liberal-left restrict citizens' freedom in the name of liberty. Ulsterfolk will identify with his argument against the sell-out to the Provos which is the underlying basis of the ongoing "peace process".

"Those Ulster people who rejected violence, yet wished to remain British... were willing to accept a suspect compromise if only because they could sense that rejection would result not in saving the status quo, but in more and fiercer pressure to give in. They must



also have guessed that failure to give the expected 'Yes' answer to the referendum on the Belfast Agreement would mean that it was put to them again and again until they did so. The agreement itself, as few have noticed, contains provision for referendums on the future of the Province every seven years [author's emphasis] if necessary. It is not stated, but clearly implied, that these referendums will go on until the come up with the 'right' answer, i.e. incorporation in the Republic. And after that there will be no more."

In some ways, Hitchens comes across as a crusty old reactionary, and laments the loss of something that nobody will really miss, but often it is necessary to react to things that are going wrong. Ulster and the nations of the British Isles need a national reawakening. There's not much here on how to put things right but it an excellent account of how and why things have gone wrong. It could have done with a good index too, but that's a minor fault in an otherwise excellent book.

**The Scotch-Irish: From the North of Ireland to the Making of America**

Ron Chepesuiik. McFarland, Jefferson, NC. 2000. ISBN 9 7864 06 4 3 £26.25

Available from Shelving Ltd, 127 Sandgate Road, Folkestone, Kent CT20 2BH

In recent years there has been a welcome resurgence of interest in the history of the Ulster Scots, or as they're known in North America, the 'Scotch-Irish'. Ron Chepesuiik, a professor at the Winthrop university library in Rock Hill, SC retells their story in this well-written little book. As the author notes, the Scotch-Irish story is little known in North America as they were so easily absorbed into to mainstream America. He estimates that perhaps half of the forty million Americans who today claim 'Ireland' as their ancestral homeland are actually of Scotch-Irish descent. Chepesuiik does not appear to have Ulster-Scots roots himself and so avoids the self-congratulatory tone of some locally-published works. He also avoids the dry-as-dust approach favoured by a lot of academics.

Chepesuiik looks at the close ties between Ulster and western Scotland before the Plantation, acknowledging that Ulster was geographically isolated and had a distinctive character from the rest of this island. He examines the post-Plantation conflicts with the English religious and civil authorities that led many Ulster-Scots to make the perilous crossing to the American 'promised land'.

Chepesuiik's account is very readable, it is well-indexed and has a comprehensive bibliography. An appendix lists places to visit including Andrew Jackson's house, Gray's Printing Press and the Ulster-American Folk Park. Unfortunately, this book is unlikely to receive the attention it deserves owing to its high price. £26.25 for 172 pages is a bit steep even today! I hope that it will soon reappear in paperback at a much more affordable price.

**The Patriot.** 160 minutes, Certificate 15.

Director: Roland Emmerich Screen Writer: Robert Rodat

Starring: Mel Gibson, Heath Ledger, Joely Richardson, Jason Isaacs, Tom Wilkinson

**T**HIS FILM deeply upset *Daily Mail* readers in its depiction of British redcoats as eighteenth century SS stormtroopers. Didn't the SS lock the whole population of a troublesome village in a church in Oradour before setting it ablaze? Well, yes they did, but the British never actually did anything like that in America. Still, let's not allow these quibbles to get in the way of a good story.

Mel Gibson is Benjamin Martin, a prosperous South Carolina plantation owner, left in charge of seven children by his wife's early death. Martin is a reluctant warrior as he has had a traumatic time in the Indian wars of some twenty years earlier and he knows the true horrors that war can bring on a community. He has his family to think about. He wants America to negotiate independence from the British. His teenage son, Gabriel, (Heath Ledger) joins the Continental Army.

The war soon comes literally to his doorstep. Gabriel is taken prisoner and ordered to be hanged by the villainous Colonel William Tavington, (Jason Isaacs). Tavington, by the way, is a dead ringer for our own beloved imperial overlord, Peter Mandelson. For good measure, Tavington orders that Martin's house be burned down.

Martin rushes into the blazing house, rescues a selection of firearms and a tomahawk from his Indian-fighting days. He organises his remaining two young sons to ambush the Redcoats and free Gabriel. Together, father and son rejoin the Continental Arm. Benjamin sees that the Americans can never beat the British at their own set-piece battle tactics, so under the *nom de guerre* of "The Ghost," he rallies a militia company to wage a fierce guerrilla war on the British.

True patriotism is not about ideological abstractions; democracy, human rights, the 'Constitution', the 'Republic', or some other such humbug. First and foremost it is about the defence of our home, hearth and family and it extends from that to our kinsfolk. In this respect, Ben Martin is a true patriot.

This film could have been edited a bit more tightly. It's nearly three hours long. Some of the battle scenes were a lot more gory and explicit than we really needed to see. Despite this and some shameless manipulation of the audience, I loved this film. No regular *Ulster Nation* reader could fail to enjoy it, although some like myself, might reflect on the irony that the United States, in its current role of 'indispensable nation,' now takes on the role of the hated Redcoats in far-flung outposts around the globe.



Mel Gibson...  
'The Patriot'

David Kerr