



POINTS ON TAXATION.

By "ECONOMIST."

MEMBERS of Commerce and similar bodies have recently been suggesting a reduction of taxation, urging that an employment cannot be solved except by "relieving industry of the crushing burden" it has to pay. Lighten our taxes, say they, and trade will recover, things will be cheaper, people will be able to buy, and unemployment will cease.

Now this, of course, is in the main a demand for "something off the income tax," or, in other words, a reduction in the taxes of those who are best able to pay. Some income tax payers—say those with incomes of not more than £500 a year—ought to have some relief. But a much more pressing need is the lessening of taxation, not on income, but on the food we must have, and the things we really all of us buy. It cannot be made too clear that a married man does not pay income tax at all unless he has at least £250 a year—say, £5 a week. On the other hand, how a man's wage is he must have at least sugar, tea, cocoa, and tobacco; and may reasonably want movies and entertainments occasionally also. All these (and, of course, beer) are taxed—not lightly either.

As both rich and poor buy these things, it is not much better to lessen the tax on them rather than on income. Yet if we have class-government, income tax will be reduced before the taxes on food and the simple and common comforts of life.

DER WHY HAVE WE SUCH ECONOMISTS?

The "Daily Mail" falls over itself in its haste to explain that it is all owing to "Government wastefulness." Get rid of the liasses; cut down the spendthrift departments, says this penny catalogue oracle. It has not noticed, of course, that every temporary clerk sacked is another addition to the army of the unemployed, the net result being that instead of receiving a wage for doing something that may have been really useful he will get a dole for doing nothing at all!

And as Boards of Guardians haven't the face to ask men to accept a weekly gift in return for nothing at all that is as low in amount as some men get for a whole week's work, it may ultimately turn out even the "Daily Mail" that discharging men is not necessarily economy.

The civil servant on £500 a year is paid by the people to do a social service; the man with the axe takes a job with a princely salary, and is also paid by the people in the price they pay for what his Company sells to them.

THE CURRENT BUDGET gives the following interesting figures, which ought to make the reason very plain indeed as to why we have heavy taxation—

Cost of Upkeep of National Debt	335,000,000
Army, Navy, and Air Force	128,000,000
Civil Services	317,000,000
Cost of Post Office, Inland Revenue Department, &c.	66,000,000
Sundry Items	54,000,000
Total	£910,000,000

Obviously, there are only two items

where a very considerable saving can be made; that is, in the first and third. The Budget of 1914 is very illuminating, as witness the summary of it given below:—

Cost of Upkeep and Post Repayment of National Debt	24,000,000
War Forces	27,000,000
Civil Services	34,000,000
Cost of Post Office, Inland Revenue, &c.	29,000,000
Sundry Items	13,000,000
Total	£127,000,000

The money required by the Government is four-and-a-half times as much this year as it was in 1914! But the cost of keeping the National Debt in existence is seventeen times what it was in 1914! It is now, as a matter of cold and startling fact, equal to more than one-third of the Budget total!

To pay the gigantic sum of £335,000,000 requires the whole proceeds of the income and super taxes combined!

THE CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

One of the two great causes of present unemployment is the taxation made necessary by the interest on debt; taxation which all pay, down to the very poorest. It is paid out again as "Interest on War Loans," very largely to the well-to-do. It has, and still has, a very great effect in making the unequal distribution of income more unequal still. We have had one

parallel, and one only, in British history; that was in the years following the Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815). The cost of the war debt was then saddled on the backs of the peasantry and the industrialists by the favourite dodge of a tax on goods. How widespread the net of the tax-puller was, cast is evidenced by the writings of a famous wit and divine, Dr. Sidney Smith, from which the following extract is taken—as a lesson and a warning! The quotation is taken from the "Edinburgh Review" of 1810:—

HOW THE NATIONAL DEBT WAS KEPT ALIVE AND HEALTHY.

"Permit me to inform you, my friends, what are the consequences of being too fond of glory. Taxes upon every article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot; taxes upon everything which is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste; taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion; taxes on everything on earth and the waters under the earth; on everything that comes from abroad or is given at home; taxes on the raw material; taxes on every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of man; taxes on the sauce which pampers man's appetite, and the drug which restores him to health; on the ermine which decorates the judge and the rope which hangs the criminal; on the poor man's salt and the rich man's spice; on the brass nails of the coffin and the ribbons of the bride—at bed or board we must pay taxes. "The schoolboy whips his taxed top;

the youth manages his taxed horse with a taxed bridle on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine which has paid 7 per cent, into a spoon that has paid 7 per cent, flings himself back on his chintz bed which has paid 22 per cent, makes his will on an £8 stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a license of £100 for the privilege of putting him to death."

We can laugh at this, but nevertheless we are carrying our present war debt in a very similar way.

In 1923.

We cannot say, even to those who have not enough wages to pay income tax: "If you have to be at work early in the morning, the American alarm clock you buy will cost one-third of its price in tax, when you get the matches to light the bedroom candle these dark mornings you pay 5s. tax for every 10,000 matches, when you light the fire and the gas stove more matches and more taxes result. If you buy your breakfast, you pay 8d. per lb. tax; if you prefer cocoa, the tax is 1s. per lb.—and you cannot dodge the tax by having coffee, for that is 1s. per lb. Your after-breakfast smoke is as grateful income to the powers that be for they get 8d. per ounce tax. If you are stungered at this and need a patent medicine to restore your health, a shilling bottle will cost you 2s. 3d., because of the threepence tax. Should it be merely a sudden faint, your reviving draught of brandy—even if taken by the advice of a doctor who is handy—will be two-thirds tax! You cannot escape tax by lying to medicated spirits, nor are you greatly encouraged to become teetotal with a tax of 4d. a gallon on table waters and 2d. on the unpretentious herb beer! Your smokes, and your drinks of any kind during the day (except water—which is a mere vehicle, so to speak) will be taxed. At night, the theatre, the picture palace, and the concert are all taxed that they may help to pay for the war; the sugar in your cakes, your drinks, your puddings, and everywhere else is all taxed; you are taxed through the pawnbroker, and through the bookie clerk. Your Christmas British wines, and your currents and raisins, figs and prunes, and your tinned fruits exact more tax from you, and if you try to escape taxes by poisoning yourself with naphth (before you know of the other taxes) that will cost you £3 7s. 3d. a gallon in tax!"

IS SMOOT.

You cannot avoid heavy and absurd taxation if you are to live at all, unless you find out only you are not so highly, and then determine to end it by ending the annual charge on the National Debt. You ought to have done it four years ago, but a beginning now will save you a good deal later on!

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MUNICIPAL TOPICS.

By COUNCILLOR T. H. WATKINS.

COMMITTEES AND SUB-COMMITTEES OF THE COUNCIL.

The election of representatives from the Labour group upon the committees, has not been increased. Upon some of the chief committees, the number of representatives is far from being commensurate with the number of members comprising the group. This is a question that will require to be pressed, until more equitable and proportionate representation is obtained.

BURNHAM SCALE OF SALARIES.

The Burnham committee's proposals having been adopted by the council, the increases in salaries were endorsed by the council.

Efforts to terminate the arrangements locally were unsuccessful, the agreement having been nationally arranged.

The recent revision, resulting in a reduction by 5 per cent., was arrived at by national and mutual agreement, which is the correct procedure.

NEED FOR VIGILANCE.

There is, however, need for vigilance in regard to education in Council Schools, to ensure that economies are not effected in such a way as will result in scholars not receiving the requisite standard of education, due to insufficient teachers. Also to classes being enlarged beyond the number which can be adequately taught by teachers.

ELECTRIC FITTINGS.

An agreement has been entered into between the Corporation and the Electrical Contractors' Association (Sheffield branch), which provides a scheme for the sale of fittings. The Corporation are not empowered by Act of Parliament to sell, except through a contractor carrying on business independently of the Corporation.

The Corporation will purchase, provide necessary attendance, be responsible for the entire cost of maintenance and upkeep of the showroom, will not sell any fittings except for use on the Sheffield distributing mains, and will collect all monies. The profits are to be paid to the Electrical Contractors' Association (Sheffield branch), less 15 per cent. of the selling price, which will be retained by the Corporation for the upkeep of the showroom, &c.

The Association may purchase fittings from the Corporation showroom at a discount not exceeding 25 per cent. of the selling price.

The agreement is to continue for a period of five years, from March 31st, 1923.

It is necessary that Parliamentary powers be sought to render such an agreement void, which is against the interests of the ratepayers.

SINGLE FARMS TO LODGE MOOR HOSPITAL.

Relatives of patients in the "dangerously ill" section at Lodge Moor Hospital, who may be in reduced circumstances, can obtain the sanction of the medical officer, on their notice to attend the hospital, entitling them to perform the journey to and from the hospital by motor bus at the single rate.

OPEN SPACE AND PLAYGROUND.

Councillor Bancroft's resolution was adopted, requesting the Parks Committee to consider the desirability of the Council purchasing about twenty-three acres of land, known as Watson's Field, a Shirecliffe-lane, as an open space and playground for the children in the Neospond district.

CLEARANCE OF INDEBITORY AREAS.

Providing the Government will accept the whole of the responsibility for schemes for clearance of indebitory areas in the city, involving an annual loss of not less than £2,500, the Council have approved of schemes being prepared involving a further annual loss of £2,500, on the understanding that the Government will repay one-half of such further annual loss.

£200,000 LOAN TO SHEFFIELD GUARDIANS.

The sum of £200,000 has been advanced to the Sheffield Guardians on mortgage by the Corporation.

RELIEF INQUIRY.

It has transpired that the recent inquiry into Poor-Law administration was of relief of the Sheffield Guardians was promoted owing to the abnormal expenditure, which is solely due to the abnormal number of unemployed in Sheffield.

The comments made month by month in these columns of the unfortunate lack of trade prevailing in Sheffield, and the consequent effect upon municipal and Poor-Law expenditure, have been fully borne out by evidence during the inquiry.

It was admitted that the Sheffield Guardians have a debt of over £1,000,000! This does not include the debt of the Ecclesall Guardians, which is relatively less than that of the Sheffield Guardians, whose area, however, comprises the chief industrial part of the city, and by far the largest section of those suffering by lack of employment.

RATE ABLEASERS.

It transpired the amount of rate arrears outstanding had increased each half-year during the period of trade depression, and the total now amounts to £243,767, or some 40,000 rates in arrears.

In addition, there is increased revenue from municipal, in respect to other trading concerns in the city.

DIAGNOSTIC ECONOMIES.

The only suggestion put forward on behalf of the industrial concerns of the city, was to reduce scales of relief by 10s. below trade union rates of pay, irrespective of the variations in such rates!

This is utterly inappreciable and cannot be persisted in.

ADROGATE MAINTENANCE.

Falling the revival in trade, or the offer of employment at rates of pay to maintain a reasonable standard of life, the Guardians have no alternative but to grant relief that will be fully adequate to ensure maintenance.

GRANTS IN AID.

The problem is too large to be dealt with locally, by local rates, as the cost will ultimately strangle local trade and industry. The question can only be dealt with on a national basis, as a national responsibility and liability retrospectively and in the future by schemes of employment national in character, the cost wholly borne by the national exchequer.

LITTLE THEATRE, Oxford Street, Sheffield.

Monday to Week Day, GOOD FRIDAY, JOHN HASEFIELD (14 Five-Act Drama of Warwick)

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April 11th to April 14th. A WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE, OSCAR WILDE

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LABOUR'S GROWING POWER.

PART CO-OPERATION MUST PLAY. By "DEMOS."

A New Force.

"This country is now face to face with a new Parliamentary force. Labour has come to stay." For years now the Labour vote has been increasing, and it is more important, it has been getting more and more stable. The fact that we have sent to the House of Commons 243 members of the Labour Party, including four of the Co-operative Party, is the result of the action to strengthen the national voice of Labour, carried on for the past generation. The lesson we learn here is that in another few years we shall have "arrived." The flag of Labour will be flying over the House of Commons.

Labour's Fitness to Govern.

I know there is always the risk of a setback. That depends to some extent on how the present Parliament and Labour force conducts itself. It can frame legislation, but cannot carry it. It can show that it is fit to rule if it had a clear chance. It can convince a country that it has the will and the ability, and that it can be as constitutional in its desires as any other party.

Still a Majority Against Us.

The Conservative ranks alone, there are 348 members against the 243. Even if the other parties were with—the National Liberals, the Independent Liberals, the single Communist, and the few miscellaneous groups—Mr. Bonar Law would still have a majority of 79. This means that a great number of wage-earners are still voting Conservative. It also means that the most the Labour Party can do is to protest.

Vested Interests in Parliament.

Co-operators still need a little shaking up. A knowledge of the present constitution of the House of Commons should do it. Co-operators who ask, "What do co-operators want in the House of Commons, or in politics?" should ask themselves for a time "What are other people and other interests doing there?" There are in the House of Commons 138 members of the Labour Party, four members of the Co-operative Party, and one member of the Communist Party. These 143 men (no women, shame to say) are anti-capitalistic. There are 472 members of the Commons who are not of the Labour type. Of these, 165 are directors of companies. Hence there are twenty more company directors than there are Labour, Co-operative, and Communist representatives. Nearly sixty of these directors are of firms associated to the production of British Industries, which, by the way, has now a membership of over 5,000 firms. As many as eighty-nine M.P.'s are directors of banking, insurance, and financial concerns. Thirty-eight members are leaders of shipbuilding and engineering companies, and even thirteen are directors of oil interests.

Who Places Them in Power?

And as the greater part of the twenty-million voters in this country are of the working-class, these makers of money out of the strength and health

and blood of labour are placed there by labour itself, including working-class members of co-operative societies. We have a deal yet to learn. One hopes that the growing children will at least have more sense than place their votes to co-operative business, and place their votes to the benefit of the workers, but who laugh at co-operative ideas and ideals and make sport of the claims of Labour.

There are 165 directors of companies in the new House, but not a single director of the C.W.S. or the S.C.W.S. There are, however, one or two directors of distributive societies in the Co-operative and Labour benches. This is something to be going on with. Who, a few years ago, would have expected men to be lent from the committed rooms of retail societies to seats in Parliament? In days to come, women also may go with the men. We are now confronted with an entirely new political atmosphere, and there is a chance of the country coming to the rule of the homes of the common people.

Labour and Co-operators.

What I want to point out, however, is that it is important the people should realise the forces of reaction and of anti-labour are still too powerful. We must increase our strength. We believe that the success already attained have a great moral effect on the masses, and particularly on the rank and file of co-operators, also on co-operative leaders. They must now see they will have to make up their minds in future, whether politically, they are going to be with the capitalists or with Labour and Co-operation. Whatever reasons there may have been in the past for liking the lands of capitalist and anti-co-operators at the polling-booths, there is now no excuse for it. It would be difficult to perceive a more ridiculous position than that of a strong working-class party in the House of Commons, and working-class co-operators aiding and favouring upon the opposition of the rank and file of private companies, exploiting financiers, profiteering bankers, greedy oil kings, and controllers of insurance companies who rick in vast fortunes even from workers who sometimes become too poor to keep up their premiums. Surely this is a sight too ludicrous to contemplate.

The Moral.

The bigger Labour force in Parliament is a warning. Perhaps it is a warning that co-operators, combining for a common social, economic, and business purpose, must cease to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Against the combinations of private and syndical capitalism, the time will surely come when leaders of co-operation, at least, will perceive the necessity of making their politics compatible with the needs of the co-operative. Party politics has been a curse to the workers. Every wise man and woman would teach their children, not politics as we have known it, but how best to govern a co-operative state, and then prepare them for a new social order.

A. V. ALEXANDER'S VISIT.

HILLSBOROUGH'S NEW MEMBER GIVES AN ACCOUNT OF HIS STEWARDSHIP.

SPLENDID RECEPTION.

MR. A. V. ALEXANDER, M.P., visited Hillsborough on January 13th, 13th, and 14th, and addressed crowded meetings.

At the Wycliffe Hall, Friday, 13th, hundreds of people were unable to gain admission. Mr. Alexander addressed an audience of about 17,000. Councilor T. H. Watkins, who was in the chair, referred briefly to the unemployment question, and the high rates consequent upon it. Mr. Alexander, who was received with round after round of applause, opened his speech by thanking those present for the splendid work they had accomplished, and then gave a brief review of the short session of Parliament.

"We did not hold Mr. Speaker in the chair," said Mr. Alexander; "but we kept the House sitting all night one or twice; and the House ought to be sitting now," he asserted, amidst applause. "We have no right to be taking a holiday at this crisis in the history of our country, and whilst our fellow men and women are existing on the verge of starvation."

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Dealing in detail with unemployment, he stated that the Labour Party had raised the matter time and again during the brief session, and endeavoured to enlist the assistance of Parliament for Sheffield and cities similarly placed. He and other Sheffield Members had visited the Prime Minister, and had done all possible to get the position discussed and the matter remedied in the House.

THE GUARDIAN'S INQUIRY.

He asserted further that the inquiry by the Ministry of Health into the Guardians' administration had not as yet surely not proved maladministration by the Guardian societies. The Guardians had merely endeavoured to deal with an unprecedented situation in as humane a way as possible. It was quite obvious that the Guardians could not solve this problem; nor could the City Council. It was a national problem—a problem that would never be solved under the capitalist system. Labour's policy was Work or maintenance. They had not moved from that position, nor would they cease to advocate it on every possible occasion.

Dealing with the relief schemes of road making, he asserted that there ought to be no difference in unskilled labour between the men who did this work as relief work and the men who did work as a regular job. "The man who does the graft should get the pay," said Alexander.

PENSIONS CASE.

His statement of scandalous treat-

ment by the authorities of numerous pension cases with which he had dealt was received with applause.

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

Dealing with foreign politics, Mr. Alexander showed that the forces at work were largely a result of economic advantages, which were being sought by rival concerns in this and other countries. The serious position on the Balkans was a consequence of the Versailles Treaty. The problem of reparations could never be solved by military occupation, nor indeed by military methods of any kind or form. Militarism, imperialism, and brute force could never give that real peace of which the nations of every country stand in greatest need. "It lies already cost this country," said Alexander, "more money to occupy the Rhine Province of Germany than has been paid in reparations." Similar forces were at work at Lausanne with regard to oil as were at work in Germany with regard to coal.

"We must have peace; we must have disarmament; we must, in short, have co-operation between the civilised nations of the world. The problem of unemployment was inextricably bound up with the wretched foreign policy inaugurated at Versailles, and since carried on by the Coalition and now the Tory Government.

Councillor Butcher moved the resolution of thanks, and Mr. A. Ballard of the Sheffield Co-operative Party seconded. The meeting closed with rousing cheers for the Chairman, Mr. Alexander, and the other speakers.

On Sunday, January 14th, the Hillsborough Co-operative Institute was crowded to hear an address by Mr. A. V. Alexander, M.P., on "The Co-operative Outlook." During the course of his address, he dealt with the effect of unemployment on the co-operative movement. The problem between the trade union movement and co-operation, and the socialist movement and co-operation.

Finally, he appealed to those present to carefully consider the history, principles, and above all the possibilities of the co-operative movement, and he was convinced that through its aid a new social order could be established. On Wednesday and Thursday, January 17th and 18th, Mr. Alexander entertained his workers at two social evenings. The musical part of the programme was supplied by Mr. Norman Cooper's Concert Party; afterwards the orchestra played for dancing. The proceedings wound up with "Auld Lang Syne."

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that there is in this City. For particulars, &c., apply to the Furnishing Manager.

Below we quote a list of Our Special Lines for February.

Solid Fumed Oak Wood Bedsteads, 22 10s.

Iron Combination Bedstead, with Fleck Mattress and Bolster, 22 5s. Complete.

Table Mantles, with well-antiqued Borders, 2s.

Antique Copper Curis—Full Size, 12s. 6d. each.

The Sheffield Co-operator.

JANUARY and FEBRUARY, 1933.

NEUTRALITY.

"No more effective method of securing the triumph of any cause has yet been found than by a party that means business. Abstract resolutions at non-party gatherings have their interest, but they get no farther."—April 25th, 1922.

"No one has any right to stand by at such a time and say that 'I will have nothing to do with politics as long as I am comfortable, let these people stew in their own juice. If we thus talk and act, we shall deserve to lose our self-respect, the respect of our fellow-men, and the approval of Almighty God.'"—The Bishop of Sheffield, presiding at the Diocesan Conference at the Cutlers' Hall, January 24th, 1923.

From the Press on one hand, and the Church on the other, we are invited to take our politics seriously. We have said this all along, whilst our opponents, never forgetting to attack our own movement on its trading side, have re-iterated the necessity of neutrality in politics. As a matter of fact, political neutrality in these days is impossible, particularly when dealing with such a large and comprehensive organisation as the co-operative movement.

Not only does politics enter into every detail of our lives as individuals, but politics have a still greater bearing upon our movement as such. In the first place because the political machine is largely controlled by those who are opposed to our trading principles, and themselves own rival organisations. In the second place because our movement consists in itself the germs of an entirely new social order, to which both orthodox political parties are diametrically opposed.

Small wonder then that we should be hampered as a movement in every step we take to secure representatives for our system on national and local governmental and administrative bodies.

One would not mind the open attacks of opposing political parties; we expect these. One does, however, object to the professedly neutral politician who asks us to stand aside from politics, whilst politicians, at the behest of such bodies, for example, as the Federation of British Industries, the local and national Chambers of Commerce, and other capitalist organisations, proceed to impose unjust taxation, to issue impossible regulations, and to commit us to policies internationally which mean the ruination of our industries and the impoverishment of the great mass of our members.

Furthermore, the unfortunate part about the professedly neutral person is that he is used by opposing political parties; to his credit be it said that in many cases he is unwittingly used in this way. But the fact remains that the sheep's clothing of neutrality often covers the wolf of a more or less unscrupulous capitalist organisation. For has awakened to the fact that co-operation is its most potent enemy; and when capitalism is on the defensive, purity of methods is not considered. Thus integrity becomes a cry used by unscrupulous political organisers of the capitalist system.

Whether our members appreciate the fact or not, the truth is that our opponents see the necessity of political action, and have taken it with such vengeance that they very largely monopolise our lives, economically, through the ownership of land, buildings, and factories; intellectually, through their control of a powerful press; politically, because of their majority in the House of Commons and on local governmental and administrative bodies; and if we are ever to have a Co-operative Commonwealth, we shall have to get control by these means.

The so-called neutral, therefore, is seen to be, at best, a purblind person. Under present circumstances it is manifestly impossible to keep outside the political area; many of those who pro-



By "PATRICIA."

CHRISTMAS has passed and another year has dawned. What will 1933 bring forth? The world that seems to be world-wide be cleared up before another Christmas, or will the middle class grow worse and despair lead itself to sinister suggestions of those who know that upheaval and conflict prevent any constructive progress?

Women in the home are often unaware of the influence of foreign affairs on their own homes. Yet the working classes of Germany who are heavily taxed and hard worked for low wages to pay for the war, are unconsciously helping to encourage unemployment here. They are too poor to buy from us, and we are hesitant to pay so heavily to make them pay that we cannot buy from them.

Every newspaper has columns on the peace treaties, and still it seems as if all these expressive conferences of statesmen bring us no nearer to peace. No wonder many give up trying to work things out.

We in our country have started the year well. A healthy, fit group of men in the House of Commons who will not rest until something is done to improve trade, and though they will be unable to do very much they can show up certain weaknesses, and also the fact that they are three will prevent worse being done. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

What is true of national politics is true of local affairs, and though we know that our country's prosperity is affected by the suffering of another country, we must not forget the foundations of every country lie in the dumbest to its homes.

We must enthusiasm and honour in our homes for the simplest tasks, and we must look to our co-operators, both in the trading and educational sections, to work out our desires for the highest and best.

Times are difficult. Many who are pushed for money and see their little savings dribbling away are apt to get limited in outlook, like a woman who told me she couldn't afford for her money in the stores to be used for politics, and on the reckoning of her year's purchases she had contributed one sliding and previous half-penny.

(Continued from previous column.)

less to do so are innocently aiding our opponents. We have paid dearly for the movement's neutrality in the past. We shall pay still more dearly if we stand aside in the future.

She did not realise what it might mean in the end. Of course, she did not.

That is where the danger lies to-day, and the workers' vigilance relaxes, and then goes too far.

This is how revolutions are made.

No wonder the Fascist movement gained hold in Italy (armed movement to defend Italy), because there are a large number of people who have been troubled to think out the root causes of poverty and unemployment, who are suffering hardships, mob law, and the beating of arms. Activity will only be one side armed activity.

The Fascist idea will be encouraged by the unscrupulous class in every land, but in its turn it will cause much suffering for brute force never advanced any righteous cause.

Women in the country should rejoice that we have better working organisations, worked on sounder lines than any country in the world.

Our movements are our peace safeguards at home. Let us strengthen them during the coming year to be met at Christmas we can face yet another year with renewed courage born of the great achievements of 1932. Let us work and enthusiasm make great things possible.

Through all the long dark night of year The people's cry sounded, And earth is wet with blood and tears, But their meek suffering ceases, Such things shall not for ever be, The rally toll its sorrow, The powers of Hell are strong to-day, The Christ shall rise to-morrow.

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WHY LLOYD GEORGE FELL.

By W. ROBINSON.

THE REAL DICTATORS.

The last of the war-time Premiers has gone. All the men that won the war—Clemenceau, Venizelos, Wilson—had preceded him, but it seemed as though he would stay for ever. Yet now that it has come, the fall of Lloyd George has excited much less surprise than the fall of any other. None of the Conservative politicians have anything like his ability to mislead and delude the electorate. Lloyd George is unequalled in that respect, and yet has been unceremoniously dismissed. He has been dismissed because he has been defeated, and the power that defeated him was, ultimately, the United States of America.

DIVIDING THE SPHERES.

The hand of the United States did not appear openly in the Near East disaster, but it was a United States influence that defeated him. It is fairly generally known that there has been a conflict between France and England over the question of Turkey. The dividing up of the Near East had given Britain Mesopotamia and France Syria. To the north of Mesopotamia, very near to the dangerous foothills of the highlands of Asia Minor, was Mosul, reputed to be one of the richest single oilfields of the whole world. It looked very likely that General Gouraud and his troops might be seriously involved, and it was clear that France had either to come to an arrangement with the Turks or set out to conquer the whole of Asia. France took the former course, and came to an agreement with the Turks—the Angora Pact. But the Angora Pact was more than an agreement safeguarding the Syrian frontier. It committed France to large support of the Turks with arms and munitions. That is to say it committed her to waging war through the agency of the Turks with her ally, Britain. For it was well known who was the Turks' real enemy. Islam's worst oppressor has always been Great Britain. The Union Jack flies over Cairo, Jerusalem, Mecca, Medina, Baghdad, Delhi, and Constantinople; and there is little question who has seized most of the old lands of the Empire. The Turks made no secret of their intention to seize Constantinople, which was for all practical purposes in British hands. Why should France set this dog on at Great Britain? The answer is that it was not Turkey that did this but America.

"SHELL" AND "STANDARD."

During the war and right up to 1921, British oil interests had been predominant in France. Amicable arrangements were made throughout the war concerning the fate of the Mosul oilfields, and France concurred in the practical seizure by the British oil interest, Shell, Shell oil controlled at least one large French bank and one newspaper. It had a representative in most of the shifting French Cabinets, and had two minor companies of its own in France. In most of his Sir Basil Zabaroff acted as agent. In 1920-1, this period came to an abrupt end. France no longer continued to be guided by Shell Oil. The great American Trust, Standard Oil, took the place of Shell Oil at the top of the United States Government gave France clearly to understand that no financial assistance or recommendation whatever would be forthcoming from across the Atlantic until Standard Oil was definitely given first place in all French oil concerns. Therefore, the Angora Pact handed to France not merely the exploitation of all Turkish railways, &c., but in a secret annex, all oil deposits in Turkish territory present or future. That meant that Standard Oil would have any oilfields that Kemal Pasha could recover. Standard Oil looked to Mosul first, but Kemal Pasha looked to Constantinople.

REKHAL PASHA AND BRITISH INTERESTS.
He intended to recover Turkey's position in Europe before he struck south and east. His armies therefore

marched west. There they came into conflict with the Greeks, and behind the British, ever since 1918, have been in the effective occupation of the Straits, and they will not leave. They dare not, for all the internationalisation of them. The opening of the Panama Canal and the growth of the United States Navy, have made the high seas less of a British lake. The Atlantic and the Pacific are not in British hands any longer. Britain her possessions lie in Asia and Africa, on the shores of the Indian Ocean, and the way to them lies through the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean. This sea route has become the spinal cord of the British Empire. Now look at a map how the Straits and Constantinople lie on its flank. Britain took the Straits for herself, therefore, and sheltered behind her satellite power, Greece.

LLOYD GEORGE'S SKETCHES.

BLOWINGS.

But she occupied them with a relatively small force. This was because Mr. Lloyd George was much under the influence of Sir Basil Zabaroff, who is a Greek. Greek merchants also have for very many years held in England a position far higher than would be expected. He believed them when they told him that the Turks were useless; could beat them up. Therefore, he did not send more troops to Constantinople. That was Mr. Lloyd George's first blunder. His second blunder caused his fall. He was unceremoniously booted out after it, because it was a gross and monstrous military error, and one which has seriously injured the position of British capitalism in the East. It was the occupation of Chank. Practically no notice has been taken of this in the daily press, so it is worth while con-

sidering it a little more in detail. Why the occupation of Chank meant disaster will only be clear if these remarks are read in connection with a map. In order to hold a narrow stretch of sea like the Dardanelles and to hold it, it is necessary to control the land for a considerable distance on either side. In the old days naval power was enough, but with aeroplanes and long-range artillery to fight, it is not. To control the Dardanelles, the British must control Constantinople, the Gallipoli Peninsula, and a good half of Thrace on one side; on the other, a broad strip of territory along the Dardanelles, and the coast facing the Bosphorus. In the face of the approaching Turkish forces, Lloyd George did the wrong thing. His capitalist masters were anxious at the moment to avoid war. He did not care to reinforce the Straits enormously and concentrate there an army that the Turks did not fight. What he did was to send a small and insufficient force into Chank. The arrival of this force at Chank gave the Turks all they wanted. Mustafa Kemal, of course, poured in his troops in enormous numbers. They occupied the heights above Chank, the positions around it, the shore below it. They occupied or commanded the line of the forty-mile shore of the Dardanelles. Chank was immediately a hostage in their hands.

THE TURKS STRIKE A BARGAIN.

When the British delegates arrived, the Turks said in effect: "If you do not give us what we want, we shall attack Chank. Our new campaign will be celebrated by the defeat and wholesale surrender of the British force in these regions. How do you think that news will be celebrated in Constantinople, Cairo, Baghdad, and Delhi? The British answer, in effect, was: "What will you take? And they took Thrace and Constantinople, and that Turkey had lost in the war in this area. And therefore the British task of holding the Straits for herself is thirty times more difficult. That is the story of how Mr. Bedford, of Standard Oil, scored his first point over Sir Basil Zabaroff, of Shell Oil. And we have more than a vague suspicion that herein lay the real reason why Mr. Lloyd George left Downing-street suddenly after seven years of power.

THE SMOKE-SCREEN.

The general election was a smoke screen. Lloyd George says he does not know why they broke up the Coalition. The whole game is a smoke screen, to hide the object, failure of capitalism and capitalists' diplomacy. But the Labour movement has advanced through that smoke screen, and 724 members, many of whom are far better informed on international affairs than either the Liberals or Tories, are going to reveal the causes of British failure in international affairs. A failure very largely responsible for the terrible industrial depression of the present time.

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Can you make me another exactly like it?

Yours faithfully,

W. C.

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CO-OPERATIVE PARTY'S PROGRESS AT NEPSSEND.

Not a little of the 7,400 majority given to Mr. Alexander at Nepsend was due to the "Triple Alliance"—the Guild, the Co-operative Party, and Nepsend Labour Party.

These three are working together to ensure that Nepsend shall have due attention from the authorities, both central and municipal. Co-Operative Party and Nepsend Labour Party have been successful in their efforts to establish an Institute on Pitt-street. Mr. Alexander has asked that Nepsend should also be held in their district. Our Nepsend friends have taken steps to arrange this. The Nepsend "Triple Alliance" is anxious to congratulate the railwaymen on the splendid success attending their efforts to establish an Institute on Pitt-street road.

It is thought that the mere statement "Alex" is coming will be enough to fill the new Institute or any other room in Nepsend on the appointed date.

Since this paragraph was written two meetings have been arranged for Friday, February 9th, and Mr. Alexander will speak at 7 p.m. in the Nepsend Institute, Pitt-street road, at 8 o'clock in the Apple-street Mission Room. Come early if you wish to be sure of a seat.

WHY YOU SHOULD BUY THE "DAILY HERALD."

The whole question of applying the co-operative principle, through trade unions, to the control of the press is raised in an interesting fashion in the columns of the "Daily Herald." The "Herald" points out that—

Over two million pounds were distributed last year by merely three of the principal millionaire newspaper groups.

Most of that two millions came from the pennies of the workers.

Suppose the workers who paid the pennies had owned the papers? Suppose they had, through their trade unions and Labour Party, owned those three concerns?

Think of two million pounds every year pouring into Labour Party funds and trade union coffers! The money would come in very handy—in times of unemployment, strikes, election.

And the money would be the least of it. For with the ownership of the press workers would get the power to present their point of view, to state their side, to make their voice heard, to insist that their policies be given a real and fair trial.

All romance? Cannot be done?

That is what was said when the workers proposed to own their own shops and mills and factories. The first co-operatives were "dreams." But they came true.

If this thing has been done for meat and matches, bread and boots, why cannot it be done for news and printed matter, which it is so much more important the workers should control? All, it is not poisoned. "Private enterprise" never is. "Private enterprise" never is.

The Labour movement has now made a beginning in this great adventure. Your parties and unions on this paper concludes the article in the "Daily Herald."

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[Continued from second column]

who writes of "The Golden Bough" highly appreciative terms in his "Pagan and Christian Creeds." If you can find the book, be sure you buy it; if you cannot, see that you ask for it to be added to the local library. We have been chased for the local library on the ground that for some years it was being used as the Central Library on the ground that it was damaged to established ideas. The author has certainly been held responsible some quarters for exactly the same reasons as were both Societies and

In replying to advertisements in the "Sheffield Co-operative."

mains of ancient fears which it is the business of civilisation to grow out of.

Book Reviews.



"The Golden Bough," by Sir James George Frazer, F.R.S., F.B.A. Abridged edition. Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 18s. net.

Sir J. G. Frazer gives an explanatory sub-title: "A Study in Magic and Religion." The full edition of this magnificent piece of study and research is in sixteen volumes, published at a total cost of £22 6s. 6d., and is a monument to the capacity and patience of its author. The book is not popularly known—perhaps because of its title—but the complete edition (though not the latest) is available in our Central Reference Library. Furthermore, the bewildering wealth of material it contains prevents it being attractive to those whose leisure is meagre.

The Abridged Edition, however, recently published, contains "the leading principles of the larger work, together with an amount of evidence sufficient to illustrate them clearly." It is itself a large book, having 774 pages of closely-printed matter, but is well within the reading capacity of any who are really interested in humanity. Here is a large collection of primitive superstitions, myths, customs, and "taboos" from ancient and modern peoples, invaluable to students of History, Education, Psychology, Sociology, Religion, and Folklore.

What Darwin Did

For living things Frazer has done for a large range of human ideas and activities—especially for the world's great religions. Darwin built up a wonderful edifice of illustrative facts in his "Origin of Species" leading to show that all types of life had gradually "evolved" from a common body ancestor; that there is essential kinship throughout the whole range of living things. Frazer has constructed an edifice not less wonderful, from which it becomes clear that religious ceremonial and a great deal of religious ideas has also "evolved" on very similar lines.

Fear was a tremendous influence in the life of primitive man, and his magic, his customs, and his taboos were largely aimed at attempts to avert the powers he so much feared, or to propitiate the gods. This is the premise on which he builds the statement: "On the whole, I believe the fear of the human dead was the most powerful force in the making of primitive religions." In superstitions and in many customs still in vogue we have the re-

Mistletoe.

Most of us have got beyond the notion that there is any peculiar virtue in the mistletoe, and our use of it at Christmas-time is purely for decorative purposes and for the development of the Christmas atmosphere in our homes. But mistletoe, as a charm against all kinds of ill, had a very long and varied history. "From time immemorial," we read, "the mistletoe has been the object of superstitious veneration in Europe, and that fact has been noted for us as the selection of mistletoe rather than, say, ivy as a Christmas decoration."

It afforded protection against sorcery and witchcraft. In Austria a twig of mistletoe on the threshold is held to be a preventative of nightmare. "The ancient Italian opinion was that mistletoe extinguishes fire." When mistletoe was scarce the Welsh farmers used to say, "No mistletoe, no luck." The old Druids "esteemed nothing more sacred than the mistletoe." "The modern Aims of fletioe Japan hold it in peculiar veneration because of oak-mistletoe on the ceilings of their rooms as a protection against harm in general and fire in particular."

Magic.

This is perhaps best defined as being what we generally understand by witchcraft. Our Guy Fawkes festivals on November 5th yearly give still lingering example which illustrates still lives because of its attraction for youth. By this piece of "sympathetic magic" the idea is conveyed that a person is injured by injuring his effigy, and Sir James Frazer brings out very clearly the principles which underlie the whole practice of magic. Other chapters in the book of surprising value and interest are: Inanimate Human Gods, the Worship of Trees, Tabooed Acts, Persons, Things, and Words, the Killing of the Divine King, Sacrifice of the King's Son, Eating the God, and Fire Festivals. A single column, however, is quite inadequate for any full statement of the contents of this wonderful book.

Blatchford and Carpenter.

It has been said that the complete work is not generally known. Yet it has had a marked influence on the minds of many popular writers, and has certainly not yet affected opinion and belief to anything like the degree that it is bound to do sooner or later. It largely modified Blatchford's point of view, and also, quite differently, Edward Carpenter's.

(Continued in fourth column.)

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YOORASHEEMA. A JAPANESE LEGEND FOR CHILDREN.

By MARGARET CARLTON.

YOORASHEEMA was only a small boy, although he had a long name. He lived sunny, many years ago on the coast of Japan, and his father was a fisherman. Yoorasheema's father and mother were very poor. They lived in a little hut on the shore, far away from a town, and only a few poor fishermen lived near them.

Every day Yoorasheema's father went out in a little boat to cast his lines, and he used to sell the fish he caught. Sometimes he caught quite a lot, and then they had a feast, but sometimes he did not catch many, and then it was very sad.

Yoorasheema used to go with his father sometimes, and he learnt how to manipulate the boat and draw in the lines. As Yoorasheema grew he used to think how nice it would be if they could row away in the boat to a land where there was always plenty of anything, but he knew this was only a wish, and could never happen.

One day Yoorasheema's father fell ill, and for days there were no fish caught, and Yoorasheema's mother cried because they were so poor, and he wanted to help her very much. So he went down to the water, and pushed the boat in and rowed out to sea. He cast the lines and waited patiently. Then he drew them in. There was only a small fish. Still, it seemed better than nothing, and he was going to eat it, when:

"Yoorasheema, I am only a small fish, too tiny to be worth much. Please throw me back, so that I can grow big, and you shall catch many big ones."

He was so astonished that he let it slip quickly back into the water. Again he cast the line, and again he caught only a small fish.

Yoorasheema was really a very kind-hearted little boy, but when the second fish begged to be put back he thought it begged so hard, he dropped it back and cast his line again.

While waiting he made up his mind that he would keep the next fish, whatever it said. But the third fish was a small one, and it, like the others, begged to be thrown back.

"No," said Yoorasheema. "Please," begged the little fish. "You put back my two sisters. If you will put me back we will dwell your boat in a wonderful land where there is plenty of everything."

So, sadly, Yoorasheema dropped it back.

It was growing dark over the sea when a wonderful thing happened. The boat began to move, at first slowly, then quicker and quicker, until the land disappeared and they seemed to rush into the darkness. Yoorasheema was frightened at first, but, seeing over the prow, he saw the three fish dashing ahead, and the boat followed as if by magic.

At last they came to a beautiful land where it was sunny and fruit trees grew quicker and quicker, and beautiful meadows dappled on the grass, and everywhere lived in marble houses, and where the three fishes turned into three sisters and they were the queens of this land.

Yoorasheema lived in this land for many, many years, though he did not notice the passing of time, and he never grew old. He played lovely games all day, and had everything to eat that he liked, and nice clothes to wear, and many jolly companions. He did not think about his mother and father very much,

though occasionally he wondered what they were doing.

At length he thought he would like to go and see them, but he was able to return afterwards. The three queens tried hard to dissuade him, but at length they gave in, and agreed that he might go if he would go something special.

He got into his little boat, and then one of the queens gave him an ebony box, saying him to take great care of it, but on no account to open it, or he would never be able to return.

So he sailed away with the box, quite sure he would never open it. He arrived at his former little fishing village, and searched for his father and mother, but they had disappeared. No one knew anything about them, and the last they used to live in had gone, too. At last Yoorasheema found an old man who said he had been told by his great grandfather that he had been in a tale of some people whose little boy had gone away in their boat and never came back, but it was over so many years ago.

Very sad and disappointed, Yoorasheema went back to his boat, intending to sail back to the beautiful land and stay there for ever, when he saw the ebony box.

"What was in it?" He felt very curious very suddenly, and, anyhow, it couldn't make any difference whether he opened it or not. He picked it up. It was very light. Probably it was empty.

So he took the key which the queen had given him, and opened it.

A little cloud of vapour rose. When it cleared away Yoorasheema felt old and stiff, and his eyes were dim. He could hardly see the boat. He tried to walk to it, but he tumbled and stumbled, for he was an old, old man, and he would never be able to get into the boat again. His hands were old and wrinkled, too old to hold an oar. As he watched, vainly hoping his youth would come back again, the boat glided away from the shore—back, empty, to the beautiful land.

And Yoorasheema, who was left where he was, because he was curious, but he never found his mother and father.

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