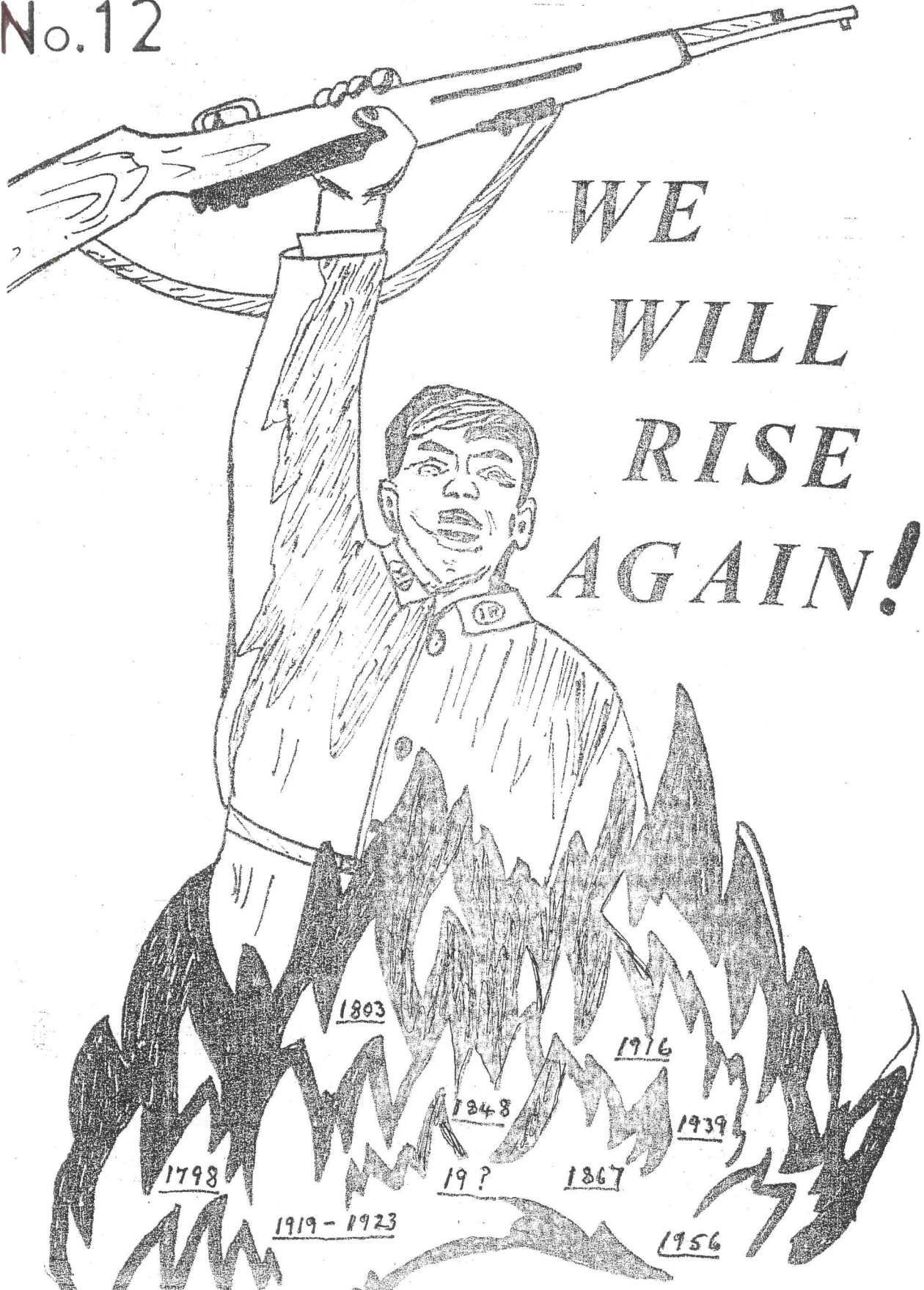


# AN PHOBLACHT

The Republic

No.12



WE  
WILL  
RISE  
AGAIN!

# EDITORIAL

THE ISSUE OF THE FREE STATE'S entry into the European "Common Market" dominates the activities of the Republican Movement these days. Many complicated, and at times contradictory arguments are being presented by the "Progressives" to show why the Free State should not enter. We are told "Our ministers would no longer be free agents;" that "it would mean the relinquishing of national control." And at Bodenstown, Mr. Goulding told us, "The fight against entry to the common market presents us with a real need and opportunity to justify our continued existence." Obviously, if the Republican Movement fails to stop Free State entry, Irish Republicans can no longer justify their "continued existence!"

WE FIND ALL OF THIS VERY enlightening. We notice, for example, that when the "Progressives" deal with the Free State in this question, they talk of it as IRELAND! We notice they talk in terms of "our ministers", and on "the relinquishing of national control," which implies that we presently possess such control. The "Progressives" also throw up their hands in holy horror when they point out that entry into the common market would mean changes in "Our Constitution"--Dev's great contribution to Irish Freedom! They talk of the threat to our "Legal sovereignty," as distinct from our "Political sovereignty", as if both were unconnected; and of "the Dublin Dail" (notice that subtle change in title?) selling out the nation. This last charge is most confusing to many people, because they will also tell you the Free State does not possess economic freedom due to British financial control. And if the Free State does not possess economic freedom, then how in the devil can it possibly dispose of what it does not possess by joining the common market? This question is confused further by the fact that over the past ten years alone, the Republican leadership has charged on a couple of occasions that the Free State government had sold the country lock, stock and barrel. Indeed, little over a year ago, when Lemass was involved in the

Free Trade Agreement with Britain, The United Irishman had banner headlines: LEMASS SELLS IRELAND. A year later we find Lynch being charged with the same crime with respects to the "Common Market." On the basis of these charges one is forced to have a certain admiration for the Free State ruling class who, apparently, have succeeded time and again in selling off what they never possessed to begin with --the economic control of the state. That certainly demands considerable ability and ingenuity!

WE ARE NOT SUGGESTING THAT ENTRY into the "Common Market" would be in the best interests of the people. However, the real question for Irish revolutionaries is not the effects of such an alliance, but its root cause. And this is a matter which gets little space in the laments penned by the scribes of the Wolfe Tone Society.

AS A NEO-COLONIAL STATE subordinate to British Imperialism, the Free State has no option but to do what its economic masters dictate. It cannot enter, even if it desired, if Britain does not; and it must enter the "Common Market," regardless of whether it wants to or not, if Britain does. To confuse and cloud this basic issue with talk about loss of sovereignty, is to play the game of the neo-colonialists; because it gives recognition to their claims of an independent politico-economic status, which they never possessed to begin with, and which Irish revolutionaries have never recognized, and rightly so. All this present talk by the Sinn Fein "Progressives" on the adverse effects of entry into the European "Common Market", represents a line of propaganda compatible to the requirements of a Free State opposition party. In other words, it represents a line of reasoning to be expected from a party which unreservedly accepts the status of the Free State as a sovereign entity, but which opposes the political management of it by the party in power. This is a position to be expected as a matter of course from any party which aspires to head the government of



the Free State; but it is not the position a truly revolutionary party would adopt, since its primary purpose is to totally destroy the government and the ruling class it represents.

THERE IS NO DOUBT IN OUR MINDS but that the present leadership knows exactly what they are doing when they consistently confuse the issues of cause and effect with respect to the Free State situation. By concentrating on an involvement with the effects of Imperialist domination, and by propagating the line that this is the primary necessity, they at once render at least a tacit recognition to the status quo in the Free State; make known their decision to restrict their attacks on social, political and economic exploitation to within limits layed down by the status quo; and as well, divert the instincts and energies of all radical and embryonic revolutionary elements along avenues of endeavour which are not detrimental to the continuance of the status quo. One has only to read the social, political and economic programmes of present-day Sinn Fein to see this clearly; to see that what they present is not a real alternative politico-economic system, but merely an alternative Free State party to manage the existing system, and which proposes to change that system only insofar as the fundamental interests of its ruling class allow. And it is for precisely this reason that the people in general reject them. The national color may be green; but the people are not so green that they cannot appreciate that if we are to be stuck with the system represented by the Free State, it is far better to vote for the devil you know than the one you do not know. And that, fellow Republicans, is the reason why Sinn Fein continues to get hammered in elections; not because the people fail to understand what Sinn Fein stands for, but because they understand only too well.

THE "PROGRESSIVES" ATTEMPT TO justify their total involvement in labours to mitigate the adverse effects of neo-colonialism, by pleading: we must involve ourselves with the affairs and troubles of the people. Of course we must. However, it is not the involvement itself, but the purpose and aim of the involvement which determines its revolutionary status.

REVOLUTIONARIES BECOME INVOLVED in and agitate against the adverse

effects of neo-colonialism for the primary purpose of mobilizing the people for concerted action against the root cause of the trouble. This is one of the principal means by which revolutionaries can amass a popular support in the struggle for State Power. On approaching any grievance which stems from the effects of neo-colonialism, revolutionaries will show that the cause of the trouble is built into the existing system, and that no fundamental change can be brought about until the system is replaced by one which represents the uncompromised power of the people. They will point out, and correctly so, that if the people desire to eliminate the many adverse effects of neo-colonialism, they must contest the issue of power with the class who presently wields it; they will not say: elect Sinn Fein, and we will pass a few laws to take the bite out of the existing exploitation.

IN PLAIN LANGUAGE, REVOLUTIONARIES know right well that the adverse effects of neo-colonialism cannot be fundamentally altered unless the issue of State Power is first contested and won. Therefore, the real task is not to divert the antagonisms of the people along lines which seek only to make more bearable their present lot; but to stimulate, co-ordinate and organize all their antagonisms towards the present system, and then direct them towards the seizure of State Power. State Power must be in the hands of the people before the people can be in the position to arrange national affairs in their own interests. State Power, that is the main issue, because only by capturing it can the cause of all the trouble be eliminated for good; and when the cause is eliminated, all the adverse effects automatically disappear.

THE GREAT QUESTION THEN IS: WHAT is Sinn Fein doing towards the seizure of State Power? Are its policies and actions determined by this primary issue? If not, why not?

THE FACT IS, SINN FEIN IS NOT presently concerned with the basic question of State Power, and as a consequence, neither is the IRA. Therefore, regardless of all their running around, regardless of all their talk about the "Common Market", about Co-op's and of bettering the plight of the people, their efforts amount to a big fat zero. They can continue along their present course until Gabriel blows his horn, and they still

won't be any nearer to realizing that Nation State of the people which is both implicit and explicit in our revolutionary traditions.

IT COULD BE THAT THE PRESENT leadership is, as Mr. Goulding said at Bordenstown, too tired to take on the revolutionary task of fighting Imperialism in Ireland. Has-beens are most assuredly not the best people to lead such work. However, regardless of whether they are too tired or not, it is obvious that a new effort, a new leadership and a newly organized and dynamic movement equipped to handle the needs of the revolution, must soon take the field if we are to fulfil our obligations as Revolutionary Irish Republicans. We have laboured unceasingly over the past few years to see this

happen; and present tendencies are more than rewarding. We are well aware that many factors remain to be ironed out; factors pertaining to programme, organization etc. With regards to programme, we have undertaken many discussions over the past year, and now feel in the position to present a suggested Draft Programme in the near future. We now think that such a step would assist enormously in present labours, by at least presenting a clear outline of revolutionary objects as they relate to Ireland. It can serve as a concrete step towards the realization of a new movement capable of rescuing Ireland as a whole from the clutches of Imperialism; and it is this, rather than the "Common Market", which remains the more pressing need.

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## REVOLUTION AND FORCE

WHEN PEOPLE TALK ABOUT TAKING the gun out of politics in Ireland, they mean the "Revolutionary Gun;" rarely will you hear mention of the "Free State Gun;" or the "British Gun." Obviously, the rights of the latter to avail of force to retain their spoils is accepted as the normal and ethical course of events; while the right of the former to resort to force as a means of dislodging exploitation is forever open to a wide range of questions and provisions.

LET US THEN SET THE RECORD straight once more! From the very outset England established and maintained its position in Ireland through the unqualified use of force. In like manner, the Partitionist regimes were instituted through a primary reliance on force, and continue to be maintained by a dependence on force. Consequently, as the vanguard of Ireland's fight for national sovereignty and socio-economic equality, an Irish Revolutionary movement can at any time resort to the use of force, when it deems such a course advantageous either to the propagation or realization of its objects. And we repeat, when the Irish Revolutionary Movement considers it advantageous, and not when anyone else deems it permissible.

AS A GENERAL STATEMENT, IT CAN be said that all states, without exception, are based on force. Hence, it follows that all revolutionary movements must likewise

be wedded to force. Revolution and Force are inseparable.

THOSE WHO TALK ABOUT THE possibility of realizing revolutionary objects without a reliance on force, are either oblivious to the true nature of the State, or of the true meaning of revolution. With respects to Ireland, revolution implies not only the reunification of the Nation politically and the setting up of a 32 county government, but also the organization and reconstruction of all economic elements in the interests of the working classes. This means that revolution implies not alone a change in the form of government -- from two partitionist assemblies to one National assembly; but also a change in the nature of the government -- from being the exclusive domain of middle class interests, to being representative of the interests of the working classes. Only a fool or designing knave would suggest that these objects can be won without a reliance on force as the deciding factor.

IT IS TRUE OF COURSE THAT revolutionary goals can, under certain rare circumstances, be realized without a direct or open resort to force in the form of an armed struggle. Such an event is always possible, although highly improbable in most situations. However, this possibility cannot be used as a pretext to negate the basic premise; because although it is possible for a revolutionary

movement to gain State Power without resorting to open warfare, it is not possible that it could also gain the same victory without possessing the means to wage such a struggle if it was necessary to do so. In other words, regardless of the process by which State Power is transferred to a revolutionary movement, it still remains true that it is the ability of the Revolutionary movement to seize State Power by force, IF NECESSARY, which determines the outcome in its favor.

IT SHOULD, PERHAPS, BE STATED here that we are dealing with the principle of force as an element in the revolutionary struggle for power, and not with the tactical or strategic use of force by a revolutionary movement during the course of a struggle. The distinction is very real, and we stress it because it is the practice of many so-called friends of the Irish Revolution to assail the principle of relying on force, by referring to occasions when force was tactically misapplied by Irish Revolutionaries in the past. For our part, we will not deny that force has on occasion been tactically misused by the Irish Revolutionary Movement in the past. In addition, we will also acknowledge that there are instances of grave error, when force, as a revolutionary element, was not correctly related to the revolutionary process as a whole. But we must emphasize that such examples in no way detract from the hard and fast rule already stated: REVOLUTION AND FORCE ARE INSEPARABLE.

FACED WITH THIS IRON LAW OF revolution, no Irish movement can proceed on any basis other than one which from the very outset accepts force as the factor to decide the issue of State Power. The method by which the movement organizes the means of force, and the manner in which it distributes and employs the means of force, are determined by a correlation of objective and subjective conditions as they prevail at any given time. Such questions are, due to their nature, always open to discussion. The first rule is not.

IN PRACTICE THIS MEANS THAT FROM the very beginning an Irish Revolutionary Movement must base its calculations on the premise that it will have to fight to win. It must co-ordinate its policies with this end in view; and if it so happens that victory is realized without such a life and death struggle, well and good. A revolutionary

movement stands to loose nothing on such an eventuality.

PERHAPS IT IS NECESSARY AT THIS juncture to stress that we are dealing with the question of force in the broadest sense. Our statements should not be reduced to narrow interpretations, and taken to mean, for example, that a revolutionary movement should not exploit avenues of attack which are not related to force, should they present themselves. This is in no way implied. What is clearly expressed, however, is that irrespective of how attractive alternative avenues of progress may appear, they cannot be legitimately pursued at the expense of neglecting, or detracting from the buildup of the means of force.

IT SEEMS A LITTLE INCONGRUOUS, to say the least, that it is necessary at this stage to reiterate the relationship between Revolution and Force to Irish Republicans. And yet it is of the utmost importance, because a sustained attack has recently been launched by Reformists on the question of using force in the struggle for Irish Independence. True to type, the Reformists are using every subtle argument to confuse the issue. Past failures are presented as undeniable proof of the futility of physical force, and glibly interpreted to sustain arguments against a future reliance on it. Past failures are presented as unquestionable proof on the inability of force to fulfil the aims of the Irish Revolution. It is never suggested that perhaps such failures may also have resulted from the inadequacies of men to master the complexities of modern revolutionary techniques.

IN CONCLUSION, IT CANNOT BE denied that Irish Republicanism has had its share of setbacks over the past few decades. But then, there is a saying amongst revolutionaries: more is to be learned from defeat than from victory. In times of adversity the real revolutionary will not attempt to sidestep responsibility by seeking a scapegoat for the failure. He will not blame such things as the element of physical force, for its inability to deliver the goods. Instead, he will blame himself for the inability to use it correctly; and then go back over the field of defeat to discover the source of the trouble; to seek just where and why the wrong turn was taken. Having unearthed the errors which determined the adverse course of events, the revolutionary is then



equipped to apply this knowledge to the next round with the enemy. This is the method of the professional revolutionary. It is the only way.

WITH THE AMATEUR IT IS DIFFERENT. He wants victory, but he is never prepared to pay the price it demands. In defeat, it is not he, but everything else which is at fault. It is not he who could not master the methods of revolution, and apply them correctly; it is the methods of revolution themselves that have failed. In such a frame of mind the quasi-revolutionary is always susceptible to proposals which promise an easy road to victory. He is fair game for the Reformist, who is forever sitting on the sidelines of revolution with seductive proposals and

readymade schemes. The degree of success so recently experienced in Republican ranks by the reptiles of Reformism, only indicates the low revolutionary level to which Republicanism has fallen these past few years. But this does not herald the end of our revolutionary traditions and aspirations; it merely demands greater exertions on the part of the hard core who retain faith in the true objects of our heritage. To them, it is not necessary to explain the realities of force; they know only too well. But the emerging youth, the future hope of the Irish Revolution, must be awakened to the snares of the Reformists. They must be told the truth, the better to equip them for the task which lays ahead.

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## THE LAST SOLDIER

EARLIER IN THE YEAR WE FOUND it necessary to draw attention to the underhand and sneaky manner in which the Defeatists in Dublin placed a ban on the wearing of the traditional IRA badge in England. To be sure, it was only a small thing. Nonetheless, it served as an indication on the way things were going in general.

THIS POLICY OF MAKING REPUBLICANISM "respectable", and acceptable to the half-arsed liberals and erstwhile communists in Britain, has gone one step further in the recent issue of IRA Sweep Tickets. All Republicans know that the same volunteer as depicted in the forementioned badge, also trampled defiantly on the British Imperialist Union Jack on those Sweep tickets. This has been the traditional format for many a year. Now, however, the sell-out artists have even defaced this small expression of unrelenting Irish hostility to British Imperialism, by cleverly changing both the design and colour shading of the Union Jack, so that it blends nicely into the background, and in fact disappears altogether. No more, apparently, shall that lone and defiant revolutionary soldier of Irish Republicanism wipe his boots on the Union Jack; at least not for so long as the present bunch are at the helm.

WHEN SO-CALLED REPUBLICANS indulge in this sort of thing, it is clear that the writing is on the wall, either for them, or for Republicanism itself. Men who have lost the will to fight, and who crave respectability and acceptability to the extent of low-

ering the flag, quite obviously are not fitted to carry forward the banner of Wolfe Tone. We need men; hard, determined, ruthless and efficient men to kick British Imperialism in the guts, and trample its lackeys into the mud. We need the leadership of men who are prepared to trample every Union Jack in the country underfoot, and who disdain to hide their contempt for it and all it stands for. We must have such men if Republicanism is to survive as a viable force, capable of doing what it is supposed to do. If we don't get them, and soon, it is to be feared that it is not alone the IRA symbol of defiance to British Imperialism which shall disappear, but also the IRA itself.

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## THE REASON WHY

IRISH REPUBLICANISM HAS ALWAYS stood for REVOLUTION. This makes for a form of politics wherein one cannot be all things to all men. Republicanism cannot be against the Free State, and at the same time accommodate itself to it. It is impossible to hunt with the hounds while running with the hare.

AND YET, THIS IS THE STAND TAKEN by the present leadership. They try to sell the idea that, "This type of two-tier thinking," as Mr. Gill puts it, is not alone practical but essential to Republicanism. Sinn Fein may think so, but obviously the people do not. The people have shown their disdain for sophistry; and for the Sinn Fein doctors who diagnose the need for a major operation to save the country, and who then proceed to prescribe an aspirin.

# THE ROAD TO FREE-STATISM

IT IS DOUBTFUL IF MANY IRISH Republicans ever bother to read the Irish Democrat; most of them know only too well for whom it speaks, and from where it receives its orders. However, its gibberish on the "Irish Question" has taken on a new and sinister meaning since the "Johnson mob" succeeded in manoeuvring its way into policymaking positions in the Republican Movement.

NO INFORMED PERSON REMAINS unaware of the connection between Greaves, the editor of The Irish Democrat, and Johnson; nor can it be obscured that Johnson's actions, as a communist party member, are dictated and disciplined by Greaves, who is his superior in the party apparatus. With the result, it can be taken as a matter of course that what Greaves openly advocates in the columns of the Democrat, Johnson labours to fulfil within the realm of Republican leadership. In this light, the editorial comments of the Democrat are of consequence to all Irish Republicans, because they anticipate a course of events to be expected from a Republican leadership completely under the thumb of the Johnson gang.

IN THE ISSUE FOR MAY LAST, THE editorial in the Irish Democrat made some very interesting and revealing comments under the heading: POLITICS AND THE GUN. Mister Greaves writes: "It is time people stopped saying 'the ONLY way to unite Ireland is by using the gun.' Only fools look for trouble." He then goes on to say: "Sinn Fein in our own day has demanded that Britain withdraw her occupation forces. What is the point in making that demand if it cannot possibly be put into effect? Why waste time with it? It seems unlikely that (it) will ever happen unless the British working class understand the Irish case and insist on their rulers acting on it."

AS A LOGICAL CONTINUATION TO this line of reasoning, Mister Greaves continues to expound the British communist party line for the Republican Movement in the June issue of the Democrat. Under the heading: WHY NOT TAKEOVER, he first poses and then answers the question: "Is it not time somebody took the twenty-six counties off Fianna Fail. The question is who is to do it ... It is hard to

see any other centre for a new rallying of the Nation than Sinn Fein. But they won't take their seats in Leinster House unless the people gave them a majority, and the people won't give them a majority until they see what they behave like in Leinster House first .... Surely this is the time for Republicans to say 'you're getting away with it no longer.' It is not necessary for them to have a majority for this. Three or four resolute T.D.'s... would make all the difference."

I WONDER WHO THEY WOULD "MAKE all the difference" for? Certainly not for the cause of Irish freedom.

AS HAS BEEN SAID ALREADY, THE gibberish of a British Imperialist lackey like Greaves would not warrant comment but for the fact that he now has agents in the Republican movement who have demonstrated their ability to not alone influence, but actually dictate the course of Republican policies. For this reason alone, Irish Republicans who are presently resisting defeatist trends within the movement would do well to keep an eye on what Mister Greaves has to say. Usually, his comments give a good indication of the way the wind is blowing in the Republican leadership.

## SLANDER:

IN ONE SWEEPING STATEMENT, unashamedly tinged with that racist arrogance so characteristic in your typical British bourgeois, Mister Greaves disposes of the past endeavours of revolutionary Irish Republicans to win independence by force. "Only fools look for trouble," he remarks sneeringly. And he continues: "Why waste time" in fighting the British, when "it seems unlikely" that Irishmen will ever get anywhere until the British working class comes to their rescue. It's all right for "Paddy" to demand an end to British Imperialism in Ireland if it humours him; but what's the use in harping on it when every intelligent person knows that your poor amadin of an Irishman is really no match for your conquering Briton.

IT WOULD BE TOO MUCH TO EXPECT of a Republican leadership dominated by the friends of Greaves, to answer such blatant attacks on



the Irish Revolutionary position. A leadership which is working hand in hand with the Connolly Association is hardly likely to take the "Democrat" to task. But let us turn back the pages of The United Irishman to answer him. "The resistance an oppressed people organizes against the oppressor may well appear futile in the eyes of an Imperialist. Nevertheless it is the only way by which the oppressed can win their rights." (U.I. August, 1961) We would say that that takes the measure of Mister Imperialist-lackey Greaves.

AGAIN IN 1961, THE UNITED Irishman dealt with the same subject: "The independence of a people is not won by political bargaining. It is won by following the hard path of Resistance." (October, 1961). But then, this was BEFORE the British Communist Party succeeded in establishing a foothold in the ranks of the Republican Movement. Nowadays, the tune has changed drastically, and we find the leadership making every effort to sell the idea that "political bargaining" does play a "progressive" role in the struggle for national independence. But then, this line has developed AFTER foreign controlled agents succeeded in gaining control of Republican policies.

#### THE ROAD TO RUIN:

AT THIS STAGE EVERY KNOWLEDGEABLE person recognizes the process by which these foreign agents were introduced into Republican ranks, and the gradual assault on revolutionary principles which followed. In 1964 the first open manifestation of the sell-out appeared in the form of The Wolfe Tone Society; which proposed to "develop means of uniting the struggling sectional groupings in the country." Translated, this reads: "to develop means of introducing the communist party controlled groups into important positions in the Republican Movement." Founded and controlled by agents of the British communist party, this "Society" immediately began to propagate proposals to divert Republican energies away from ideas on armed resistance, and towards what was styled "economic resistance." (See U.I., October 1964) By early 1965 the Irish Democrat could talk enthusiastically about "The emergence of new tendencies in Irish Republicanism." (May '65) And its cohorts now in the saddle at The United Irishman could give banner headlines to a "Change in

Republican Tactics."

BY MID 1965 IT HAD BECOME READILY apparent that the take-over by the foreign controlled agents had secured additional assistance from gullible recruits in Republican ranks. At Bodenstown, "comrade" Meade harangued assembled Republicans: "We can no longer look only within ourselves for our strength. We can no longer afford to depend on ourselves alone. We need all the commitment we can get from all people of no matter what political persuasion." (U.I. July '65) It hardly requires the services of an interpreter to determine what Meade was getting at, and who he considered Irish Republicans should unite with.

BY THE END OF 1965 IT WAS obvious that the agents of the British communist party had solidly entrenched themselves in the regions of leadership. Furthermore, it was also apparent that their "line" had become the dominant one for Irish Republicanism. Although a certain amount of lip-service was still given to revolutionary means of winning our freedom, Tom Gill made it quite clear that this was just talk, when he said: "We exist, as I said earlier, to re-establish the Republic proclaimed in 1916, that means our purpose now is, through political means, to end British Rule in Ireland." (U.I. January 1966) What could be plainer than that?

THROUGHOUT 1966 and 1967, A systematic campaign has been waged to eliminate all who opposed this blatant sell-out of Republicanism. And as the grip of the foreign agents tightened on Republicanism, Greaves, as the party man in charge of the operation, has found less and less need to moderate his opinions in the Democrat. Last year he just "hinted" at what should be done by the Republican Movement. Today, he openly and plainly deals with the course of action the movement must adopt if it is to fulfil a "realistic" role (from the British communist party's view) in Irish politics. We think it is about time that Republicans in general began to consider steps to deal effectively with this worsening situation. Clearly, the final touches are now being added to a plan which has been effectively pursued over the past few years, and whose basic aim is to diffuse the revolutionary potential of Irish Republicanism in the interests of alien goals.

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# GUERRILLA WARFARE:

THE FOLLOWING IS A CONDENSATION of an article by Ernesto Che Guevara, which was published in the September 1963 issue of the journal Cuba Socialista.

EVERY EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE TO retain the essence of the article as it pertains to guerrilla warfare. Many sections which relate to the South American situation have been omitted, since the many questions relative to that area, and into which the author naturally delved deeply, are not of direct interest to guerrilla warfare as it relates to Ireland.

GUERRILLA WARFARE HAS BEEN employed on innumerable occasions throughout history in different circumstances, to achieve different aims. Of late it has been used in various people's wars of liberation when the vanguard of the people chose the path of irregular armed struggle against enemies of greater military power.

THIS ARTICLE WILL TRY TO PRESENT our views on guerrilla warfare and how to use it correctly.

ABOVE ALL, IT MUST BE MADE CLEAR that this form of struggle is means -- means to an end. That end, essential and inevitable for all revolutionaries, is the winning of political power. Therefore, in analysing specific situations in different countries, one must use the concept of guerrilla warfare in the limited sense of a method of struggle in order to gain that end.

ALMOST IMMEDIATELY THE QUESTION arises: Is guerrilla warfare the only formula for seizing power? Or at least will it be the predominant form? In the course of polemics those who advocate guerrilla warfare are often accused of forgetting mass struggle, almost as if guerrilla warfare and mass struggle were opposed to each other. We reject this implication. Guerrilla warfare is a people's war, a mass struggle. To try to carry out this type of war without the support of the population is to court disaster. The guerrillas are the fighting vanguard of the people, stationed in a specified place in a certain area, armed and prepared to carry out a series of warlike actions for the one possible strategic end -- the seizure of power. They have the support of the worker and peasant

## A METHOD

masses of the region and of the whole territory in which they operate. Without these prerequisites no guerrilla warfare is possible.

WE CONSIDER THAT THE CUBAN Revolution made three fundamental contributions to the laws of the revolutionary movement in the current situation. They are: Firstly, people's forces can win a war against the army. Secondly, we need not always wait for all the revolutionary conditions to be present; the insurrection itself can create them. Thirdly, in the underdeveloped parts of America the battle-ground for armed struggle should in the main be the countryside. (In Ireland, this condition would have to be modified. - Ed.)

SUCH ARE THE CONTRIBUTIONS TO the development of the revolutionary struggle, and they can be applied to any of the countries where guerrilla warfare may be developed.

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THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO SAY: WE admit that in certain specific cases revolutionary war is the proper way to attain political power; but where can we find those great leaders, the Fidel Castros who will lead us to victory. Fidel Castro, like every human being, is a product of history. The military and political leaders, merged if possible into one man, who may lead risings, will learn the art of war in the exercise of war itself. There is no job or profession which can be learned from text-books alone. In this case, struggle is the great teacher.

NATURALLY THE TASK IS NOT SIMPLE, nor is it exempt from serious threats all the way along.

DURING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE armed struggle there appear two moments of extreme danger for the future of the revolution. The first of these arises in the preparatory stage and the way it is dealt with gives the measure of the determination for struggle and clarity of purpose of the people's forces. When the bourgeois state advances against the positions of the people, obviously there must

emerge a process of defence against the enemy who attacks in this moment of superiority. If the minimum subjective and objective conditions have already been developed, the defence must be armed but not in such a way that the people's forces become mere recipients of the enemy's blows; nor should the stage of armed defence be transformed into nothing but a last refuge for the pursued. Guerrilla fighting, though at a given moment it may be a defensive movement, carries within itself the capacity to attack the enemy and must constantly develop it. This capacity is what determines, as time goes on, the cataclystic character of the people's forces. That is to say, guerrilla fighting is not passive self-defence; it is defence with attack, and from the moment it is recognized as such, it has as a final perspective the winning of political power.

THIS MOMENT IS IMPORTANT. IN social processes the difference between violence and non-violence cannot be measured by the number of shots exchanged; it depends on concrete fluctuating situations. And one must know how to recognize the exact moment when the people's forces, conscious of their relative weakness but at the same time of their strategic strength, should take the initiative so that the situation does not worsen. The balance between the (bourgeois) dictatorship and the pressure of the people must be upset. The (bourgeois) dictatorship constantly tries to function without resorting to force. Being obliged to appear without disguise, that is to say, in its true aspect as a violent dictatorship of the reactionary classes, will contribute to its unmasking, and this will deepen the struggle to such an extent that it will not be able to turn back. The resolute beginning of long-range armed action depends on how the people's forces fulfil their function, which amounts to the task of forcing a decision on the (bourgeois) dictatorship -- to draw back or to unleash the struggle.

THE SKILFUL AVOIDANCE OF THE other moment of danger depends on the ability to develop the growth of the people's forces. Marx always advised that once the revolutionary process has begun, the revolutionaries must strike and strike without rest. A revolution that does not constantly deepen is a revolution that goes back. The combatants, once wearied, begin to lose faith, and then some of the

bourgeois manoeuvres to which we have been so accustomed may bear fruit. These can be the holding of elections to hand over the government to some other (party) with a more honeyed voice, or the staging of a coup by reactionaries, generally headed by the army. There are others as well, but it is not our intention to analyse such tactical stratagems.

THERE IS ALSO A DANGER, THAT THE leaders of the progressive parties, desiring to prolong conditions more favourable for revolutionary action by using certain aspects of bourgeois legality, lose sight of the goal, something that is very common in the course of action, and forget the definite strategic objective -- the seizure of power.

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IN ELABORATING THE THESIS, WE have assumed that eventually the idea of armed struggle as well as the formula of guerrilla warfare as a method of fighting will be accepted. Why?

ACCEPTING AS TRUE THAT THE enemy will struggle to maintain itself in power, it is necessary to consider destroying the oppressor-army. To do this, it is necessary to confront it with a people's army. This army is not born spontaneously, it must be armed from the enemy's arsenal and this demands a long hard struggle in which the people's forces and their leaders will always be exposed to attack by superior forces and be without adequate conditions of defence and manoeuvrability.

LET US CONSIDER THE WAY HOW A guerrilla centre can start.

NUCLEI OF RELATIVELY FEW PERSONS choose places favourable for guerrilla warfare, and there they begin to take action. But the following must be made clear: At the beginning, the relative weakness of the guerrilla fighters is such that they should only endeavour to pay attention to the terrain, in order to become acquainted with the surroundings, establish connections with the population and fortify places which eventually will be converted into bases.

A GUERRILLA UNIT CAN SURVIVE ONLY if it starts by basing its development on the three following conditions: constant mobility, constant vigilance, constant wariness. Without the adequate use of these elements of military tactics, the



unit will find it hard to survive. It must be remembered that the heroism of the guerrilla fighter at such times consists in the scope of the planned objective and the long series of sacrifices that must be made in order to attain it.

THESE SACRIFICES WILL NOT MEAN daily combat or face-to-face struggle with the enemy; they will assume forms more subtle and difficult for the individual guerrilla fighter to endure physically and mentally.

THE GUERRILLAS WILL PERHAPS suffer heavily from the attacks of enemy armies, at times be split up while those taken prisoner will be martyred. They will be pursued like hunted animals in the areas they have chosen to operate in, with the constant anxiety of having the enemy on their track, and on top of all this with the constant doubt that in some cases the terrorized locals will give them away to the repressive troops in order to save their own skins. They have no alternative but death or victory, at times when death is a concept a thousand times present, and victory a myth that only a revolutionary can dream of.

THAT IS THE HEROISM OF THE guerrilla. That is why it is said that to be in the march is also a form of fighting and to avoid combat at a given moment is another form. Faced with the general superiority of the enemy, the way to act is to find a form of tactics with which to gain a relative superiority at a chosen point, either by being able to concentrate more troops than the enemy or by making the best use of the terrain to secure advantages that upset the correlation of forces. In these conditions tactical victory is assured; if relative superiority is not clear, it is preferable not to take action. As long as one is

\*NOTE

ON THE QUESTION OF BASES, conditions in Ireland would tend to dictate that guerrilla units build such bases in the sense of building areas of political support and maximum co-operation from the populace, rather than bases which represent areas of military inaccessibility to the enemy. The general terrain in Ireland does not normally complement the setting up of bases of the type referred to by Che Guevara, who is primarily concerned with the South American theatre of operations, where the terrain does lend itself

in a position to choose the "HOW" and the "WHEN", no battle should be fought which will not end in victory.

GUERRILLA FORCES WILL GROW AND be consolidated within the framework of the great politico-military action of which they are a part. And within this framework they will go on forming bases, which are essential to their success. These bases are points which the enemy can penetrate only at the cost of heavy losses; they are bastions of the revolution; both shelters and starting points for bolder and more distant raids.\*

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SUCH A TIME WILL COME IF THE difficulties of both tactical and political discipline have been overcome. The guerrillas must never forget their function as vanguard of the people, the mandate entrusted to their care, and therefore they should create the necessary political conditions for the establishment of a revolutionary power based on the full support of the masses. The main demands of the people should be met to the degree and in the form which circumstances permit, so as to bring about the unity and solidarity of the whole population.

IF THE MILITARY SITUATION IS difficult from the first moments, the political situation will be no less delicate; and if a single military error can wipe out the guerrillas, a political error can check their development for a long time.

THE STRUGGLE IS POLITICO-MILITARY; so it must develop, and so it must be understood.

THE GUERRILLA WAR OR WAR OF liberation will generally have three stages; First, the strategic defensive when a small force nibbles at the enemy and makes off,

to such goals. However, in the final analysis, it is the co-operation of the people rather than the availability of terrain which offers centres of refuge, that determines the success of guerrilla warfare, because guerrilla warfare is fundamentally a political struggle and not a conventional military one. During the Tan War the IRA did not possess bases of the type referred to by Che Guevara; but it did possess those of the type we stipulate. They proved sufficient to meet the demands of the struggle under conditions peculiar to Ireland. ---- Editor.

not to shelter in passive defence within a small circumference, but rather to defend itself by limited attacks which it can carry out successfully. After this, comes a state of equilibrium, during which the possibilities of action on the part of both the enemy and the guerrillas are established; then comes the final stage, the total annihilation of the enemy.

WE HAVE PREDICTED THAT THE WAR will be continual. This means it will be protracted; it will have many fronts, and will cost much blood and countless lives over a

## IS THAT A FACT!

THE LOCAL ELECTIONS OCCASIONED the issuing of a "Comprehensive Policy" by Sinn Fein. Its main purpose was to show how the Free State should be run, and would be run if in the hands of Sinn Fein. However, one of its most intriguing proposals dealt not with government, but with marriage; which goes to show that these boys are really on the ball.

SAYS THE POLICY: "SINN FEIN representatives on County Councils will press for the urgent provision of piped water in all rural homes. We believe that lack of piped water is a vital factor in the low marriage rate."

WE HAVE HEARD SOME WAY-OUT suggestions on the causes of Ireland's low marriage rate, but man, that's the most original yet. It would be very interesting to hear more on the connection between piped water and the marriage urge. Indeed, it seems beyond question that such a study, and we assume Sinn Fein has made one, would constitute an invaluable addition to the famous Kinsey report on Sex; not to mention its possibilities in the regions of population control.

THERE ARE, OF COURSE, MANY questions which the Sinn Fein scientists must answer. For instance, does the piped water generate the marriage urge more in the male than the female; or is the effect equal on both? And what about the pipes themselves? Are iron pipes more conducive than others? It is obvious that all these vital problems, and more, must be ironed out before a national scheme could safely be carried out. After all, an error in such things could well cause a greater disaster than the present practice of drawing water from the well in buckets.

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long period. But besides (this, the phenomena of polarization of forces, the clear division between exploiters and exploited that will exist in future revolutionary war, mean that when the armed vanguard of the people seize power, the country that attains it will of one and the same time liquidate both their imperialist and national exploiting class oppressor. The first stage of the socialist revolution will have crystallized; the people will be ready to staunch their wounds and begin to build socialism.

## COMPROMISE FAILS

THE PEOPLE HAVE SPOKEN! In the recent Local Elections the Free State orientated policies of Sinn Fein were unequivocally rejected. In areas such as Dublin and Cork, where the Wolfe Tone Society was most active in putting across its collusionist policies, the "Progressives" were completely routed. The people made it quite clear that they are no longer fair game for opportunists who attempt to manipulate Republican sympathies for questionable political ends. One Fianna Fail experience is enough for any country; the people have learned their lesson and are not likely to be taken in again by self-styled republicans with Leinster House aspirations.

THE RESULTS OF THE LOCAL ELECTIONS amply demonstrate what we have said all along: the road to compromise offers no solution to the problems facing Irish Republicanism. It is no use trying to be better Free-staters than the crowd who have had half a century of experience at that game. The people don't want a new Free State party; they don't want more promises. They want action, and this can only be provided by a Republicanism which completely commits itself to a Revolutionary Programme, and a revolutionary course of action to complement it. It is only this that will galvanize the people into reinvigorated action; it is only this that will realize the establishment of THE REPUBLIC.

IT SEEMS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT the present leadership will change its ways and adopt this necessary course. They are too committed to the present defeatist road. But what about the rank and file; will they now awaken to reality, or continue to be duped. This is the most pressing question. It is one which every Republican must now answer. All must decide: is it to be REVOLUTION, or Free-statism for the Republican Movement?



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