



GET DOWN TO A REAL NEW DEAL.

WIPE OUT THE LANDLORDS' CLAIMS.

THE BURDEN ON PROGRESS EXPOSED.

BY OUR SPECIAL COMMISSIONER.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT builds a great part of his recovery programme on vast schemes of public works. The British National Government will not touch them under any consideration, even as a means of helping the distressed areas—still distressed despite the official change to the more euphonious description "special areas."

Only recently the League of Nations issued a report on national public works. It is a bulky document of 300 pages, of which Great Britain is responsible for one-and-a-half! The British reply, "one of the shortest received from any Government, corresponds in brevity to the British attitude—under the present Government—to anything that savours of national planning for the national future. It is the experiment of large-scale public works as a method of dealing with unemployment has been tried and has failed, and it is not intended to repeat it." It goes on to say that since 1919 more than £1,200,000,000 has been spent on ordinary public works, such as subsidised housing, road schemes, telephones, &c., in Great Britain.

The reply corresponds very closely to the statement made in Parliament last July by Mr. Runciman, when he, too, dismissed public works as a method to show that for every £1,000,000 spent, only 2,000 men have been directly employed, and another 2,000 indirectly employed.

Mr. Runciman's figures may be mathematically correct. The British Government's reply to the League questionnaire may be a correct statement of fact—so far as it goes. It is because it does not go far enough and does not give all the facts, that it is a mischievous and false statement which should be challenged from every democratic platform.

Public works in this country have failed to provide work and wages commensurate with the sum expended because private landowners' interests have held a veto on the head of the community and demanded fabulous ransom before a man could be employed.

A FEW ILLUSTRATIONS.

For the proof of that statement let us make an analysis of some of the major public works schemes of the last few years. The first, the scheme for building a new bridge across the Thames at Charing Cross. This was to cost £16,805,000. Out of this sum £1,125,000 was to go in the purchase of land, easements and permanent rights. In another case in London, in order to do away with traffic congestion at the Elephant and Castle, an improvement scheme was to be initiated at a cost of £1,070,000, out of which £1,438,000 was to go in acquiring the necessary land and easements.

In July of 1933 "Land and Liberty" made an even more interesting analysis of six important schemes. In

connection with special widening in Swansea, the total cost of the scheme was £135,000, which included £35,000 for compensation for land and easements. Liverpool, for an extension of Queen's Drive, and the widening of various sections, paid £16,887 to the landed interests out of a total expenditure of £166,597; Hampton Court Bridge paid them £50,000 out of a total of £145,000; Lambeth Bridge was

How similar sums figure in the accounts of other public works schemes is difficult to ascertain; but certain it is that of the £1,200,000,000 which Britain has spent since 1919, an enormous amount must have gone as a totally unnecessary bribe to landowners. A detailed balance sheet of this sum could easily be compiled by the Government; and it should be pressed to provide more explicit figures.

AROUSING THE PUBLIC.

It is essential also that the examples quoted should be more widely known. Failing a realisation of what is concealed in the huge sums spent, figures like those quoted by Mr. Runciman are apt to impress the average man as conclusive.

The actual fact is that public works have never been tried in this country under conditions which gave them a reasonable chance of affecting the unemployment problem.

At this moment there are hundreds

of schemes awaiting development up and down the country; schemes which would add to the real wealth of the nation, and which are not put into operation because of the cost. Take the landowner, or at least, reduce compensation to a reasonable figure, and those schemes could be put in hand.

Instead of sabotaging public works, the Government should just now be using them as vigorously as Mr. Roosevelt as an item of deliberate policy. The upward turn of trade which set in last year was checked in the last quarter of the year. A carefully planned expenditure on national development would act as a corrective to this check, and would help to restore the upward swing.

A Labour and Co-operative Government would apply such a corrective—but they would apply it without the usual consideration for landowner interests which marks this Government. —Reprinted from the "Co-operative News."

For every man employed for a year on typical public works schemes landowning interests received £102 in compensation. Our contributor quotes this and other figures to challenge the British Government's reply to the League of Nations that public works have been tried in this country and have failed as a means of reducing unemployment. His contention is that they have failed only in so far as landowners have received impossible bribes before a man could be employed.

"salted" for £105,500 out of a total of £330,000; improvements on the Bath road cost £171,500, of which £12,000 went to the landowners; and the final case—in Manchester—relates to the extension of the by-pass road from Stockport to Fallowfield in 1929, which cost £667,000. This sum included £177,000 as compensation.

A BALANCE SHEET.

On the basis of these six cases "Land and Liberty" worked out a balance sheet. They took Mr. Runciman's figures and assumed that for every figure and assumed that for every figure, £1,000,000 spent work was given equivalent to the direct employment of 2,000 men for one year. The six schemes cost £2,474,500, and represented, therefore, 2 1/2 years' work for 4,848 men. If each of these got £130 a year the wage bill would be £330,240.

Compensation paid to a handful of landowners for doing not one single useful act towards the completion of the schemes was £493,390—or a ransom of £102 for each man employed for a year.

There is also the much larger sum represented by the increased value of neighbouring land through this expenditure of public money.

Then again, of the sum which was expended on wages and materials, a considerable part is represented by the toll of the money-lender, and there is an incalculable, addition through the price-fixing activities of the rings which are known to levy toll on the constructional industries.

Mr. Lloyd George has launched his so-called "New Deal" with characteristic showmanship. On the destructive side the Bangor speech was an emphatic endorsement of the Labour Party's indictment of the present system. For the past thirty years the Labour Party has been saying all that Mr. Lloyd George said on that subject. There is nothing new in the spectacle of millions of people living below the poverty line in the richest country in the world. There is nothing new in his condemnation of the rule of Mammon and Mars; the Labour Party was brought into existence as a protest against that rule, and in order to supplant it with the rule of humanity and justice.

We welcome Mr. Lloyd George's crushing and convincing exposure of the rottenness of the present system. In picturesque phrases and with indisputable facts he destroyed the last vestige of faith in the profit-making system which has produced such terrible misery and injustice. But when we examine his "New Deal" speech for constructive proposals, the result is sadly disappointing. The courage and directness, the imagination and persistence which characterized his analysis of conditions under the "old economic order," are notably absent when he proceeds to deal with plans for remedying those conditions.

His "New Deal" offers little more than an inner Cabinet on the lines of the War Cabinet, a Development Council appointed to the Cabinet on schemes of reconstruction, vague proposals for putting more men on to the land, an equally vague reference to schemes of public works, and an "independent" Bank of England with a directorate appointed to "bring the Bank into closer touch with the business activities of the country."

Such a programme is unlikely to give any Member of the "National" Government a sleepless night. The most significant thing about it is that it has been welcomed with few qualifications in "They circles," as "The Economist" has pointed out, there is nothing in the proposal for an "independent" Bank of England that should meet with undue alarm, or even disapproval, in the city. The city editors of "The Times" and "Morning Post" appears to agree with that view.

Mr. Lloyd George declared that we must not think in terms of "picking rotten apples or stretching out insufficient garments, nor of sending a broken-down machine with little bits of string." But that is a fitting description of his "New Deal" proposals. In his second speech he said: "If there is a better way than mine of dealing with these problems, in Heaven's name let us know what it is!" That is precisely what the Labour Party is doing. It believes that the comprehensive programme of Socialist reconstruction outlined in "For Socialism and Peace" provides the only effective means of attacking the twin evils of poverty and war.

Mr. Lloyd George chooses to ignore that programme—except when he lifts a few planks from it. At a time when all the forces of reaction are mobilising against a policy that will build up a new economic and social order on the basis of public service instead of private profit he appears to have chosen to range himself on the side of those who are trying to mend the broken-down machine with little bits of string. The machine which cannot allow itself to be diverted by attractive slogans from the path of bold reconstruction which alone will lead the nations to the goal of peace and security.

LABOUR AND THE "NEW DEAL."

COUNCIL AND OTHER NOTES.

This routine acceptance of committee minutes at the City Council meeting is a dull affair, which is occasionally enlivened by a humorous speech. Councillors Foxon and Irwin Mitchell are two of the folk who do this kind of thing unconsciously well—even if they do it unconsciously. Alderman Smith fills the post with studied humour, but, generally speaking, fun or no fun, the Council meetings are not at all impressive. The work has been done in committee beforehand.

NEW MUSEUM.

A museum is not a humorous thing—in fact, it is usually a depressing affair. That, however, is no necessary fault in a museum, which can be of very decided interest. The one in Weston Park has been over-packed, and very depressing for a long time, and now we are to have a complete rebuilding and enlarging of it, with an extra room to the Art Gallery also. A breath of freshness and life; a little light and cheeriness, a chance to show and explain things will give Sheffield a new impression of what a museum really is—all in good time. Of course, nobody suggests for a moment that bread and butter is not the first thing, and a decent home the second, but things of interest have a right to be available to the citizens. More about bread and butter later on.

BUYING IT BACK.

Two thousand-seven-hundred pounds was paid as post-poned price for certain land on Attercliffe Common. This land belonged to the inhabitants of Attercliffe as "Common Property," a little more than a hundred years ago, and much more along with it. We keep buying bits of it back from those who happen to be the present-day owners!

BIRTH CONTROL.

After some discussion, a sum of £50 was granted to the Sheffield branch of the National Birth Control Association, the whole matter being clinched by an able speech from Councillor Asbury. There were opponents, but they had a woefully weak case.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT ACT.

The matter of real importance was the resolution strongly condemning the Unemployment Act. The Council, as a whole, responded to this excellently, and by now we have a taste of what the Unemployment Act really means. But there were the working classes at the last general election. The Government, and they should have known what to expect. All who voted for the present Government have got what they asked for! Still, that doesn't really help them now.

ASKING FOR CRUMBS.

But even the unemployed don't ask for the right thing. The demonstrations under the Unemployment Act, are very desirable indeed; we hope they will bring about both the downfall of the Government and the increase of the unemployment. We don't see the unemployed asking for (1) The organisation of labour with a planned production; (2) The release of the enormous productive capacity of the country, which is being throttled by an obsolete financial system; and (3) An immediate increase of their grant to double what they got from public assistance? That would be asking; and can be realised if they really mean it. We are suffering a mass of poverty to exist when we might all be relatively wealthy.

EDUCATION.

This paragraph has nothing to do with Sheffield affairs, but it will be of interest, all the same. Congratulations to the London County Council on their decision to examine school-books for signs of the teaching of exploited ideas and of class distinctions.

This proposal was denounced by Mr. Jenkin Thomas (President, Council of Head Masters), who complained that the L.C.C. "wanted these books remodelled in the interests of their own party."

Well, here are extracts from present L.C.C. text-books. First, from J. A. Brendon's "Britain and Her Neighbours," Book VII.—

"The (Russian) people are allowed themselves to be duped by the specious promises of certain extreme revolutionaries. The latter, led by Lenin, a German agent, supported by German money, quickly usurped power. . . . The Russian peasants drank in Lenin's words, and his alluring promises soon infected navy and army. . . . Lenin was thus able to achieve the purpose of his German masters. . . . Mao is naturally sceptical; and his acquisitive instinct, his determination to possess, is a great incentive to human progress; it is the motive power which drives the wheels of industry and commerce."

INDIA.

And here is another from "The Soldier and the Empire," by Captain F. P. Roe:—

"In India, the only man who never loses his head, and the man who keeps his good humour and impartial justice in all situations, is the British soldier, and there is not a single honest Indian throughout the length and breadth of the Indian Empire, who wants to see the British soldier sent away."

THE GENERAL STRIKE.

And a final one will make some of you jump!

"The executive committee of the trade unions then called a General Strike of all transport workers, and threatened to throw the country into chaos. The whole nation rallied to the Government in the interests of law and order, and the General Strike was withdrawn after a few days."

"Incidentally, he is wrong. I didn't rally"; and all the strikers didn't, and they and I are part of the whole country.

It seems to be desirable to look into the matter of "history" teaching in our schools! B.

ABBEYDALE WOMEN'S GUILD.

THE Abbeydale Women's Guild report a successful year, concluding with the children's party on January 8th, when, under the presidency of Mrs. Bessler, the children of the guild members were entertained to tea, which was followed by a social. Through the kindness of Mrs. Gavigan, each of the children received a present.

On January 13th there were seventy-two guests to the annual social, the Guest of Honour being Mrs. White (Gleedless).

The secretary, Mrs. Morton, 10, Lynmouth-road, will be pleased to enrol new members till 1935. Meetings held every Tuesday at 7-10 p.m.

CO-OPERATIVE LITERATURE.

which may be obtained from the Co-operative Party Office, 17, Bank-street, Sheffield, 1.—

"The Co-operative Movement," by Edwin C. Fairchild (price, 2d.), giving an historical and economical survey of the British movement since its inception almost a century ago. The Rochdale's principles, the recent Press attacks, cooperative unity membership, and the Co-operative Party, and a few of the points touched upon by the author.

"Broadcast Debate on Co-operative Trading between the Right Hon. A. V. Alexander and Mr. P. Howling (secretary, National Chamber of Trade)" (price, 1d.). Published by the Co-operative Union by kind permission of the B.L.C.

"Legal Limitations on Co-operative Progress," by R. A. Palmer (price, 2d.). "British Republic," outlining the Co-operative Party's policy and programme (including No. 7, "Social," "Civic Ideals") price, 1s. 2d. the series, or 2d. per booklet.

MR. ALEXANDER AT WYCLIFFE.

MR. A. V. ALEXANDER, accompanied by Mr. W. Ashby, J.P., addressed a crowded meeting at the Wycliffe Hall, Clouning-street, on January 17th. In spite of wretched weather conditions, hundreds of enthusiastic supporters attended to protest against the new Clouning-street Board's regulations. Mr. Unemployment Board's regulations. Mr. H. Pearce, president, and Councillor Asbury (chairman, Sheffield Public Assistance Committee) said that the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Unemployment, presented by Mrs. Backham and himself, would stand the test of time. They had said that there could be no justification for the imposition of the "Sixteen Test on the unemployed at 1934, against which they were now protesting, was the result of the recommendations of the majority of that Commission. Detailing the conditions under which the unemployed were suffering, Councillor Asbury showed that thousands of Sheffield unemployed would be considerably worse off than they were under the Public Assistance Committee; also that the administration, against which there was no real appeal, would lose the human considerations that had hitherto characterised Sheffield's treatment of the unemployed.

Councillor Asbury also proved that the National Government had really had a mandate from the people of the country to do just what they were doing, and asked his hearers to remember that political support, swinging first one way and then the other, was useless, that it was convinced Socialists and co-operators thoughtfully making their contribution to the organisation, who would really bring about a change, and not masses of people who followed our banner when we were popular and forsook it when we were unpopular. Councillor Asbury's speech was received with loud applause.

The Right Hon. A. V. Alexander pointed out that if the Government gave 2s. per week extra to every recipient of public assistance under the new unemployment insurance Acts, they would not be any better off after they had paid their bacon tax, bread tax, and other indirect taxation which had been imposed upon them. Two rashes of bacon cost more than three used to cost; tax on wheat had involved a payment of a halfpenny a loaf on the bread we eat.

Another menace to the workers was a new proposal to establish an Industrial Enabling Act, giving in effect a Fascist industrial control by Act of Parliament.

In showing the relative value of the present National Government compared with that of the Labour Government respecting the financial position of the city, Mr. Alexander quoted statistics proving that the Labour Government had done more than any of its predecessors, or than the National Government, to help Sheffield. From the end of 1929 until the Labour Government went out of power world unemployment was at its share. In January, 1931, numbers on the books of the Employment Exchanges at Sheffield and Attercliffe totalled 44,610, and the number in receipt of Poor-Law was 27,593. The

last complete month before the party went out of power in July, 1930, although there were 57,700 on the Employment Exchanges, there were still 37,710 on the Poor-Law; that is, 20,000, whilst unemployment had been created by 13,000 in the city, only 7,000 more had had to resort to the Poor-Law for assistance—that was really because of the comparatively generous way in which the unemployed were treated by the Labour Government.

The last figures had been able to obtain were those for November last year, when the total of unemployed was 35,913, but those in receipt of Poor-Law totalled no less than 37,871, a remarkable contrast with the figures left by the Labour Government, for it was those that thousands of people, having been thrown off the Labour Exchange, had had to resort to the Poor-Law, which imposed an insufferable burden upon depressed areas like Sheffield. The same effect on the city by the action of the National Government was, indeed, very serious. The special grant received from the Government amounted to £58,598, and £53,000 were expected this year, making a total of £112,000, but the left the city with an additional burden of £5,050,000 to be raised out of the local rates. For "Current Topics" to the Labour Government, we had never done anything for Sheffield in face of these figures was absurd.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Councillor Asbury answered questions on the new unemployment regulations.

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NATIONAL GOVERNMENT'S HOUSING FAILURE.

By RT. HON. ARTHUR GREENWOOD, M.P.

The new Housing Bill is a confession of failure on the part of the "National" Government. The Government's great object was to revert to private enterprise as the primary agent for the production of working-class houses to let. It would willingly have handed over slum clearance to the private builders had they been able to shoulder the responsibility and to make a profit out of it.

When the "National" Government took office it exploited the financial panic. It aided and abetted Local Authorities in cutting down their housing programmes. It discouraged the active ones from pressing forward with schemes. It refused to implement the Housing (Rural Authorities) Act passed by the Labour Government during the summer of 1933, with the result that fewer than 2,000 houses were built in place of the 40,000 provided for under this Act. It then abolished the Wheatley subsidy so as to leave the field free for private enterprise. This step has proved to be a calamitous failure. The Government boasts of the large number of houses built last year.

But it has not told the public that the vast majority were built for sale and not to let, although the Minister of Health has declared that the great need is for working-class dwellings to be let at low rents.

Confronted with the collapse of its policy, the "National" Government has gone back on its tracks, and in its new Bill proposes to reintroduce a housing subsidy, apart from the slum clearance grant. In order to save its face, however, the new subsidy is described as one for the "abatement of overcrowding."

Now, the problem of overcrowding is primarily a problem of housing shortage, and it was the shortage of working-class houses which the Wheatley subsidy was designed to meet, and which this Government wantonly threw overboard.

The new subsidy is to be applied generally speaking, to the building of flats of more than three stories in sites where land is very expensive. Further, it is to be used for the benefit of people living under very badly overcrowded conditions. The Bill lays down a standard of overcrowding which, even if it were wholeheartedly applied, would still have a considerable volume of congestion and overcrowding.

The subsidy which would normally be paid is less than the subsidy payable under the Labour Government's Housing Act of 1930, while the Local Authorities will, under the new Bill, be required to contribute a relatively higher contribution than in the case of the 1930 Act.

Thus, to take a housing scheme on land worth, say, £3,500 an acre, under the 1930 Act the State grant payable in the case of a family of four persons rehoused would be £14 for forty years as compared with £6 for forty years under the new Bill. The Local Authorities' contribution under the 1930 Act would be £3 15s. per year for forty years, and £3 for forty years under the new Bill. In the latter case it is one-half of the Exchequer grant. The same disparity exists in the case of houses built in rural areas. The new Bill also makes further provision for "reconditioning" property and converting it into working-class dwellings. It provides for the redevelopment of congested areas, and it tempers the wind to the slum lamb by making concessions to the landlords.

The Bill as a whole cannot be regarded as a comprehensive measure. It is certainly not a generous measure. And it seems clear that its chief purpose will be to provide some shop window dressing for the Government when the next General Election is staged; for there is little prospect of the Bill resulting in any addition to working-class housing before the election is over.

"FOR SOCIALISM AND PEACE."

The Labour Party's programme of action, as enunciated in "For Socialism and Peace," contains many references and tributes to the co-operative movement. The programme declares—

The Labour Party believes that the only final guarantee of peace lies in the development of a Co-operative World Commonwealth of Nations. The League of Nations can succeed only in proportion as it develops in the direction of world government. Planning and control in international life both postulate and follow from national planning and socialised control of our national life. A foreign policy directed to establishing a Co-operative World Commonwealth of Nations is the inevitable corollary to a home policy which actively works for the establishment of the Socialist State. Such a foreign policy is the only effective alternative to the present drift toward another world war.

Discussing the Labour Party's agricultural policy, "For Socialism and Peace" states—

It is proposed to set up a National Agricultural Commission, under the Minister of Agriculture, whose members would be appointed for their special knowledge of administration, finance, marketing, &c., and would include representatives of the farmers and farm-workers, and of consumers, including the co-operative movement.

A further passage in the Labour Party's programme is as follows—

It is possible, in the Labour view, to regard the foundations of the national industrial life as a single system to be planned scientifically. In such a structure the part which the Consumers' Co-operative Movement has to play needs no emphasis. That great movement already secures some 5,000,000 families against the worst excesses of the profit-making system. Doubtless the reason why it has been deliberately penalised by the "National" Government. The Labour Party has always worked in full alliance with the co-operators. It proposes to extend and intensify that alliance at every stage of its work. It has no doubt of the important part the movement will play with its long experience and specialized knowledge, his to play in building the new social order.

CO-OPERATIVE TRADING.

SHEFFIELD AND ECCLESALL SOCIETY'S MAINTAINED SALES INCREASES.

The Sheffield and Ecclesall Co-operative Society Limited reports further increases in trade as a result of the half-year's operations concluded on Thursday last, January 24th, 1935.

Sales for the twenty-six weeks amounted to £597,661, which exceeds by £38,628 the figure of the corresponding period of a year ago. This increase of nearly 7 per cent., to which all departments have contributed, has produced an annual business of £1,163,315, a new record turnover for the Society.

Members' share capital now amounts to £605,653, or £22,550 more than at the beginning of the half-year, and £6,825 more than a year ago, while the 14,978 depositors in the penny loan have to their credit £1,345.

New members admitted for the twenty-six weeks total 2,189.

Sales of pasteurised milk continue to increase, 145,664 gallons having been sold during the half-year, which is 131,165 gallons in excess of the January 1934 figure. The year's output of 1,225,083 gallons is equivalent to nearly 10,000,000 pint bottles. Included in this remarkable testimony to the society's hygienic milk service is a present daily delivery of one-third pint bottles to 21,240,000 school children in eighty-one local schools. Nearly 2,000,000 bottles were distributed in this latter direction during the year ended December last.

WORLD UNEMPLOYMENT DECREASE.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT'S CLAIM REFUTED.

STATISTICS of world unemployment issued by the International Labour Office show that the National Government's claims are without foundation. The figures make it clear that the increase in British unemployment experienced in recent months is due not to the activities of the Government, but to a general, though limited, improvement in world conditions. In the majority of countries, unemployment declined in the last quarter of 1934 as compared with the corresponding period of 1933, and in many cases to a greater extent than in Great Britain.

Figures available from schemes of compulsory unemployment insurance, show that while Great Britain's unemployment declined from 17.9 per cent. in December, 1933, to 16.7 per cent. in December, 1934, the decline in Germany during the same period was from 20.3 per cent. to 17.7 per cent., and in Austria from 27 per cent. to 25.2 per cent. Trade union returns show that in Australia, the number of unemployed dropped from 25.1 per cent. in September, 1933, to 20.4 per cent. in September, 1934. While the methods used in Germany to create employment must discount a certain measure of the improvement in that country, it is evident that a real increase in world trade activity has taken place.

It can be seen also from the figures of employment that the improvement in Great Britain is relatively small. With the 1932 conditions as a basis, and 1900 as the index figure for that year, employment in Great Britain rose from 97.5 in December, 1933, to 99.9 in December, 1934. On the same basis, employment in Canada rose from 76.6 in November, 1933, to 84.1 a year later, in the Union of South Africa from 92.2 in September, 1933, to 103.5 in September, 1934, and in Japan from 99.3 to 101.1 during the same period. It is evident from these figures that, far from being responsible for the small increase in prosperity obtained, the "National" Government has failed to take advantage of improved world conditions by stimulating employment in this country.

THINGS THAT CONCERN US ALL

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THE PEACE BALLOT IN SHEFFIELD. A SOULLESS MACHINE.

STILL STARVING
THE UNEMPLOYED.

The Peace Ballot in Sheffield began on Thursday, January 31st, and lasts a fortnight. On the basis of one distributor to every fifty houses, 2,500 distributors were needed, and at the time of writing, a week before the ballot, about 2,200 have been obtained. Their distribution in the various wards is very uneven, in a few fortunate cases all the distributors needed have been obtained, in others only about half. It is the intention to continue enrolling help in those districts so that the ballot can be completed even though it extends beyond the fortnight.

ACTIVE VOLUNTEERS.

Many helpers have already done much hard work. One gentleman, who is almost seventy, has made out over 500 distributors' cards from the register of electors, a task taking some fifty hours' time. During the fortnight he is hoping to distribute and collect at 300 houses! By a fortunate coincidence for the organisation, the largest and best help he has had the most energetic organiser, a woman member of the Co-operative Party. She has raised all the distributors she needs, about 200. In another case, a young man, who is not even an officer of the organisation, has recruited personally over 100 distributors. Every person who cares for the cause of peace should thank and respect such people.

HEARTY SEND-OFF.

During the present week meetings are being held in all the wards of the city to give the distributors their final instructions and an encouraging send-off. Among the speakers at these meetings have been Mr. R. B. Graham, Dr. Helen Wilson, Rev. Alfred Hall, Rev. B. M. Eason, Rev. G. W. Nicol, Mr. Luther Smith, Mr. A. Ballard, Mrs. Arnold Freeman, and Mr. E. G. Lyon. The instructions have been given by the ward organisers, among whom are Cecil Roberts, Mitchell, Prentice, Rodman, and R. S. Wells.

HOW TO VOTE.

As a distributor or voter, the reader should read the following points in mind:—

Every member of the family over eighteen years of age is entitled, and should be asked, to vote. Members of the same family residing together, are asked to use one ballot form which has space for the answers of six votes. Each

Question	Yes	No
Question 1	913,965	66,6
Question 2	899,947	81,4
Question 3	896,196	87,4
Question 4	919,228	91,9
Question 5 (a)	882,186	94,3
Question 5 (b)	531,082	41,2

CO-OPERATIVE PARTY ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

The annual conference of the Co-operative Party will be held at Southport during the Easter Week-end, April 29th, 30th, 1st, and 2nd. Co-operative societies, whether directly subscribing to the party or not, are invited to send delegates to the conference. A civic welcome will be tendered to the conference by the Mayor of Southport (Councillor A. A. Ashton, J.P.). In addition to the discussion on the annual report of the party, a number of resolutions proposed by affiliated organisations will be discussed. The resolutions deal with a variety of subjects. The National Committee of the party has proposed the following resolution:—

That this annual conference of the Co-operative Party expresses its serious concern at the development which has taken place in respect of marketing schemes and their effect upon the food policy of the country and the co-operative movement. Further, having had its attention called to the proposals contained in the Industrial Reorganisation (Enabling) Bill submitted by Lord Melchett, which if put into effect will have most detrimental results

lodge and servant will be supplied with a separate ballot paper.

It is not necessary to answer every question on the ballot paper. Where the voter cannot answer a question, "Yes" or "No," he should leave the space for the answer blank. If he desires to qualify an answer, he should write the qualification in the space provided for comments. It is hoped that a voter will return his ballot paper, even in the absence of an answer, if he is able only to answer one question.

Some voters are anxious to show with regard to question 3, that, while they condemn a policy of isolation, they are opposed to the use of force. Such voters should answer "Christian Pacifist," or "Pacifist" to question 3b, or 5a and 5b.

SECRET BALLOT.

The ballot is strictly secret. The counting will be done centrally by responsible and trustworthy persons, and in no case will the answers given be divulged.

The explanatory green and blue leaflets will not be given unless asked for. Voters who desire copies should obtain them from the distributor who gives their ballot paper.

The ballot, in its thoroughness, is superior to a municipal election. The municipal is smaller than the Parliamentary electorate, while the ballot electorate is larger. In an ordinary election the voter must go to a polling station to vote, in the ballot his voting paper is brought to him and collected afterwards. Whether they vote or not, the attention of everybody is drawn to the questions. The canvass and its educational value is 100 per cent.

OVERWHELMING MAJORITIES FOR PEACE.

So far over a million people have voted in the ballot in about 250 towns and villages. They represent about 50 per cent. approval of the ballot steadily grows as time passes, so that polls are gradually increased. Let us aim in Sheffield at nothing lower than a 60 per cent. poll. That would be an impressive message to the Government to obtain definite results when the Disarmament Conference resumes later in the year.

The poll obtained in Bristol was 52 per cent. Approval of the ballot steadily grows as time passes, so that polls are gradually increased. Let us aim in Sheffield at nothing lower than a 60 per cent. poll. That would be an impressive message to the Government to obtain definite results when the Disarmament Conference resumes later in the year.

Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.
66.6	31,213	57.1
81.4	55,865	67.6
87.4	117,117	127.9
91.9	298,817	61.1
94.3	353,660	57.7
41.2	208,550	8.8

upon the economic structure of the co-operative movement, pledges its aid to assist in every way possible the campaign to be undertaken by the co-operative movement with a view to these proposals and the income tax issue being a major item in the General Election campaign.

In addition, there are other proposals regarding Marketing Schemes, Trustification of Industry, Extension of Trade Boards, Government Subsidies, Co-operative Societies' Contracts, Peace, Unemployment, Relations with the Labour Movement, Fascism, Capital Payment, Workmen's Compensation, Abolition of Civil Servant Pensions, and the domestic organisation of the Co-operative Party itself. The nature of the resolutions promises that the discussions will be of a high order. Leaders of the Co-operative Party will attend the conference.

SHEFFIELD CO-OPERATIVE RAMBLERS.

The 1935 Rabbits—containing programme of rambles for every week, and had from the Party of the whole year—may be had from the Party Office, (Price, 1s., which includes membership of the club).

Whilst the regulations under the new Unemployment Assistance Act were presented to the House of Commons in December, the Minister of Labour declared that "the general body of opinion in the country is satisfied that the board have approached their task with sympathy, with understanding, and with success." Certainly every effort was made by Government spokesmen to create that impression.

But the Labour Party was under no illusion on this matter. In the House of Commons on December 17th, 1934, a period has arisen a spontaneous revolt which has expressed itself in mass demonstrations and protests on a larger scale than was produced when the "National" Government imposed the 7s. 6d. cut and the Means Test on the unemployed. These protests have come from clergy, social workers, traders, and supporters of the Government, as well as from the Labour Party.

The latest attack on the unemployed is staggering in its ruthless brutality. During the debate in the House of Commons it was shown that the relief granted in the County of Durham is, in some cases, actually less than that granted by the Government Commissioner who superseded the Public Assistance Committee. Case after case was quoted from other areas by Labour

M.P.s, and Liberal and Tory M.P.s. reactions have been made. Boothby (Tory M.P. for East Aachen) vowed for the fact that the Board of fishing towns of Peterhead, in forty-two cases he had investigated, there had been an average reduction of 10s. 12d. per household per week.

The Minister of Labour attempted to justify the reductions by alleging that they were taking place in areas which suffered the administration by Public Assistance Committees has been less. But that argument will not bear examination in the light of the overwhelming facts produced from areas where such a policy could possibly be applied. The truth of the matter is that the "National" Government has placed the administration of unemployment relief in the hands of officials who are running a soulless machine. The result is that great masses of the unemployed are still being starved.

And while the Labour Party was voicing the claims of the unemployed for justice, there were not more than a couple of dozen Government supporters in the House.

SHEFFIELD REPERTORY COMPANY.

SPRING PROGRAMME.

The full programme for the spring season will be published as soon as possible. The dates of productions are: January 26th, February 9th and 23rd, March 9th and 23rd, and April 6th.

UNPLEASANT MEMORIES.

Unpleasant memories die hard. Recently we heard of a man who said he did not go to the Repertory Theatre because he objected to sitting on his own form. The Repertory Theatre is now exceedingly comfortable, as in the opinion of Mr. St. John Ervine, is warmer than the average West End London theatre.

SHEFFIELD CO-OPERATIVE PARTY

17, Bank Street. Phone: 2392. Secretary: Mr. A. BALLARD

SIXTH ANNUAL TRIP

BOURNEMOUTH AND THE NEW FOREST

Saturday, June 29th, 1935

PROGRAMME.

Leave Sheffield Midland Station, 12.15 Friday midnight. Breakfast on Train. Arrive Bournemouth 7.0 a.m. Four Hours' Morning Drive by Motor Coach through the charming and historic New Forest, including Drive to Christchurch Priory, Beaulieu Abbey, Lyndhurst, Boldrewood, and Ringwood. Lunches in the Bournemouth Pavilion Ballroom. Afternoon free in this "Pine-land" Bournemouth. Tea in the Bournemouth Pavilion. Evening Steamer Cruise to Durleston Head, via Swanage Bay, Brownsea Island, and Poole Harbour to "Train Leave Bournemouth 10.55 p.m. and Poole 11.5 p.m. Super 6a Train. Arrive Sheffield 8.40 a.m. Sunday.

Cost for the whole Excursion (including four) 3/6

Booking fee must be paid in order to enable us to guarantee accommodation. Incoming visitors should forward deposit of 7s. 6d. not later than Saturday, April 29th; full payment to be made not later than Saturday, June 8th. Bookings for those unable to attend to the Co-operative Party should be made to the Voluntary Membership Scheme. Non-members forwarding deposit for their tickets for membership of the local Co-operative Party, who in the case of members paying in the Outing Club through the Guilds and other organisations, bookings will only be guaranteed to those for whom the responsible secretary has paid the deposit, and the final payment, on the day of the excursion and above.

APPLICATION FORM.

EXCURSION TO BOURNEMOUTH AND THE NEW FOREST, JUNE 29th, 1935.

To: Mr. A. Ballard (Secretary, Sheffield Co-operative Party), 17, Bank Street, Sheffield.

Kindly send _____ seat (s) for which I enclose booking fee (s)

of _____ and membership fee (s) of _____

Name _____ Address _____

For 1935-1936 only.

MR. ALEXANDER DEBATES WITH "DAILY EXPRESS" EDITOR.

"This case for co-operation, which makes for the common good and for ultimate common ownership of means of production and distribution, is so moral and so just that it needs no advocate," Mr. A. V. Alexander (Parliamentary secretary, Co-operative Union) made this statement in the course of a debate between himself and Mr. Beverley Baxter (one-time editor, "Daily Express"), which took place recently at the London Publicity Club. "The only people to whom the co-operative movement can be a menace in the long run are those who desire to become rich while others remain poor or very poor."

"The co-operative movement was," he said, "forced into politics in self-defence. There were 295 company directors in the House of Commons, and many more in the House of Lords. Mr. Baxter said that if this movement continues at the present rate, within five years we shall be faced with an almost complete industrial revolution, which has happened without our noticing it. The comment of a non-co-operative newspaper suggests that Mr. Alexander overvalued his opponent.

CO-OPERATIVE PARTY NOTES.

BRIGHTSIDE.

The annual meeting of the Brightside divisional council, held on January 27th, was well attended, and new members admitted. The secretary's report showed that successful meetings had been held during 1934 for the discussion largely of city council business. Councillor Richardson, the Brightside Ward representative, had attended practically all the divisional meetings. Councillor Duchon (17th Park) had also given an interesting address: Mr. J. H. Pearce (Co-operative Educational Committee) gave a very detailed report of the activities of that organization, which created a fine discussion. The members have been keenly interested in both local and national political work, and had been represented at eleven conferences.

Councillor J. H. Holland (president), was congratulated on his election to the City Council, and the secretary (Mrs. Ward) on her appointment as organizer for the peace ballot in the 17th Park Ward. Both Councillor Holland and Mrs. Ward were re-elected in their respective positions of president and secretary.

There was an increase of thirty-six members during the year. Altogether, the report showed a very wide organization effectively carrying out co-operative trade and political propaganda.

BURNGREAVE.

The Burngreafe Women's Section held their annual meeting on January 26th, when Mrs. L. Fletcher was elected president, and Mrs. Yelland re-elected secretary. Here again new members have been recruited.

The January meetings have been well attended: 9th, Councillor Mrs. Cumming gave the monthly City Council report; 16th, a social was held; 23rd, Mrs. Yelland spoke on "The Early Struggles of the Co-operative Frontiers"; 30th, Mrs. Fletcher took for her subject "A State of Camouflage and Fascism."

February meetings: 6th, Mr. Basil Rawson, of the Woodcroft Works; 13th, council report by Councillor Mrs. Cumming; 20th, social; and on the 27th, Mr. Wright will give an address.

HILLSBOROUGH.

The annual meeting of the Hillsborough Party was held on January 31st, when Mr. H. C. Organ presided over a well-attended meeting. Mr. Bottom (secretary) gave a brief but interesting report on the year's work. Mr. A. Ballard (Sheffield organizer), spoke on the work of the central executive and the national committee, showing that the National Party was nearing the 5,000,000 mark in affiliations, the opening of the Marketing Acts and the unjust taxation of co-operators have wonned the co-operative members throughout the country. Mr. Ballard made an appeal for increased support and service on the grounds that the democratic basis of the co-operative movement had been destroyed in several continental countries, and that British Co-operation must be insisted on as the only organized protector of the consumer and as a growing alternative to the present system.

Officials and committee for 1935 were appointed as follows: President, Mr. H. C. Organ; secretary, Mr. W. H. Setton, 2, Findous-street; assistant-secretary, Mr. C. C. Mead; and treasurer, Councillor H. Slack.

The annual meeting of the Winstone's section was held on January 30th, when Mrs. E. Salmon was re-elected president; Mrs. R. M. Wood, secretary; and Mrs. Mend, assistant-secretary. February meetings: 6th, social; 13th, Mrs. Birch; 20th, Alderman T. H. Watkins, J.P., on "What Co-operation Means"; and 25th, Councillor T. H. Eaton.

NEEPSEND.

The Neepsend Party held their annual meeting on January 26th, when the officers and committee were re-elected, namely: President, Mr. J. H. Allen; Vice-president, Mr. J. Greenfield; sec-

retary, Mr. L. Baines; and assistant-secretary, Mr. Walker. Councillor Mrs. Speight gave the city council report, and Mr. Selkirk Chapman, B.A., gave a short résumé of the purpose of the peace ballot and the reasons for wanting to organize the co-operative workers in the area for this purpose.

A business meeting is to be held on February 6th, and council report will be given by Councillor J. A. Longden on the 13th.

At the annual meeting of the Women's Section a very successful year was reported upon by the secretary. In the main the booked speakers have attended practically all the meetings. The trip to New Brighton was a huge success. The membership number kept together and an increased number recruited. Election of officers resulted in the re-election of Mrs. A. H. Fletcher (president), and Mrs. Watson (secretary). February programme: The meeting on the 4th is to be abandoned in order to enable the members to take part in the peace ballot; 11th, social; 18th, Mrs. S. E. Ager—a member of the Brighton and Carbrook board of management—will be the speaker; and on the 25th, Councillor Colby.

SOUTHEY AND NORWOOD.

The Southey and Norwood section resumed their weekly meetings on January 29th, when Councillor H. Slack, depositing for Alderman Watkins, gave a brilliant report of the city council meeting with a wealth of interesting detail. On the 15th, Mr. R. Fisher and Mr. Gardner, delegates to the South Yorkshire and Lincolnshire Federation Conference, gave their report, the meeting being brought to learn that one of their members (Mr. A. E. Butcher) had been re-elected vice-president of the federation. At this meeting, also, Mr. Fisher gave an address on "Roses," which proved quite an agreeable change from political subjects. The 22nd being the annual meeting, the election of officials took place, and an encouraging financial statement was presented. Mr. Fisher was re-elected president; Mr. Beckett, vice-president; Mr. G. A. Holder, 2, Crowder-cloze, secretary; and Mr. Gardner, assistant-secretary. Meetings held in the Guildroom, Southey-avenue, on Wednesdays, at 7-30 p.m.

The Women's Section resumed their meetings on January 6th; 16th, the annual report was given, and election of officials took place. The annual tea is to be held on February 6th. Meetings held in the Guildroom, Wellinwood, afternoons. Secretary: Mrs. H. M. Allen, 163, Everingham-road.

SHEFFIELD AND ECCLESALL.

MR. A. BALLARD, the Party organizer, was present at the annual meeting of the Sheffield and Ecclesall section, held at the Institute, Napier-street, on Monday, January 28th, when he made a special appeal for intensified organization in the area. His view to arranging ward and other local associations. Mrs. Vickers was elected as president, and Mr. Wainwright, 30, Lancing-road, as secretary. It was resolved to submit the names of Mr. B. T. Byles to the Co-operative Party panel of municipal candidates.

The Women's Section elected their officers and committee on January 4th. At the same meeting the secretary (Mrs. J. Billan), gave a short résumé of the activities during 1934, showing that the meetings had been well-attended, and that the social arrangements, including excursions to Scarborough and Cornwall, were also satisfactory. Mrs. Billan has been reappointed a committee member on the South Yorkshire and Lincolnshire Federation of the Co-operative Party.

Meetings are now held at the Sheffield and Ecclesall Institute, Napier-street, on Thursdays, at 3 p.m. All co-operative unions are invited to attend. Meetings for February: 7th, Co-operative Party notes and discussion; 12th, annual tea and social; 14th, Mrs. Billan on "Peace Training in Schools"; 21st, the Sheffield and Ecclesall Co-operative Play-readers; 28th, a social

WOMEN'S NOTES.

By MISS GRACE COLMAN
(Prospective Labour Candidate for the Hallam Division).

"As this is the first number of the "Co-operator" to be published in 1935, I would like to start by wishing all readers of the paper happiness in the year we have just begun. I am afraid, however, that the unemployment destroys happiness, there will be a great deal in store for large numbers of people this year, unless some drastic change occurs in our affairs—I am thinking especially of the unemployed who are already subject to the tender mercies of the Unemployment Assistance Board, and of those who will come under it in a few weeks.

THE ALL-POWERFUL BOARD.

It has already explained in these notes that, under the Unemployment Act passed last year, a new body, the Unemployment Assistance Board, takes the place of the Public Assistance Committee in deciding the allowances to be paid to large numbers of the unemployed who have no right to standard benefit, and that these allowances are to be on a household income and needs basis. On January 7th unemployment figures were previously receiving transitional benefit were transferred to this board, and on March 1st it will take over a certain number of able-bodied unemployed who are now receiving poor relief. It is estimated that it will then be responsible for between three and four million persons, including the dependants of those employed. In the Co-operative and Labour Movement we have always held that those who, through no fault of their own, are unable to find work should be provided for out of national funds, and should not be subject to the poor law, nor a tax on the local rates. Supporters of the present Government tell us that we have now got what we wanted, but we are not satisfied with the result. Most emphatically we did not want the unemployed taken away from the care of the Public Assistance Committee to be classed by the Government as paupers, and to be put under a body which is not elected but is appointed by the King (on the advice, of course, of the Minister of Labour), which is subject to only the most limited control by Parliament, and which will work through local officials against whose decision there is no effective appeal. From this, numbers of the unemployed will still be under the P.A.C., even after March 1st, and will have to be supported out of the rates; while the city will have to make a contribution to the board for those who are taken over. So that there will be little, if any, relief to the rates.

THE MEANS TEST.

I have not space now to say anything about the regulations made by the Unemployment Assistance Board, under which its local officials are to decide the means test, but it is clear that it is clear already that many people will be worse off under the board than they were under the P.A.C.—in some cases much worse off. So bad is the situation, however, that many people, including Sheffield (on Sunday evening, February 10th), demonstrations of protest are being held in the hope that the evidence of public anger may have some effect on the Government and on the board itself.

What I do want to stress here is this. Many people will not realize that the P.A.C. was its very basis, and Co-operative society is no longer responsible for the allowances paid to the unemployed who have been, and will be, transferred to the new board, and that it has no influence whatever over the way they are treated, and will therefore blame us for what is happening. It is our business to make these men, and to start at once, not making excuses to the Government and the board. And it is our business, too, to make people see that the only way to secure a remedy is, at the next general election, to return to Parliament a majority of members pledged to give the unemployed justice.

LADIES' GIRLS' and BOYS' FOOTWEAR.

Sperope Brand:

MADE UNDER TRADE UNION CONDITIONS.

STAMP No. 12.

STOCKED BY ALL CO-OPERATIVE BOOT DEPARTMENTS IN SHEFFIELD

You can't do without it!

Once you have seen it, you must get it regularly.

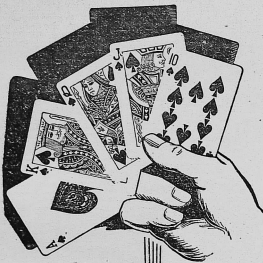
Why?

Because it is the cheapest, the best illustrated, the most informing, the most entertaining collection of stories, articles, and poems published.

What?

"THE MILLGATER" which costs sixpence, and bears the magazine at a shilling. Order it at your co-operative store, bookstall, or railway bookstall.

A Winning Hand.



FOR ALL
WHO JOIN
THE "B & C"

"CO-OPORTUNITIES"
FOR EVERY MEMBER
IN THE FOLLOWING
GOOD SERVICES

● **3½d. CLUB**

Simple and Sound—a small weekly sum means a big yearly draw.

● **PENNY BANK**

offers quite the best return for the small investor, interest at 3½ per cent. being allowed.

● **TRADING CLUB**

Meets your personal and household needs *immediately* for 1/- per share per week—full particulars on request.

● **SHARE & LOAN CAPITAL**

Safe investments for members, with generous interest at 3½ and 3¾ per cent. per annum respectively.

● **FREE DEATH BENEFIT**

No Premiums—No Forms—No Agents, *free* for all members, including both husband and wife.

There is no requirement the "B. & C." cannot provide.

Yes, everything you can possibly need in

Groceries and Provisions

Fashion

Household Drapery

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Furniture, Hardware, and

Crockery

Decorating

Butchery, Fish, and Fruit

Pasteurised Milk

Coal : Furniture Removal

Property Repairs

Bread : Confectionery

Laundry

Boot Repairs

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Furnishing

Tailoring and Outfitting

**AND REMEMBER GOOD VALUES & QUALITY
IN EVERYTHING YOU BUY**

... and **DIVIDEND AT 1/8 IN THE £**
FURTHER SWELLS YOUR SAVINGS

FULL PARTICULARS OF ALL THE FOREGOING MAY BE OBTAINED AT
THE HEAD OFFICE, CITY STORES, EXCHANGE STREET, OR AT ANY
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The advantages of mutual trading are
many—Membership is Free—Join to-day.

**BRIGHTSIDE
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CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LIMITED
THE CITY STORES, EXCHANGE ST. AND WAINGATE, SHEFFIELD.

BIOLOGY FOR EVERYMAN.

"Biology for Everyman," by Sir J. A. Thomson.
Two volumes; Demy; complete, 13s.

Life is a strange and wonderful thing, and most people know far too little about it. The young people of our movement, with their thirst after knowledge, frequently desire to be guided to sources of accurate and well-arranged information about all sorts of subjects. Animals, plants, sea, heredity, evolution, man; these are all of prime importance and of high interest. There could have been no better choice of author for this subject than Sir J. A. Thomson, who makes here a comprehensive survey of all that is meant by biology. The 500 illustrations to which they have no access to a biological laboratory to understand exactly.

SOCIAL LIFE.

Another writer has dealt with social life among animals at considerable length: here the author touches upon social life generally. For instance (page 63), he speaks of bird societies. "The rookery is far from being a mere crowd or congregation; it is a large community with considerable power of unanimous action, and with unanimous conventions which come near to laws. Up to a certain point, it is permissible to steal sticks from a neighbour's nest, but when that point is passed, tampering with a neighbour's nest is a social offence and punishable." Again: "How significant it is that pelicans will combine in feeding, arranging themselves in a wide semi-circle in the water, gradually walking it towards the shore!"

BIRD DEMOCRACY.

"Best of all, in its suggestiveness for man, is the fact that small birds like field-swallows, individually insignificant, may have nothing to fear from a riding falcon whom they unite to mob. This is among birds many similar triumphs of society."

A PICTURE OF LIFE.

The work is as systematic as a textbook, and indeed may be fitly so called. But it is not dry or difficult; and it builds up in the mind of the reader a knowledge, like a well-proportioned picture of life about him.

The parts and functions of the human body are a closed book to most people; they little know what goes on underneath their skin. Yet for health and general guidance as to the use of life, such knowledge, at least to some degree, is imperative. The minute agents of disease are all briefly considered and described, and set in relation to the rest of living things. The purification of a water supply and of sewage are alike matters of biology in the first place.

WHAT IS THE USE OF BIOLOGY?

Professor Thomson sets out his own answers to this question, and illustrates them. "Biology," says he, "spreads our battle, and may help us to spread it more and more widely." It teaches us less disease and better health; it teaches the proper use and balance of exercise and play, and illuminates the whole question of sex. It enriches the mind and spirit of the man, giving pictures that are art treasures. It creates a thrilling interest, and it discloses a great drama. It gives us the idea of the ascent of life, "which has gone more than any other for the intellectual emancipation of mankind." There are many other reasons, and we perhaps might sum up by saying that it leads to the mastery of nature by man. We should have read this work with reasonable care to have acquired an inexhaustible wealth which none can take away, and which in a thousand ways can add value to our other knowledge and experience. "There is no wealth but life," and to know something of the wealth in its amazing variety, beauty, and wonder is to equip ourselves and to add to the wealth of resources. B.

GIVE THE CHILDREN A NEW IDEA OF HEROISM.

By DR. STELLA CHURCHILL.

All the five questions in the National Peace Ballot require, in my view, an affirmative answer. A national declaration on these lines should have a very practical and moral effect. But in order to attain real and lasting peace, it will be necessary to go even further.

We must get at the root of the matter, and start at the beginning, which must reorganise the education of children.

A much better use could be made of the child's instinctive desire for heroism. To a child, courage is one of the highest virtues, and courage and the hero are inseparable.

But the gods we set up for them as examples of heroism are still those of a time Napoleon came out of his pedestal to make room for the so less heroic and often more spectacular heroes of modern progress—for example, the scientists, explorers, discoverers, and those who save life at sea or on land. We need a new orientation for our instinctive and healthy admiration of courage.

WHAT SCHOOLBOYS DO NOT TELL ABOUT WAR.

There is still too much attractive glamour attached to militarism. Schoolboys do not tell about it, it is like to drop in mud, to be in a city during a modern air attack, to watch mutilated bodies washed up on our shores, to see people subjected to death under poison gas—perhaps to choke oneself. Tattlers, tournaments, and films make a brave show of war, but too often they tend only to illustrate the appalling side of the thing which charms like a fairy tale and gives no warning of the terrible reality such as war which you went through it.

There should be no school portraits of those ambassadors of peace, the musicians, artists, and builders, and fewer of the warriors, fighting sailors, and destroyers. Surely they have had their day.

Membership of the O.T.C. is, in most public schools, compulsory. But nowhere is membership of the League of Nations compulsory. We should insist on making membership of the League morally obligatory and actively effective.

Any intelligent traveller realizes that to know life is to understand peace, to have a great advance in the cause of peace if parties of schoolchildren could, where possible, be encouraged to spend part of their holidays in the field. In this respect England is still an isolated country, and our children are out of touch with the rest of England. Much could also be done by encouraging the international exchange of letters.

Let us teach the children there is something positive they can do for peace. Gain their interest. Give them a new idea of heroism. We should be as active as hunters about peace as we were about war.

With such an education behind them, reproached by other countries, few people would find any difficulty in going to the front on the peace ballot. Indeed, the time would have passed when any necessity existed to hold such a ballot.

AN ANTI-CAMPAIGN CAMPAIGN.

CO-OPERATORS are not the only ones who take the National Co-operative Propaganda Campaign seriously. Such a widely-circulated organ of private trade as "The Grocer" has stated that one of the first interests of the anti-campaign in 1935 is the "Propaganda Evening" which co-operators are holding from February 20 to 23rd.

The campaign is already assured of success, even though the final results have not yet been known. If nothing had been done to supplement the millions of leaflets which have been issued, the anti-campaign would have served a valuable purpose. The valuable more has been done; the interest shown by officials, donors; (Continued in next column.)

CO-OPERATORS' TEN-YEAR PLAN.

MEMORANDUMS plans for the celebration of the centenary of Rochdale co-operation in 1944 will be prepared for submission to the Co-operative Congress which assemblies in Cardiff in June.

No better tribute could be paid to the memory of the twenty-eight Rochdale Pioneers than the creation of a better and stronger co-operative movement. A Ten-Year Plan for co-operative development, which will result in millions of more co-operators being included in the already large co-operative family; more intensive and expansive co-operative trade and production; more co-operative factories; more co-operative workers.

Outlining the theme of the scheme in the current issue of the official journal of the Co-operative Union, "The Co-operative Review," Mr. Edward Tompkins states:—

The essence of modern planning is to fix definite objectives for attainment within given periods. The Ten-Year Plan for the co-operative movement will not be a foggy aspiration towards better trade, but an affair of quotas based on actual statistical evidence, and checked by results, from time to time. The Plan will be one in which every section, every district, every society, and every individual co-operator will be expected to assume responsibility for a definite share of the work of development. The Plan will seek to bring into the co-operative movement the personal zeal and enthusiasm which all too often has been expended in other progressive causes which, excellent as they may be, cannot mobilise a fraction of the power, actual and potential, which can be utilised through co-operation.

The National Propaganda Campaigns have shown how powerful even sporadic incursions of propaganda can be, yielding, as these campaigns have done, many hundreds of thousands of new members and many millions of sources of fresh trade. When the National Campaign was first launched there were many who thought that the co-operative movement had almost reached saturation point so far as membership was concerned. There are people to-day who think the limit has been reached. The Ten-Year Plan will show that such achievements are far from being the last limit of our frontier.

(Continued from previous column.)

commitments, and employees is reflected in the success of the 1935 campaign. Private grocers may well envy the co-operative trade drives, for the movement has no need to fall back on remote or obscure excuses to further its claims on the people's purse. Our claims are built up on common-sense, or our movement is a common-sense organisation, based on hard facts as well as high ideals. While the private trade has to invent imaginative advertising "policies," our movement needs only to propagate its real purpose and policy, for that is straightforward, sensible, and beyond suspicion.

YOU WILL LIKE "MYLITA" UNDERWEAR

Produced in a variety of charming styles, at moderate prices

Manufactured by the Makers of the "ASHFIELD" BRAND Hosiery and Underwear

The Kirky-in-Ashfield Co-operative Manufacturers Limited, Byron Street, East Kirky, Walsby.

THROUGH SPACE AND TIME.

"Through Space and Time" Sir James Jeans. Published by Cambridge University Press. 1s. 6d. net.

"EVERY year for more than a century the Royal Institution has invited some man of science to deliver a course of lectures. The course is 'adapted to a juvenile audience.'" It is time the last few words were revised—as science itself is continually being revised—perhaps in the phrase, "suitable for young people."

The series of lectures for the Christmas of 1935 are here set out with plenty of illustrations in a manner which any of our readers can appreciate. If you left school at fourteen years of age, a book like this brings school to you, and people who have left school may not be so far from the interest and wonder of educational things. The earth, air, sun, moon, and planets are all matters of high interest: they are so far as this book can help not give you any substance in getting a job or in putting money in your pocket. That, however, should not be for you personally to bother about, and in any case you can entertain yourself to some degree by a book like this.

TREMENDOUS TRIFLES.

The earth, the air, the sky with its sun, moon, and stars: these are the subjects dealt with in the chapters of high interest: they are so far as this book can help not give you any substance in getting a job or in putting money in your pocket. That, however, should not be for you personally to bother about, and in any case you can entertain yourself to some degree by a book like this.

And changes are rapid: as one will readily gather from the closing words of chapter 1: "Human life has changed more in the last fifty years than any single life did in fifty million years" in the Age of reptiles! But reptile "civilisation" vanished because it could not change.

DECEPTION.

We speak of things being "light as air." Well, the ordinary barometer weighs air, and when it's "needle points to thirty, there is as much substance in the atmosphere over our heads as there is in a layer of mercury thirty inches thick." That is "about the same as a layer of lead thirty-eight inches thick. That is all resting its weight upon our heads and bodies, but as we were born with it and have always had it, we do not notice it!

AND ILLUSION.

"How many visible stars does the full moon conceal? The answer is one some or all, which most people find hard to believe. . . . It would take 200,000 moons or moons to cover the sky with them—which is about forty-two for each visible star, so that there is a chance of less than one in forty of there being a visible star behind the moon" at any particular moment."

THE PLANETS.

Jupiter—the nearest to the sun—is 7,300 times the size of the earth, and is to the earth as a football is to a marble. To keep matters in proportion, if Mercury were twenty feet in diameter, the sun, the earth would be fifty feet, and Pluto, the furthest planet of all, half-a-mile away. And except for the sun and the planets, there is nothing else for hundreds of millions of miles! We are certainly not crowded! This well-illustrated book is simply and easily read, and its interest is well worth both its cost and the time it takes to read it. B.

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