THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT
For International Socialism.

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NAPOLEON'S INVASION OF RUSSIA.

Condensed from 'The Retreat from Moscow and Passage of the Beresina,' by Colonel A. E. Turner, C.B. Woolwich, printed at the Royal Artillery Institution, 1898.

It is often overlooked that a large portion of "La Grande Armée" was composed of contingents drawn from nearly every part of Europe. For instance, there were 30,000 Austrians, 30,000 Prussians under Marshal MacDonald, each forming a separate Army Corps, while in several of the regular French Corps, and even in that of the Guards, other troops were incorporated. With the latter corps was a battalion of Baden troops; whilst in the 1st Corps, 67,000 strong, there were 9,000 Mecklenburg-Hessian, Spanish, and Polish soldiers. In the 2nd Corps were 1,600 Portuguese, 1,800 Croats, and 7,000 Swiss. In the 3rd Corps were 23,000 French, 3,000 Portuguese, 3,000 Illyian, and 14,000 Wurtenberg troops. The 4th and 6th Corps numbered 77,000 men, of whom 38,000 were French, 1,700 Croats, 1,200 Spanish, 2,000 Dalmatians, 20,000 Italians, and 12,000 Bavarians; whilst with the 9th Corps there was a brigade of Baden troops 5,000 strong. Of the Reserve Cavalry, 44,600 strong, 27,000 were French, 4,400 Prussians, 600 Wurtenburg, 1,100 Bavarians, 2,000 Saxons, 6,000 Polish, and 3,000 Westphalians.

The strength of the French army on June 23rd, 1812, was 414,000 men, which was made up by later arrivals to at least 500,000 men, and 1,200 guns. Opposed to these were 330,000 Russians. It is very difficult to estimate at all approximately the number of those who perished, for, in addition to the above, a vast host of camp followers, including women and children, accompanied the army, thousands of whom succumbed to the cold and of whom no account was taken. The Russian report stated as follows:—

Killed in battle	125,000
Died from cold, &c.	132,000
Prisoners (3000 officers, 48 generals) ..	193,000
Total ..	450.000

The plan of the French Emperor was to force the passage of the Niemen at Kovno, and by a rapid advance to separate the two defending Russian armies. On July 27th Napoleon entered Witebsk. Though everything had gone so far well the condition of the "Grande Armée" filled many superior officers with feelings akin to dismay. No general action had been fought, but a third of its strength had already wasted away. The commissariat, transport, and hospital arrangements were terribly defective, and even pillage availed nothing in an impoverished country over which the Russian armies had already marched. The mortality amongst the horses was enormous, a large quantity of the cavalry was dismounted, and great difficulty was experienced in horsing the artillery. Napoleon halted fifteen days at Witebsk and made a general advance on Smolensk on August 10th. Fifteen days' provisions were carried. The Emperor reached Dorogobuje on August 25th, Slavkowo on the 26th, Semlivo on the 28th, Viasma on the 30th and Gyat, about a hundred miles from Moscow, on September 1st.

The battle of Borodino was fought on the 7th, the French attacking early simultaneously on the right, centre, and left of the Russian position; there was no manœuvring but a direct advance all along the line, and desperate hand to hand fighting. The Russian army of 130,000 was posted in a very strong position on the high ground beyond the Kaluya.

The strength of the French army with Napoleon had wasted to 120,000 men, having lost over two-thirds of its effective in two months and a half!

The battle was one of the most sanguinary ever recorded, the Russians lost 50,000 out of 130,000; the French 28,000 out of 120,000.

The next day the French army advanced; the French advance was now uninterrupted and the city was entered by the advance guard on September 16th.

Eye-witnesses agree in saying that the terrible losses had seriously affected the morale of the army and that the demeanour of the men was more like that of troops retreating than advancing on the enemy's capital after a great victory. On September 15th Napoleon arrived with the Imperial Guard, and took up his quarters in the Kremlin. His eyes were at last open to the fact that the Russians would not make peace at any terms and that his army was in a situation of desperate peril.

It is a commonly accepted error that the burning of Moscow was done by the orders of the Governor Rotopschine and that want of provisions brought about the retreat of Napoleon. This was by no means the case. In the first place, only portions of the city had been consumed by the fire and enough of it was saved to shelter the whole French army; in the second place there were provisions in the place sufficient to supply the latter for six months. The real reason was that it was manifestly impossible to remain with an army which had withered away to a quarter of its strength.

The early winter during the retreat of the French army to the Beresina was remarkably mild and it was only after the Beresina had been crossed that the cold became extraordinarily intense, and completed the destruction of the army. The day on which the proximity of Smolensk was reached during the retreat the strength of Napoleon's force was then reduced to 41,500.

From the day Moscow had been entered to October 19th, 1812, the day on which the memorable and terrible retreat began, the Russians were busily occupied in strengthening their army and their positions on the bank of the Nara, while they left to the Cossacks and to the armed peasants the task of cutting off convoys and detachments on their way to join the French army. Day by day these auxiliary bands became more and more enterprising, till at last it was dangerous for individuals or even small numbers of men to go any distance from the main and occupied parts of the city.

During the retreat the number of stragglers, most of whom had thrown away their arms and who now accompanied the army, had attained enormous proportion; the number has been put at 30,000 upon November 1st, when Smolensk was reached. A huge depot had been formed there when the place had been taken by the invadnig army. Napoleon, who feared that his half-famished troops would break all bonds of discipline, hurried on with the Imperial Guard and occupied the town, but when the main body reached the town the men could no longer be restrained; they rushed into the city and a wild scene of pillage ensued, and continued till nothing was left—what could not be carried off was destroyed, so much so that when General Ney arrived with the rearguard, who had been keeping the enemy at bay while others plundered and wild orgies were going on in Smolensk, he found nothing for his weary, hungry soldiers. The retreat of the army from Smolensk commenced on November 12th, but it was not until the 17th that the rearguard evacuated it. The march was constantly molested by attacks. Of the 6,000 that with General Ney were at Krasnoë on November 18th only 900 reached Orscha on the 21st. On the night of the 25th two bridges were commenced by the sappers working through the night with the greatest devotion, to their waists in the half-frozen water. By the next afternoon both bridges were ready. The army had bivouacked near Studienka. During the whole of the 27th the army defiled over the bridge without intermission; the Emperor himself crossed at 1 P.M., and order seem to have been preserved till 4 P.M., when the artillery bridge broke down. On the 28th one division had to be sent back, recrossing the river to defend the rearguard. Numbers of helpless sick and wounded men were hustled without mercy in the river, and to add to the horror of the scene a fierce snowstorm raged. Many attempted to ford the river on horseback

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THE INTERNATIONAL.

FINNISH SOCIALISTS TO BE SOLD AS SLAVES TO GERMANY.

According to the *Berner Tagwacht*, the Finnish Diet read a second time the Punishment of Insurgents Bill which was passed by 63 votes against 36. The insurgents are to be sent abroad, that is to say to Germany, to serve their terms of penal servitude there. The Finnish Government stated that it would cost about £4,000,000 to keep the 40,000 rebels and would require about 4,000 men to guard them.

Owing to the war, a cheap and easy way out of the difficulty has presented itself to the Finnish Government. The 40,000 Socialists will be sent to Germany to work in alkali factories where they will be no doubt kept by the German Government and guarded by German bayonets.

The Socialist Parties of Sweden and Norway have published a declaration denouncing the policy pursued by the Finnish Diet and the Government. The declaration attacks the coercive measures employed against the working class to crush the revolutionary rising, and also the tendency to oppress minor nationalities. The Danish Socialist Party signified its complete agreement with the above declaration.

KERENSKY SHOUTED DOWN IN PARIS.

According to the *Journal du Peuple*, Kerensky was received by the Committee of the Confédération Générale du Travail on July, 10th. While he was speaking on the Russian Revolution there were interruptions and the bulk of the members of the "Committee of Syndicalist Defence" mercilessly heckled Kerensky. Outside the building a hostile crowd assembled which booed and whistled and sang revolutionary songs, so that Kerensky was compelled to leave the platform amidst the jeers of his opponents.

UKRAINIAN PEASANTS ARE PRO-SOVIET.

The *Izvestija* (Soviet organ), No. 129, writes that the Ukrainian peasants recently held a congress at which the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Bolshevik and non-party delegates acted in unison. One resolution stated that the congress does not recognise the Skoropadsky Government, will disobey the mobilisation order and will support a popular uprising against the Germans and their henchman Skoropadsky. The congress recognises only the Soviet Government of the Ukraine.

SOCIAL SCIENCE IN RUSSIA.

In the Palace for Proletarian Culture at Moscow faculties for the study of social science have been started, under the guidance of the "Karl Marx University." The lectures are free. The Budget shows that there are two categories of Socialist academies. They comprise (1) the scientific academic section, and (2) the section for promoting instruction and education. The sixty professors receive £100 a month each, the assistant professors £85 and £60 respectively. (As the exchange value of the rouble is very low the *real wages* of the professors probably do not exceed £3 a week.)

The sum of £343,100 has been provided for the high schools in Moscow alone by the *Socialist* Government of Russia. The Lloyd George Government proposes to spend about £500,000 on secondary schools in the whole of the United Kingdom. The ignorance of the masses is the chief capitalist bulwark.

A. S.

FRENCH SOCIALISTS AND RUSSIA.

The Council of the French Socialist Party on July 29th decided by 1,544 votes to 1,172 to oppose Allied assistance being sent to Russia except by "the unanimous consent" of the Russian Socialists. The Minority section has become the Majority.

PROPOSED GENERAL STRIKE IN SWITZERLAND.

The Swiss Federal Council adopted a decree empowering the Cantonal Governments to allow the police to forbid or break up meetings, and to punish those connected with them with fines of £200 and imprisonment for two years and to expel foreigners for twenty years. In reply the Socialist Congress at Basle, representing 180,000 workers, declared for a general strike. The 35,000 employees of the Federal Railways support the strike proposal.

* * * *

The police at Montreal dispersed a meeting of 700 Russian and Jewish Socialists assembled to protest "against the attempt to demolish by force the freedom and self-ruling of Russians." Fourteen men were arrested.

THE BOLSHEVIKI.

An appeal against the Bolshevik Government was published in *The Times* of July 31st from Mr. Paul Axelrod and Mr. Nicholas Rusanoff. Mr. Litvinoff replies that these two supporters of the Kerensky Government have not been in Russia during the past twelve months. They have, therefore, no first hand personal knowledge of the Bolshevik regime. He contends that Russia is suffering from the effects of Czarism and the war, and that the army which the Bolsheviki are accused of disbanding had little or no existence, having demobilised itself when the Bolshevik Government came into power 8½ months ago. "In order to recover from the wholesale destruction of the war and autocratic misrule, Russia must have a respite to enable her to make a beginning with the work of reconstruction. This work is being hampered by the civil strife brought about in various parts of Russia by the enemies of the Workers' and Peasants' Government."

* * * *

An Englishwoman, newly arrived from Siberia has an anti-Bolshevik article in *The Times*. The gist of her complaint is that she and other Englishwomen were sent to Siberia in a fourth class carriage, of the sort that, as she says, in former times might have been seen "overflowing" with peasants and exiles. The political exiles under the Czardom were made to walk many a weary day's march on the long, long journey. But why should this woman demand a better coach than that habitually used by the peasants? She complains that Russian Red Guards boarded the train and examined the luggage, and, finding no firearms, "withdrew sheepishly," "muttering misunderstanding." It is all a question of point of view. The customs officials waked us to examine our luggage as we crossed European frontiers in pre-war days and never apologised! This lady further tells of a railway guard who was paid 35 roubles a month under the Czardom and saved in twenty-seven years 1,700 roubles (£170). Now he gets paid, like every one else, 500 to 700 roubles a month: and he is supposed to be asking for an Allied invasion to safeguard his 1,700 roubles!

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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WHAT ARE LANSDOWNE'S PEACE TERMS?

The general election is expected to take place in November. To meet it a new coalition party is emerging, made up of certain Conservative and certain Liberal-Labour-Socialist-pacifists, who have combined to choose Lord Lansdowne to be their leader. In the spring issue of *The Socialist Review* the editor, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, thus discussed the possibility of a Lansdowne Government:—

"I am willing to use it for the great pressing need of the moment. . . . it would do a service equal for the time being to anything we could do if in office ourselves. The support we should give it would be independent support. We could defend it from Jingo attack and put at its disposal our great international 'influence.'" ["We" in this case presumably means the I.L.P. in particular and Socialists general.]

Since those words were written the situation has developed. The Women's Peace Crusade, under the wing of the I.L.P., has initiated a memorial to Lord Lansdowne appealing to him to place himself at the head of the peace movement; and a body calling itself the Lansdowne Labour Committee is circulating the same memorial amongst the local Labour Parties. The support which certain Socialists are giving to Lord Lansdowne is obviously becoming less and less "independent"!

A further step in the consolidation of the new coalition party was taken at Essex Hall on July 30th when a Conference of "friends and supporters of Lord Lansdowne" assembled to hear the reading of yet another Lansdowne letter. Amongst those present were Lord Buckmaster, Lord Parmoor, Lord Weardale, Lord Farrer, Sir Hugh Bell, the Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and Mr. Snowden. Are these to be the office bearers of the new Coalition Party? If Lansdowne becomes Prime Minister will these men be asked to join his Cabinet? Mr. Arthur Henderson sent a letter of apology for absence. Does that mean that he too has joined the new Coalition Party? Or that he is still undecided? His repeated declarations that he will never again be "a member of a Government not controlled by Labour" would seem to indicate that he is not prepared to take office under Lansdowne, and the following passages from his speech at the July Labour Conference would appear to dissociate him from the new Coalition altogether:—

"I hold very strongly the opinion—and that is why during the last twelve months I have declined to take any action which would have this effect—that it is unwise to bring this Government out and put in a Government whose policy you might know little about. . . . the last thing the Labour Party ought to do is to make itself responsible, having regard to its small representation in the House of Commons, for putting one Government out without knowing what the Government was that would replace it."

But the letter of apology indicates a tendency to support the Lansdowne Party; perhaps Mr. Henderson has changed his mind.

The Coalition is indeed a curious one: Lord Lansdowne of the old Conservative reaction, War Secretary from 1895 to 1900, Foreign Secretary from 1900 to 1905; Earl Beauchamp, owner of 18,000 acres and President of the Gloucester Territorial Force Association; and Sir Hugh Bell, the powerful colliery owner and iron founder Managing Director of Bell Bros., Director of Brunner, Mond & Co., Norman Long & Co., Horden Collieries, and the North Eastern Railway Company; these joining with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Snowden of the I.L.P.!

What is there in Lord Lansdowne's letters to justify the fusion of these diverse political elements? A resolution was adopted by those present at the Conference declaring that:—

"They regard his policy as deserving of the greatest gratitude and consonant with the highest and best traditions of British statesmanship. They pledge themselves to support this policy to their uttermost."

Lord Lansdowne's latest letter brushes aside, with a few compliments, both the high-sounding oratory of President Wilson and the bellicose utterances of Mr. Lloyd George. These, as he puts it, are merely attempts to secure "a dialectic success." They bring us no nearer to peace.

Lansdowne's main points are:—

1. That the Government should do what he suggests it has not done: define the conditions on which it is prepared, "not to *make* peace, but to open up a discussion which might *lead* to peace";

to set forth, "not the full terms of our ultimate world settlement, but the terms on which we are prepared to give diplomacy a chance."

2. Even if Germany would now intimate her readiness to conform to President Wilson's standards; if Germany should be "ready to combine with other free nations in setting up a tribunal to secure peace and justice; even if we could assume that, as the result of her adhesion 'her power of disturbing the peace of the world would be reduced to virtual impotence'; even if we had reason to hope that 'all international controversies would, for the future, be settled upon the basis of free acceptance by the peoples immediately concerned,' and that all nations must hereafter be governed in their conduct towards each other by the same principles of honour and respect for the common law of civilised society that governs the individual citizen of all modern States," Lansdowne yet says, "we should still find ourselves at the beginning, and not at the end, of a very complicated negotiation," because "we should still be without a reasonable adjustment of the main territorial difficulties by which the Great Powers are divided."

3. "There are certain cardinal points which neither side will take as open to question." It is difficult to define them, because "diverse, and possibly conflicting interests have to be reconciled: we must make sure that we are in line, not only with our Allies, but with our great Dominions overseas." "There is a temptation to use vague language and broad generalities and to slide over awkward questions, but of what has been the use of our Inter-Allied Conferences and of the meetings of the Imperial Cabinet if there has been no co-ordination of our aims." The secret treaties should be, "at any rate, liable to revision" and should be allowed to present "no obstacle to peace."

4. We need not go on fighting to secure a military victory. The test of victory will be Germany's readiness to accept terms which her militarists "would not have looked at" when war broke out. Lansdowne quotes General Smuts with approval: "We shall continue this war until the objects for which we set out are achieved. . . . we will have to use all our diplomacy and all the forces at our disposal in order to bring it to a victorious end," but it "is the duty of Governments to talk" in order to discover when the other side is prepared to accept the terms which are considered essential.

5. Lansdowne asks: "Have we then reached the stage when there is a prospect of preliminary agreement upon essential points and of profitable conversations?" He answers: "*I am certainly not prepared to affirm positively that we have.*"

That last sentence is very important. The whole case of those Socialists and pacifists who support Lansdowne is that, by so doing, we may secure an immediate peace. But Lansdowne is very cautious: he refuses to commit himself definitely on this vital point!

He seems to us to indicate very clearly that, in his opinion, the Great Powers are fighting for territorial advantages, and he appears to accept the view that the Allies are justified in doing so, though he would agree to the Secret Treaties being modified. His reference to the interests of "our great Dominions overseas," undoubtedly concerns the captured German colonies; and the "diverse, and perhaps conflicting interests," which "have to be reconciled," are, of course, those of the Allies.

Evidently Lansdowne does not accept the view that there shall be "no annexations and no indemnities," that the self-determination of people shall decide the fate of disputed territories, and that an International Tribunal will do the rest. Whilst he may be prepared to revise and modify Allied demands and to barter with the Central Empires, it is evident that Lansdowne desires certain definite advantages to be obtained by the Allies as a result of this war, and that he is prepared to see the war continued until Germany has been forced to concede these advantages, advantages which have not been specified in the speeches of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, or any other British Minister. Ministerial statements, for the most part, suggest that the Allies desire no material advantages: Lansdowne indicates that, in his opinion, they do.

Surely it must be asked: What is Lansdowne's programme? What are the terms on which he "is prepared to give diplomacy a chance"? What in *his* view are the "cardinal points" on which the Allies should insist? Surely he and his Party should take the course he urges upon the Government: define their peace terms. The Lansdowne letters entirely fail to do this. They are open to the very reproach which their author has levelled at the speeches of the Governmental spokesmen of the rival belligerents, namely, that because they lay down no definite peace terms they are mere dialectic fencing which brings peace no nearer. If Lansdowne would make clear his terms the Government would perhaps feel forced to disclose its own. Then we should see if there was any difference between them.

And now we come to the interesting question as to whether Lord Lansdowne has taken Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Snowden into his confidence. Has he told them what he regards to be essential conditions of peace with the Central Powers? Has he told them what his policy is in regard to the Russian Socialist Republic, the British intervention at Murmansk, the Japanese intervention in Siberia, the Czecho-Slovak question? Has he laid bare to them his programme regarding demobilisation, conscription, Ireland, and Home affairs in general?

If he has not given very definite guarantees on these points we fear that his Pacifist-Liberal-Labour Socialist supporters will presently discover that they have been living in a fool's paradise.

If Lord Lansdowne has fully explained his policy to Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Snowden we hope that they will avoid the meshes of that secret diplomacy (against which they have made such spirited protest) and will make the policy public without delay.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SOCIALISM IN THE MAKING.

The article which we published last week on the Russian Soviet Republic has aroused much interest amongst our readers, several of whom have written to ask us our opinion as to whether the future British Socialist Republic will be organised on similar lines and whether its representative and economic systems will be similar to those of the Soviets.

We therefore invite expressions of opinion on this subject from our readers and propose to reserve space in our columns for the discussion which may arise. We believe that the more vividly actual and immediate the vision of the Socialism becomes the greater will be the stimulus to work for it. All letters should be addressed to the Editor, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3., marked **S.**

AN INTERESTING CONFERENCE ON RECONSTRUCTION.

On Wednesday, July 24th, the Industrial Reconstruction Council held their first conference whereat Mr. Arthur Greenwood gave an address on the Whitley Report and Mr. Ernest J. P. Benn presided. Having received a rather pressing invitation to be present I duly went along to the Journalists Hall, 2-4, Tudor Street, where the conference was held. There were about one hundred present mainly employers and a very respectable gathering it was. Whenever increased output was mentioned there were hearty, and one might say heartfelt, "hear, hear's"; but when increased wages was mentioned one could have heard the proverbial pin drop.

Mr. Greenwood gave an interesting half hour on the Whitley Report, after which the Chairman called upon Mr. Baker to speak. This delightful old gentleman said his factory was in Norwich and he had not been in close touch with "Labah." We presume he has extracted profits from labour all his life, but it is only when his workers form a shops committee and make themselves heard and felt that Mr. Baker realised he had a force to deal with.

Mr. T. E. Naylor then spoke, and in a very dignified fashion, put up a good case for the workers. He said there was an inherent suspicion on the part of the workers of any scheme projected by the employers and Government. The workers are not prepared to give up the right to strike. The success of the Whitley scheme depended upon the spirit in which it was approached. After Colonel Pottinger had spoken, I rose and suggested that a man from the workshop be heard. A member of the steel smelters being on his feet was allowed to continue. I then addressed the conference outlining the forces that were operating compelling the employers to draft such a scheme as the Whitley Report. I emphasised the fact that the workers committee movement would have nothing to do with the scheme and that the workers intended to build up their own organisation in their own way and were determined to destroy the whole capitalist system and the State if necessary. These revolutionary ideas met with some opposition from the sleek employers and the chairman appealed for order.

In the ensuing discussion the only one directly to oppose my views was Jack Jones, organiser of the National Union of General Workers. "I don't think," said Jack, "it is a case of 'come into my parlour, said the spider to the fly,' anyway we were 'fly' enough to avoid that."

Poor old "honest Jack"!! He does not seem to realise he is already in the capitalist spider's web, and like many other prominent officials is being used by the boss as the buffer between the State and the revolutionary workers.

W. F. WATSON.

WAR INSANITY.

An appeal is being made on behalf of the Lady Chichester Hospital for nervous diseases of women and children which states: "Soldiers' wives come to us overdriven with misery caused by husbands dead, dying of wounds, reported missing, or prisoners of war in Germany; baby boys and girls terror-stricken with air-raids." The war goes on inexorably, in spite of all this suffering. Here is one of those cases which occur both in peace and war: "A child of 13, a girl, with five younger brothers and sisters, the mother bedridden. This child had to look after all the other children, run the household, get the meals, take the children to school, and go to school herself, look after the bedridden mother—in fact, everything that was done in that household that child did and was responsible for. She said she felt she was going crazy. We were asked to take her and help her. We were full up and could not do so. And that child went insane and had to be certified as a lunatic—because we could not help her."

Something is wrong with the social organism in which such things happen.

SOCIALIST EDUCATION. By Eden & Cedar Paul.

IV.—THE NEW SCHOOL.

During school age the workers' children must attend school. It is not disputed, or at any rate we do not propose to dispute, that universal State-controlled elementary education has been a good thing, that without it the labour movement in this country would not have advanced even to its present stage. As we wrote in the June issue of *The Plebs Magazine*: "One who has been taught to read, to write, and to think after a fashion, in a public elementary school offers more promising material to the socialist propagandist than one who has remained perfectly illiterate." But as far as the workers' interests are concerned, State education, capitalist State education, has shot its bolt. More and more, State control of education is being used to further the ends of the dominant class, for the liberal and humanitarian impulses which (to a degree) animated the founders of our system of public elementary education have long since been mastered and expelled by the more pressing needs of capitalist imperialism. Jingoism and militarism had invaded the school before the war began; during the war they have been rife; it is a familiar fact that the schools are to be used increasingly to favour the aims of the dominant class. We may hold conferences and protest as much as we please, but as long as the new bourgeoisie, perforce jingo-imperialist, rules, our conferences and protests are likely to be of little avail. Even should the threatened enduring rivalry between a Central European imperialist group and a Western European cum America imperialist group be averted, even should a world-wide league of nations be established during or shortly after the peace settlement, so long as that league is a confederation of capitalist states, the primary object of State-controlled education will be to create generation after generation of Henry Dubbs, servile tools of capitalism. Economic conditions, aided by independent working-class education after school age, supplemented if you will by the somewhat futile efforts of the socialist Sunday school, will continue to exercise a countervailing influence. But it is poor policy to stand idly by watching the administration of poison in the hope that we shall subsequently be able to administer a more or less effective antidote. We should here and now, as a deliberate revolutionary policy, as a chosen method of carrying on the class struggle, set about the establishment of our own foci of socialist education.

Now let us make our meaning perfectly plain. When we ask for foci of socialist education, we do not mean, most emphatically we do not mean, schools in which boys and girls shall be "taught socialism," shall be prematurely and purposely indoctrinated with the spirit of the class struggle. We would "teach" socialism at school as little as we would "teach" religion, or any other highly abstract doctrine which the immature mind is unfitted to grasp except in the form of crude and soul-destroying dogma. But in the State elementary schools our children are in effect "taught" capitalism. Apart from the evil results of the antiquated authoritarian system of education (which prevails, of course, just as widely in most of the schools frequented by the children of the well-to-do), the general spirit of the teaching in all subjects is predominantly adapted to fit the proletarian child "to become a good citizen." A good citizen, yes, but of what state, or, to use Aristotle's term, of what "polity"? Of the co-operative commonwealth, in which there shall be neither master nor servant, neither gentle nor simple, neither rich nor poor? Nay, nay, the polity our State educationists have in view is e'en such a one as exists to-day. Do you wish your child to be a "good citizen" of such a polity? For our part, we are revolutionists who would fain shatter the sorry scheme to bits, and remould it nearer to the heart's desire.

Revolutionists, no less, are many of our elementary school teachers, but they are shackled and gagged by the system under which they work. We have said that we do not want children to be prematurely indoctrinated with ideas of the class struggle. But upon many subjects "impartial education" is a figment of the imagination. In the public elementary schools, when the pupil gets beyond the first beginnings of the three Rs, all that enters his mind is weighted with the capitalist bias. Three-fourths of education is the provision of a suggestive environment. It is no use taking fright at the word "suggestion." The suggestions of the older authoritarian educator were like the assistance given by Father O'Flynn, who had a "way" of "helping the lazy ones on with a stick"! We may get rid of the stick (though it persists literally and figuratively in our public elementary schools); we may get rid of rewards and punishments; but we cannot get rid of suggestion. Now apart from coercion, apart from rewards and punishments, the suggestions of the elementary school (from our point of view) are largely unwholesome. And woe to the socialist-minded teacher who, when his pupils begin to show interest in the wider implications of history and economics, and to ask pertinent questions regarding the nature of the remarkable social system under which we live and regarding its antecedents, should answer these questions with the truth as he sees it. We want these socialist-minded teachers, and we want them in our own schools—not to teach Socialism there, but to provide the suggestive environment that will tend to make good citizens for the co-operative commonwealth, and, pending its creation, good soldiers for "that greater war which is yet to come." But we need not "militarise" *our* schools. Given the right educational environment, life will train our soldiers fast enough when the school age is over—life and the Labour Colleges.

Apart from the removal from the baneful tutelage of the class-ridden State, the essential characteristics of the schools we have in mind will be those of the New School, the invention of bourgeois educationists who have been in many respects inspired with the Socialist mentality. The New School system is largely an application during the ordinary school age of the principles incorporated into the Montessori system of infant education. It requires but few changes to adapt it to proletarian needs. Unfortunately we know of no work in the English language to which we can refer readers for a simple account of the New School, although Mr. H. Caldwell Cook's 'The Play Way' is illustrative of the theory and practice. Typical New Schools of which many of our readers will have heard are Abbotsholme and Bedales. Two years before the war, M. Faria de Vasconcellos, a Portuguese educationist, founded the first New School in Belgium. The war-wave which flowed over that unhappy country destroyed the young enterprise and washed M. Faria to the distant land of Bolivia. But he has incorporated his experiences at Bierges in an admirable little volume, 'Une Ecole Nouvelle en Belgique,' which we have translated, and which will, we hope, be published in English when the war is over. It was reviewed in THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT, Christmas 1917. In the preface to this book, thirty salient characteristics of the New School are enumerated. We mention some of the more important, with comments on the changes requisite for adaptation to working-class needs.

(Continued in next Issue.)

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

July 29th.—Farm labourers in Sussex have decided not to touch the harvest Mr. C. Duncan (Lab.) averred. The reason is that the Sussex farmers have pronounced against paying the new rates of wages back from March 31st. We await developments with interest. Is the farmer or the labourer to be denounced as "unpatriotic"? Mr. Duncan further stated that a farmer near Littlehampton has threatened the women workers that if they asked for increased wages German prisoners would get their work!!

PROTECTION.

Mr. Bonar Law admitted that the policy of Imperial Preference after the war includes preference in regard to tariffs. Mr. Lees Smith (L.) aptly raised the point of the impossibility of a League of Nations in view of this policy. It is a hard task to keep in with all sides. The idea of a League of Nations has been used to back up the phrase "a war to end war"; but the Tariff Reformers must also get a bone to keep them in favour of supporting the war.

IRELAND.

"At the eleventh hour!" was the almost unanimous expression used respecting an Irish settlement. Mr. Dillon (I.N.) thinks that as British statesmen have failed so often that President Wilson should now come to the rescue. We feel that Mr. Dillon could not make such an attack on the Government, as his speech was, and at the same time give credence to the plea that this is a war to free small nations. But we realise that the apparent credence was a splendid peg on which to hang his arguments and accusations: "I am justified in raising the case of Ireland as a war question" he said, adding that at the Peace Conference a discontended and oppressed Ireland will be an appalling source of weakness, not only to Great Britain, but to the Allies. As for the alleged German plot, that he assumed was discovered to torpedo the Home Rule policy. A German plot, however, Mr. Dillon pointed out, had been in operation since the beginning of the war and before it broke out. This plot has been assisted by "the British Government and the right hon. member for Dublin University." He denounced the present government of Ireland as "intolerable." To reply to this indictment the Chief Secretary, Mr. Shortt, retaliated by accusing the Nationalists for the state of Ireland. Then he went on to ask these same men to help him with recruiting! If they would, no doubt conscription would be avoided and then he "hoped that something might be done by which she may become content"! The Government was not coercing, it had to take "strong measures"; the festivals that were stopped by the police were the result of misunderstanding. Oh! Mr. Devlin (I.N.) summed Mr. Shortt's speech up in the words that it was "barren in everything except in insult." And the man by saying that he was a lawyer, but that there was "nothing very sweet about him."

"Is there a single country, dominated by a central power, where a member of Parliament has to apply to a policeman for a passport?" Mr. Devlin asked in referring to the various coercive measures to which Irish people were now subjected. Sir Mark Sykes (U.) attacked Sir Edward Carson for his tactics in pouring oil in war-time on the flames of religious and political passion. He justly pointed out that "every lawless act. . . . or quasi-lawless act of the Sinn Fein party had an Ulster precedent, that the North-East Ulster Party kept the covenant going during the war, and retained their arms for action after the war was over." The Battle of the Boyne he designated as "the prelude to eighty years of the most villainous persecution, rascality, plundering, and villainy that have ever been seen." It is refreshing to hear truths spoken by what is usually regarded as the opposition camp! But neither he nor Mr. Asquith, nor Mr. H. Samuel, though anxious for an Irish settlement, would countenance the Wilson idea. Voting showed a Government majority of 139. Do the Nationalists now realise that Westminster has nothing to offer?

C.O. SUBSTITUTES.

July 30th.—It was quite a relief to get a definite statement from Sir G. Cave. In reply to Mr. Rowntree he said that it was "obviously impossible" to accept the request of those who offered themselves as substitutes in prison for the C.O.s. Why "obviously"?

VENEREAL DISEASE.

Mr. Lees Smith (L.) maintained that 40 D in respect to medical examination was being illegally administered. He asked for the woman's consent to be in writing. Sir G. Cave objected, contending that no doctor would examine a woman who has not consented. But surely many are frightened into acquiescing!

THE PERMIT.

Mr. Dillon (I.N.), holding in his hand the permit, which he and each of his colleagues had to procure before coming to Westminster, pointed out that they could be refused, should the Government wish to keep the Irish members out of the way for a time. Mr. Devlin (I.N.) admitted that he was sorry now that he applied for a passport and demanded the liberty to return home, and not be interned in England if he should wish to attend the House. No move was made by the Government at this accusation. What a land of liberty!

SHIPBUILDING.

Sir E. Geddes in moving the shipbuilding vote, gave a detailed report of the deeds of the British Fleet and the progress of shipbuilding.

SECRET SERVICE

The increase in the Secret Service vote by £1,000,000 for one year gave the Irish members their opportunity. Mr. Dillon alleged that Ireland "was honeycombed with spies," and many cattle drives were the work of Government agents. He demanded a statement of how much of this money was to be spent in Ireland and who was responsible. Mr. Shortt admitted that *he* was responsible for the Secret Service in Ireland! Mr Devlin again returned to the attack on Mr. Shortt for his acquiescence in coercion and conscription. Is it safe to let such a man as the present Chief Secretary have a free hand with Secret Service money, especially as he so lauds Major Price?

PEACE PROPOSALS.

July 31st.—Mr. Balfour stated, in reply to Mr. Lees-Smith (L.), that no "enemy Government" had approached the British Government on the subject of peace.

CHEAP LABOUR.

Farmers pay 6*d.* per hour for the services of a convalescent soldier; of this 2*d.* per hour is paid to the soldier, in addition, as Mr. Forster said, to full pay and allowance. Who gets the other 4*d.* per hour? Munition workers may flatter themselves that their present resistance is combating industrial conscription; but what is this procedure but industrial conscription?

THE FUEL DANGER.

Much criticism of the new fuel and lighting order was expressed during the Board of Trade debate. Members from all parts of the country pointed out the possible hardships in store for their constituents. The reduced output of coal is having serious effects in the Pottery districts, and Colonel Wedgwood (L.) pressed home the seriousness of superceding this industry. Sir A. Stanley, whilst doing much to placate his assailants, could not explain away the new fuel order, which was drafted on June 28th and has not been obtainable as yet! This order seems to try to compensate the curtailment of light and heat by being too free with ink and paper. According to Mr. Gilbert (L.) it has 39 pages, with 130 rules; but to understand the order another document of 96 pages must be read! If anyone "knowingly breaks the Act" six months' imprisonment or a fine is the punishment. Since, however, all the members who had read this document confessed to being unable to understand it, how is the ordinary public expected to do so? But we forget that "fuel overseers" are to be set up by Local Authorities to explain the Order, they have not yet been heard of; meantime crimes are being committed unknowingly!!

DIPLOMACY.

Mr. Ponsonby (L.) raised the question of the necessary qualifications of the candidates for the Diplomatic Service on the Foreign Office resolutions. His summing up was that £400 a year seems to be all that is required; and a second division clerk not possessing that private fortune cannot be allowed to type diplomatic secrets. The result is that the Croesus of the £400 a year, not knowing how to type, spends hours in copying dispatches. Lord R. Cecil admitted that the system must be changed, that the pay in the Civil Service must be at the "market price". Does he realise what a change the adoption of this rash statement is likely to bring about? Will it not be akin to the Kingdom of Heaven, where the last shall be first and the first shall be last!! Where will the Cecils and the old order then be?

Continued on back page.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 9th.
Hague Street, Bethnal Green.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 10th.
Great Push in St. Pancras District for Peace, Socialism, and Votes for All.—Meet at 2.45 P.M. and 6.15 P.M. at 44 Malden Road (nearest tube station: Chalk Farm). Speakers: Mrs. Davies, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 11th.
Finsbury Park.—3.30 P.M., Miss Price.
Osborn Street.—6.30 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

MONDAY, AUGUST 12th.
Hoe Street, Walthamstow.—7 P.M., Miss Price.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13th.
Clock Tower, Burdett Road.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 16th.
Cobden Statue.—6.30 P.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 17th.
Great Push in Holloway District.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, AUGUST 12th
St. Pancras W.S.F., 44 Malden Road.—2.30 P.M., Business meeting.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somer's Road.—2.30 P.M., Miss Horsfall.

MONDAY, AUGUST 19th.
400 Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., General meeting (London Section).

W.S.F. NOTES.

A Cockney Fair will be held on December 5th, 6th, and 7th at Holborn Hall, and members and friends are asked to begin to prepare for it at once. Those willing to equip stalls should write to me. Donations for preliminary expenses are urgently needed, also clerical help. Next meeting at 20 Railway Street (near Poplar and South Bromley stations), Wednesday, September 4th, at 7.30 P.M. N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

SHEFFIELD.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Carford, 183 West Street. Councillor Barton held meeting 400 strong at West Bar Green July 24th, supported by two dozen silver-badge men, three dozen DREADNOUGHTS sold. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst at Hadfield's Gates, July 24th, no opposition, four dozen DREADNOUGHTS sold. Miss O'Callaghan, Hadfield's Gates, July 25th, excellent literature sales, 300 DREADNOUGHTS given away.

NAPOLEON'S INVASION OF RUSSIA
(Continued from front page.)

but most of them stuck fast on the muddy bottom and perished; the scene was one of horror and misery in all directions. About 1 A.M. on the 29th the rearguard of the French army marched down to the bridges to find the lighter one hopelessly broken, so that only the heavier one could be used. With infinite trouble and mostly in single line the troops marched across; hours were consumed in the passage, and when the last man was over they were deployed facing the bridge, which was at once destroyed. Then ensued that scene of horror that we are told haunted those that witnessed it for months and years: all that stood on the bridge, including waggons full of wounded, were engulfed in the river; the mass of stragglers on the far bank rushed down in mad confusion, trampling one another to death, while those in front were pushed in the river to perish. To add to the horror of the scene the Russian artillery opened fire on the helpless, struggling mass of humanity and slaughtered hundreds. At last dawn broke and some ten thousand stragglers and all the baggage train, with a vast quantity of spoil, including the Imperial treasure chest, fell into the hands of the Russians.

Then the order to march on Sembin was given and the Emperor, with the old Guard, started at 7 o'clock The 40,000 men who had survived the frightful ordeal of this fatal campaign so far, now found themselves faced with a still worse horror in the shape of an abnormally cold Russian winter, which day by day closed tighter and tighter its iron grip on the miserable remnants of what had been the most magnificent host that the world's conqueror had ever assembled for a campaign. Large numbers of stragglers were made prisoners daily by the Cossacks, who hovered in the rear and flank of the army, bent especially on plunder, and it is related that at times they and the French stragglers might be seen pillaging the same deserted vehicles, the former, when they had taken everything worth carrying off, turning on the latter and stripping them of their booty. An enormous amount of treasure and riches of all description had been carried off from Moscow in the 40,000 vehicles which started from thence with the army. We must consider that the Russian soldiers, especially the Cossacks, made a remarkably good harvest during the retreat.

The intense cold began its fell work and every day dawned to find rows of soldiers, frozen to death, round the ashes of the bivouac fires. Even the Guard became demoralised and marched in disorder. The Emperor travelled in a carriage at a foot's pace and nearly all his staff followed on foot. The thermometer fell at night to 27° below zero. Food was not wanting and Ségur's assertion —repeated by the Russian Verestchagin in his work 'Napoleon the First in Russia'—that the famished soldiers roasted and ate the bodies of the dead, is a gross fabrication. Morning after morning, Marbot relates, thousands of stiffened corpses were left behind in the bivouacs, which resembled a battlefield the morning after a deadly fight.

On December 6th the thermometer touched its lowest point—30° below zero—and the effects on the troops were indescribable. A division of 12,000 men, mostly conscripts, that had marched out of Wilna on the 4th to meet the column, suffered so much by change from barracks to bivouacs that two days later they nearly all perished from cold, whilst 400 men of the Neapolitan Guard that had set forth to meet the King and escort him back to the city all perished.

On the 7th and 8th Wilna was reached and on the 12th Kóvno, and on the 20th the rearguard reached Königsberg. Thus ended the campaign, that had begun with the crossing of the Niemen on June 23rd.

De Fesenacs states that 300,000 perished and that the Russians burnt 300,000 corps. Nine-tenths of his own regiment, says he, had perished. Marbot says that these numbers are much exaggerated and that of 155,000 French soldiers only 65,000 perished. I think it is clearly established that, all told, French, allies, camp followers, not less than 300,000 left their bones in Russia, and to this conclusion Thiers, who is not likely to have over-estimated the number, arrived after most careful research.

Sir Walter Scott says: "Thus a hallucination, for such it may be termed, led this great soldier into a train of conduct which, as a military critic, he would have been the first to condemn, and which was the consequence of his deep moral error."

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT
(continued from page 1055).

PEACE PROPOSALS.

August 2nd.—Mr. Bonar Law stated that the Government will always be ready to consider proposals for a satisfactory peace." How does the Government define "satisfactory"?

VOTE OF CREDIT.

On August 1st and 2nd the debate on the vote of credit took place. The supplementary sum asked was £700,000,000. After a brief summing up of various expenditure Mr. Bonar Law let the House into a secret. Loans had been granted to the Allies and now he laid bare the total of Britain's contribution. France owes £402,000,000, Italy £313,000,000, the smaller States of the Alliance £119,000,000, and the "Russian Government or the Russian people" £568,000,000. If you lend money to a monarchy how can you expect a republic, which disapproved of that monarchy, to pay its debts? We are glad that Mr. King (L.) did point out this remarkable discrepancy, and agree with him that the Russian people is a very different thing from the old Russian Government. In the face of Mr. Bonar Law's naive statement we have the Murman expedition, about which Mr. King has tried so hard to get Mr. Bonar Law to explain Is it expected to ensure the repayment of this £568,000,000 thereby?

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

As a proof of the lack of interest in the huge sums of money voted the debate on August 1st was devoted to the idea of a League of Nations. Sir W. Dickinson believes the war is being fought to devise a League of Nations as a preventive of all future wars. Believing that he naturally asked what preparation the Government is making. He drew attention to a Report on the principles of a League of Nations which M. Leon Bourgeois sent to the Minister for Foreign Affairs on January 17th, and that on June 29th Lord Curzon confessed that all he knew about this Report was "what he saw in the papers." Mr. J. H. Thomas (Lab.) in the course of his remarks said: "I do not believe you could get a soldier to continue to fight to-morrow or for an hour to obtain one yard of territory for the British Empire." We hope Mr. Thomas is right, because then the same argument must apply to other empires and their aggrandisement. A perusal of the Secret Treaties will show the soldiers where they are!!! Colonel Wedgwood (L.) urged that the League of Nations idea would not be fulfilled by slicing Africa between different contestants in this war. Mr. Balfour did not say too much to enlighten the House. He stated: "A League of Nations, broadly speaking, is designed to maintain the territorial *status quo*. If the territorial *status quo* is inherently unjust, if it is of a kind which cannot conduce to stable relations and the peace, no machinery which you can devise will be strong enough to coerce or compress the forces with which mankind will have to deal." Well, Mr. Balfour has pronounced in these words that unless self-determinution for all peoples be attained no League of Nations can hope to exist; the *status quo* of pre-war days was "inherently unjust." Does Mr. Balfour think that empires can continue to exist without the *status quo* being "inherently unjust"? Oh, these words about great principles, so good for speeches, lead statesmen into tight corners. If your words are of any value they imply the death knell of empire. But Mr. Lloyd George cries: "Hold Fast"!!!

SEPARATION ALLOWANCES.

Mr. Hogge (L.) used the second day of debate to denounce the meanness of the new allowances and the unwarrantable delay in granting them. If the allowances were necessary now why should soldiers' dependants be kept waiting till October! His fight for the soldiers, in which Mr. R. MacDonald (Lab.) and others supported him, was met by a comparison with the wages of the agricultural labourers!!!

M. O'C.

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The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from our different Governments now, before it may be too late. S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.

[Advt

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PROTECTION.

Mr. Lloyd George in receiving a deputation of the National Union of Manufacturers promised Imperial Protection for key industries, preferential economic arrangements with the Allies, and in these words foreshadowed the prosecution of a trade war against Germany after the war: "The longer the war lasts, the sterner must be the economic terms we impose on the foe." He hoped that America would fall in with the Paris Conference resolutions, as this would mean that the "economic fate of the world will be in the hands of the great Allied Powers."

Who was accused of fighting for world dominion?

By the way, the people have not been asked their opinion on protection, and Sir Robert Borden says that the question has not been discussed by the Imperial War Cabinet or War Conference.

AFTER WAR INDUSTRIAL CONTROL.

The Government is about to take action to ration "supplies" for industry after the war. Do "supplies" include workers as well as raw materials? If so attempts to continue industrial conscription after the war may be expected. The calling up of the Coventry strikers who resisted the "embargo" by which it was sought to ration the workers, shows how Military conscription can be used to intimidate. A standing Council to assist in controlling industry is being formed of members of the Government Departments chiefly concerned, and representatives of "Commerce," "Industry," and "Labour." This Council will consider how far the control at present exercised by Government Departments may be transferred "to purely trade organisations for post-war purposes."

Will the servile state lead to the Revolution?

THE COMING ELECTION.

The Times in an article on the general election declares for a fight to a finish, social reform, and the League of Nations. It urges Lloyd George to go for these; flouts Lord Lansdowne, and the Unionist Party, and seems inclined to pose as the champion of Labour: perhaps it will presently adopt *The Herald's* sub-title "The National Labour Weekly."

* * *

As we expected, the Government has not pressed the question of permits for the Irish sports, Irish opinion being united. It is discovered that there was an official mistake!

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