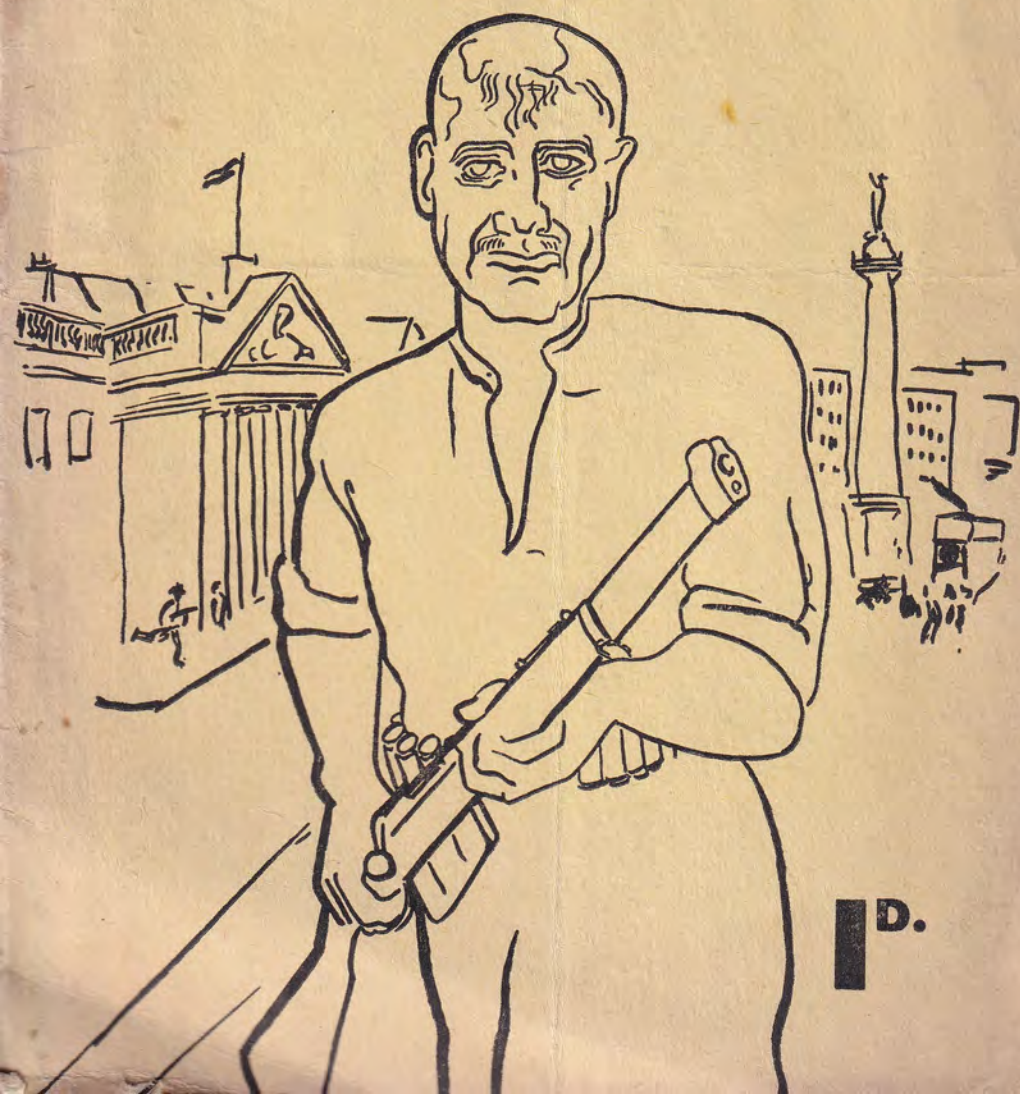


The Irish **REVOLT** —1916 and after

SEAN MURRAY



P.

THE IRISH REVOLT, 1916 AND AFTER

AUGUST, 1914, saw the start of the conflagration which we call the Great War. It was certainly "Great" measured by the extent of its participants, the number of its victims, the oceans of prejudice it let loose and the material ruin and wastage it wrought to the world.

What was it all about? What was the "holy urge" which could set ablaze five continents for four years, people land and sea with dead bodies, the hospitals of every land with dead and dying, and leave smoke and wallsteads where once there were towns and cities?

On the side of the allied powers headed by Britain it was a high and noble business. There was Prussian militarism. That was to be finished once and for all. There were nations denied liberty—that was to be done away with. The tyranny of the Czarist and Turkish Empires—mankind could no longer groan under these. "A reign of law based on the consent of the governed," such was the message from the land of Washington and Lincoln through the mouth of Woodrow Wilson. From Great Britain through the lips of Premier Lloyd George could be heard the war cry of "freedom for small nations and self-determination." Such were the signs under which the peoples were summoned to go forth on the great crusade.

It is clear enough to-day to all but the blindest that that war was not fought for any of the things which the peoples were led to believe in 1914. The promises then made were made by imperialists in the cause of imperialist conquest and greed. The peoples were deceived by their rulers. Prussian militarism is a greater menace to-day than ever. Democracy is being scrapped in favour of a system of the most barbarous dictatorship—Fascism—in one capitalist country after another. Weak countries are being invaded and their liberties taken away. One Treaty after another is being torn into shreds and cast into the waste paper basket. The fate of China,

Abyssinia, the threat to Mongolia and the dagger now held at the heart of every independent State of Europe by German Fascism are sufficient commentary on the promises and slogans of 1914.

"THE SOVEREIGN IRISH PEOPLE"

On April 23rd, 1916, a Proclamation was read in Dublin declaring Ireland an independent Republic. The Proclamation was signed by the following leaders of revolutionary Republican and Labour thought and organisation in the country: Thomas J. Clarke, Thomas MacDonagh, P. H. Pearse, Eamonn Ceant, Joseph Plunkett, James Connolly, Sean MacDermott.

The proclamation read as follows:—

"Irishmen and Irishwomen.

"In the name of God and the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

"Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

"We declare the right of the People of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and Government has not extinguished that right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty, six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right, and again asserting in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a sovereign Independent State and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations."

That was Easter Monday, 1916, in Dublin City.

The Republic maintained an existence of five days. With a liberal use of armed force and the bombardment of the city, the insurrec-

tion was crushed on Easter Saturday. P. H. Pearse, on behalf of the Provisional Government, then signed the following :

"In order to prevent the further slaughter of unarmed people and in the hope of saving the lives of our followers, now surrounded and hopelessly outnumbered, members of the Provisional Government present at Headquarters have agreed to an unconditional surrender, and the commanders of all units of the Republican forces will order their followers to lay down their arms."

"I agree to these conditions for the men only under my own command in the Moore Street District and for the men in the Stephen's Green command.

"James Connolly."

"LEADERS EXECUTED"

The end of the insurrection was the beginning of a wholesale execution of the leaders by Mr. Asquith's Government. The first batch to face the firing squad was P. H. Pearse, Tom Clarke, Thomas MacDonagh. Under the command of General Sir John Maxwell, the court-martial and firing squads continued the work of condemning and shooting their captives. The insurrection began on April 23, Easter Monday. The surrender took place on Saturday, April 28th. Pearse, Clarke and MacDonagh went to their doom on Wednesday, May 3rd. From then until May 12th the executions continued. By that time all the signatories to the proclamation plus the insurgent commandants had been done to death. The Asquith Government, leading its own people in "a war for freedom for small nations," took a terrible vengeance on the champions of freedom for Ireland. But the wrath of a frightened imperialism was not yet satisfied. Between Saturday, April 28th, and May 12th there lay in Arbour Hill Barracks one of the signatories of the Proclamation, the second in command to Pearse and the representative of the revolutionary working class in the uprising—James Connolly.

"A GLORIOUS CHAPTER"

In his valedictory address to the Volunteer insurgents on the Friday prior to the surrender, P. H. Pearse wrote :

"I desire now, lest I may not have an opportunity later, to pay homage to the gallantry of the soldiers of Irish Freedom, who during the past four days have been writing with fire and steel the most

glorious chapter in the later history of Ireland. Justice can never be done to their heroism, to their discipline, to their gay and unconquerable spirit in the midst of peril and death.

"Let me, who have led them into this, speak in my own, and in my fellow-commanders' names, and in the name of Ireland present and to come, their praise and ask those who come after them to remember them."

"For four days they have fought and toiled, almost without cessation, almost without sleep, and in the intervals of fighting they have sung songs of the freedom of Ireland. No man has complained, no man has asked 'why?' Each individual has spent himself, happy to pour out his strength for Ireland and for freedom. If they do not win this fight, they will have deserved to win. But win it they will, although they may win it in death. Already they have won a great thing. They have redeemed Dublin from many shames, and made her name splendid among the names of cities.

"If I were to mention names of individuals my list would be a long one.

"I will mention only that of Commandant General James Connolly, commanding the Dublin Division. He lies wounded, but is still the guiding brain of our resistance.

"If we accomplish no more than we have accomplished, I am satisfied. I am satisfied that we have saved Ireland's honour. I am satisfied that we should have accomplished more, that we should have accomplished the task of enthroning as well as proclaiming the Irish Republic as a Sovereign State, had our arrangements for a simultaneous rising of the whole country, with a combined plan as sound as the Dublin plan has been proved to be, been allowed to go through on Easter Sunday. Of the fatal countermanding order which prevented those plans from being carried out, I shall not speak further. Both Eoin MacNeill and we have acted in the best interests of Ireland.

"For my part, as to anything I have done in this, I am not afraid to face either the judgment of God or the judgment of posterity."

"IMPERIALIST VENGEANCE"

In answer to protests against the apparently unending daily list of executions and a demand for their cessation, Mr. Asquith stated in the House of Commons that he intended to stop the carnage, but that there were two men still in custody whose lives must first be taken. These were James Connolly, the Socialist leader, and Sean MacDermott.

Connolly's execution was delayed owing to the fact, as stated in Pearse's message, that he was "badly wounded." The Asquith Government had now to make up its mind whether it would be cheated out of its vengeance by a "mere" observance of the civilised custom of not executing a wounded man, or whether it would brush aside such trifles and bring its wounded captive before the firing squad. Imperialist vengeance took first place over civilised usage and human decency, and on May 12th, 1916, Connolly was delivered over to his executioners.

History will record this deed as among the blackest crimes of imperialism against the Irish nation and against the international Labour movement.

In 1848, in the midst of a nation ruined by famine and plague, in which it is calculated 2,000,000 people lost their lives, John Mitchel, in the dock at Green Street, received a sentence of fourteen years' penal servitude for organising the masses for rebellion; and in answer to the question as to why sentence should not be passed, he cried: "The law has now done its part, and the Queen of England, her Crown and her Government in Ireland are now secure, pursuant to Act of Parliament. But I have done my part also!"

These words sum up Easter Week. Imperialist vengeance, in the name of the law, had done its part. Dublin was in ruins, the soldiery of the foreign conqueror had displaced the volunteers of the people, another Irish insurrection was quelled, the jails were again overflowing, fifteen leaders lay in quick lime, and Casement was on his way to the gallows, conducted thereto by the pioneer of the gentleman's rebellion in Ulster, "Galloper" Smith, afterwards Lord Birkenhead. Imperialism had done its part. So had revolutionary Ireland.

"INSANITY AND TREASON"

The Insurrection over, all shades of politics come forward to the inquest to investigate the causes and pronounce their verdicts. Mr. Augustine Birrell, the Liberal Chief Secretary for Ireland, gave the verdict of the ruling class of his country on the uprising. He was satisfied the rising was off the rails of Irish history and tradition. It was undertaken by a small minority of conspirators in opposition to the expressed will of official nationalist Ireland, led by Messrs. Redmond, Dillon and Devlin. Britain was engaged in a just war,

and Ireland, Nationalist and Orange, had joined that war for freedom. Under such circumstances, Mr. Birrell felt confident enough to state in the House of Commons that the rebellion "would never be regarded by the Irish people as a landmark in their history." Such was the verdict of the governing class of Britain on the uprising of '16.

It was now the turn of official nationalist Ireland to speak through the mouth of Mr. Redmond: "I need not say how I regard this act with horror and detestation." He went on to appeal for clemency for the rank and file "on whose shoulders there lies a guilt far different from that of the ringleaders, instigators and fomentors of the outbreak." The Parliamentary statesman of the nationalist upper classes was satisfied that the revolt was an artificial affair and so to be dismissed.

"CRIMINAL MADNESS"

This viewpoint was even more clearly and forcibly expressed by the then leading nationalist daily paper in Ireland, the "Irish Independent," a paper directly linked to the chief circles of the employers of labour, through its proprietor, Mr. William Martin Murphy.

In its first appearance after the insurrection, the "Independent" editorial was entitled "Criminal Madness," and on May 10th, two days before Connolly's execution, in a leading article entitled "The Clemency Plea," it wrote:

"When, however, we come to some of the ringleaders, instigators and fomentors not yet dealt with, we must make an exception (to the clemency plea.—S. M.). If these men are treated with too great leniency, they will take it as an indication of weakness on the part of the Government and the consequences may not be satisfactory. They may be more truculent than ever and it is therefore necessary that society should be protected against their activity. . . . It would hardly be fair to treat these leniently because the cry for clemency has been raised, while those, no more guilty than they, have been severely punished. Weakness to such men at this stage may be fatal. . . . Let the worst of the ringleaders be singled out and dealt with as they deserve."

The May 13th, 1916, issue of the "Independent" announced the execution of Connolly and MacDermott under the caption "Intriguers Pay the Penalty."

The organ of clericalism, the "Irish Catholic," joined in the imperialist chorus against the insurgents. It wrote:

"This extraordinary combination of rogues and fools. To find anything like a parallel for what has occurred, it is necessary to have recourse to the bloodstained annals of the Paris Commune."

And on May 29th it wrote:

"What was attempted was an act of brigandage, pure and simple, and there is no reason to lament that its perpetrators have met the fate which from the very dawn of history has been universally reserved for traitors."

British imperialism, Irish capitalism, Irish clericalism—the verdicts of all were substantially the same. The rising was "criminal madness," treachery, led by men of ill-balanced mind and intriguers, would be disowned by the Irish people, and so on.

ONE ESTIMATE

From the ranks of the international Labour movement came differing estimates. A Conference of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain at Newcastle-on-Tyne recorded its condemnation of militarism, but included among the "militarists" Connolly and the Easter insurgents. Heavily polluted with the poison of MacDonaldite pacifism, this Party of British Labour was quite unable to make a faithful working-class estimate of the great Dublin struggle.

Even some spokesmen of the International Left Wing Conference at Zimmerwald, in Switzerland, through its organ, took up the position that the insurrection was a putsch—the product of a conspiracy without any mass roots or justification.

—AND ANOTHER

But from the Party of the Russian working class, through the man who was destined one year after Easter week to lead a great nation out of the shambles of the war and into freedom and Socialism, came a different estimation of the events in Dublin. Lenin wrote:

"The term 'putsch,' in the scientific sense of the word, may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators, or stupid maniacs, and when it has roused no sympathy among the masses. The century-old Irish national movement, having passed through various stages and combinations of class

interests, expressed itself, *inter alia*, in a mass Irish National Congress in America which passed a resolution calling for Irish independence—it expressed itself in street fighting conducted by a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a *section of the workers* after a long period of mass agitation, demonstrations, suppression of papers, etc. Whoever calls *such* an uprising a 'putsch' is either a hardened reactionary or a doctrinaire, who is hopelessly incapable of picturing to himself a social revolution as a living phenomenon."

Amidst a torrent of denunciation and disapproval from the press and pulpits, from all the upper layers of society in Ireland the representatives of the Easter insurrection appealed to the masses of the people.

VERDICT OF THE MASSES

The masses gave their verdict in six bye-elections between the period of the insurrection and the close of the war. Five of these elections endorsed the uprising! The nationalist (Redmondite) candidates were routed and Republicans elected. Mr. Lloyd George, following his celebrated strategy of "keep them talking," hastily got together a Convention in Trinity College to talk about Home Rule "by consent" in a desperate effort to sidetrack the rapidly swelling tide of revolution in the country. The Convention came to nothing.

At the beginning of 1918 the issue of conscription came to the fore. The Imperial Government was here to suffer its first signal defeat at the hands of the masses of the Irish people. Inspired by the Easter Rising, roused by the slaughter of its revolutionary leaders, piercing the deception of the imperialist war cries about concern for subject peoples, self-determination and defence of small countries, the working masses of the country banded themselves together against being forced to fight imperialism's battles.

In the famous Mansion House Conference, all sections of the Nationalist, Republican and Labour Movements formed a united front against the conscription plan of the Coalition Government. The following made up the Conference: Eamonn de Valera, Arthur Griffith (Sinn Féin); John Dillon, Joseph Devlin (Nationalist Party); William O'Brien, T. M. Healy (Independent Nationalists); Thomas Johnston and William O'Brien (Labour); Chairman, Lawrence O'Neill, Lord Mayor of Dublin. At no period of the Irish National movement was there witnessed such a mass uprising

of the people. The Lloyd George Government dropped the Conscription Act, so far as it applied to Ireland.

LENIN'S ESTIMATE VINDICATED

In these days of militarism and impending new imperialist wars the memory of that great popular victory of the Irish people over the powerful Lloyd George Government must never be forgotten. Its lessons and examples are needed in Ireland to-day.

The Easter rising was to receive its final mass vindication in the General Election of 1918, the notorious "khaki election." Out of eighty-four Parliamentary seats, the anti-Easter Week nationalists retained only six. John Dillon, the leader of the Nationalist Party, was among the defeated in Mayo. O'Brien and Healy discreetly retired without a fight in Cork. The betrayers of the national cause and supporters of the imperialist war went down before a hurricane of popular indignation.

The Easter uprising was now to confront British imperialism in a mass form. It was now no longer a case of quelling a revolt in military fashion only. The masses had joined issue with imperialist tyranny for national liberation. They had given their verdict on the uprising and the lie to the Birrells, Redmonds, and the capitalist press who had misrepresented the greatest episode in modern Irish history as the act of criminals and lunatics.

Lenin's estimation of Easter Week was vindicated.

The first act of the newly-elected deputies, all but the half-dozen "nationalists" and a score of Unionists (Carsonites), was to meet in Dublin in January, 1919, to ratify the Easter Week proclamation declaring Ireland a Republic. The deputies took an oath of allegiance to the Republic, declared for a boycott of the Westminster Parliament and established Dail Eireann as the Parliament of the nation with a Government responsible to it. The Irish Volunteers became the Irish Republican Army under the control of the newly-established Government.

COERCION—THE BLACK AND TANS

The reply of the Lloyd George Coalition Government to this verdict of the General Election of 1918 was to proclaim Dail Eireann "an illegal assembly," and declare for a policy of coercion.

The democratically expressed will of the Irish people had now

taken the place of Prussian militarism as the menace to British imperialism.

The '16 rising had been ruthlessly quelled and its leaders executed on the pretext, amongst others, that it was an action of men acting without popular approval. Faced with the clearly expressed will of the people in a General Election, the Lloyd George Government answered with the Black and Tans. Finished fighting for "liberty" on the Continent, the knight-errants of imperialism launched their crusade for Empire against the declared will of the Irish people.

The struggle from January, 1919, till December, 1921, is the story of the continuation of the Easter rising fortified by the mass power of the people, on the one side, and the continuation on a corresponding scale of the Easter executions, proclamations, jailing and suppressions by the imperialist forces on the other. The Treaty of 1921 a compromise fraught with disastrous consequences to Ireland—brought the unity of the anti-imperialist forces to an end, closed one chapter in the history of the Irish national struggle and opened another. But to understand 1921 it is necessary to look more closely at the factors which made '16.

TWENTY YEARS AFTER: THE LESSON

Viewed from almost any angle, the agreement signed by the Irish representatives (Messrs. Griffith, Collins, Barton and Gavan Duffy) with Messrs. Lloyd George, Chamberlain, Churchill and Birkenhead on behalf of the British Government, cannot be regarded as other than a defeat for nationalist Ireland. The Republic was abandoned, partnership with Empire accepted. The unity of the country was surrendered and the will of the Tory counter-revolution in England and "Ulster" legalised in the form of a separate State for Six Counties in the North-East. What did the national representatives get in return for the sacrifice of national unity and acceptance of monarchy and Empire? Even from the angle of economics the Treaty was nothing short of outrageous. The new Free State agreed to defray the costs of pensioning off the servants of the old Castle régime—the police, judges and civil servants. There was no stipulation about the land annuities, which means they were to be paid to the British, who continued collecting them up to 1932, and are conducting an economic war at this hour for the right to go on collecting them.

Worst of all, the partitioned state was to pay a sum of £11,000,000 per annum as a contribution towards imperial defence, in other words, for the "protection" of the imperial navy and suchlike. The disastrous character of the agreement from the business angle alone is best shown by the farce of the £11,000,000 imperial contribution. This money was never collected, and in 1925 Mr. Baldwin cancelled the whole thing in return for the abandonment by the Cosgrave Government of all claims to a revision of the Northern boundary. It was an agreement by which Baldwin gave away nothing, except what he never possessed, and Cosgrave brought back nothing, while the Premier could extol his "imperial generosity" and Cosgrave rant about the "hard bargain" he had driven!

The purely nationalist-minded see little, or in fact, no, connection between the capitulation of 1921 and the Easter rising. They take the view that 1916 was made by good men; the 1921 Treaty by bad ones. For many amongst us to this day the foregoing is not at all an unfair or exaggerated representation of their viewpoint. But to seek for an explanation of the historic events with which we are dealing along any such paths will avail nothing.

FEAR OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The Communist Party of Ireland in its Inaugural Manifesto in 1933 estimates the position as follows:

"The 1921 betrayal was no accident of individual leaders being bribed or bought by the British. It was the inevitable outcome of a struggle in which the leadership was in the hands of a class who feared that the complete triumph of the national independence movement would not halt at national separation, but would develop into a social revolution resulting in the overthrow of the Irish capitalist class and the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Socialist Republic."

Brutus, after assassinating Cæsar, justified his act: "Not that I loved Cæsar less, but that I loved Rome more." The Irish upper classes were in much the same fix as Brutus: they loved Ireland much, but they loved their class more. They had the chief say, in fact they alone had a decisive say, in the guidance of the national cause following 1916. All issues of a social character which would

offend or estrange the wealthy classes were avoided and if raised were severely frowned upon.

The land annuities are a case in point. £5,000,000 (including the North) was being paid yearly to the British Government. The Republican Government had it in its power to settle this issue once and for all by instructing the people to cease paying this feudal tribute. From a national point of view it was nothing short of serious disloyalty to the people to continue paying the enemy this unjust tribute at a moment when the nation could be said to be at war. While men were laying down their lives for the country's liberty, languishing in jails, fighting on the hillsides, sacrificing everything for their country's freedom, the Government of the First Dail was ensuring that John Bull got his £5,000,000 from the Irish farmers.

The stoppage of the annuity payments was a national duty. It would have been a blow at the basis of the Conquest. But just because it raised the social rights of the people as well as the national right of the nation, both national and social justice were alike sacrificed by the national leaders on the altar of fear of social revolution.

The National movement failed to act up to Fintan Lalor's war-cry, not merely to repeal the Union but to undo the Conquest. It aimed to effect a purely political change in the national status, but to leave intact the Conquest which had socially despoiled the people.

Across the whole conduct of Ireland's national struggle following Easter '16 is written in giant letters the words "Fear of Social Revolution."

THE NATION AND THE CLASSES

The "social problem" has haunted all national endeavour right from the days of the United Irishmen, through Young Ireland and Fenianism. The revolutionary wing of Irish nationalism devoted its endeavour towards national separation, a Republic and the destruction of landlordism. From the 'eighties of the last century up to the commencement of the Twentieth Century the social issue was predominantly that of the land question, the battle of the peasant farmers against the landed garrison ruling by the bayonets of Dublin Castle.

The first decade of the present century and the beginning of the

second decade saw the emergence into independent life of a new class, the industrial workers of the cities. James Connolly, a disciple of the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels, appeared on the scene towards the end of the Nineteenth Century and founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party. In 1907 Jim Larkin came to prominence in the strike of the Belfast Transport Workers, and from this can be dated the uprise of the modern Trade Union movement among the hitherto unorganised or poorly organised unskilled labourers. The junction between Larkin and Connolly in the 1913 strike in Dublin was the joining of the forces of Socialism and industrial labour.

CONNOLLY OR GRIFFITH

James Connolly put the Labour standpoint on the issue of the country's national liberation in these terms: "The cause of oppressed nations and oppressed classes is one and the same." He could not conceive of "a free Ireland with a subject working class," of a free working class with a subject Ireland. He boldly annunciated the doctrine that the freedom of Ireland from foreign rule was bound up with the freedom of the working class from the capitalist system. He arrived at this standpoint by a Marxian socialist analysis of the attitude of the various classes in Ireland to the national cause and was able to show that the men of property from the gentry downwards were "bound by a thousand golden threads to Empire" and that the Irish working class alone were the true "inheritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland."

The leading exponent of nationalism, Arthur Griffith, the founder of the Sinn Féin Party, took a directly opposite view to Connolly. Ranging himself in opposition to the Labour movement, denouncing Larkin and the 1913 strike, describing Connolly's doctrines as embodied in his *Labour in Ireland* as a "Tract for the Times," Griffith claimed that there was no social problem in Ireland apart from foreign rule, and that the solution was to be found in the repeal of the Union politically and the creation of Irish industry without any change in the social system.

A national independence movement allied to the working class with its ultimate goal a Socialist Republic: such was the doctrine of Connolly. A national movement allied to the aspiring Irish capitalists with its ultimate goal a compromise with imperialism: such was the doctrine of Arthur Griffith.

Following '16 the Griffith standpoint predominated in the combined Sinn Fein-Republican movement, Griffith becoming Vice-President of the national organisation in 1917, and leading plenipotentiary in the Anglo-Irish negotiations in 1921.

Griffith was opposed to the 1916 rising, and his colleague, Eoin MacNeill, was guilty of an act of out and out disloyalty to the Rising at the eleventh hour. On the Easter Saturday morning, because of his opposition to an insurrection, he gave Pearse and MacDonagh to understand that he was no longer Chief of Staff of the Volunteers and would play no further part in the movement. That night he went back on this understanding, and without informing Pearse or any of the leaders, issued to the press an order countermanding all parades for the Sunday morning. Mr. Griffith died in 1922 while conducting a civil war against the Republic. Nationalism divorced from the class struggle of the workers for social liberty came to a sorry end: the betrayal of the nation and armed conflict with the Republic proclaimed in 1916.

THE HOPE—RISING SOCIALISM

The ideals and objectives of Easter Week have yet to be fully realised. Their realisation alone can solve the national problem in Ireland. Compromises and bargains between Irish capitalists and the governing classes of Great Britain can only aggravate the evils of the present situation for both peoples. Not with dying capitalism but with rising Socialism can the future freedom and well-being of the Irish nation be secured. The revolutionary working-class attitude to the national fight in Ireland has been vindicated by history. The movement for freedom must now be constructed in such a manner as to avoid past errors.

The Irish Communist Party is convinced that the way to success lies through a powerful united Labour movement joined to all that is virile in the national cause and directed to the simultaneous destruction of national and social enslavement of the people, to the Workers' and Farmers' Republic.

In this spirit should Irishmen and women salute the Twentieth Anniversary of Easter, 1916.



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PUBLISHED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN,
16, KING STREET, LONDON, W.C.2, AND PRINTED BY THE
MARSTON PRINTING CO., NELSON PLACE, CAYTON STREET,
LONDON, E.C.1