

AntOglach

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EDITORIAL

In every generation the Irish People have asserted their right to National Freedom and Sovereignty in arms.

Eleven years ago this month saw the culmination of many years work and sacrifice in the launching of a campaign against the British Forces of Occupation by another generation in an attempt to win that freedom. That it failed, as the attempts of other generations failed, is no reflection on the many brave and great men who organised, planned and fought in the last campaign.

We can with experience and hindsight, look back and say to each other, with a certain smugness, "They did this wrong and they did that wrong", and perhaps, we would be right in our judgements.

But we can, and should, take pride in that they organised and fought, a campaign against the British Forces of Occupation in this country, that was the greatest sustained effort for freedom since 1920.

We remember them with pride, and vow that this generation will, by learning from their, and past generations, example and experiences complete the task for which the I.R.A. was formed.

There are many lessons to be learned from the last campaign, the most notable being that it is not enough to have men with guns in their hands. They must be men who know what they want, men who know what this struggle is about, that it is not for rocks and fields but for people we fight. We must have men who are capable of teaching the people what is wrong in this country of ours.

We must have men who are capable of working with and for the people. We must have men who are capable of leading the people in an armed struggle. For of this last let there be no doubt, there will be an armed struggle against the forces who are at present in control of this country.

This is a time of preparation. This generation must work harder, longer, and be even more dedicated and more ruthless than past generations.

We have had too many attempts and failures. For us the timeworn phrase "Better to have tried and failed than not to have tried at all" is out of date.

For this generation, nothing less than success will do.

LEARNING LESSONS FROM FAILURES.

In recent months there have been two events in which the Movement was involved which can be classed as limited success only; if even that.

They were successful in that it brought to the attention of the workers that the Movement was prepared to support their demands.

They were failures in that the demands were only partially achieved, if at all.

They may turn out to be successes after all if by our intervention the State is forced to channel investment rapidly to replace the jobs lost.

The events concerned are the Rawsons and Electra Closures.

Consider now what we did wrong, or what we left undone:.....

Firstly, in the Rawsons case we let the grass grow under our feet. It was some weeks before we convened a meeting of workers; by then machinery had been removed and the organising of a productive sit-in was not practicable. The protest which occurred was ineffective, in that it drew National attention to the plight of the workers. But where was the follow-up?

Would it have been practicable to get a deputation of workers to tour all the Shoe Factories in the country explaining to them that this was the consequence of the Free Trade Agreement and that the fire was only a pretext? And that their turn would come next... Why was this not done? Firstly, because we are not yet aware of things before they happen as we should be with a good Economic intelligence network. At the time of the Anti- E.E.C. meeting in Dundalk, the danger to the shoe industry was pointed out, but there was little local appreciation of the need to act on that advice.

If the Movement had acted then, it would have set up a group of members of the Movement in the Industry to become knowledgeable in it's inner affairs, who would be able in the event of a closure, to come forward and formulate realistic demands to save the Industry in the interests of the local people.

For example, we could have survived without the Shareholders drawing tribute, by organising a workers co-operative and leasing the premises? By putting this question to the State, the issue becomes clear to all as to whose interests the State stands for.

In the case of the Electra closure, there was not even a pretext, a foreign firm. which has taken State money, closed without notice.

Again, our weakness was lack of advance information, also lack of any feeling of urgency or responsibility among the members of the local unit of the Movement, with one or two Honourable exceptions. Here we lacked channels of information and influence with the Dublin T.U. Leadership. We were looking at the situation from outside. If we had a well-oiled Trade Union oriented machine in Dublin, we could have introduced

motions to the Trades Council demanding;

(a) that the T.C. set up a permanent Committee of enquiry into cases of closure.

(b) that standard procedures for resisting closure be developed, including a general demand for a public enquiry into the finances, the taking of an independent consultants' advice as regards technical adequacy of the firm, and the organising of go-slow or strike action in other related firms, if any exist which do business with the foreign owners, or are under their control.

The Movement must organise itself to handle these events,. The first step is the building of central register of Trade Union members and their organising into conscious pressure-groups where they can be effective.

This must be implemented rapidly.

ENEMIES OF FREEDOM.

The Special Branch, in the 26 and 6 Counties are the front line of defence of the Establishment in this country.

Therefore every Volunteer must know everything that there is to know about the members of this force. What the Gestapo was to Hitler and the Nazi Party in Germany the Irish Special Branch are to their masters.

The Special Branch is a highly trained force of men whose occupation is the destruction of the Irish Republican Army. They have all the resources and facilities of the modern state at their disposal. To combat them we need to be as ruthless and as efficient in our fight to make the Revolution.

Any man who comes under their surveillance is checked and cross checked. They go back to his date of birth. They check his family, his friends, his employment, his habits. They leave nothing to chance. Their business is to know everything that is to be known about the man and the Army.

It is up to every Volunteer to know everything about the Special Branch to be able to name them, know their methods of operation. Our Dictum should be KNOW YOUR ENEMY. It is only by Knowledge that we can fight and combat them, the Branch, efficiently and effectively.

Any information concerning Special Branch men should be given to your unit I/O. We want to know the following:-

- Name; Address; Age; Place of Birth.
- Wife's maiden name; Age; Place of Birth.
- Children; Names and Ages; Schools.
- Father; Mother; Brothers and Sisters; Friends; Neighbours.
- Are all of these aware that he is in the Special Branch.
- His car. Make and Number; What other cars he uses.
- His habits; Anything about his personal life; Photograph of him and his family;
- An accurate physical description.

Volunteers should at all times avoid contact with the Special Branch. If they stop you, give them no information other than your name and address. Have no conversation with them on any subject whatsoever. It is a mistake for any Volunteer to think he can bandy words with the Special Branch. They will win and will surely benefit from any conversation they have to the detriment of the Volunteer and the Army.

THE MOVEMENT & THE IMAGE IT PORTRAYS.

Because complete involvement and commitment to the movement is required from each and every member, there is the risk that membership may become "apart" from the people they seek to serve, in that their thoughts and actions may be governed so completely by those in the movement with whom they are working that they may become unaware of the attitude of the people towards them, i.e. towards the Movement.

This is why involvement with the people is required, otherwise they will only have the image as portrayed by the Press, Radio, etc. to draw their conclusions from. But if they (the Public) are in contact with members, and are made to understand what it "is all about", they can draw their own conclusions then. Presently, so few people come into actual contact with the movement that the general public's view is a distorted one. They must be made to realise that the movement is of the people, and is working for them. That it is not a chapter in history, but has related itself to the life around and is involved in this life, and is willing to help at all times: that it is not only a Military body, but is in itself an Agitation.

Because the membership of the Movement is small numerically, there is more required from each individual member. Each member has a tremendous responsibility - each is a mirror of the movement to those he comes in contact with; the reflection must be a good one. In the Twenties and Thirties the movement may have had the brigades, the divisions etc., but not so to-day. Now is the time for realism and the putting into operation of a definite policy. The public mind must be cleared of the political cant about the movement to which it has been subjected to for so long and their voices must join with ours in demanding Revolutionary change.

"The advent of socialism can only take place when the Revolutionary Proletariat, in possession of the organised forces of the nation (the Political Power of Government) will be able to build up a Social organisation in conformity with the national march of Industrial development." (Connolly.)

Because of their lack of knowledge, or of insight, and the misrepresentations that it gets in the Press etc., it is understandable that the people may be bewildered and suspicious of the Movement. They say; "The devil you know is better than the devil you don't know".....This we must right, they must get to know this "devil". We must have their backing to be effective, and this the Movement will not have while people imagine that members are self-seeking, or idealists, or adventurers etc. - the policy must be laid before them at all times, clearly and in a plainly

spoken manner. The public must never imagine that the Movement is "short on Policy"- and on realising this they must realize that it is the only policy for Ireland, and that it is the future which is our concern, not the past.

Each member must sort out for himself, taking into consideration his particular situation and abilities, the actual forces against the Movement, it is then, only then that it can develop. Whatever defending the Movement may mean to a member, it should not be shrunk from- no opportunity should be avoided to win support. Members will be challenged - their arguments must be logical and consistent. This courage must be backed by the loyalty of the people - this is what will force the issue. A new pattern of life must be apparent so as the people will understand what is happening and will be ready. We must be prepared to attack, in the open, those who are opposed to the policies of the Movement, and to be resolute. Because the policy is one of agitational involvement we do not wish to antagonise the people, but to have their sympathy and agreement. They are in need of guidance and a working class democracy can be made appeal to all - for the building up of an organised working class must be accomplished to revitalize the nation.

"OUR COUNTRY, properly understood, means not only the particular spot on the earth's surface from which we derive our parentage, but also comprises all the men, women and children of our race whose collective life constitutes our country's political existence

As the people become educated they will no longer be deluded by misrepresentations of what the Movement is and then "organise that, a Solid, Compact, and Intelligent force, you may seize the reins of political power whenever possible and by intelligent application of the working class ballot, clear the field of action for the Revolutionary forces." (Connolly.)

"True patriotism seeks the welfare of each and the happiness of all".

It will not be easy to win support - when people are apathetic they are lazy about thinking - but they must be made to think, a through understanding of the basic principles will be required of them. "Principles first, methods afterwards." (Connolly)

From the rank and file of the Gaeilgeoiri and those who wish to see the language live can be won great support. They must unite with the Movement in striving for an Ireland where men are proud and will want to learn their language and speak it. and where the noble characteristics etc. of race will have time to develop. " You cannot teach starving men Gaelic." (Connolly) Mere changes in the constitution are not enough. The day is gone for patching up the Capitalist System- it must go.

Some points from Connolly which can be used to advantage in advancing the Movements policy

ECONOMIC RESISTANCE.

Economic resistance is brought about by members of the Army working with and for the people. It means that all levels the people should be educated and organised to resist, and eventually destroy, the present system of government that is operated in this country for the benefit of the few.

It means that people are made self-reliant, that they are made aware that they themselves are capable of achieving any desired objective.

It means that we build the peoples confidence in themselves and destroy their confidence in their masters.

It is a long and hard struggle but already a beginning has been made. Last month we spoke about Co-Ops and Credit Unions and why they should be organised and supported by all members of the Army.

We intend now to give some reasons why it is in the interests of the people to further the development of these organisations and that it is imperative that all members of the Army take part in this work.

The Co-Op and Credit Union movement teaches people to realize their own power and potential when they organise and work in harmony towards a common aim. It will follow as a logical consequence that the fallacy of the sacred "right of Property" wealth, land etc., will be shattered and the fallacy that only a certain class have the ability and the right to control production, marketing and credit, will be exploded.

The CO-Op and Credit Union, as it develops. will encroach more and more on the territory, and, so called "Rights of Property" and the established interests and will, if growth is not hindered, ultimately place in the hands of the ordinary people the fruits of their own labours and efforts.

It follows, and should be quite apparent, that the establishment will not allow such a development, since it would mean certain financial ruin for them. This they will not let happen without a fight. One of the methods they will use is to attempt to control these people's organisations by planting some of their lackeys within. If this method is not successful they will bring pressure to bear on the politicians to introduce laws to inhibit the growth and stifle the activities and sphere of influence of the CO-OPS and Credit Unions. They will certainly, at some stage with-hold capital necessary for the full development of the organisation.

When the enemy starts to take these measures it will be obvious to the people that the only way thay they (the People) can secure and guarantee right to complete development and security lies in themselves, the people, having control of all the State Institutions. That is, Political Power in the hands of that class who for centuries, whether ruled by foreign or domestic capitalist, have been denied the Rights of Man.

Repressive measures on the part of the state against the common people will in its turn provoke the people to take more extreme measures in

pursuance of their Rights.

Economic Resistance is but a step on the road that leads to an armed and determined people, led by dedicated revolutionaries who will take what they would not be given.

LORG na LAOCH.

FUAIR NA SAIGHIUIRI SEO LEANAS BAS AR SON NA h-EIREANN.

CHARLIE KERINS. KERRY. HANGED IN MOUNT JOY PRISON. 1st DECEMBER 1944.

BARNEY CASEY. LONGFORD. SHOT by MILITARY POLICE. CURRAGH CAMP.
16th DECEMBER 1940.

JOHN HINCHY. LOUTH. DIED in MOUNTJOY PRISON. 28th DECEMBER 1942.

DIA-libh a n-Oglaigh,
Fuair bas duinn gan gheilleadh,
Go raibh agaibh samh-shuan
i Latair an AON-MHIC.

Mairfidh sibh 'nar gcuimhe,
Go siorruidhe, a Laochra,
Is leanfaimid bur slighe-se
Gan scith is gan staonadh.

GUERRILLA WARFARE.

Beginning this month, and in the coming few months, we are printing some extracts from "Guerilla Warfare" by 'Che' Guevarra.

Whilst all of the material printed may not apply to the particular situation that obtains in this country Volunteers can derive tremendous benefit from reading and applying most of the lessons that 'Che' teaches.

General Principles.

The armed victory of the Cuban people over the Batista regime has been recognised throughout the world as an epic triumph. It has revised old dogmas about the behaviour of the mass of the people and has proved the people's ability to free themselves from an unjust and oppressive government through guerilla warfare.

The Cuban Revolution revealed three fundamental conclusions about armed revolution.

1. Popular forces can win a war against an army.
2. One does not necessarily have to wait for a revolutionary situation to arise: it can be created.
3. In the under-developed countries of the world, rural areas are the best battle-fields for revolution.

The first two conclusions refute the do-nothing attitude of those pseudo-revolutionaries who procrastinate under the pretext that nothing can be done against a professional army. They also refute those who feel the need to wait until, in some perfect way, all the required objective and subjective conditions are at hand, instead of hastening to bring these conditions about through their own efforts. Of course, not all the pre-requisites for a revolution are going to be created solely by guerillas. Certain minimum pre-conditions are needed to kindle the first spark. The people must be shown that social wrongs are not going to be redressed by civil means alone. And it is desirable to have the enemy, wittingly or not, break the peace first.

Under these conditions, popular discontent assumes increasingly positive forms, creating a state of resistance, that provoked by the attitude of the authorities, can easily lead to an outbreak of fighting.

If a government has come to power through some form of popular vote, whether fraudulent or not, and if that government maintains at least the appearance of constitutional law, a guerilla uprising cannot be brought about until all possible avenues of legal procedure have been exhausted.

The third conclusion is strategic, to convince those who want to centre the revolution on urban people not to overlook the tremendous role of rural people in under-developed areas. We do not wish to underestimate the importance of armed resistance conducted by organised workers, but in the cities, armed revolt can all too easily be smothered when customary civil liberties are suspended or ignored, thus forcing resistance movements to act clandestinely, without arms, and against enormous dangers. This does not hold true in rural areas where guerillas and inhabitants co-operate closely, beyond the reach of enemy forces.

We place the above mentioned three conclusions at the head of this work despite the detailed analysis to follow, for they constitute the basic contribution of the Cuban peoples experience.

CHARACTERISTICS and FACETS.

Guerilla warfare, the basis of the people's fight for liberation, has many different characteristics and facets. It is obvious- and all who have written about it concur- that war is subject to certain strategic laws, and those who violate these laws will be defeated. Guerilla warfare, a phase of general warfare, must be governed by all these laws; but in addition it has its own laws, and this unique set of rules must be followed if it is to succeed. Of course, different geographic and social factors in individual countries may call for different methods and forms of guerilla warfare but the basic laws apply to all guerilla campaigns.

It is our task here to present these basic considerations, to develop a theory, to define and draw conclusions from our experience for the benefit of other people fighting for freedom.

Who are the combatants in guerilla warfare? On one side, we have the oppressive oligarchy with its agent, the professional army, well armed and disciplined and frequently the recipient of foreign aid. Allied with the army are pampered bureaucracies. On the other side stand the people of the nation. Guerilla warfare is a fight of the masses, with the guerilla band as the armed nucleus. The bands need not be considered inferior to the opposing army. Rather, the contrary is true: One resorts to guerilla warfare when oppressed by superior numbers and arms. For the individual guerilla, then, wholehearted help from the local population is the basis on which to start. Popular support is indispensable.

Why does the guerilla fight? He is a social reformer. He takes up arms in response to widespread popular protest against an oppressor, impetuously hurling himself with all his might against anything that symbolizes the established order. More on this later.

When we analyse the tactics of guerilla warfare, we see that the guerilla must possess a highly developed knowledge of the terrain on which he operates, avenues of access and escape, possibilities for rapid manoeuvre, popular support and hiding places. Wherever the guerilla operates he should and can represent the desires of the mass of the people to possess their own land, homes and all that makes up their life from the cradle to the grave. In other words the guerilla is - above all else- a revolutionary. So, for an up to date understanding of guerilla warfare, what we are interested in is an armed group that fights the existing government, whether foreign or not, that acts on its own initiative, is based on the peoples desires, social and economic.

There is a saying: "The guerilla is a maverick". He practises deception, treachery, surprise and night operations. Thus circumstances and the will to win often oblige him to forget sportsmanlike and romantic concepts. Military strategy and tactics represent the way the group conceives its objectives of taking full advantage of the enemy's weak points. When trickery does not work, it's only because the enemy is alert and cannot be caught off guard. However, because the guerilla band commands itself and because the enemy cannot forever guard all areas, surprise is always possible. It is the guerilla's duty to exploit it.

Some disparaging people call this "hit and run". That is exactly what it is! Hit and Run, wait, stalk the enemy, hit him again and run, do it again again, giving no rest to the enemy. Perhaps this smacks of not facing up to the enemy. Nevertheless, it serves the goal of guerilla warfare: To Conquer and Destroy the Enemy.

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