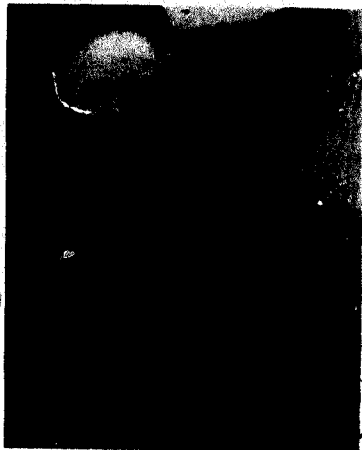


# THE ORATION

Delivered by the Commanding Officer,  
Ulster Volunteer Force, in Long Kesh,  
Mr. Augustus Andrew Spence

Cage 21,  
Long Kesh Prison Camp,  
12th July, 1977.



We never tire of celebrating the advent in history when William of Orange achieved for us in 1690 Civil and Religious freedom. We, the Protestants of Ireland, were the persecuted of the land in those days and now things are somewhat reversed. But is persecution necessary for the establishment of the inherent freedoms of mankind? Has persecution ever changed a person's views? Do we really want freedom and the pursuit of happiness at the expense of some other unfortunate soul? Should we not be defending the rights of all men whatever their calling in Ulster?

These are the questions that we must answer inwardly at first and then outwardly for all the world to know.

I submit that it is fear which makes one people oppose another and until such times as we abolish fear in our society we are always going to have oppression and misguided persons to implement it. We are living in the most socially and legalistically oppressive society in the Western hemisphere, the manifestations of which are strewn over that society like scabs. Polarisation complete with one section of the community cut off from the other except for some middle class contacts which appear to be concerned more about their class than community. Jails filled to overflowing and legislation that the apartheid countries would envy. We are a police state with the accompanying allegations of torture and degrading treatment of suspects undergoing interrogation in the many centres especially reserved for the purpose.

Even yet we still have men, prostituting the name of politics and religion, calling for more oppressive legislation and nonsensically counselling that victory is just around the corner. Victory over whom — the IRA? Or do they mean victory over the Roman Catholic community? Over whom do they really want victory?

The fears of the Roman Catholics will not go away because a bunch of bigoted Unionist politicians say so; and make no mistake about this word Unionist, because we are unionists too, even though we could never agree with those fascists who hold the reign of power. Do they not realise that the IRA was a natural manifestation of Catholic fears just as the UVF and UDA were born from loyalist fear?

We in Northern Ireland are plagued with super-loyalists who are not content to be ordinary. These people are the witch hunters — the Ulster Senator McCarthy's. If one does not agree with their bigoted and fascist views then one is a "taig lover" at best, or a "communist" at worst. They are adept at labelling those who disagree with them. We must therefore take a stand against this evil in our midst and risk their slander in the hope that the decent person in our land will support right instead of not bothering lest they become the subject of attention.

Unfortunately — and it must be said — we have had too many of these people in our own ranks. No fascist or bigot can expect sympathy or understanding in the UVF compounds of Long Kesh. The sooner we realise that our trust has been abused and the so called political leadership we followed was simply a figment the sooner we will attempt to fend for ourselves politically and to commence articulation in that direction. We can do without the immature, emotionally unstable and bigoted element within loyalist circles. As a political leadership they are a sick joke — a mixture of innane hacks and power hungry clerics who would not recognise the truth if it kicked them in the face. These are the men who have cunningly and purposefully fused religion with politics and festered fear amongst the loyalist community for their own designs and to regain power. They have adroitly manipulated the Orange Institution and other working class organisations to serve such ends, hinting that when the time came for action they would not be found wanting. All along the line they have

shut up instead of putting up and now the influence that such organisations could have had has been assuaged by their tepid leadership. The only thing that they are good at is division and fear.

I am sure that you on parade this morning have broken free from that vicious syndrome and are thinking for yourselves and since you have been called almost every evil name under the sun you have ceased to worry. We know why we are in Long Kesh today even though we may have had doubts in the past. No group has been more vilified by those who led us here than ourselves and we have been attributed with all manner of motives except the one word which our detractors detest like the plague — patriotism! Savour that word — let it roll off your tongue. Look your height and feel our strength, you patriots! Acknowledge and relish your incorruptibility in that you cannot be bought or bullied! Declare openly and with pride that your involvement in Ulster's war was not financially subsidised and that you did your duty without hope of reward. Imprisonment has been your only reward and even then you are unconquerable.

Your official title is patriot — acting unpaid! How many soldiers or policemen, or even prison officers, would do their duty without the inevitable pay day as promised and delivered by the Government for the services rendered? I suggest very few, if any.

We can no longer paper over the cracks because the gulf is too wide. We can never go back to the society that once was, even if we had a wish to. We want employment and decent homes like all human beings, and loyalists will no longer suffer their deprivation stoically lest their outcries be interpreted as disloyalty.

Before we reconstruct we must have peace with a medicum of trust in order to bind the wounds created by eight, nay, three hundred years of strife, hatred, mistrust and oppression with no one side having monopoly on good or evil. The politicians seemingly cannot or will not give us the peace we so earnestly desire, so I therefore call upon all the para-militaries — all the warring factions — to call for a universal cease-fire. To open up dialogue with each other in order to pursue ways and means of making such a cease-fire permanent. Eventually loyalist and republican must sit down together for the good of our country if we claim to

he patriots. There is no obstacle that is insurmountable. I do not know what shape or form such talks would take but I do know that they will have the blessing of every person in Ulster who desires peace and justice.

I realise of course that my proposal will invoke a furor from the usual predictable quarters and to these people I say, "What have you got to offer except your usual negative utterances?" Granted the paramilitaries are not elected representatives of our people but they are capable of stopping the violence and could not possibly have survived without support and comfort from within their respective communities. We have nothing to lose in such a summit, and who knows, the adversaries may even learn something from one another.

On this occasion I presume to speak for no one. I am speaking purely on an individual basis, and let no man tell me that I do not have the right. Before the cries of traitor bellow forth let me remind all and sundry that Sir James Craig, our first Premier, went along to Dublin in 1922 and had talks with Eamonn de Valera and Michael Collins precisely along similar lines to those which I refer. Who could dare call such a man a traitor? It is time we stopped listening to doubting Thomas'es and acknowledge deep down in our hearts that dialogue will have to come about some time, so why not now?

There is no victory in Ulster, not for the IRA or the UVF, the Police or the Army. There is only victory for humanity and common sense. I personally welcome any criticism of myself and simply ask my critics to be original. To the para-militaries I say, "Please do not be hasty and dismiss my proposal out of hand. Debate it and discuss among your membership the realities of the situation remembering that no one expects you to concede principle. I would not do it, nor would I expect anyone else to."

I thank each of you on parade for the allegiance and confidence that you have placed in me over the years, and I am humble.

As far as in you lies enjoy this festive time even though you are behind bars, and continue to confound your keepers by agreeable demeanour and good naturedness. Remember that praise is nothing until it comes from your enemy  
**MAY GOD BLESS YOU ALL.**

# Famous Preacher Attacks Life Sentence on Loy



The Rev. Harry Wharton (Scotland), pictured here with his wife Margaret and baby daughter Ruth Esther, is currently living in Sunnyside Square West, Shortlees, Kilmarnock. Over recent months the local residents, 'southern Ireland papists and IRA sympathisers', have made a vicious and violent campaign of terror on his home.

Says the famous Bible smuggling preacher, "These fenian thugs have embarked on a campaign of terror. They threatened to kill us. The rebels here are operating a massive prostitution racket. I had a well-attended Sunday School class operating in our home but this had to be cancelled. Their children have been sent to vandalise and steal plants, etc., from our garden, to hammer our windows with heavy sticks and recently they threw mud and stones at the family washing in our garden."

His American-born wife, Margaret, who is pregnant, has even been prevented from leaving her home for a

doctor's appointment, and da listen to a vile torrent of ab-

Says Pastor Wharton, "My for Ulster and Ulster Loyalists without ceasing. I've prayed f of coffins among the cowa scum." Recently he issued statement against the vic sentence imposed on loyalist Cooley, which was refused b newspapers.

Meanwhile 'Harry', as he tionately known to Ulster Lo editor of the 'Protestant Echo' of New Missionary Enterpris and has formed the Protest pendent Anti-Common Marl and the Protestant Evangelica terian Church. On August 7th I rally in Ayr Town Hall an welcome any dates in Loyalist

Orange Lodges, Black Pre Apprentice Boys' Clubs Loyalist organisation or band his services can contact hir Sunnyside Square, West Kilmarnock, Scotland.

## Advertising

COMBAT has an average readership of 65,000 in eight different countries. We invite loyalist businessmen, organisations, etc. to advertise their business organisation and functions through the medium of our Journal.

Classified Ads. — 2p per word (minimum 50p)  
 Display Ads. — £1.00 per inch column

Advertising correspondence should be addressed to: The Advertising 'Combat', 214-216 Shankill Road, Belfast BT13 2BJ, Northern Ireland. Enclose payment with order. (Telephone: Belfast 29019).

Note: Greetings and Acknowledgements from loyalist prisoners and dependants are inserted free of charge and such items should be addressed to the Editor.

JULY - 1977

## THINK OR PERISH

The sentiments of Gerry Spence's "Twelfth-of-July Oration" (published in our last issue of Combat) are long overdue and, despite their rejection from the usual predictable sources, must be commended to all true patriots who wish to see the present crisis in Ulster brought to a speedy end without loss of principle. Some of us held similar views as long ago as early 1974 but, to our eternal sorrow, did not have the moral courage to pursue the policies that stemmed naturally from such thinking. Instead, we espoused the policies of "populism" for fear that we would be branded as disloyal by the vast army of super-prods who have so much to say and so little to offer concerning the violence and bloodshed that has ravaged our fair Province. "Populism" is no substitute for truth and we would urge our readers to give careful consideration to the truth of the "Spence Oration".

At a time when Ulster requires adulthood we are, nevertheless, still struggling with a childlike mentality appropriate only for reaction and strife. Not only have we failed to mature politically in this so-called age of enlightenment, we have also failed to develop emotionally and socially to the level of maturity required by the exigencies of the time. We are stumbling blindly, trapped by our own moral adolescence, through a political and spiritual darkness while toying with the precarious secrets of life and death. We are a land of 'patriotic' giants (super-prods) and ethical infants. We know more about contention and strife than we do about contentment and love; more about tribalism and division than about unity and co-existence; more about killing than about living.

Nothing is more certain than that Ulstermen, of whatever creed or political hue, can avoid blasting themselves to pieces only at the price of a truly revolutionary change in human

thinking and behaviour. Very few of us who say we hate violence and want peace are willing to do the hard and painful thinking that must precede the abolition of political and sectarian strife. For that kind of thinking leads to the conclusion most of us are willing to face only at the point of a gun, the conclusion that we must escape from the stereotyped dogmas of the past and open our minds to new ideas and radical thought.

It is essential that we cease to cling to old cherished myths and traditions in the face of new realities. The human intellect must now be employed for the salvation of our fair Province. We must think our way out of our present critical dilemma. To continue in meaningless violence is far too dangerous. It is think or die. Since there will obviously be no victors in this bitter war of attrition the only possible battleground left to reasonable and patriotic men is in the mind and round the conference table.

Ulstermen have, perhaps, arrived at last at O'Neill's crossroads. The moment of truth. The moment of decision. The Day of Judgement. The ultimate inescapable question is posed; "Continued bloodshed or lasting peace?" No matter how helpless each of us feel under the staggering pressure of events, no matter how disillusioned we are with politics and ideas, no matter how much we seem to be moving away from the populism of our old party line, we are compelled to cast our own personal ballot for life or death. It is true, the men of action, the patriots of Ulster, who face continued bloodshed and violence. It is us, therefore, who must decide our own destiny.

The philosopher, Elmo Roper, once wrote: "In order to save what is precious and essential in civilisation, we must cut out ruthlessly those parts of our thoughts and behaviour which have ceased to be relevant to the circumstances in which we live and have begun to threaten our chances for continued growth and life. We must give up cherished habits and prejudices or we will find ourselves, at best out of step, at worst out of existence."

Those of us who rejected the "philosophy of right" for the "philosophy of populism" in the past have been proven wrong. Let us not make the same mistake twice in so short a period of time. Let us seek peace through dialogue before there is nothing left to discuss.

Compiled by Combat Reporters.

## WHO DOES PAROLE BENEFIT

Parole benefits the community as a whole as well as the parolee. This is, of course, if you live within the UK, except in Northern Ireland. Here in Northern Ireland the community is not worthy of the social benefits that a parole system provides for our society, or else the N.I.O. are in a state of social disorganization. Parole is a scheme for the release on licence for prisoners before they would normally be due for discharge. It provides an opportunity for the prisoner to re-settle and be rehabilitated as a law-abiding citizen and as an ordinary member of the public before completing the whole of their sentence. Parole was introduced in the public interest to help towards successful resettlement of prisoners. and the next day and every day after.

In Northern Ireland in place of a parole system we have an inadequate home leave system with conditions that leave no room for a process of rehabilitation to work.

It must be pointed out that the prisons are full mainly of prisoners with special category status. That is to say "Those that were politically motivated".

The rules which apply to the granting of summer home leave are:—

1. Summer home leave lasts for one week and will be taken between 1st June and 31st August.
2. Only star class prisoners are eligible for summer home leave.
3. Only those prisoners serving sentences of two years or more who have completed at least two-thirds of their effective sentence by the 31st August will be eligible for summer home leave.
4. Effective sentence for the purpose of summer home leave is the period between the date of commencement of sentence and earliest date of release.
5. Special category prisoners must be within the last 12 months of sentence.

These sort of rules bring hardship not only to the prisoner but also his family due to the lack of resettlement over his period of incarceration.

In the next issue we will examine a parole that gives way to concern as it carries contempt and bitterness due to the inferior system of compassionate home leave. A good deal more could be said about this so-called compassionate leave but I think the statement we will be looking at next issue will explain the true facts as they are, not as they appear to be on paper at the N.I.O.

— Mclvor.