



THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PEACE BALLOT.

THE FIVE QUESTIONS DISCUSSED.

By SELKIRK CHAPMAN, B.A.,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW, ORGANISER OF THE PEACE BALLOT IN THE SHEFFIELD DISTRICT.

PROBABLE speaking of another war as inevitable; they say it is the necessary outcome of present tendencies and policies. If it occurred the human race would be guilty of the most incredible folly and wickedness, and would, indeed, deserve its fate, but that is not to say that it is impossible. Fortunately, in one respect conditions are vastly more favourable to peace than they were immediately before the last war.

LEAGUE—THE FIRST ESSENTIAL FOR PEACE.

An organisation exists for the prevention of future war, the League of Nations. But the League is a young institution; it implies a fundamental change in the relations which have hitherto existed between States, and as a consequence it will require in our generation especially all the support which the Governments and peoples of the world can give it. It is most alarming that our greatest hope for peace has received in the last two or three years serious set-backs; if the shortsighted and selfish opposition to the League is allowed to continue and develop, the League will collapse and war become inevitable.

Peace, like the League, has little chance in a world of highly-armed States. Sixteen years after the war the nations of the world are as highly and extensively armed as ever—indeed, if the destructiveness of modern weapons is taken into account, more highly armed. And this after disarming Germany, promising to disarm ourselves, and discussing the question for two years in a Disarmament Conference.

The Disarmament Conference has not yet failed; on the contrary, it has again and again been near success, which a little extra energy and enthusiasm would have achieved. Can we, as individuals and a people, do anything to supply that extra energy and enthusiasm?

It was with the idea of helping in this way and of making a striking and unmistakable demonstration in favour of peace that Viscount Cecil conceived the idea of taking a national peace ballot. He believed, and few men are better qualified to judge, that it would prove that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country are in favour of the League, disarmament, and the shouldering of our responsibilities under the Covenant. The idea has certainly caught the popular fancy, and thinking people now realise that many good purposes can be achieved by means of such a ballot.

THE PURPOSE OF THE BALLOT.

The chief purpose is, of course, to ascertain the true state of public opinion. Not because it will represent in the last word in wisdom upon which because conflicting policies are urged in the name of public opinion. The promoters do not believe public opinion is as divided as the differences between its self-appointed spokesmen suggest. A General Election is an inadequate indication of what the people think about

peace, because the peace issue is confused with so many more. Incidentally, the result will provide to the numerous peace, political, and other organisations co-operating to take the ballot a useful stocktaking of the effect of fifteen years' propaganda.

AN INSTRUMENT OF POPULAR EDUCATION.

The ballot is a summons to the nation to face the facts, to think about and discuss this vital question of peace or war. In this respect the ballot has already succeeded; it has set people everywhere thinking and talking, both in the Press and privately. During the last month or two a Member of Parliament frankly ever makes a public speech without referring to the peace ballot. And thanks to the ballot taking the form of five definite questions, discussion is directed to a consideration of practical policies. Everyone is in favour of peace. But do they will the policies that make for peace—support of the League, disarmament, abolition of military aircraft, regulation of the armaments industry, and the application of sanctions? People are being compelled to think clearly, and in this way the ballot is becoming, as Mr. Arnold Forster aptly says, "A great instrument of popular education."

The promoters of the ballot believe it will support and encourage the Government in pursuing a progressive Unionist but consistently pressed an informed and moderate policy which has always recommended to the Government of the day with respect and consideration. The Government has always argued that they dared not move too much ahead of public opinion. We believe that the answers on the ballot papers will provide them with forgotten that every Cabinet contains its progressive and its reactionary members; we must aid the former to gain the ascendancy.

THE FIRST REFERENDUM IN THIS COUNTRY.

To achieve the above objects a referendum seems the obvious if not the only way. It has further advantages and justifications. It has the greatest attraction and publicity value of novelty, it will be the first referendum ever held in this country. If a fairly complete referendum of the whole country is achieved, it will be perhaps the greatest effort that voluntary organisation has ever undertaken. It will offer to thousands throughout the country who want to do something for peace a chance. And no other form of propaganda and publicity could bring the matter home so literally to people's hearths and bosoms. Such an effort is

especially justified in a matter which is one of life or death for every man and woman in the country.

Below are the questions submitted on the ballot papers which will be delivered to every house in Sheffield during the next few weeks—

- (1) Should Great Britain remain a member of the League of Nations?
- (2) Are you in favour of an all-round reduction of armaments by international agreement?
- (3) Are you in favour of the all-round abolition of national military and naval aircraft by international agreement?
- (4) Should the manufacture and sale of armaments for private profit be prohibited by international agreement?
- (5) Do you consider that if a nation insists on attacking another the other nations should combine to compel it to stop by:
 - (a) Economic and non-military measures?
 - (b) If necessary, military measures?

FAIR QUESTIONS.

Have the best possible, but most fair questions been asked? It would be surprising if it were not so. They were chosen by a committee of prominent men of all parties before the Conservative Party became officially neutral in the matter. It is noticeable that the critics have suggested no alternatives. The questions form a logical whole in the sense that it is easier to pursue the policy indicated by an affirmative answer in particular case if affirmative answers are given to other questions. For instance, it is easier to work the League in a disarmed world, the problem of disarmament is much simplified if military aircraft is completely abolished, and so on.

An instance of misunderstanding which can only be dismissed as silly criticism is that the ballot is silly and unnecessary because it merely asks people whether they want war or peace, and everybody knows the answer. The trouble is that there are a few people who would say "Yes" to that question and "No" to all the questions on the ballot paper! More reasonable is the criticism that the last three questions are too difficult and technical for the ordinary man. But we cannot too often remind ourselves that every big technical problem is ultimately a moral question which the individual must face, and that it is regarded as a big problem because it has admittedly serious consequences for him as an individual.

Many people think the ballot should have been confined to questions 1 and 2, so as "to call the bluff" of Lords Beaverbrook and Rothemann. But it

was absolutely necessary to remind the public of the results which followed from affirmative answers to the first two questions, they must realise that we must give up military aircraft, regulate our armaments industry, and make the sacrifices that sanctions require.

Question 3 should not present much difficulty. "Yes" would represent the policy of the British Government and four other great powers at the Disarmament Conference. It is not unfair to ask this question because nothing is said of the international control of civil aviation. Every sensible person would agree that the implication is that there must also be an international control of civil aviation which would prevent its abuse for military purposes. A proof and workable preliminary scheme for the purpose has already been tabled at the conference.

It is a serious misrepresentation that the whole purpose of the ballot is to obtain the answer "Yes" to question 4. It would have been dishonest not to include a question on an aspect of the disarmament problem which is exciting attention throughout the world. Since the question was formulated the Government have made it clear that support of their policy requires a "No" in answer to this question. The Government, however, contemplate an effective international regulation of the armaments industry on the model of our own export licensing system. If a disarmament treaty came into being the competition between the armaments firms would be for a limited amount of business and profits would be correspondingly reduced. It appears that in fact the alternatives presented by question 4 are the gradual elimination of the armaments industry and its profits, or the immediate elimination of profits by nationalisation if the other nations will do the same. Are we to give the lead in this matter?

Question 5, relating to sanctions, is in two parts because it was felt that a man might be willing to support economic and non-military action in defence of our treaty obligations while unwilling to support military action. The policy implied by the question would mean the adoption of the means between two extremes: on the one extreme is self-defence, with as many armaments as a nation can afford, the other is to regard war as a greater horror and disaster than the transitional period and to refuse to fight passive resistance and to refuse to fight. The first is a policy which has proved disastrous in the past; the second is an ideal which may be realised in the future. We have to deal with a transitional period in which the majority of men feel that they must be prepared to fight in self-defence or in defence of the weak and the attacked in the last resort.

BEWARE OF MISREPRESENTATION.

In Sheffield we hope to make the ballot complete and impartial as possible. The Sheffield National Disarmament Council, which is responsible for the organisation in this city, is making no attempt to persuade voters

(Continued on page 2.)

CHRISTMAS GREETINGS
TO ALL OUR READERS.

CO-OPERATIVE PARTY NOTES.

BRIGHTSIDE.

The Brightside Divisional Co-operative Party held a successful meeting on November 3rd, when Councillor Buchanan was the speaker. The meeting also had the pleasure of congratulating their chairman, Councillor J. W. Holland, on his splendid victory in the 17th Park Ward.

The next meeting is to be held on Saturday, December 15th, when Mr. J. H. Pearce (secretary, Brightside and Carbrook Society's Educational Committee) is to speak on "Co-operative Education". The meeting will be held in the Co-operative Institute, Bellhouse-road, and will be followed by a social and dance.

BURNGRAVE.

We are pleased to report that Mrs. Velland (secretary, Burngrave Women's Section) is now well on the way to recovery after a rather long illness. The work of the section has been fully carried on by Mrs. Partridge (assistant-secretary). The programme for November included a visit by Mrs. Watson on the 7th, whilst Councillor (Mrs.) Canning gave the monthly City Council report on the 14th. A social was held on the 21st, and Mr. Fisher addressed the meeting on the 28th. Meetings are held every Wednesday evening in the Burngrave Vestry Hall.

HILLSBOROUGH.

The Hillsborough Co-operative Party were happy to resume their meetings for November, after a strenuous election campaign, in which they captured an additional seat in the Owston Ward, Hillsborough opposite, Councillor (Mrs.) Lesgeir's previous majority being 2,371, whereas the present majority is only 1,353. At the celebration social, held at the Institute subsequently, Councillor H. Slack and Mr. J. H. Pearce thanked the workers for the splendid result achieved. The campaign also resulted in a revival of interest in the ordinary meetings. On November 8th a good crowd attended, when Councillor E. Atkin, J.P., gave a resume of his visit to Germany; the meeting was also favoured by a visit from a German who had been confined in one of the

German concentration camps. Bringing along with him an interpreter, his address proved fascinatingly interesting to the members, who are more and more determined to preserve a democratic system of control in this country. November 15th, Councillor S. E. Marshall was the speaker, and on the 22nd the meeting was given up in favour of the Brightside and Carbrook Society's Propaganda Concert Meeting. Mr. H. Wilkinson and Mrs. S. E. Ager were the speakers on this occasion, and so great was the crowd that scores of people had to be turned away for lack of accommodation.

December meetings: 6th, Councillor J. W. Holland (Brightside and Carbrook board of management) will be the speaker; 12th, Mr. W. Berry will speak on "Municipal Water Supplies"; 20th, is to be a "Free and Easy"; and on the 27th, the annual tea, social, and dance will be held (for members) only in the Institute.

The women's section meetings recommenced on November 5th, with an American Tea; 12th, Mr. H. Bedford, producer for the "Manifold Players," gave a recital which was heartily appreciated; 19th, Councillor H. Morris was the speaker; and on the 26th, in the absence of Councillor S. H. Marshall through council business, Mr. Sidlik Chapman, the Sheffield organizer of the League of Nations Union Peace Ballot, made an appeal for assistance in this line.

On December 3rd Miss Grace Colman, M.A. (Labour candidate for the Kelham Parliamentary seat) will be the speaker; 10th, Mr. F. Horsfield (Works and Lanes, organizer for the Industrial Oedipusian Society) will speak; 17th, Miss L. Farford (secretary, Sheffield Council of Women's Service); 24th and 31st, closed for Christmas holidays. The meetings will reopen in the New Year, on January 7th, by a social. Nominations for officials will also take place.

NEEPSAND.

A meeting of the Party was held on November 7th, when Councillor T. Eaton gave an interesting address on "Poor Law"; 14th, Alderman J. Havest gave the monthly City Council report. The next Council report will be given on Wednesday, December 12th, by Councillor F. W. R. Stokes.

The Women's Section meetings during November: 3th, social; 12th, Mr. Molloy spoke on "The National Debt"; 19th, Mr. E. Billant; and on the 26th, Mrs. S. E. Ager spoke on "The Co-operative Movement." Programme for December: 3rd, Mr. Beech will speak on "Co-operative Publications"; 10th, Councillor (Mrs.) Speight; 17th is the annual tea and concert. Meetings will then close down until January 7th.

The annual general meeting of the Neepsand Institute was held on November 21st, when Councillor Stokes presided over a good attendance. The report and balance sheet were given. The officers for 1935 were elected: President, Councillor Stokes; vice-president, Mr. L. Baines; secretary, Mr. G. Cox; assistant secretary, Mr. C. Self; auditor, Mr. A. Ballard.

It was decided to arrange a treat for a hundred of the old folks and members in the near, to take place at the St. Michael's Institute. In addition to other methods of raising money for this purpose, a what drive is to be held each Friday evening in the Neepsand Co-operative Institute, until Christmas, after which it is hoped to continue the what drive every Friday, commencing 8 p.m. Admission, 6d.; good prizes; cosy room; and every facility for a really happy evening. The weekly programme of the institute is as follows:— Monday, 2-30 p.m.—Co-operative Party Women's Section meeting. Tuesday, 7-30 p.m.—Co-operative Women's Guild meeting. Wednesday, 6 p.m.—Children's "Circle." Wednesday, 7-30 p.m.—Co-operative Party meeting. Thursday, 7-30 p.m.—Co-operative Men's Guild meeting. Friday, 8 p.m.—Whist drive.

NORWOOD AND SOUTHEY.

The Southey and Norwood secretary reports: "We resumed our weekly meetings after the election campaign, on November 7th, with a social evening, when another welcome visit was paid by the 'Non-de-Plume' Coonart Party. These young people improve every time we hear them, and any Section of Guild desiring a good night's entertainment should give them a trial; leader, Mr. W. Fisher, 36, Raisin Hall-road."

Councillor E. W. R. Stokes gave the monthly City Council report on the 14th. Owing to lack of business this was not a very long one, but the meeting proved highly interesting; Councillor F. Womersley—who we were pleased to congratulate on his recent victory at Burngrave—contributed to the discussion.

"November 21st, Councillor A. Oates gave an interesting address on Labour policy, locally and nationally, stressing the need for continuous propaganda between now and the next General Election, so as to prevent the electorate from being gulled by any 'red herring' or engineered 'crisis' which may be put up. On the 28th, the second annual 'Mock Outes' Feast' took place, which was a huge success."

"The committee take this opportunity of thanking all those who rallied to the call during the election and once more assisted us in returning Councillor J. A. Loughan. We also wish all our members a Merry Christmas and a bright and prosperous New Year." The usual members' social will be held on New Year's Eve, December 31st."

Women's Section meetings held in the Institute, Southey-avenue, every Wednesday, at 7-30 p.m., to which all ladies in the district are cordially invited.

SHEFFIELD AND ECCLESALL.

The Sheffield and Ecclesall Section now occupy the new premises at Napier street for their meetings, and Mr. H. Finnest has been appointed secretary in lieu of H. Green, who has resigned. November 5th, in addition to the reports, minutes, and correspondence, Mr. W. Berry gave an address on the relation between "Finance and the Supply of Commodities." On the 12th, when a "Mock Parliament" should have been held, there was a disappointing number in attendance, but it was decided that the committee should meet, along with the organising secretary, and make detailed arrangements for an "Amateur Parliament." In he held for their meetings, and Mr. H. Brawley occupied the chair, and Mr. W. Berry gave a lantern lecture on "Parliamentary Constitutions." Further announcements will be made in the near future regarding details of the proposed "Amateur Parliament."

The Women's Section also hold their weekly meetings on Thursdays, at 2-30 p.m., in the Napier-street Co-operative rooms. December 6th, Councillor (Mrs.) Speight will speak on "The Welfare of the Blind," and on the 13th Christmas recipes will be submitted and discussed.

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RT. HON. A. V. ALEXANDER ON CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE MEASURES.

THE RIGHT HON. A. V. ALEXANDER, in opening the Brightside Labour Party's Bazaar on the Burngrave Vestry Hall on November 20th, paid a tribute to the work of the Labour Party, and also drew attention to the position with regard to disarmament.

There are special reasons, perhaps, why Sheffield should not support disarmament like other industrial centres; he was pleased, however, to note that there had always been good support for the Labour Party's proposals of peace and for general disarmament even in the city where armaments were produced.

The present situation in this regard was enough to fill every thoughtful man throughout Europe, it looked as if the nations of the world—and Britain was acquiescing in this—had decided definitely on rearmament instead of turning to constructive measures of peace.

WHOLESALE DISARMAMENT IMPOSSIBLE.

Mr. Alexander had never been one who had advocated wholesale disarmament without regard to the facts of the situation. There were people who quite conscientiously took the extreme pacifist point of view; for such, conscientious objection, of course, was the only line. He had never been an extremist in this respect because he knew of the difficulty of any Minister who took such an action on behalf of the whole nation. There were methods of securing disarmament without taking the impossibilist line. So far as he could see during this last three years this nation had been concentrating in the wrong direction by insisting on discussions on disarmament or rearmament rather than concentrating on the maintenance of peace. Britain still represented the greatest Empire in the world, and it is still the most important nation in the world, and that places upon us a heavy responsibility—a responsibility of leadership in the direction of world peace.

INTERNATIONAL COURT.

The first step, in his opinion—and he had advocated this throughout the country—was that for Britain to submit every matter of dispute to the Permanent Court of International Justice for settlement without reservation. We should be willing to do this, as an example to the world, and thus begin the establishment of court law in international affairs rather than referring matters to the arbitration of war.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIAL PROGRESS AT WISEWOOD & WADSLY.

THE Women's and Men's Guilds of the above districts, on Saturday, November 17th, commenced a series of whist drives and socials, which are to be held every Saturday evening during the winter in the Gaietyroom at Malin Bridge.

The idea is to create a fund to be used for the provision of accessories and utensils for the new guildroom. The latter is being generously provided by the Brightside and Carbonek Society Ltd., over their branch at Wisewood, the construction of which is to be commenced at an early date.

The first whist drive proved a successful practical experiment in co-operative effort. The responsible individuals are conscious of the ethical principles of true co-operation, and in the future more is likely to be heard of them contributing towards the social welfare of the districts embracing Wisewood and Wadslay. The prize-winners were Mrs. J. Marston and Mr. Harrison. The raffle of a "mystery parcel" caused much amusement, and resulted in a substantial addition to the fund. The winner was Mrs. J. Haywood.

WOMEN'S NOTES.

By MISS GRACE COLMAN

(Prospective Labour Candidate for the Hallam Division).

A GREAT deal is being said just now about the Peace Ballot, which some of the more stupid London papers choose to call the "Ballot of Blood." Until Sir John Simon, Mr. Baldwin, and others began to attack the ballot, their attack was supported and exaggerated by these irresponsible papers. I had not thought a great deal about it, because there are so many other public problems to worry one. But this violent opposition has made me see the importance of a great national vote in favour of the questions asked in the ballot.

THE PURPOSE OF THE PEACE BALLOT.

The idea came from the League of Nations Union, but the taking of the ballot is being organised by a National Declaration Committee, which includes a large number of other bodies, in addition to the League of Nations Union, representing all shades of political opinion. Opponents of the ballot have said that there is no sense in asking people to vote on the issue of peace or war, because everyone wants peace. Quite true. The purpose, however, is not to ask such a simple question, but to find out from the people of this

country what they think about the methods of preventing war, and particularly whether they think that Great Britain should remain a member of the League of Nations. Here there are two "Ballots of Blood," want a policy of "epidemic isolation," which means that we should give up all responsibility for the peace of the world, and should turn this country and the rest of the British Empire into an armed camp, secure against the attacks of those who are supposed to want to take our possessions from us. It is argued that unless we do this we shall find ourselves involved in armed action in support of the efforts of the League of Nations to force other countries to keep the peace, and so membership of the League will mean not less but more bloodshed—and so the ridiculous phrase mentioned was invented. The answer to all this is that if one nation or group of nations starts war; that an armaments race means war; that a reduction of armaments by all nations will only be possible if they feel secure against attack; that a feeling of security will only be created as the result of disarmament and of the building up of a world organisation for the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations. This means the League, with its method of bringing the Governments of the nations together round the council table, for the common discussion of differences, and the securing of common action for their settlement.

IS THE LEAGUE USELESS?

Some people think that the League is no use, because they say capitalist Governments will never act together effectively in the cause of peace; and that the only hope lies in workers' organisations, such as the International Co-operative Alliance and the I. T. U. These bodies are very valuable means of bringing together the workers of different countries, and so of furthering international action in the cause of peace, but alone they are not strong enough. Action by the Governments of the world is necessary; and while no one suggests that the League is anything less as effective as it might be, it is the most effective method so far devised for securing this action, as Russia has acknowledged by becoming a member.

More dangerous than the open opponents of the League are those who, while professing support, undermine its authority by talking of its failures, of the need for rearming by this country, and so on. Amongst these the present Government must be counted. It is vital for world peace at the present time that Great Britain should give a definite and constructive lead to other countries in the work for which the League was created, and a great majority of "Yes" votes in the Peace Ballot will show the Government and other nations that the people of this country are really in earnest in desiring this.

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NEW DEVELOPMENTS.

THE Brightside and Carbrook Society have issued their two hundred-and-sixty-third report and cash statement for the quarter ended October, 20th, 1934, showing a turnover for the thirteen weeks amounting to £42,370 5s., which, compared with the corresponding period last year, represents an increase of £8,051, or 12 1/2 per cent. The sales for the twelve months amounted to £1,466,826, an increase of £97,639 when compared with the previous year. With the object of stimulating and maintaining the fuller support of the Society's trading activities, the board of management have collaborated with the education committee in a series of propaganda meetings, all of which have been remarkably well attended; as a result a further increase in the trade is expected.

The directors point out that the tremendous increase that would result from the members spending additional pence or shillings per week with their own society, the following figures are quoted—

	Per Week per Member.	Per Week.	Yearly Increase in Sales.	Total Annual Sales.
1s.	means.....	4.34	105,968	1,597,742
2s.	.....	4.701	244,135	1,673,236
3s.	.....	6.282	323,936	1,754,710
4s.	.....	8.402	488,994	1,937,678

The society has also increased its membership during the quarter by 2,450, which now stands at 63,728.

There has been an increase in penny bank deposits, an increase in the share capital, as increase in the trading club.

The report of the dairy department reveals the fact that 402,733 pailons of milk have been supplied in comparison

with 341,322 during the same weeks of last year. The society is supplying Sheffield schools under the Milk Marketing Board's scheme with 27,000 one-third pint bottles of milk per day.

The funeral furnishing department continues to expand, and under the management of the very efficient manager (Mr. Milward), a Chapel of Repose has been built at Attercliffe, and is dedicated by the Lord Bishop of Sheffield on November 21st. The Lordship paid a visit to the thoughtfulness shown by the society in the provision of this high tribute to the thoughtful and well-kept chapel for those members and their wives whose domestic accommodation did not allow for the reverent care of their lost ones prior to interment.

Other developments are reported in the form of two new branch shops, one at Richmond-road and the other at Sheffield-lane Top, both of which will be ready for business early in the New Year. Improvements are also being carried out in the Handsworth and Lonsdale branches.

	Yearly Increase in Sales.	Total Annual Sales.
£	105,968	1,597,742
£	244,135	1,673,236
£	323,936	1,754,710
£	488,994	1,937,678

will be held in the lower Montgomery Hall, Surrey-street, on Thursday, December 13th, at 7.30 p.m., when the directors will set their confirmation for the various benevolent and educational institutions, included in which is a £50 grant to the Grestford Colliery Disaster Fund.

MR. J. H. PEARCE.

HILLSBOROUGH WARD MUNICIPAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 1934.

(To the Editor, "Sheffield Co-operator.")

DEAR SIR.—The "Co-operator" being the only medium through which a Co-operative and Labour candidate can hope to reach the majority of the electors of Hillsborough, I should like, through your columns, first, to convey my sincere thanks to the 2,377 electors who voted for co-operation for human administration of our social services, and for a sane civic plan for the betterment of Sheffield as a city, and particularly to those workers who so devotedly gave of their best in the endeavour to promote the fulfilment of the principles in which they believe.

When the whole of the circumstances of the election are reviewed we can congratulate ourselves that the cause has not lost ground, but it is advancing, and with a concentration of effort this ward may be won for co-operation.

Recent and foreshadowed Parliamentary enactments and administrative regulations—which tend to restrict the aspirations and curtail the rights and

privileges of the working people, and at the same time reduce their real wages (represented by purchasing power) by a system of subsidies, quotas, and tariffs—make it increasingly necessary for the whole of the workers to combine to safeguard their position by the use of the vote, and the one disappointing feature of this election was that 5,493 electors refrained from doing so.

If we are ever to be other than "heavers of wood and drawers of water" subservient to a small privileged class, we must use every effort to convert a system of "production for the profit of a few" (involving as it does the wholesale destruction of opportunities that are badly needed by many) into an agreed system of "Production for the Service of All." This can only be achieved by the complete understanding of an educated and enlightened people, prepared to make personal sacrifices to attain their ultimate desire.

The attitude of the so-called "Progressive" Party to set one section of the electors against another by a distortion of facts and the last-minute "scare" Red Letter day strategy of a party which professes to act in the interest of the whole community, and proves their lack of policy and the poverty of their civic ideals.

I would appeal to co-operators, trade unionists, and all working-class electors in the ward to take a closer personal interest in the affairs of the city and the nation as represented in the City Council and Parliament during the next twelve months, and having done so, use their votes in accordance with convictions based on accurate knowledge.

Again thanking all who gave their services for co-operation in the election.—I remain, yours faithfully,

J. H. PEARCE.

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LABOUR INDICTS "NATIONAL" GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE.

AND TORY M.P.'S ENDORSE THE INDICTMENT.

A STRIKING feature of the debate on the King's Speech was the fact that a majority of Tory M.P.'s endorsed the Labour Party's indictment of the Government's failure to produce a policy to meet the needs of the nation. The attack on the Government was opened by Major Attlee, who moved an amendment expressing regret that, heedless of the changed economic conditions in the modern world, and ignoring the inability of capitalism to distribute its abundance, the Government accepts as inevitable the existence of mass unemployment in the midst of plenty, continues its effort to subsidise the private profit system by bonuses, tariffs and other devices, and has no plan for establishing a collective peace system, and for replacing by international co-operation the competitive anarchy which leads to war.

In the course of a scathing exposure of the Government's complete bankruptcy of constructive policy, Major Attlee pointed to the fact that there was no unemployment when the whole of the country were mobilised in the Great War.

"It is a damning indictment of the whole system," he said, "if the only way in which we can distribute purchasing power so as to evoke full production is by having a war."

Condemning the Government's policy of restriction and austerity, Major Attlee said the Minister of Agriculture went round the world finding something of which there is too much, and trying to make arrangements to produce it in this country. But there was a difference between the policy of the Minister of Agriculture and that of the President of the Board of Trade. "There is that glaring example of policy in which at the same time the Minister of Agriculture secures a home market for his produce and the President of the Board of Trade is going to subsidise shipping in order to bring meat here from abroad!"

Referring to the plight of the herring industry and the coal industry, Major Attlee said that there was in the country all the apparatus for bringing herrings to the people, but the system of private profit, based on the way it is vested interests; and all the time in the background was the interest of the City of London, acting through the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

TORY CRITICISMS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Mr. H. Macmillan (Tory M.P. for Stockton-on-Tees), challenged the Government to say what it was going to do about the proposals made by the

commissioners who went into the depressed areas—national planning, reducing the school-leaving age, pensions for aged workers, &c. He pleaded with the Government to produce a policy, and likened the Cabinet to "dissed the heaps."

Lord Eastcote Percy declared that the Government had "no clear and sound policy" in foreign affairs. Miss Asch (Tory M.P. for Wallisden), said there was nothing in the Government's proposals for the depressed areas that she could not have been done a year ago. She, too, deplored the absence of a definite Government policy.

Mr. Richard Law (Tory M.P. for South-West Hall), added his protest and urged the Government to go "dig down to the roots of our economic and social distresses, and to remove those distresses by the vote, instead of merely chopping off the weeds as they appear above the ground." He added that "if the Government do, it will dig its own grave."

The Labour amendment was defeated by the usual big majority.

HILLSBOROUGH DIVISIONAL LABOUR PARTY.

OUR Hillsborough Labour Party correspondent writes: "The results of the November elections having proved most gratifying, have given us confidence that the immediate future will prove a Labour majority nationally, and upon these lines the future activities of the Hillsborough Division are being developed. The voice of the people has really pronounced the end of the unity alliance called the National Government. We hope that your readers will be prepared for the scaremongering that always characterises the Tories' campaign; even in those days the Press is full of warnings about the inadequacy of our defence services. The Peace Ballot conducted by the League of Nations Union has been condemned by the Government supporters, although the first results proved beyond doubt that the country has lost faith in the present majority. We shall therefore, in the Government's policy. We shall therefore do all that is possible to secure a free vote on the fine fight in the Hillsborough ward." "The results of the general election our new Councillor, Fred Stallard, gave in his first report. The activities of the Hillsborough Ward have been limited to the municipal elections for the past two months, but both Walter and Fred can pride themselves on splendid achievements, and can also congratulate Jack Pearce on the fine fight in the Hillsborough ward." "Membership is still on the increase, but we take this opportunity of appealing for additional members, but success not only national success, but success at the General Election."

CHRISTMAS SHOPPING

Give

INTEGRITY HOSIERY LASTING AND ACCEPTABLE

Only from your Stores

A SERIOUS BLOW AT LIBERTY.

WHAT THE DISAFFECTION BILL MEANS.

THE Incitement to Disaffection Bill has become law. Thanks to the strenuous fight put up by the Labour Party and other opponents of the measure, it has been so drastically amended as to be less objectionable than it was in its original form. But the fact remains that in forcing the Bill through Parliament in defiance of overwhelming public opinion against it, the "National" Government has dealt a serious blow at British liberty.

The Government's original proposals were astonishing in the completeness of their attack on the liberty of the subject. In its first draft the Bill made it an offence for any person "without lawful excuse" to have in his possession, or under his control, any document that was likely to seduce members of the Forces from their duty of allegiance. The onus of proving "lawful excuse" was placed upon the person charged with the offence. The Government was compelled to modify that outrageous proposal, and the onus has been placed on a prosecution of proving that such documents are possessed by a person for the purpose of "maliciously and adversely" endeavouring to seduce members of the Forces from their duty of allegiance and "with intent to commit or to aid, abet, counsel, or procure" the commission of an offence.

THE RIGHT TO SEARCH.

In its original form the Bill empowered a single Justice of the Peace, on the information of a police constable, to grant a search warrant enabling the constable to enter at any time, "if necessary by force," any premises named in the warrant, to search the premises and every person found therein, and to seize anything suspected of being evidence of the commission of an offence. Again an outraged public opinion compelled the Government to climb down,

and before any such search can be made a police officer not lower than the rank of inspector has to convince a judge of the High Court that there is reasonable ground for suspecting that an offence has been committed, and that the evidence is to be found on the premises.

Various other amendments were made. The right to trial by jury, denied in the original Bill, was restored; "the duration of a search warrant was limited to three months; a provision was inserted that no woman shall be searched except by a woman; and no prosecutions are to be started except on the authority of the Public Prosecutor.

THE DANGER TO FREEDOM.

That the Bill remains a danger to freedom is proved by the fact that it re-establishes the general search warrant and makes it dangerous to publish anti-militarist literature. Seven of the leading publishers have drawn attention to the action of a printing firm in sending back to the publishers the proofs of a children's annual which contained a reference to a military band. The printers asked for the deletion of the reference on the ground that it might be regarded as "seditious" under the new Bill.

The publishers rightly declared that, owing to the vagueness of the Bill, there is likely to be set up "a most embarrassing form of censorship exercised by printers . . . over the publication of any literature of an anti-militarist character." But the Government refused to accept a Labour amendment to give protection to printers.

No wonder that "The Times" finds it difficult to understand why the Bill was introduced, and laments that the Government have not credited for the original and not repudiated for the final structure.

SUGAR "PLUMS."

ON December 8th, 1934, the Ordinary Shareholders of Tate and Lyle stood at 77s. 0d.

Within the next few months plans for creating an all-in Sugar Monopoly, with Tate and Lyle reluctant parties to the Monopoly, were made public. It became known that the Government, through the Ministry of Agriculture, was a party to this scheme.

Tate and Lyle's shares began to soar.

Bit by bit it was revealed that the Sugar Marketing Scheme would:

- (a) Create a close corporation, free from any possibility of competition;
- (b) Give Parliamentary sanction to a scheme which would place control of an essential food-stuff in the hands of a small group of vested interests;
- (c) Endow those vested interests with power to raise immediately the price of sugar.

So Tate and Lyle's shares went up, and up, and up.

On May 11th, 1934, they stood at 94s. 6d.

Shares actually worth £3,000,000 and with a market valuation of £14,217,500 leapt to £16,600,000.

In other words, the mere prospect of success for the new Sugar Ramp has given Tate and Lyle shareholders an appreciation of nearly £2,000,000 in their holdings! To-day Tate and Lyle's shares stand at 101s. 3d.

PASS ON
this issue of the
SHEFFIELD
CO-OPERATOR
to a non-reader.

SHEFFIELD REPERTORY
THEATRE.
CHRISTMAS PRODUCTION.
NEW ADMISSION PRICES.

THE Sheffield Repertory Theatre, which reopened in September, is now receiving greater support than for several seasons past. The theatre has affected many economies which will assist on the expenditure side, and a little effort now will not only make the theatre pay its way, but also help in the alterations which are eminently necessary.

For the special Christmas production, "Alice, Thomas, and Jane" (by Vera Berings), the prices are to be altered, and as from December 29th will be as follows—

Stalls, rows A to F: 2s. 6d., reserved.

Fit stalls, rows AA to CC: 2s. 6d., reserved.

Fit stalls: Is. 3d., unreserved.
Balcony: 2s. 6d., reserved; 2s. 6d., unreserved; 1s. 3d., unreserved; 6d., unreserved.

In order to encourage members of operatic and dramatic societies and other organizations to support the Repertory Theatre's productions, the following arrangement has been made: Parties of ten (or more) may obtain tickets for Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays at reduced rates. Special terms may be arranged with the business manager for large parties. It should be noted that although the arrangement is primarily intended to encourage members of societies and other bodies, it is available also to the general public.

"OUR CIRCLE"
MONTHLY - ONE PENNY
A Clean and Popular Magazine for Young Folk, Full of Stories, Plays, and Compendious.
Published by the National Co-operative Society, Ltd., 10, Lang Place, Brixton, S.W. 2.

"ACID DROPS."

How much will the new Sugar Monopoly cost the consumer? The best sugar growers, factory owners, and refiners say 2½d. per lb., or £4,000,000 a year.

Sugar consumption is 100 lb. per head per annum. From a family of four—from the sugar in daddy's tea, the candied peel with which mother decorates her baking, the jam on little Jerry's bread, and Johnny's bag of boiled sweets—the Sugar Monopolists would draw an additional 10 pennies every year—8s. 4d.

But that is not all.

The levy on sugar will mean ½d. per lb. The same levy on jam will mean an increase of at least 7d.

Some experts put the figure even higher.

Confectioners, for example, are big, direct consumers of sugar. They pay 5s. 4d. per cwt. for sugar. The levy of 2½d. per lb., or 2s. 4d. per cwt., will be imposed first on them, to be passed on to retailers, and then to customers.

Two shillings and fourpence is, roughly, 30 per cent. of 8s. 4d.

The obvious tendency will be to raise prices by 4d. in every 1s.

THE CHRISTMAS SPIRIT.

AND now for Christmas! Big co-operators, little co-operators, fat co-operators, lean co-operators are all participating Christmas, the great season of goodwill.

Of course, co-operators show the spirit of goodwill towards each other during all the year. Through their collective trading system that goodwill becomes something real and tangible.

Many tables at Christmas will be richer through the work of the co-operative movement. There are more co-operators to-day than ever before in this country. There are more people to-day enjoying the goodwill of the co-operative movement than ever before.

Those people, through the movement, are enjoying greater economic advantages. Christmas will be a season of greater cheer for them.

Happy co-operative workers have been busy for months preparing the "goodies" for the season of Christmas cheer. Co-operators should obtain their gifts and fare from their own co-operative societies, and enjoy the benefits of good value and dividend. That is the best way of ensuring a very happy Christmas.

SHEFFIELD AND ECCLESALL SOCIETY'S SALES INCREASES AND TURNOVER.

THE Sheffield and Ecclesall Co-operative Society Limited is in the fortunate position of being able to report increased cash sales in every department, as a result of the past quarter's trading operations.

Sales for the thirteen weeks ended October 27th amounted to £290,717, an increase of £21,166 over the corresponding period of a year ago, equal to 7.85 per cent.

The new annual business figure of £1,146,367 is the highest turnover ever recorded by the society, whose previous "peak" figure reached in 1930 for a fifty-three-weeks' period has now been exceeded by over £5,000.

Members' share capital has passed the £600,000 mark, and totals £604,044, which is an increase of £30,507 for the year, while the 12,485 young bank depositors have to their credit £39,991, or £2,397 more than a year ago.

New members admitted to the society average nearly 100 per week, 2,498 persons having joined during the thirteen weeks to make the present membership 51,096, exceeding last year's total by 2,348.

Sales of pasteurized milk continue to increase, 312,640 gallons, equal to 2,500,000 pint bottles, having been sold during the quarter. This is 62,783 gallons more than the corresponding period of 1933. Such an increase, maintained as it is so consistently, convincingly proves that the health value of pasteurized milk is appreciated by an ever-increasing number of consumers.

The society is playing a leading part in the Milk Marketing Board's School Milk Scheme, and already supplies, daily, nearly 2,000 school children with one-third pint bottles of pasteurized milk from its model dairy.

During last month some 12,000 people participated in the repayment of the

(Continued at foot of next column.)

CHRYSANTHEMUM FLOWER SHOW AT WISEWOOD.

THE Wisewood, Wadley and District Men's Co-operative Guild arranged a successful chrysanthemum show on Thursday evening, November 15th. It was held in their Guildroom at Main Bridge, and was the first effort of this kind that the new Guild has organised.

The number of entries in the three classes could not be regarded as large, but it gave the committee encouragement to organise similar shows sometime in the future. The quality of the exhibits was of a high standard, and the judge was called upon to make awards on some exceedingly fine points, though everyone agreed his allocation of prizes could not be questioned, full satisfaction was expressed.

The three classes with the successful prize-winners were—
FIRST PRIZES: Vase—1, Mr. H. Bullock, with a fine specimen; 2, Mr. V. R. Giddleton, who also staged a Jap, which ran the first prize-winner's exhibits very close.

THIRD PRIZES: Vase—1, Mr. F. Hall, a beautiful vase of decorative type; 2, Mr. H. Clayton; and 3, Mr. W. Robinson, both including in their choice single blooms of commanding colour and size.

THREE DESKILLARS (DECORATIVE).—Three prizes in one were awarded to Mr. H. Bullock, whose exhibits far exceeded those of other exhibitors.


There was a large number of people patronising the show, many of whom participated in the wheel drive which followed, the successful "prize-winner" being Mr. W. Robinson, and Mr. Stevenson.

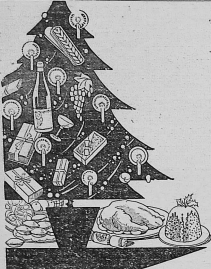
(Continued from previous column.)
society's great 3½d. thrift club, a very popular method of saving for Christmas. Including the present year, there have been 10 such drives. The Great Divide of over £60,000, no less a sum than £191,000 has been repaid since the club was instituted twenty-five years ago.

WHY NOT GIVE
S. & E.
COAL
FOR XMAS?

The Great
SHEFFIELD
ECCLESALL
CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LIMITED

CURRENT
PRICES
ON
APPLICATION





"B & C" AT THE TOP OF THE TREE FOR GOOD XMAS FARE

Good Christmas Fare Gives Joy Everywhere

HERE IS THE BEST

Food contributes much to the great Festival of Christmas—do your planning well beforehand—shop at your OWN STORES NOW, where assortments are so varied, and quality the best obtainable—and ensure Christmas table happiness.

From Our Own Bakery—



Delicacies with a festive flavour. 'Sweets' are treats when they're B. & C.

- RICH CHRISTMAS CAKES AND PORK PIES.**
 OUR LUCKY BRIDE CAKES from 2/6 per lb.
 ICED CAKES Christmas Creams 2/2, 3/4, 5/-,
 and ALMOND ICED CAKES 2/3, 3/-
 DUNDEE CAKES in Fancy Boxes 1/3, 2/6, 4/-
 RICH FRUIT SLAB
 CHERRY SLAB from 6/-, 8/-, and 1/- per lb.
 FRUIT SLAB 7 for 6/-, and 6/- and 1/- each.
 FRUIT, CHERRY, MADEIRA, SEED, & COCONUT CAKES from 10/- to 1/6 each.
 RASPBERRY JAM SANDWICHES 1/- each.
 FRESH CREAM SANDWICHES 6/- each.
 SWISS ROLLS
 CHOCOLATE ROLLS Wrapped in grease-proof paper bags.
 LEMON ROLLS 24 and 6/- each.
 SPONGE MOULDS 11 for 1/-
 COFFEE, CHOCOLATE, ORANGE, LEMON, & STRAWBERRY GATEAUX 6/- and 10/- each.
 YULE LOGS from 1/- to 5/- each.
 ASSORTED FANCIES (Best Quality) 24 each, or 7 for 1/-
 ASSORTED CAKES 16/- per dozen.
 ASSORTED BUNS and CAKES 16/- per dozen.
 ALL KINDS OF PUFF PASTRY.

REMEMBER THE QUALITY, PRICE, AND DIVIDEND— Last Half-year, 1/8 in the £.

Christmas Puddings and Mincecmeat



- C.W.S. MINCEMEAT.**
 in 5ozs. 7/- and 1/6 each.
 B. & C. MINCEMEAT 1 1/2 lbs 6/- each.
 B. & C. MINCEMEAT 2 1/2 lbs 10/- each.
 C.W.S. PLUM PUDDING, in buns—
 Size 1 Size 2 Size 3
 10/- 1/6 2/- 2/6 3/6

Nuts for Dessert

- Per lb.
 BRAZIL NUTS (best) 7/-
 BARCELONA NUTS (best) 6/-
 WALNUTS (best) 5/-
 PEA NUTS 3/-
 MIXED NUTS 6/-

From the Butchery—Quality First

BEEF, English and Colonial, MUTTON & LAMB, English & Canterbury, DAIRY FED PORK from our own Farms. "B. & C." Speciality! Our noted Pork Pies are made from only the choicest Dairy Fed Pork. TRY OUR FAMOUS SAUSAGES.

Fine Quality Blended Teas—

C.W.S. TEA in packets, 1/6 to 2/6 per lb.
 C.W.S. TEA in Fancy Tins 1/6, 1/10, 1/6 each.
 C.W.S. TEA in Fancy Tins 1/6, 2/6, 2/6, 2/6
 A HAPPY THOUGHT! A Fancy Canteen as a gift would be much appreciated.



Special Christmas Displays in the Greengrocery & Grocery Departments

FRESH, RIFE FRUIT of every KIND and IN EVERY VARIETY. Choice Apples, Oranges, Bananas, Pears, Grapes, Tangerines, Grape Fruit, Figs, Dates, &c. All offered at lowest possible prices, and you can depend on the quality. Daily supplies of Fresh Vegetables—root and green. Huge selection of Holly Wreaths and Crosses, Cut Holly, Mistletoe, and Christmas Trees at lowest prices.

Poultry & Game

Plump, selected Turkeys and Geese (Mottled and Truss), English Chickens and Ducks, Hares and Rabbits of choice quality. Order EARLY! In all prices. ORDERS may be PLACED AT THE GROCERY, FISH, & BUTCHERY DEPT.



High-Class Provisions—

FINEST QUALITY BACON—English, Irish, Danish—the pick of the best. All cuts at heavily competitive prices. PRIME MATURED HAMS, cured in our own factory. CURING at its best—in perfect condition. Cheshire, Cumbrian, Cheddar, Gergonzola, Suffolk, Kraft, and Dutch at competitive prices. Lactic Cream Cheese, 24, 50, and 84, each. C.W.S. Dutch Cheese, 2 portions, 2/- each. C.W.S. Waverley Cheese, 1/- each. BUTTER Danish, C.W.S. "Marvellous" and Empire, at Market Prices.

Finest Fruits, &c. NEW SEASONS

- for your Puddings, Cakes, and Mincecmeats
 Choice CURRANTS, New Fruit 24, 6/- and 3/- per lb.
 Choice SULTANAS 6/- and 3/- per lb.
 Choice VALENCIAS 6/-, 10/-, and 8/- per lb.
 Choice RAISINS (Sultan) 1 lb. pails 5/- and 3/- each.
 Choice California "Fruitmaid" 24 each.
 Natural SULTANAS, 16 oz. pails 24 each.
 Choice California (Sultan), 8 oz. pails 14/- each.
 Choice California (Sliced Muscats), 10 oz. pails 9/- each.
 ICING SUGAR 34/- per lb.
 Choice CITRUS PEEL 14/- per lb.
 Choice ORANGE PEEL 14/- per lb.
 Choice LEMON PEEL 8/- and 10/- per lb.
 MIXED PEEL, small boxes 5/- each.
 MIXED PEEL, large boxes 10/- each.
 ALMONDS, Jordan 1/8 per lb.
 ALMONDS, Valencian 1/8 per lb.
 ALMONDS, Gervaud 1/8 per lb.
 Finest MIXED SPICES 1 oz. pails 16/- each.
 Finest GLACE CHERRIES 1/4 per lb.
 GLACE CHERRIES, 2 oz. cartons 3/- each.
 GLACE CHERRIES, 4 oz. cartons 5/- each.

Fruit Wines

NON-ALCOHOLIC WINES, all flavours, 11/6, each.

Dried Fruits—

- WONDERFUL SELECTION
 APRICOTS, Finest California 1/4.
 PEACHES 1/4.
 PEARS 1/4.
 FRUIT SALAD 5/-
 DRIED FRUIT 5/- and 10/-
 SUGARCOATS, Imperial Clusters 1/2
 LOOSE FIGS, natural 5/-
 FIGS, Choice Stuffed 5/-
 8 oz. Cellaphane pails Each 6/-
 15 oz. bottle 6/-
 6 lb. boxes 7/- and 8/-
 10 oz. Cellaphane pails Each 10/-

Cigarettes and Tobacco

CIGARS and WHISPS—all brands in a wide choice.

Choice Canned Fruits

Choice Assortment of Tinned Apples, Peaches, Pears, Pineapples, Raspberries, Strawberries, Damsons, & Victoria Plums. SPECIAL VALUE!

Table Jellies

in all flavours—20, & 3/- per pint.
 Ready-to-serve "Cold Table" Delicacies—
 Tongue, Pressed Beef, Ham, Polled Beef, Polony.
 A choice selection of HIGH-CLASS CHOCOLATES AND SWEETIES Christmas will be held at our Grocery Branches.

NO CHRISTMAS IS COMPLETE WITHOUT Crackers and Novelties!

We have a Fine Assortment. CHRISTMAS CRACKERS—great variety—6/-, 1/-, 1/6, 2/-, 2/6, 3/6, 5/-, & 6/- per doz. CHRISTMAS NOVELTIES containing "a Drop", "BUSTER", CHRISTMAS STOKINGS, 2/-, 6/-, 9/-, and 1/-.

C.W.S. Biscuits

in popular varieties from 6/- per doz. We specially recommend the FANCY TINS as making a most acceptable Christmas gift.

Shredded Suet—Ready for Use.

"SUTOX" Pure Best Suet, 5/- per 5 lb.

DRIGHTSIDE & CARBROOK

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LIMITED

CITY STORES, EXCHANGE STREET and WAINMATE, SHEFFIELD, and ALL BRANCHES.