



The
SHEFFIELD

C-O-P-E-R-A-T-O-R



No. 14.

JULY, 1923.

GUARANTEED CIRCULATION, 30,000.

SUGAR TAX AND SUPER-TAX.

BY "ECONOMIST."

In this issue will be found a full official speech of A. V. Alexander's speech in Parliament on the question of the sugar tax. It was an effective presentation of the case—but you had better read it for yourself before continuing this!

The speech was by Mr. Asquith, who congratulated Mr. Alexander on "his admirable presentation of such overwhelming case." Your local daily press reported that Mr. Asquith went on to say: "There was no indirect tax which, if the Chancellor had a surplus at his disposal, presented greater or more urgent claims than the sugar tax."

Now, the point is this: did Mr. Alexander not know what he was talking about—and your local daily press is always delighted to make such implications. "Very nice indeed," says Mr. Asquith in effect; "but where is the money to come from?" Well, that is the best argument of Liberal and Tory alike, and the "Tory" speech is not far off the truth. On the matter of the sugar tax, as an example, Liberals and Tories are quite agreed. But far from Mr. Asquith's speech being fatal to Mr. Alexander's, it merely showed to any student of affairs the essential poverty of the liberal mind—the kind of vacuous stagnation that prevents him from seeing happily, "Where is the money to come from?" It was no part of Mr. Alexander's business to answer this question—but he could have answered it. And lest the readers of local daily papers should think that Mr. Asquith's speech was little more than a mere argument, we propose to answer it here. Utterly immovable Tory, with a brain full of solid, antediluvian notions, would certainly get as far as Mr. Asquith did on this matter—congratulate Alexander, say it was a good speech, but where was the money to come from? Come, Mr. Asquith, this really seems more like soft soap rather than solid gold.

First of all, where does the money come from at present? £100,000 a year comes "from sugar," nearly 4d per head for every man, woman and child in the kingdom! "Sugar" doesn't pay it; the men and women and children who buy sugar (and things with sugar in) have it to pay. When anybody buys a pound of sugar at, say, 1d, 3d, 4d, 5d, 6d, for that, and the remaining 1d, 2d, 3d, 4d, is tax. How can that be, seeing that the 8d is paid to the grocer? That is entirely quite simple. The grocer pays 2d per pound tax when he buys it from the wholesaler, who may or may not be the importer; but the importer himself pays the tax over to the Government, and it is passed down with the article to the "grocer," who then adds his mark-up, or cost of work living upon a delo. Obviously a millionaire does not need much; if any, more sugar in his household than a worker with a wife and a few children does, and they both pay the same rate, 2d, per pound fair.

It is a device to make the poor and the middle classes pay a higher share of taxation than is just. The millionaire does not eat more jam, generally speaking, than a working man with a "living" wage, nor does his children necessarily have more "sweets" than a working man's. And even the working man's children pay tax when they buy sweets, and the same rate of tax as a millionaire's children do!

The Chancellor, however, has no "balance" with which to relieve sugar duty. There are, however, somewhere about 80,000 people whose incomes this year will be over £2,000 each, and as

the best way of raising the £40,000,000 we commence an addition to the sugar tax which, happily, they have to pay already.

Both Liberal and Tory will be up in arms

against this at once; several super-tax payers will grow purple and be in danger of nephritis. Both the Liberal and Tory political war chests are filled by super-taxpayers, and are either of these groups of politicians likely therefore to suggest more taxes upon wealthy people? Not a chance of it; they would merely talk about "killing the goose that lays the golden eggs."

The goose that lays the golden eggs in their political treasuries of course they will not kill! But the only goose that really lays "golden eggs" is the working man, and it is time he ceased being a goose. Don't assume by that that I am suggesting that the working man stop working or start waving flag-
nothing of the sort. For his own mood and the good of his fellow-countrymen, as a lofty act of patriotism, we wish him merely to stop being a goose.

A further tax on income such as sur-goods tax has been roundly criticised, and it is argued that we should starve consequence; there would be less money for investment. The latter remark is true, but seeing that we already have more money invested in machinery and factories than we can use—for instance, in ships and aeroplanes, and people are not afraid to risk their money for a better argument. Unfortunately this stock phrase of financiers and wealthy politicians about "starving capital" leaves too many working men unemployed. They are the un-
fortunate "reserves." You can fetch your money out of capitalist centres like you can out of a co-operative society. And seeing that capital can only be used when people have sufficient money in their pockets to buy what capital (or aeroplanes) and the like you to believe that more and more will be done when necessary, and leave ordinary income alone, the better for trade. One of the most injurious things in industry is over-investment, and this is caused by the fact that some people have a great deal more than they can spend, and so have enormous surpluses, which thereby compels others to have less than they can reasonably live upon. In short, the unjust distribution of national income is a curse to the rest of us.

If there was sufficient Bolshevik opposition amongst the monied classes to make this an awkward matter for the people at large and for the future of industry, we might even consider whether "conscription" should not be applied to the rich. "Conscription plus wealth" would make an effective placard, and nothing more would be needed if the rich responded as well to help the poor as the poor did to help others in 1914.

There is now a very strong feeling that the rich should have to budge heavily, how things stand at present. For the current year Super-taxpayers will pay £60,000,000 tax out of the *surplus* of their incomes over £2,000.

Sugar taxpayers will pay two-thirds of this amount—that is, £10,000,000 in higher prices for sugar and jam and other articles.

These are not figures taken out of the "Citizen"; they are from Government publications.

Why, such a state of affairs is a standing disgrace! And all that the Liberals and Tories alike can do is to smother us with mental cotton wool!

"THE SHEFFIELD CO-OPERATOR'S WHO'S WHO SERIES."

No. 4.—MR. TOM SHAW, J.P.

Mr. Tom Shaw is the C.O.M. of the Sheffield Labour movement. Born 1849, he has been a member of the Typographical Association for nearly fifty years.

In the Sheffield Labour movement Mr. Shaw has a record to be proud of. For ten years he was chairman of the Sheffield branch of the Typographical Association, for severally years a member of the national executive of that body, and on resigning his official position was presented with an address in recognition of his fine service to the organisation.

In 1880 Mr. Shaw was one of the little group who formed a branch of the Constitutional Rights Association in this city. Before there were any political organisations in Sheffield he laboured to secure the right of the late Charles Bradlaugh to sit in the House of Commons. The C.R.A. was carrying on a very active campaign in Sheffield at this time.

Mr. Shaw was largely responsible for the starting of the Radical Club in Parsonage Lane, which accompanied a framework quite independent of both Tory and Liberal nids.

At the redistribution of seats in 1885 the club endeavoured to secure the right to run a Parliamentary candidate for Attercliffe; they were unsuccessful, but managed to put a Labour candidate in the field in the Central Division. At the following General Election, Mr. Stacey, M.P., was the man. Pimlott was the Liberal candidate, and Howard Vincent the Conservative. This fight was the first Parliamentary contest with a Labour candidate in the city.

Shaw was a member of the I.L.P. at its very inception; chairman of the Sheffield branch, and a member of the N.A.C. during Keir Hardie's régime. He represented the Sheffield section at the London, Birmingham and Nottingham conferences. Mr. Shaw contested Attercliffe unsuccessfully in 1893, and subsequently elected candidate for Brightside in 1900. He remained the seat for over seven years. He was appointed to the municipal bench in 1906.

Perhaps Mr. Shaw's most useful



MR. TOM SHAW, J.P.

contribution to our civic life has been his work on housing. He was a member of the National Housing and Towns Planning Council. He was very largely responsible for the purchase of the land at High Storn, not merely because he was on the Council at this time, but because he was setting up public opinion against after eight by a series of lectures in parts of Sheffield and districts. He would

have been a photograph of a dirty, dilapidated slum at one moment, and at the next a beautiful mansion, or some section of the Bourneville estate, after which he would point out the moral with telling effect. Sometimes the landlords of the High Storn estate would give in, reluctantly, to a great mansion owned by a person who probably owned two or three other mansions. In this way the people were stirred to demand better housing facilities. Like many other worthy causes, this played havoc with town planning and local government. It is difficult to doubt that Tom Shaw has done much to educate the people of Sheffield to a sense of shame at the wretched housing conditions prevailing.

There is no stanchion co-operator in the city than Shaw. He was a member

of the old Radical Club, and his management with the Ecclesiastical His

Chancery has been continuous since about 1885. He is at present a member of the Co-operative Party Executive and the Trades and Labour Council Executive. He was the first president of the Sheffield Citizens' Readers, and re-

ceived many hearty ovations with Bert Ward and his happy colleagues.

Through years of hard work and many vicissitudes Shaw has kept the democratic flag flying. He will soon be celebrating his seventy-fifth birthday, but he is still young, and can still be of service in the cause of advanced thought to many of his younger comrades. Always in the van of the progressive movement, as keen worker for the workers, we trust that for many years to come we shall have the friendship, service, and leadership of our revered comrade Mr. Tom Shaw, J.P.

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MUNICIPAL TOPICS.

By COUNCILLOR T. H. WATKINS.

TRAMWAYS AND MOTORS.

The report and statement of accounts
for the year ended March 31st, 1923,
of the Sheffield Corporation Tramways
and Motors, were presented at the
Council meeting.

The following are the main figures
for the year ended March 31st, 1923:—

Gross Income	£49,005
Working Expenses	£738,938

Gross Profit (excluding depreciation)	£110,017
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There are additional charges for the
year as follows:—

Repayment of Loans	£63,246
Interest	£46,684

Depreciation	£15,370
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£113,600

The net balance amounts to £96,427,
which has been placed as follows:—

Reserve Fund for Re- newals	£67,488
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Transfers to Surplus Fund and Grants	£15,715
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In Relief of District Rate	£13,214
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£95,600

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which has been placed as follows:—

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--------------------------------------	---------

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---	---------

In Relief of District Rate	£13,214
----------------------------------	---------

£95,600

An attempt was made by the middle-
class section of the Citizens' Party to
transfer a greater portion of the relief of
the district rate, by reducing the amount
apportioned to the reserve fund for
renewals. This would have had the
effect of either reducing employment and
the amount expended on renewals, or
to have necessitated recourse to
obtaining loans and thereby increased
the amount of loans and interest charges
—a form of taxation which would
benefit only the wealthy, instead of
considering the wants of the tramways
and the interests of the general body of
ratepayers.

INTEREST CHARGES.

Despite the increasing amounts placed
to reserve fund for renewals account
during recent years, the amounts placed
to interest account, and repayment of
loans account, are the highest yet
recorded in the history of the tramways.

gross CAPITAL EXPENDITURE.

The total gross capital expenditure
in the undertaking amounts to
£1,058,537.

If, however, the capital expended in each
year was also shown in the return, alongside
the amounts shown in each year
for interest and loan repayments,
it would complete an otherwise excellent
comparative return and statement
of accounts.

PASSENGERS CARRIED.

The number of passengers carried
for the year ended 1923, was
13,890,100.

It is beyond doubt that there is scope,
also there are ways and means, by
which the number of passengers could be
increased, without ultimate loss of
revenue, reducing working conditions,
or by increasing expenses.

REDUCED FARES.

One way is by reducing fares, in the
direction of which tentative reductions
have been made on one route, resulting
in two consecutive penny fare stages
being reduced to 1½d., and to be applied
on all tramway routes commencing on
July 1st.

HALFPENNY FARE FOR CHILDREN.

Attempts have been made to obtain
a reduction in children's fares to one
halfpenny, but as yet without success.
It is generally suggested that tentative
reductions to be also made on one route for
a period as long as possible, so that the argument
has often been advanced that the tramways
have been extended into the suburbs
and inducing families to travel out
of the city into the country districts.

The reduction of halfpenny for children
to one halfpenny would be a greater
inducement to do so, also be a boon to
most families.

EXTENSION OF PENNY STAGES.

The question of extending penny
stages should be reviewed, and pressure
to do so will no doubt continue and
increase.

As an illustration, the extension of
the penny stage from the city to Royds-
street, instead of to Portland Bridge,
would be of greater convenience to
residents in Parkwood Springs.

WORKS FOR RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Works for Relief of Unemployment.

WEEKLY WAGE, 30/-

A circular was submitted from the
Unemployment Grants Committee, to consider the prospects
in the area, and submit a preliminary
statement of works which could be put
in hand if required.

More than half the costs of such
schemes must be borne by local rates,
which is additional to the Poor Law
Rate relief, as schemes of relief employ-
ment only include a few of the many
thousands of unemployed within the
city.

SHEFFIELD'S BURDEN OF DEBT.

The Government have recently been
waited upon by representatives of the
various interests within the city with a
view to obtaining financial assistance to
wipe out the enormous debt which
has thus accumulated, and which is both
criminally excessive, and limiting
necessary services in every direction.

Yet the Labour Group are charged
by the local press with increasing the
rates of the city! Surely the limit of
carn and humbug.

Moreover, the Government, which
secures the support of the majority
upon the City Council, are still consider-
ing the question of financial assistance,
and agreed to the general and agreed con-
tent that unemployment is a national
problem.

Surely sincerity has become a byword,
and tranquillity is only the watchword
of the hounds of gilt-edged securities.

HOUSE DUTY AND PROPERTY TAX.

The Council majority made some
concessions to the Middle-class repre-
sentatives of the Citizens' Party, by
expressing the opinion that the revision of
the assessments of all property for
house duty and property tax purposes
is inappropriate and inequitable, "and
will greatly retard the erection of houses
and which badly needed."

The residents have no relation or
connection with local rating, but has
refused solely to act taken by the
Government throughout the country.
The ratepayers are misled by the
reference to the retarding of the erection
of houses which are badly needed. To
such uses have the Council fallen.

MUNICIPAL BANKING.

The report of the Council of Municipal
Corporations is shortly to be issued,
when further steps will be taken in
connection with this question.

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parties are requested to start EARLY,
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limited period of getting through the
programme in reasonable time.

A CAPITALIST UTOPIA.

HENRY FORD'S METHODS.

By W. ROBINSON.

HENRY FORD's income is estimated to be £45 per minute! He has also stated that it is not the capitalist that pays wages, but the product." One of Mr. Ford's great secrets is that the law that prices fluctuate with supply and demand can be set aside by reducing annually the selling price of his cars, modifies regardless of the state of the market. At the end of each year the price is cut by an amount which roughly equals the profit on the past year. This is repeated, for next year's profit upon the decreased cost of production due to the continued larger quantities demanded. By these means Mr. Ford claims that the capitalist, whilst benefiting himself, is of greater service to the community—prices are lower, consumers can buy more goods, business is promoted, more workpeople are employed, more money circulated, trade is healthy. If other capitalists would follow his lead most of the ills of society, he claims, would disappear, and the social problem solve itself!

THE LAW OF THE GREAT PROFIT.

The price of the Ford has been reduced by annual instalments (save for two years during the war) from \$90 dollars to \$35 dollars, during which time the yearly production has increased from 16,000 to 1,550,000. The number of employees has increased from 1,908 to 55,000; the minimum wage has increased from standard rates to six dollars a day; and the hours have been reduced from nine to eight per day.

Mr. Ford claims that this system is applicable to any industry. This is "the law of the great profit," a lower price begets a greater demand, which begets an increased quantity, which begets a reduced production cost, combined with a greater employment of workpeople, which begets a larger disbursement of wages, which begets a more proportionate, which begets a greater purchasing power, which begets a further reduction in price, begets an increasingly bigger demand, and so on, to the capitalist Utopia. But wait, a jarring thought creeps in. Profits are not realised until the product is sold. While profits are abounding the workers can only buy a small fraction of the wealth they create, no matter how cheap their price. From another angle, let us leave the wages paid on a "Ford" selling at \$35 dollars are only 75 dollars. Mr. Ford's system, if applied universally, would appear to lead to an impasse from which socialism would be the only way out.

THE CONCENTRATION OF INDUSTRY.

In their early days the Ford Company only made 10 per cent. of the famous car, 90 per cent., therefore being made by others. It was this that was mainly criticised for his unscrupulous that capitalists live by killing capitalists. Nevertheless, as a firm grows it not merely turns out a larger quantity of a given commodity, but it makes a larger proportion of that article. It does the work which previously it purchased from other firms, and ends by housing within itself all the processes of manufacture from root to root. As the firm develops a wood-working department is added, and they make their own foundry patterns, &c., until finally a huge organisation combining a dozen or more distinct trades grows out of the original simple machine shop. This is an example of the concentration of industry. It obviously lessens its liability to be beaten, and it is able to include timber forests, iron and coal mines, &c., under a single roof. Geographical conditions have proved a barrier which has not merely banked that development, but has constantly diverted its course. A saving of transport is a saving of labour, and the idea has been

carried to the extreme of altering an operation to save a workman a single step. Here is an example. Ritting the piston on the connecting rod: Time, 3 mrs. 5 sec. Analysing the motions, it was found that four hours in a man-hour day were spent in walking a few steps backwards and forwards. Redistributing the operations so that no foot movement was necessary resulted in seven men doing a job in eight hours, as against 28 men in 24 hours for four hours!

This quickly brought to light the fact that an enormous annual saving could be effected if, for instance, the iron casting was done at the mouth of the iron mine, and the foundry was transferred from the factory and placed alongside the smaller works.

One of the latest developments of Mr. Ford's methods has been the combination of an iron, steel, and blast foundry adjacent to the mines River Rouge. This plant is not yet complete, but already nearly 8,000 cylinder castings have been made in one day. The whole process of first casting, pig iron is eliminated, and the metal never allowed to cool from the first heating of the ore till the cylinder casting is finished. When the plant is in full working order, it is estimated that only twelve hours will elapse from the ore being in the earth until it becomes a finished casting! The Ford coal mines are not far away, and Ford owns the railway that unites the two.

Other sources of raw material attract away from the parent factory various departments, such as the working department goes to the forest, etc., so on, it being cheaper to transport the lighter finished product than the heavier bulk from which it was made.

HIGH PRICES AND WAGES.

On the many other interesting points raised by Mr. Ford we must confine ourselves to one only, namely, wages. Mr. Ford claims that he can make a further statement of Marx, namely, that the rise and fall of prices is not dependent upon a rise or fall of wages.

That high prices are a result of high wages, and that prices cannot be reduced until wages fall, has been a pet theme of certain economists; yet it is well known that at the Ford factory is produced, the workers can earn the best value for money in the world, while the workers there are *paid the highest wages in the industry*.

Mr. Ford says the payment of five dollars a day for an unskilled day was out of the question—costs are so high he even says, and the six-dollar day is cheaper than the five. May for all will go I do not know. In the first place, the workers at the Ford factory are speeded up to a strenuous degree; the worker must never rest a moment, otherwise a whole gang of men is disorganized. The work is exercised to the limit. In order to keep the half of high wages necessary to keep the man contentedly at his work. Prior to a considerable increase in wages it was necessary to hire at the rate of 53,000 hands a year to maintain a force of 14,000 employees. In 1915 only 6,500 new men were taken on, and the majority of them were given employment elsewhere.

THE CAPITALIST UTOPIA.

Where will it end? When all industries are reorganized on Ford lines, and the worker has no alternative but to work at such a factory, the need for the bribe of a high wage will have gone. When that day arrives Ford's competitors will meet him in the field of bidding. He will no longer have the economic advantage of a better-organized factory, and in the fierce struggle to undersell each other the wage worker is likely to suffer decreased wages considerably, particularly if he be of the non-union, unorganized type so much admired by Mr. Ford.

What a glorious Utopia capitalism offers to the workers! Have you, dear reader, ever thought about the alternative?

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NOTE the Date—SATURDAY, JUNE 30TH

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HANDS OFF THE PEOPLE'S FOOD.

ALEXANDER MOVES THE REPEAL OF THE £40,000,000 SUGAR TAX.

A "most admirable presentation of an overwhelming case." (Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, M.P., speaking of Mr. Alexander's speech,
House of Commons, Monday, June 18th.)

Mr. A. V. ALEXANDER: I beg to move, "That the Clause be read a second time."

This new Clause will repeat the sugar duties, and I move it on these main grounds. In the first place because these duties constitute a tax which is injurious in its incidence on working-class consumers; secondly, because these duties are discriminatory; and a tax is raw material, increasing the cost of production, and thus creating unemployment; and thirdly, because these duties are no longer purposed for revenue purposes, but they are discriminating and protectionist in their character, and therefore are discriminatory and wasteful. These are the three main grounds on which I move this new Clause. I submitted on the Second Reading of the Bill and during the Committee Stage that when we were considering relief from taxation the case of sugar was most important. It is one of the heaviest burdens upon consumption in this country. It is one of our most important foodstuffs. I do not suppose there is anyone who will deny that, apart from sugar and bread itself, there is no food so vitally important for building up the human body. A tax upon sugar, although perhaps a lesser degree, is, as a tax on bread itself, is a tax upon life and health itself.

Stupendous Wage Reductions.

With regard to the incidence and the effect of these taxes upon the working classes, I had the honour of taking a deputation last year to the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the right hon. gentleman the member for the Hillhead Division (Sir R. Horne), and after putting to him the case for the reduction of the tax, I got an rather extraordinary interpretation from the right hon. gentleman to the effect that it was not the working classes of the country to whom who were suffering most, and who were most in need of relief at that time, but it was the middle classes who were suffering most from the burden of taxation. On asking the right hon. gentleman then is our country not poor, and it is to the effect that we are putting up the cost for weekly wage earners in this country, who had suffered at that time wage reductions aggregating over £50,000,000 a year, and if you take wage reductions since the last Budget, certainly the reductions amount to £750,000,000 per annum, and you will see of that reduction in the yearly income of the weekly wage earners, you find that a very small relief has been given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to taxation upon the workers of this country.

Consumers' Heavy Burden.

Let me remind the committee that, taking last year's proposals for taxation of direct taxation, and this year's proposal for indirect taxation, you have already a relief to the direct taxation income tax of 30 per cent., and in the particular Budget you are having a further proposal for a 50 per cent. reduction of the corporation profits tax. We submit that it is high time that direct relief was given to the working-class consumer in regard to a tax upon sugar. Let me remind the committee that for revenue purposes the income tax was increased by five times and the sugar tax was increased by fourteen times its pre-war rate. The duty on sugar now stands at 25. 10d. per cwt. as against 2s. 10d. per cwt. before the war. The pre-war yield of the sugar duties was £300,000 a year and now the Government are taking from those who pay sugar duty £40,000,000. In other words, the consumer in regard to taxation upon sugar, are practically paying the whole amount that is being put to the sinking fund in respect of the reduction of the national debt.

Tax Multiplied Fourteen Times!

Let us consider the actual or salient bearing of this tax on sugar. Last year we were pleading for a reduction of this tax of 25s. 8d. to 20s. 10d. and this year the additional amount to 25s. 10d. per cent., and even with the more recent rise in the price of sugar the ad valorem value is equal to 28s. per cent. It seems to me iniquitous that the great mass of working-class consumers in this country would have to pay respect to what is a vital food a tax equal to 28 per cent. of its value. When this tax was first introduced it was an emergency measure, and it was never intended as anything else. It was imposed during the First World War. When it had been imposed in 1918, it was imposed as an emergency measure during the late war, but it was never intended, when this tax was put upon sugar, even by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was wicked enough to put it on, that it should become a fixed plank for raising revenue. Nevertheless, a reduction equal to 1s. 6d. in the pre-war period with the pre-war rate has been taken off the income tax, whilst nothing is to be taken off the duty on sugar, which is now fourteen times more than the pre-war rate.

Who Pays?

I suggest that this tax upon sugar does not contravene the elementary principle of taxation, that it is so contrived as to take out, and keep out, the pockets of the people as far as possible over its actual yield to the Treasury. In the case of the tax on sugar that principle is contravened. You have a tax of 2s. 10d. per lb. on sugar, the refiner of sugar that involves an extra 1s. 6d. in capital. When there is any increase in the cost of this kind the refiner expects to get some return for his invested capital. Moreover the people who have to buy the sugar for the manufacture of jam and for other purposes do not pass on to the consumer the bare amount of the tax, and you will notice that the profit of the merchant and the manufacturer in applying the tax. When you realize what is the actual burden of indirect taxation to-day, and remember that the profit on the actual amount paid in duty is also passed on to the consumer, the committee will see that it is an uneconomical method of raising revenue when you have to charge it in that way.

8s. is the Pound Tax on Food.

One of us who are connected with the Consumers' Wholesales Society have been taking on the actual figures for the last year or two of total indirect taxation means in regard to the cost of goods, and leaving out beer, spirits and wine, the ordinary articles purchased by the working-class household, the total wholesale figure are bearing taxation to the amount of 8s. 5d. in the pound, and therefore it is plain that by the time that tax is imposed on the consumer in regard to sugar, coffee, tea, sugar, and tobacco those articles are going to cost the consumer considerably from 9s. 6d. to 10s. in the pound owing to the duty plus profit which is added. I want to deal with the point that this taxation is in part a tax upon the raw materials of the sugar refiner and the manufacturer, and is therefore conducive to unemployment. I will take jam as an example. Jam is a perfectly good and wholesome food, very useful for our young people; in

fact, I might remind the committee that during the war the Government continually urged the people of this country to develop more and more the consumption of bread and jam in order to curtail the consumption of other foods.

Causing Unemployment.

With that purpose the Government did all that they could on these occasions to encourage the manufacture of jam to put it more and more into factories, in order to deal with the situation. These factories were put up. What is the position to-day in the industry? No industry probably with the same amount of capital invested in it and with the same trade turnover as the jam-making industry has lost the jam-making industry during the last few years. At the present time there are thousands of workers in that industry either entirely out of work or on short time. I am sorry the figures of the Ministry of Labour do not give separately statistics relating to jam making, but on April 23rd figures that were given in another connection show the unemployed register in trades connected with the manufacture of food and drink no fewer than 44,316 people. Jam making is one of the principal of these manufactures, so that I think it is proved that the reduced demand for jam consequent on the high price is not only reducing employment but conducive to unemployment. As a matter of fact, I do not suppose there is a jam manufacturer with any large turnover who is not now largely overstocked with jam, and, inquires in the industry indicate that, with regard to the coming season unless there is going to be a reduction in the sugar duty, making it difficult for the manufacturer to jam much more cheaply, there will be very little new season's jam, if any, to be made by the big manufacturers. It will not only be a question of creating unemployment, or of short time in the factories, but it will be a very serious thing for the fruit-growing industry.

£100,000 for Dutch Capitalists.

My third point is that this tax has always been held up to us if we were levied for revenue purposes only, but as a matter of fact it is now both discriminating and protectionist in its character. I am going later on to deal with the point made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the second reading of the Budget as to the effect of a reduction in the sugar duty. I can only say that no one can yet real consequence or importance in the sugar trade of this country would ever accrue such information as that given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; indeed I wonder whether the Treasury or the Chancellor of the Exchequer got this suggestion with regard to the possible effect of a reduction of the tax from those interested in the British sugar industry who desire to secure protection for their own particular part of the industry. What is actually the position in this matter? Last year the Finance Committee of the Excise Duties on sugar entirely abolished the Excise Duties on sugar, and yet the price of sugar produced in this country relieved of the Excise Duty, the consumers of sugar imported from abroad, the taxable article of a quarter of a million as a grant is 1922. Ever since the West Indian growers have been worrying Government after Government for special treatment in regard to their position. They have had preference of 4s. 1d. per cwt. on all sugar imported into this country since 1919, yet last year they were worrying the House to have that preference increased to 8s. 6d. Again, there has been no corresponding reduction in price to the consumer in this country. While we have granted relief to the Colonial sugar grower, the money coming out of the British taxpayers'

the consumer. In the case of one of the two big factories—Cantley (Kellam is the name of the other factory)—the result has been to make a present of certainly not less than £115,000 to that factory, the majority of the capital in which is owned by Dutch capitalists, and I assume that the Dutch proportion of the capital received this last financial year from the British taxpayers' pocket without advantage to the consumer, a sum of not less than £100,000.

Mr. A. M. Samuel: But it has kept a large acreage of agricultural land under cultivation and has provided employment for a large number of men, especially in the City of Norwich. These men would have been out of work had it not been for that.

Mr. Shepperson: And the benefit was not confined to Norfolk. It was extended to other counties.

British Subsidies Paid by Consumer.

Mr. A. M. Samuel: I am glad to see exactly where hon. members stand. It is clear to anyone who studies the question that, while this preference has created some local employment in a particular branch of the sugar industry, it has created more unemployment in other directions. I think it was John Stuart Mill who, in his "Political Economy," talks of that matter and says that the growing of an article for home consumption is a waste of labour and a waste of capital if you are subsidising it without giving a corresponding advantage to the consumer in price. No article would continue to be permanently imported into the country from abroad unless it was made more cheaply than it can be produced by labour and capital in this country without a subsidy. If you produce it more cheaply with the aid of a subsidy, you are employing labour and capital in this country for a purpose which could be better used in other directions, and therefore it is a waste of capital which has been committed by past Governments to still more expenditure of this type. I understand the Government were committed by the right hon. member for Hillhead (Sir R. Horne), or if not by him by his predecessor to a guaranteed payment of 5 per cent. on the share capital in connection with the factories, and this guarantee is I believe to continue until 1930. If my memory serves me right, the loss to the Kellam factory for the year 1921-22 approached £60,000, and the sum the British taxpayer has had to make good. We are paying out to the British sugar industry this large sum without any advantage at all to the consumer, and therefore it is, and how fair it is, and how true it is that it is no longer imposed purely for revenue purposes but is Protectionist

Taxpayers Loss £1,750,000.

Just a word or two with regard to the Colonial position. We have always been worried by the West Indian growers with regard to the sugar position there. There are few here who will remember, though, that it was a Conservative Government that gave the West Indian sugar growers a present of a quarter of a million as a grant in 1922. Ever since the West Indian growers have been worrying Government after Government for special treatment in regard to their position. They have had preference of 4s. 1d. per cwt. on all sugar imported into this country since 1919, yet last year they were worrying the House to have that preference increased to 8s. 6d. Again, there has been no corresponding reduction in price to the consumer in this country. While we have granted relief to the Colonial sugar grower, the money coming out of the British taxpayers'

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Mr. GEO. GREEN, 31, WARBURGH ROAD, ECCELSALL.

(Continued on Next Page)

[Continued from previous page.]

pocket, there has been no real advantage to the community. It is true that this preference was granted on the ground that it was the only means of assisting the sugar industry in the West Indies to maintain white supremacy there, but I am more concerned at the present moment to see what is done to the British taxpayer and consumer in this matter than with any belated digging up of an industry which should be able to stand on its own feet. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in an answer recently given, some figures as to the amount of sugar imported from the West Indies, and it will be seen that at the rate of preference of 4s. 3d. per cwt. on imports into this country last year the taxpayers lost £1,750,000.

Chancellor's Figures Questioned.

- May I add a word with regard to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's contention in the Budget debate that any substantial reduction of the sugar duty would not ultimately benefit the consumer? I think the right hon. gentleman cannot have consulted any of those who really know the facts about the sugar trade before he made such an extraordinary statement. The argument that the reduction in the consumption of sugar caused by a reduction of duty would keep the price up is not a very weak argument indeed, otherwise the consumer would hold good and it would be equally the case that an increase of duty with a corresponding decrease of consumption would cheapen the article. The right hon. gentleman's contention has not been borne out by the effect on the market since he made his statement. I have been at some pains to pick out some figures on this matter, and I find that on April 16th shipments of American granulated sugar were at 10s. per cwt., and prompt 10s. per cwt. for May imports. After the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement that he was not going to reduce the tax on sugar one might have expected some reduction in prices, but immediately after the Budget statement the figures went up to 10s. and 10s. per cwt. May 19th the price of American granulated sugar was 9s. 6d. Since then the price has actually dropped until on June 12th it was 3s. 6d., but again connected with the trade known perfectly well that the rise in value had nothing to do with the question of the tax in this country and one is bound to accept the Chancellor's statement except those who may not have studied the position of the market as carefully as they might do. It is ridiculous to suggest that a reduction of tax in this country on less than one-tenth of the world production of sugar, would govern the price.

Unwarrantable Burden on the Workers.

I move the repeal of these duties because they are an unwarrantable burden on a great body of working-class men in this country who have not been given any taxation equivalent to that given to the middle classes to oppose them, because they are a tax on material, are conducive to unemployment, are increasingly protectionist and preferential in character, and are, therefore, a wasteful method of trading.

Asquith Congratulates Alexander.

Mr. Asquith : I should like first to congratulate my hon. friend on his most admirable presentation of an ever-revolving case.

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THE CUPBOARD FAIRY.

By MARGARET CARLTON.

We searched the house all over for a toad-stool, but not much there to be found anywhere. She could not understand that toad-stools do not grow in houses.

"I have something to dance round," said I, "so I took my Hobby and I made her one out of pinecones. It was very successful for a little while.

"And we must have drink to drink," she added. "From the garden snail to find any that she liked and eat him, and I was really worried about the drink. Neither did I know of any shop where they sold it, so I asked my mother's advice. Mothers usually know what you can get anything you want. Then I ran home again, faster, so as not to wait for a drinking cup and the tea for a

"My! I! What a lot these fairies must save, said Hobby," their hair's grown long, they don't eat."

At last Hobby said I decided to have one of father's flowers. He grew a few in the sun in a box in the basement, but we were quite uncertain, and then perhaps she would begin and won't stop. She was always helping me when I did not make all sorts of things appear.

Well, about the dinner. We were very afraid of what father would say, but Hobby did not mind, only smiled and danced around the room, and then ate the box. She ate the tip off the top of the box, then she drank the honey, and then she laid it for a last.

And next day two more flowers opened. I said, "They're splendid!" said Hobby.

"Just because," I cried, "you need teach to do as you do."

I showed her a video of dancing down Cherry Row, which is paved with stones and long lists of lovely flowers springing up between them. "That's a nice place to be in now," said Cherry Row.

I began straight away, but very soon was tired because our shoes made such a noise, and the footpath was very hard.

"Graz in best," she said, "and the trees shade us with their dew, and the sun comes through the leaves, and the birds sing, and the flowers and their heads in time even the violet down by the stream, which ripples when we're moving our music. Oh! It is easy then."

I sat down on the heathings, which was rather hard, but the grass was soft and the grass was very soft. She was very very silent.

"Hobby," I said seriously, "I don't believe there is any other place like that she talked about. I don't believe there are such places-only in fairyland."

"I don't believe in fairyland—except you," I added.

"And we live in Cherry Row, where there are my brothers."

"You also live on your fairyland, Em, and your brothers and sisters," said Hobby to our last cupboard fairy.

"But I'm not a fairy."

"Why, we are all brothers and sisters there," she said. "And we live in the trees, and with the rabbits and the squirrels, and the beavers, and even some of the birds keep them. The little fairies do that, for the birds keep them."

"That was the reason why we always wanted to know what we had, as if we were always from fairyland. But we had to tell her that the reason we had so many pretty spangles that were so bold, and, of course, we had plenty on Christmas cards."

"Whatever are they?" she cried.

Hobby tried very hard to explain, but I don't think she succeeded; and, after we showed them to her, she said they were not much at all—only round painted things.

"And I can tell you about my fairyland, which isn't at all like the fairyland you think it is. Hush."

And then she began.

(To be continued.)

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JULY 7th is to be a day of strike here; many co-operatives in our town think the movement is worth rejoicing about. All over the country—yes, you enthusiasts that never have your fill of meetings, &c.—many of us members do not realize the magnitude of what has been done. There are many thousands of well-introduced men and women who benefit through the co-operative movement who have not even heard of it before; and this will help to make greater things than those it has already done. In fact, it has never dawned on them that if it is to progress.

With that said in our movements, I can assure you that July 1st, when scarcely a round dozen could be got to demonstrate, in spite of the appeal of Kier Hardie and the efforts of the local branch of the N.C.P., yet Labour Day has grown, in spite of our unreliable weather, at that time of the year, to a point where great things on Co-operative Day are to be expected.

Since day I hope we shall have in every town or village where there is a flourishing co-operative society a yearly celebration of the society's activities.

There are no communists, as we know it, that are not also co-operatives, and the people can achieve by collective action.

When I saw the marvellous spectacle of the march past at Preston, the remembrance of the cold, grey, drizzling rain, I almost thought that the day would come when the co-operative movement would rise to the occasion and have a day of its own, a day of industry at work such as was shown at Preston.

It may not be fitting in memory of the day, it still remains to be seen, but it is the day of the imagination, and that is what is badly needed.

The Women's Guild Congress met at Cardiff this year, and about seven hundred delegates were present. By the time this paper reaches the guild in our local society, that delegates will have returned home, and the next day who will read the annual guild report and studied the balance sheet, see with shrewd eyes how business ways will stand after the guild year ends.

The Women's Guild is passing through a very critical time in its history. No woman's organization can afford to neglect the work of the paupering of a great percentage. Naturally so much authority is vested in that particular section of the guild, and the members afterwards are those who have been the school of the former leaders. Consequently they are rather a static type. The only thing that can raise them is a strong sense of knowledge and true democratic management.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Ingraham.—The hard and vulgar display of wealth at Ascot, as you say, is disgusting to anyone while large masses of the people are starving, poor, sick, etc. This may be those who were born to be ascots. What about some at Ascot? They are not likely to change their social status. Their social status is not "right," and always will not alter things. All decent people who want men must strive to lift the poll of the world which includes such things as Ascot.

EVA.—You can join the Ramblers area if you do not belong to a guild. All particulars from the secretary at this station.

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The Sheffield Co-operator.

JULY, 1923.

THE C.W.S. STRIKE.

We are pleased to note the settlement of the employees' dispute with the C.W.S., and the press and other hostile critics have not hesitated to point out to us the anomaly of a strike in the co-operative movement.

As is usual with our opponents, it has been easily assumed that ideal conditions prevail in their particular organisations, and that the co-operative movement ought to be a sort of super country to every industry in the country.

Without entering into the merits or demerits of the employees' case, we would like to point out that however perfectly we may consider our business may have to compete in a capitalistic society with competitors with people who may not necessarily possess either our scruples or ideals; and in a competitive world, it may well be that the ethical standard of the co-operative movement is no asset.

In any case, no one regrets more than those who are engaged in propelling our society the evident of so terrible an occurrence as a strike in our own organisation. We feel that there is possibly something in what Tom Myers said recently, to the effect that the board-room atmosphere tended to dominate the average directors' mind. There is also something to be said in the contention that they employed not looking up to the directors as their "betters"—and quite rightly so—tends to be less disciplined in the co-operative movement than when employed in competitive trade. At the same time, the remedy is not greater discipline, nor a change of directors. The real remedy is a full-blooded man to be chosen who will trust the employee as a fellow, and the director as a servant; which will constantly watch the society's welfare; and be prepared to make sacrifice in its interest. In short, a membership which will ill in all its dealings act upon the principle of "Each for All and All for Each."

Employers should be treated to this very best conditions the movement can give. Their relationship to the management should be that of fellow workers towards the common end of the Co-operative Commonwealth. We should all be servants one of another, and the humblest servants should be those chosen as directors. A high ideal we know, and by no means impossible of achievement.

One of the functions of the Co-operative Party is to achieve a watchful, progressive, educated membership; to the end that internal strife in the movement will cease to be.

LOCAL PARS.

BY "CO-OP'TICS."

"CURRENT TOPICS" assures his readers that wherever he goes in Scotland his name attracts him to failure. In the causal and antisocial scenes in the street do not know him, while the honest accounts for the success of Labour Party. Apparently this "cause" has been tried it has failed. Will Scotland ever get big again? Will it be "Current Topics" to talk about the failure of Scotland? Is it successful, is the result,

The Conservative Party has been running a series of Socialist meetings to counteract the "C.W.S." strike. Is it possible that Henry Doubt out-of-work Ark is the only person who can give an explanation of "Current Topics" in his opinion? It is to be noted that "Current Topics" evangelical did not call in all Conservative to join the Conservative Divisional Association, and that the help fight the mine, &c. "Current Topics" with the wind up is good, joker.

"The Sheffield Mail" says that "Mr. A. V. Alexander is rapidly making a name for himself, and is well known, and well informed, which earned the commendation of Mr. Asquith." He is a special for yourself in this issue, and for once a wise you will agree with the "Sheffield Mail."

The two Sheffields have both lost Sir Alfred Mond because he happened to espouse his mouth in favour of necessitous work. This is the gentleman who refused any assistance whatever to his men in office: we might also add some of praise of Sir Alfred. He is a good policeman: experience gives him a good policeman: experience makes him a good policeman: experience makes him a good policeman: experience makes him a good policeman: Sir Alfred Mond, ex-Cabinet Minister, may become advocates of even a good cause.

Mr. Arthur Neal is the chairman of the new committee which has appointed itself for the purpose of settling Sheffield's case. Is the one now known where Mr. Neal sits on this committee? He is a good campaigner, not during the whole of his period of office. Now he is "the mouth-piece for Sir Alfred Mond." To a certain extent: we don't think "The People's Will" thinks so highly of Alexander to use this job for them, and he is doing it in season and out of season. So don't let us be pulled by the "stick it Arthur" of "The Sheffield Independent."

The Sheffield Liberal Federation did not carry out the resolution referred to in the "great" meeting (present 150 people referred to) in our last issue. It did not oppose its resolution. We are now informed, however, that Caldecott Stephens would have been nominated at the full meeting, but for the fact that the Liberals had not then decided whether to support the C.W.S. or not. The party is in the shape of a Coalition-Liberal, or a future Tory in the shape of a "Wee Free," because of course Mr. Kenna was once the High Sheriff. We are told that the party is dead, so long as the local Liberals lack the courage of their predecessors—the Radicals—they is always the possibility of local limitations, on a much smaller scale!

This is not the only thing it did not do. By the way, it did not do the same example, that there was no record on the books for five years! Fancy a live party with no report on its books! Nothing done for five long years! God forbid it should ever be a party that does not a resurrection! And yet there are people who speak of the Liberal "resuscitation." Perhaps they mean "resuscitation."

Liberals were to have consolidated in position in Sheffield at that meeting. Of course it did nothing of the kind. It would not have been able to consolidate. As "Current Topics" points out, there is no hope for the so-called Liberal Party, and, as the old saying states, the only ones destined to do is to bury the Liberal Minnow eight away, instead of trying to pretend that it is alive!

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Book Reviews.

NATIONALISATION
OF
CATTLE.—By Frank L. Collyer,
published by Messrs Simpkin, Marshall,
Hampstead, Kent and Co. 7s. 6d.

This book is written by an Australian and published "down under," but is possibly the English market by the publishers named above. The book is well worth reading, and is interested in economic and political affairs, and is well written, though it is not always true or clearly written—what is always true of the author's reasoning matter.

There are large numbers of people who think that what is simply told cannot possibly tell the truth, or that it can't be true than it cannot be important. It is true that the book was written on the head, and Mr. Collyer has given excellent service in helping to make important things clear.

Not that we find ourselves entirely in agreement and that there are no faults; but that the value of the book lies in the way it presents the facts, for example, at some height; it also serves to bring subject to popular political parties which do not necessarily agree with his approval. But he does deal effectively with the subject stated in his title.

"The fact is plain," says the author, "that the whole financial fabric is founded not on gold or confidence. It lies in purchasing power being held in the hands of those which are supposed to maintain a gold standard; this is not and never was gold enough by far to meet the needs of the world to discharge their debts. In effect, as he points out, "the world is compelled to raise money by printing paper with the intent of charging interest on their coinage. Not that banks are to blame, for they are merely using what the community has brought them, and for their own purposes with full consent; but until the community itself will continue to do this until the community is strong enough to issue its own credit."

We have the author's point of view, the margin of safety, the community suffers rather than gains, and his examples are very clearly set forth to illustrate all these points. For instance:

"A farmer, who, after a hard day's work, commences farming as a young man, has labored every day of the week from daylight until dark for a year. He has now, however, has converted a piece of wild waste country into a smiling farm, which has commenced to give him a good income. Yet he still gives the labor of many years. He like other farmers has an overcoat at the local bank; knowing that the bank holds his property for his obligations he is quite happy. Let us consider him! He receives a letter from the manager of his bank, telling him that his head office has ordered him to call in on his overdraft. The farmer, who has good assets, hasn't got enough to discharge his obligations; the money—gold—but gold has no existence either in the form or in the banks. The farmer is suddenly faced with a situation which is impossible; he goes to other banks to see if he can raise more money, but is told by each one of them that he is in arrears, and they are not making any advances."

The depositors in this particular bank continue to insist that for their money to be held a meeting and resolve to compel the bank to "wind up." The Master in Chancery takes the case, and the court orders that all that securities must be realized. The farmer's property is sold at a time when many others are trying to buy for people to buy. Somebody is going to realize a profit, but it means and buys the property for a third or a quarter of its actual value. Thus the purchasing power of the farmer is reduced, and the farmer's life-long work, while the farmer has got no further prospects, to find work as a laborer, is reduced to nothing.

This is truly an Australian instance, but very similar things have happened and are happening in one of the states of our own country, and in the United States. After the war, the credit taken from the worker has been calculated as high as three-quarters of his produce by Dr. E. H. Goss (of the Stanford University, California).

As an English instance we may take the following from a recent article in the "Daily Worker": "A nephew of £5,000,000 has been granted to his nephew £5,000,000, with the condition that the nephew will not receive the sum for a period of seven years. Interest is invested in the trust, which paid him £100 per cent. interest. At the expiration of the prescribed seven years, the trustees handed

over £500,000, plus £1,000,000 interest. Not the dead man's trustees, and not the nephew—who did not inherit the £5,000,000—but the struggling workers of London who were the ones benefited."

It would be difficult to say, "If so, to get a fair good illustration, what is occurring every seven years in every populous country? Still less can you find in the better method of providing for old age, than in the existing system of insurance?"

The cure for these evils, as we see in the better method of providing for old age, is the small but persistent effort required for the book can be heartily recommended for its clearness and simplicity of statement.

"Our Work," by G. D. H. Cole. Published by Labour Publishing Committee, 1s.

"Our Work" is a small book dealing with industry and agriculture, with problems of labor in restriction of output, trade cycles, relief, and the like, and with the insurance as the subjects of chapters.

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Wadsworth.—Meetings held every Thursday evening, at 7.30 p.m., in Gold Room, 1, Newgate-street, Branch, Tinsley. Secretary, J. H. Pearce, 122, Grasstrough-road, Tinsley.

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