

# Why they fight in Ireland.

# Workers' Dreadnought

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by  
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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## Capitalism v. Communism.

The Problem of Population.

The *Manchester Guardian*, as everyone knows, has been bringing out, during recent months, some formidable-looking supplements on *Reconstruction in Europe*. In these volumes the views of European Liberal capitalists, and some others, have been set forth under the editorship of Mr. John Maynard Keynes, in the interests of maintaining the hoary old fabric of capitalism, under which we and the world are suffering. The first part of section six of this amusing series is devoted to the population problem.

### The Gloomy Malthusian.

Mr. Keynes opens the deliberations in gloomy fashion. He is confessedly a follower of Malthus, and fears the growth of population; fears it especially for this country. He declares that we are suffering from a growth of population which has arisen through "events, some of which took place in 1855, at the time of the Crimean War, and none of which took place later than 1905." He fears we can get no relief: "However great the disequilibrium that results, compensating forces cannot produce their full effect for twenty years and more, unless they are actually destructive of life. Such violent compensation is, in fact, highly improbable; and what is much more likely to occur is a slow but steady lowering in the standard of living." Apparently another war is necessary to put matters right from the Keynes standpoint, since even the losses of the Great War have left us with what he regards as a dangerously large population.

He adds: "The number of males between twenty and sixty is, in spite of war casualties, 300,000 more than it was in 1911, a number considerably in excess of the total unemployed. It is not sufficient, therefore, that our trade should recover to its pre-war volume of activity—which is generally the utmost for which we can now hope—it must be on a substantially larger scale, approximately larger than in 1911, if we are not to lose ground. Moreover, for many years to come, regardless of what the birth-rate may be from now onwards, upwards of 250,000 new labourers will enter the labour market annually in excess of those going out of it. To maintain this growing body of labour at the same standard of life as before, we require not only growing markets, but a growing capital equipment. In order to hold our heads above water, the national capital must grow as fast as the national labour supply, which means new savings at the rate of £400,000,000 to £500,000,000 per annum. . . ."

"The same problem is present in an even greater form in some other parts of Europe. Possibly unseen developments may intervene to help us. But, failing the unforeseen, the problem is, I think, of much greater magnitude than can be solved by Dr. Brownlee's expedient of emigration, which is only an expensive palliative."

Mr. Keynes, the leader and hope of the Liberal Reconstructionists, appears to have no solution to offer unless it be, as he vaguely hints, that of birth control, which is largely advocated by his co-writers.

If, as Mr. Keynes says, capitalism can only support our population if the capitalists are able to milk four or five hundred million pounds of "savings" out of the producing classes each year, it ought not to be difficult for the ordinary man and woman in the street to realise that capitalism is played out.

### Vienna's Numerous Parasites.

The facts of the case are very naively stated by Herr Alfred Francis Pribram, Professor of Modern History at Vienna University. He says that the population of Vienna in 1920 was 1,800,000, and that instead of being the metropolis for an empire of fifty million people, as before the War, Austria now having only a population of 6,350,000, Vienna now includes 30 per cent. of the Austrian population. Of the Viennese population in 1920, only a little more than half had any occupation outside their homes; that is to say, 616,436 out of 851,000 men, and 362,468 out of 990,000 women worked outside their homes. 363,974 persons were engaged in their own housekeeping, 504,448 had no occupation. Of those who had occupations, only 25 per cent. were directly engaged in production. Ten per cent., including railwaymen and postal officials, were in the service of the State.

Professor Pribram declares that to put matters right, "those engaged in production must raise their output," and "the number of officials and others engaged in unproductive occupations must be reduced."

The professor has seen a glimmering of the truth, only a glimmering. He laments the fact that:

"So far all attempts to dissuade the workmen from a rigid adherence to the eight-hour day have failed."

It does not occur to him that, instead of adding to the burden of those who are already producers, their number should be increased by recruits from amongst the persons whose work is unnecessary, or who do no work at all.

### What to do with the Useless People.

The professor sorrowfully adds that "the efforts of the Government to diminish the number of State employees have been almost equally unavailing. To thrust the superfluous officials into the street "would not accord with the social settlement of to-day," he says. He makes instead a very remarkable proposition. We give it in his own naive words:

"The idea suggests itself of finding, in foreign countries, for the superfluous officials, as well as for those officers who have not succeeded in making a living at home, an occupation in keeping with their capabilities, inclinations, and experience. But a corresponding return must be offered to those States that might be disposed to receive such emigrants. Now Austria possesses a comparatively large number of excellent craftsmen, distinguished for the taste and quality of their work, whose performances are of a high order in leather and fancy goods, in cabinet-making, in locksmith work, in printing and the graphic arts, in toy-making, and in the manufacture of instruments. It would certainly be a heavy sacrifice for the individuals, as well as for the community, if some of this valuable productive labour were to emigrate; moreover, it might be urged, not without justification, that these artisans, and especially the younger of them, have constant need of the stimulus which their homes provide for them, but which would be lacking abroad. Let all this be granted; but necessity knows no law, and it would be more in keeping with the dignity of the Austrian State and its citizens not to approach the Council table once again with

empty hands. How would it be, then, if a corresponding number of artisans were placed at the disposal of those States who pledged themselves to offer a home and a career to Austrian officials and officers? Austria would thus bring a not insignificant asset into the transaction. Our artisans could at once commence a successful activity in the land of their adoption, and thus recompense her for the trouble and expense which would be involved in the acceptance of the officials and officers. But to what occupation could these latter be put? It would certainly not be difficult for the ex-officers to make their own living on their own account. Thrown out of their former career by the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian forces, they have shown their power of adaptation to the new conditions of life. Accustomed to their rigid performance of duty, discipline, and frugality, they have drawn their conclusions from the facts given and have applied themselves, each according to his inclination and capacity, to the most diverse callings. Thus many an ex-officer is doing excellent work to-day as manufacturer, as merchant, as man of business, and in the independent occupations. Without doubt, those who have succeeded in earning a permanent living at home will readily set out on their travels if the prospect is offered them of attaining this object in far-off countries by their own exertions in any calling whatever. It will be more difficult to accommodate the emigrating of officials who in general lack the power of adaptation. Most of them will probably have to turn their attention to agricultural pursuits, for which, in the case of many—e.g., of the railway employees—their custom of working in allotment and garden should be of utility.

"The advantage which would accrue to the city of Vienna through the emigration of these people, who are superfluous at home—their number may be put at some 100,000—is obvious. Huge sums could be saved, and, in addition, the remaining officials could be better paid. . . ."

"Finally, one more question which arises spontaneously to the lips of anyone who knows the Viennese character—Will those summoned to voluntary expatriation answer the call? We reply openly and frankly: It will not be accomplished without compulsion. The authorities will have to summon up the energy to place the choice before the younger officials . . . of either starting a new life across the sea with Government assistance, or remaining at home at their own risk and responsibility. . . . With our artisans the Government will, of course, not be able to use any compulsion. They must be brought to a decision by the hope of more ample earnings, by the proud consciousness of winning recognition abroad for Austrian industrial arts, and by the inspiring feeling of having assisted their fellow-countrymen to an assured livelihood."

The Professor is frank indeed! He proposes, without shame, that, in order to induce foreign countries to accept some of Austria's parasites, a number of her useful productive workers shall

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Bolsheviki Make Peace with Machno.

Through this decisive blow in a critical situation Machno again found favour with the Bolsheviki.

White the Red Army was pressed back by Denekin's victorious army, a new reactionary Czarist general made his appearance in Ukraine: Grigorjev.

Machno desired to know whose spiritual child Grigorjev was. He began negotiating with him. At one of these negotiations Machno killed him after he had learnt that Grigorjev was a reactionary.

Between October 20th and November 1st, 1919, Jekaterinoslav fell from Denekin's into Machno's hands. As Denekin's main army, on account of Machno's exploits, was then compelled to retreat, it came from Central Russia down into Ukraine.

Machno Again Outlawed.

Machno was thus forced to turn back and retreat to Alexandrovsk. In the meantime, Denekin retreated still further, and the Red Army followed upon his heels. On January 10th and 11th the Red Army also arrived at Alexandrovsk.

Through French support Wrangel became stronger. Especially after the war that broke out between Russia and Poland, Russia was compelled to concentrate its power against Poland.

The peasants congregated and formed bands. These bands fought against the Poles, against the Bolsheviki, and also against Wrangel. Machno also became stronger again.

The peasants fought against both Wrangel and the Bolsheviki. The Bolsheviki, in their turn, fought against Wrangel and Machno, but did not meet with any success.

About this time Machno sent a note to the President of the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine, in which he laid claim to the governments of Jekaterinoslav and Cherson for himself and his followers.

Machno Fights Wrangel.

About the end of September, 1920, Machno's forces became considerably stronger. At this time the position of the Bolsheviki on the political front was most critical.

Such a figure of story and myth is Machno in the mind of the peasants. For that reason it is plain that the Machno movement finds better response and reception than all the Government troops coming from the outside.

more demanded the freedom of Wollin and the rest of his friends. As Machno this time had power behind his words, the Bolsheviki were compelled to give in.

In the middle of November, 1920, Wrangel was almost completely beaten. It could be foreseen that the Red Army, which through the peace with Poland in Riga, had become free, would throw itself upon Wrangel and crush him.

In regard to another statement, that the Machno forces indirectly had helped Wrangel when they fought against the Red Army, we have also to do with a conscious lie.

It is quite sure, however, that the Bolsheviki, who now co-operate with Machno, will fight him again at their first opportunity, and then, perhaps, will annihilate him.

If we now free ourselves from all party opinions and hold fast to the objective facts of the case, the following historic facts are undeniable.

The peasants did not content themselves with fighting against the Germans and Austrians, but in the course of their battle they turned against every Government.

They have woven a wreath of stories about his head and relate the most incredible tales among themselves about Batkno.

They have taken a place he orders one or several houses vacated, and then pretends that he is to live there.

Such a figure of story and myth is Machno in the mind of the peasants. For that reason it is plain that the Machno movement finds better response and reception than all the Government troops coming from the outside.

The logic of the peasants is very simple: We want to live for ourselves, and not be disturbed. Who comes to us and wants to rule over us will be slain and his property will be distributed.

To have thrown the peasants upon this primitive, savage, uncultivated level, through which the cultural development not only was stopped but set back, that is the work of those who lit the flame of the world war.

The conditions under which the Machno army declared itself prepared to fight together with the Red Army against Wrangel were laid down in the form of a pact on October 16th, 1920, which was signed by the former Hungarian People's Commissar Bela Kun and by a representative of the Machno army.

After these agreements were entered into it became possible to conquer Wrangel's white armies, owing to the co-operation between the Red Army and the Machnovizi.

But after the victory of the Red Army the Soviet Government broke these agreements and started a merciless battle against the Machno detachment. And all anarchists of Ukraine were again put in prison.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD.

A BOOK FOR CHILDREN.

By Robert McMillan.

REVIEW BY TOM ANDERSON.

To the girls and boys of the Empire I recommend Robert McMillan's book. It is one of the finest books published for the young. There are twenty-two chapters in it and 139 pages, and it is all very wonderful.

How to read the book: A class is best. Get a few boys and girls into a reading circle, at ages, say, twelve to eighteen, and old people may come if they so desire.

The book is written in very simple language, so that any young child can understand it. Let me quote you a few passages:

"Perhaps you have learned to sing, as I did when very small, 'Twinkle, twinkle, little star; etc.

"But the stars are not small. They are large, very large, bigger than our sun; and every star you see in the sky is a sun.

"Shall I tell you how far our sun is from Australia? It is over 92,000,000 miles!

"Our great big sun is 1,500,000 times bigger than our earth.

"The star Canopus is a million and a-half times bigger than our sun. Our 'great big sun' is only half a star baby.

"There is no such thing as a 'sky,' but I have to say 'sky' so that you may understand me when I speak about things that appear to be above us. But what is above us?

"Nothing at all! What is all about it? Space. But space is nothing? Yes, space is also nothing. Outside of this little world of ours there is no 'up' or 'down,' or 'east' or 'west,' or 'north,' or 'south,' or any direction at all.

"Light travels at the rate of 180,000 miles a second—you ought to make a note of that, for it is terribly upsetting. It would take a ray of light, then, three and a-half years to reach the nearest star.

"The distance of the next star to it might be sixty 'light years' off, or a hundred 'light years' off. There are stars known to scientists now that are distant a thousand years from us.

(Continued on p. 3)

THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

(Continued from last week.)

It would be a gross error to imagine that the decline of foreign imports is mainly due to high protective duties, and that therefore the Russians pay for everything much dearer than the West Europeans.

The aggregate imports of textiles (inclusive of yarn) stands so low as to be nearly compensated by nearly equal values of exports.

The same is still more true with regard to other European nations, much more advanced in their industrial development, and especially with regard to Germany.

As a result of the above, the imports of manufactured goods into Germany are declining. The aggregate imports of textiles (inclusive of yarn) stands so low as to be nearly compensated by nearly equal values of exports.

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pointing out very frankly several secondary drawbacks of German manufactures, Dr. Francke (Die Neueste Entwicklung der Textilindustrie in Deutschland) maintains that the German woollens are not inferior to the British, and they really compete with them in British markets.

English and German capitalists, English engineers and foremen, have planted within Russia the improved cotton manufactures of their other countries; they are busy now in improving the woollen industries and the production of machinery.

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knew also, as Jesus said, that the Kingdom of God was among the people who forgathered in the forum to urge their wrongs and consider their thoughts—among them and without, as well as within his individual soul.

Communism is of the people. It means a common right to satisfy from common wealth our common needs. It implies no trespass on the rights of the individual and his liberty of conscience.

What reputations Plato has made! Divines, whose sermons and ministrations happily are forgotten, live for ever in the pantheon of culture because they had the inspiration to translate Plato and to dispute about his meaning.

When modern Communists urge such ideas the scholars and the lawyers cry out for more and more drastic measures of persecution.

I do not say that Plato's Republic was identical with the Communists' Republic of to-day. I do not say that his free love exactly agreed with their conception.

I claim that he was treading the same third-rate track and that his vision was on the same level as theirs.

One of many MSS. written in Earlennie Prison, Glasgow.

The wonder of it filled and inspired the Apostle. It took possession of him and enthused him with the gospel and the awe of the streets.

What was this Luther but a third-rate man? As third rate as the Karl Liebknecht who was directly descended from him and perished on the streets an apostle of the twentieth century, a martyr unto the glory of man.

## HUNGER.

People are indignant, fellow-worker, because young Frank Emery has been sent to prison for six months for taking sixpennyworth of apples when he was hungry.

But what you and I ought to be angry about, fellow-worker, is that Frank Emery, or anyone else, should be hungry, and unable to satisfy that hunger in a land of plenty.

Apples, fellow-worker; why, we could grow so many apples in this country that millions of them would hang on the boughs till they dropped unwanted. There is no reason for a scarcity of apples, or of anything else, fellow-worker, that human labour can produce and human beings require to use.

We should be angry that anyone should go hungry, and that any should deny food to their fellow-creatures.

We should be angry, fellow-worker, that Frank Emery, like millions of other workers, should be prevented from practising his useful trade; that he should be denied the tools and the material required for the shoes he is qualified to make, whilst people are needing shoes to wear, and whilst there is no scarcity either of tools or leather.

Some people are making the fact that young Emery is in prison a peg on which to hang an agitation to get rid of the Home Secretary, Mr. Short, and to put some other person into his office.

But you and I, fellow-worker, must look more deeply into the matter: we must see that it is not a question whether this man or that man, whatever party he may belong to, is Home Secretary, or even Prime Minister: it is a complete change of system that is required.

Frank Emery is only one of millions who are in need of food and necessities, of which an abundant supply can be provided in order that all may enjoy them. Whether Frank Emery is released from prison to-day or to-morrow, or whether he serves his sentence to the full, he will come out to the same life of struggle and unemployment, the same blighting poverty and want that he suffered from before he went to gaol. Frank Emery's case, as you know, fellow-worker, is no exception; there are many thousands of men and women in this country whose position is identical with his.

What we require; what we must work for; what we must get excited and enthusiastic about is a change of system: the overthrow of the capitalist system.

"And after that?"

After that, fellow-worker, the workers' Republic: the Republic in which all shall be workers and the classes shall disappear.

*What to Strive for:*

The abolition of capitalism.

The abolition of the wage system.

The abolition of money, buying and selling, and barter.

The abolition of masters and servants.

The abolition of rich and poor.

The abolition of Parliament.

The free use by all of the abundant production of the community.

The common ownership of the land, the means of production, transport, and distribution.

The Soviets as the means by which industry, distribution, and transport may be administered.

"What are the Soviets?"

Before the revolution the Soviets will be called the One Big Revolutionary Union, built up from the workshops, covering all industries.

When the revolution comes they will take control.

After the revolution they will carry on.

## THE SEARCHLIGHT.

CAPITALISM v. COMMUNISM.—*Cont. from p. 2.*

Can anyone doubt that the growth of general poverty, the housing shortage, and the vast unemployment here will fail to produce the symptoms in Britain which poverty and lack of housing are producing in Germany?

Puerperal fever and suicide, especially amongst women, are on the increase in Germany.

*Housing.*

Dr. Hahn gives some striking figures in regard to housing. In 1921 no less than one and a-half million persons in Germany were, he estimates, seeking for shelter. The number of new buildings set up in 1913 was 54,702; in 1921 it was only 21,273, or 61 per cent. less. This number was much greater than the number of buildings erected in 1919 and 1920, whilst there was, of course, a virtual cessation of building from 1914 to 1919. Considerably more than half the dwellings built in 1920 and 1921 were erected by public bodies.

*The Social Wage.*

One of the desperate expedients for bolstering up capitalism in Germany is called "the social wage," which, like our Poor-Law doles, is based on the size of the wage-earner's family. The Employers' Association take over the liability for the increased wage paid to the man with a family to support, and meets the difference between the wage of a married and unmarried worker from a common fund.

Such expedients will presently be advocated here by those who desire to stave off the breakdown of capitalism.

Dr. Kahn advocates that this method of "promoting large families should be transferred to international life."

These capitalist politicians refuse to think beyond the immediate interests of their pocket. The British capitalists are all for reducing the

number of workers because the British £ is up and British industry is depressed, while the German capitalists are all for increasing the working-class population because the German manufacturer has plenty of work to do at a low price.

*More British Figures.*

John Brownlee, M.D., D.Sc. (Director of Statistics, Medical Research Council), contributes a paper on "The Census and its Lessons." Like Mr. Keynes, he fears the growth of population. If the birth-rate remains constant, he says, our population will be 455,500,000 in England and Wales, and this he pronounces unsafe. He scarcely considers whether food to support this population can be provided at home or imported from abroad, and mainly discusses the prospect of employment, saying that many more individuals cannot be employed on farm lands because the better agriculturists will substitute motor traction for horse traction, and artificial manure for horse manure. Some people might be employed in forestry or in the breeding of fur-bearing animals, he says, but not many.

For the sixty or seventy years prior to the War the increase of population in England and Wales was about 3,000,000 in each ten years. In the last ten years it was about 2,500,000. The emigration in that ten years was about 630,000, and about 630,000 people were killed in the War.

The 1921 census shows an increase in the active population of 5 per cent., as against an increase of 20 per cent. in the population over seventy years. Dr. Brownlee deprecates this, but his only solution is more emigration, though he admits "it is obvious that this will increase the burden of old age in this country." "It is rather sad to think this is what we have to look forward to," he says, but if the young and the staid men do what he conceives to be their duty

"there will be a stream of young and vigorous life to people other lands," and British Colonies will not have to accept an alien population.

Birth control Mr. Brownlee will not touch; he regards it as a rash proceeding, since the fertility of married women had fallen from 100 to 73 by 1910-12; it has now probably fallen to 65, and should it fall any lower, the population would begin to reduce and the reduction might be progressive.

That seems a conclusive answer to all the Malthusians if Dr. Brownlee's figures are correct.

The fact is, dear readers, birth control has been practised by the people individually throughout the ages, and short of a Herod-like extermination or sterilisation of girl children Governments cannot do it.

*The Way Out.*

The war-time enthusiasm for increased food production plays no part with these capitalist politicians now that it is no longer a question of winning a capitalist war, but only of finding food for the working class. In spite of the great output of human energy on the battlefields and in the equipment of the armies, considerable progress was made during the War with the production of food in this country. The following statistics relating to England and Wales are provided by the Ministry of Fisheries and Agriculture, and show the war-time increase:

1914.—Wheat, 7,307,000 quarters; barley, 6,174,000 quarters; oats, 9,554,000; beans, 1,084,000 quarters; peas, 372,000 quarters; potatoes, 2,953,000 tons; turnips and swedes, 13,451,000 tons; mangolds, 7,919,000 tons; hops, 507,000 tons. Total, 49,271,000.

1918.—wheat, 10,530,000 quarters; barley, 6,080,000 quarters; oats, 14,339,000 quarters; beans, 889,000 quarters; peas, 439,000 quarters; potatoes, 4,209,000 tons; turnips and swedes, 12,018,000 tons; mangolds, 8,231,000 tons; hops, 130,000 tons. Total, 57,065,000.

Plenty of food can be provided in the world to feed the world's populations for many a generation to come; but only Communism will ensure that the food reaches the people.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.—*Cont. from p. 6*

"And this fathomless abyss of space is what you thought was the sky. But there is no 'sky.' There is no end, no beginning, and no 'sky.'"

This, then, is a really wonderful book for girls and boys and grown-ups. It unfolds a romance for the mind a million times greater than all the fairy-tales ever published.

I have been asked times out of number what to teach girls and boys, by comrades interested in our school movement. What better could you have for a start than this book? Nothing, in my opinion; and it gives you a groundwork to build your other lessons on. And, as you know, we live in this world, and this world is one of wonder, so wonderful that we "blind ants" cannot see it.

If our dear friend Sir John Butcher, Bart., M.P., has not included this book in his "Sedition Bill," he should do so at once, for there is more "sedition" in this book than anything published by the Proletarian Schools. This book is one of our text-books, and I trust the Church will soon warn its members not to read it.

There is no "sky," and we were all taught we were going up there by-and-by. There is no "up there," and no "down below." No "good" place or "bad" place. This is terrible! What will we do with the "bad" people? I don't know; do you? Nobody knows. For there is no "sky," no place to go to. Fancy when you die, "being all dressed up and nowhere to go," or having to journey 1,000 years in "space." Possibly the time will come when we won't die. That, of course, would solve the problem.

But you just fancy the men who wear their collars the wrong way, teaching this book in school. Some day they will. These men don't believe what they teach to-day. They have to. And poor Sir John Butcher, Bart., M.P., has a "Sedition Bill." I hope he gets it passed. The Church will murder him.

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