

# The SHEFFIELD OPERATOR

No. 134.

DECEMBER, 1935.

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## PEACE ABROAD—SOCIAL PLANNING AT HOME

### MR. ALEXANDER'S SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT.

The Right Hon. A. V. Alexander, the Member for Hillborough, laid no time in paying the Co-operative and Labour case to the House of Commons in supporting the Labour Party's Amendment to the King's Speech, and made some telling points on the Government's general attitude to international affairs as well as Home policy.

After dealing with the dishonest way in which the election had been fought by the National Government, Mr. Alexander contended Mr. Baldwin's statement in the House of Commons, where he had paid a tribute to Labour's constitutional attitude, and the general attack that had been made on Labour candidates during the recent election.

On the process of social development in this country Mr. Alexander showed that every proposal for social advancement had been regarded as revolutionary and impossible when it was first suggested.

**LORD OXFORD'S PROPHECY.**  
"I wish the Government would remember a little of the history from 1914 onward," said Mr. Alexander. "I wish they would go back and look, for example, at some very wise words spoken by the late Lord Oxford and Asquith at a great Peace Congress in London in 1908. He was speaking then about just the same kind of naval campaign in which the Government are now engaging: 'We want eight Dreadnoughts, and we want 'em,' was the cry at that time. Lord Oxford and Asquith said then to the Peace Congress: 'What are these things intended for? Are they to be playthings? Are they to be looked at?' 'No,' said Lord Oxford and Asquith. 'They are intended to be used, and before many years are over perhaps by a remarkable accident or incident in Europe the whole thing will go off.' It was within six years of that that the almost chance incident of the assassination of a duke led to the complete fulfilment of the prophecy of Mr. Asquith, as he then was."

"I do not believe that the Government can really think for one moment that the wide expansion of naval or military armaments is necessarily going to be any security for peace at all in the future, and it is an entirely wrong approach to the problem altogether."

#### THE PRIME MINISTER'S BROADCAST.

"I also ought to say how much some of us appreciate the line of appeal of the Prime Minister to the country on these matters. I think he intended once more, as Tories have so often intended, to cause the most devastating emotion—the cause of fear—to stampede the electorate into overlooking some of the errors of omission and commission of his Government. He suggested in regard to the British Navy, and especially in regard to air force, that the most powerful of the lullaby sections of the aircraft attack."

"In these ships, he said in effect, had been laid down before aircraft attack had been anticipated or even thought of. I cannot think that any one of the twelve pre-war convicts' capital ships we at present possess that was finished before 1915."

Some were not finished before 1916, and one not before 1917. I cannot find that any one of them was laid down prior to the Navy having its own air wing. I take these to believe from my knowledge of the Plans Department of the Admiralty that they had not prepared themselves against aircraft attack which they were perfecting for their own use against other Powers. When you come to look at the developments which have taken place in regard to aircraft defence in the case of the British Fleet, the Prime Minister was speaking in such a way as to mislead—whether intentionally or unintentionally I do not propose to say—the electorate of the country as to the true facts of the situation."

#### NO REPLY DURING THE ELECTION.

"Many of us have tried in vain during the course of the election to get anything like a detailed answer from the Prime Minister or the Government as to what the real programme of expansion which the Government are proposing of armaments is to be. It was absolutely vital that the electorate should have known what is proposed and lost it is to be paid for. I think that the Opposition is entitled to go to the Government, especially having regard to some of the things that have been said about the financial position in 1931, that it is very vital that they should let us know what they are going to do."

#### COST OF NEW ARMAMENTS RACE.

"I referred just now to the position in the armaments race of 1908 to 1914. I wonder if Hon. Members opposite are thinking now in comparable terms of the financial side. We commenced a great armaments race about 1907. We were in war partly as a result of that in 1914, but in the financial circumstances in which we commenced that race we were at least reasonably able to afford it. We commenced the armaments race in 1907 with a total National Debt of £690,000,000. You are commencing this with a National Debt of £8,000,000,000—a very different position. We commenced that race in 1907 with an income tax of 2s. in the pound, which was described as a 'Daily morning in those days by the 'Daily News' and the 'Daily Express' as a dreadfully high imposition as the result of a Radical-Socialist Government. Here we will start the race with an income tax of 4s. 6d. in the pound. In 1907 we started the race with a total imposition started the race with an income tax by way of what we call indirect taxation of 1s. 10. to more than the consumers of 1s. 10. to more than £10,000,000,000. To-day, if I told the Minister of Agriculture's imposition upon bread, we start this race with an imposition upon the consumers by Customs, Excise, and what subsidy as the race not owing as a Government monopoly to any foreign Government. To-day we start the race with a debt of over £900,000,000 to America—not being paid by the people who demanded that we should pay, but not being repaid."

**THE CONSUMER WILL PAY.**  
"When you take account of these four comparative sets of financial circumstances, I want to know exactly the extent of the armaments programme and how it is to be paid for. It seems to me, judging from the callousness of the Government, which can calmly place a tax on the bread of the poorest people, the unemployed man, the old age and widow pensioners, the under-employed man, the people who, as my hon. Friend in that admirable speech which he made this morning said, are well below anything like a reasonable datum line between poverty and affluence, that they will all have to pay this. When you consider these circumstances, I believe the Government will be quite willing and callous enough to go on adding to the charges on the consumer in order to raise cash for this purpose. I am warning the Government that in the light of the financial facts that I have put before the House—and they cannot be challenged; I have looked them up—there is no great taxation reserve left in our common people to meet a great charge."

**A NEW SPIRIT.**  
"In these circumstances, I beg the House, and I beg the Government, to look at the international situation with a new spirit and with some endeavour to make a change. I hope, for example, that in the Naval Conference we are not going to listen all the time to the kind of statement that was made about the conversations in the last twelve months, that we are going to move in a different basis than we had in 1930, that we are not going to talk about what is called the common upper limit callous nature of naval armaments, and then at the end find ourselves in just the same bitter intensive race for armaments."

**COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.**  
"We on this side of the House want real attention to be paid, first to the removal of the economic causes of war as far as possible, and secondly, to securing an improvement in the judicial machinery which can be used for the settlement of disputes."

"Many of us welcome it is perhaps behind, but still we welcome it—the speech of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at Geneva on September 12th. We were very much interested in his reference to the possibility of there being a conference later to discuss the redistribution of some of the economic resources of the world, so as, possibly, to avoid some of the major questions of dispute between nations and to give

legitimate fulfilment to the reasonable aspirations of our peoples. I am sorry that there is no reference to that in the King's Speech, but I feel that although such a conference might be welcome, it will not take us very far unless we, as the leading nation and Empire in the world, are prepared to give a lead. I feel that we need, above all, at this moment a lead from this country which would show to the world that we undertake that whatever dispute may arise to which we may be a party internationally which has not previously been settled by conciliation or diplomacy shall be referred by us without reserve—and I emphasize those two words—without reserve—to the Court of International Justice for settlement. I do not think the Government have gone so far as that. I shall be very happy to see the Minister when he replies, but I do not think that has been said. If it has been said, will the Minister tell us whether the reserves which were notified to the American Ambassador in regard to the Kellogg Pact still stand? That is very important. I want to offer to be made from this country, without reserve, that in all these matters we are willing that each case shall go to the Permanent Court of International Justice for settlement. If it has not been made on that basis, I beg that that shall be done at once."

#### NOTHING SUBSTANTIAL FOR TEN YEARS.

Proceeding, Mr. Alexander said that the Government had practically admitted that they were bound to go on building through unless they take some specific Socialist planning action. He contrasted Mr. Neville Chamberlain's statement that he had recovered 80 per cent. prosperity with a further statement that there could not be any really substantial reduction in unemployment in less than ten years; this appeared to be due, therefore, by about 1941 or 1942!

#### PUBLIC OWNERSHIP ESSENTIAL.

All these declarations have made it perfectly plain that there is no alternative available to a planning of industry and construction so far as the National Government is concerned.

The fact is that the productive power of machines, plus labour, could, if it were used for the purpose, give a proper standard of life for everybody in this country. "What stands between us and that achievement," asked Mr. Alexander, "is not the greed and selfishness, not the love of individualism—I do not want to blame individuals—but of a system, that imposes the necessity for private profit, and unlimited private profit, before the public good. The system is actually used by the mass of people in our country."

"It is on that basis that we submit in this Amendment, that there is no cure for the situation without a national planning which is for the public good and which is therefore based upon public ownership."

"It is because we believe that the policy of the Government, as enunciated in the Speech from the Throne makes no real contribution in that direction that we once more offer our constructive alternative, and we have begged it on many occasions before, to take it before it is too late."

## Christmas Greetings

to all our readers

# CHRISTMAS "WAITS."

UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY CAN BE ABOLISHED.

NEED FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

ROUND your doorsteps this Christmas Eve will gather the travelling groups of folk who will carry on an old tradition. They are the "waits," who will sing their carols—mostly out of tune! The words, too, will be shaky, but the final phrase will be clear! What they are really after is to collect what can be got from your pockets.

Originally, "waits" were watchmen who welcomed in Christmas. Now, they "wait" until the proper moment to welcome into their own possession the copper and silver they can extract from you. "God rest you, merry gentlemen," but only if you pay up!

## OTHER "WAITS."

There are lots of "waits" this Christmas who have been waiting a very long time. There is, first of all, Disarmament, still waiting at the door, while militarists and armament manufacturers lose a little of their influence. It will wait forever unless the people take a firm hand in affairs. The Home Office is very anxious to make arrangements with local authorities to protect citizens from air raids: to fit them with cheap gas masks, and possibly also to alarm them into a condition where vastly increased expenditure on armaments will be agreed to eagerly. Round our doorsteps this Christmas the military chiefs and the armament kings look getting all we have to spare, and they

will sing their carols of the devil and damnation for all they are worth. Disarmament awaits without, but rearmament is the Christmas "wait" this time who looks like getting the money.

## THE COST.

Here are the figures of expenditure—

|  | 1914.      | 1915. | 1936. |
|--|------------|-------|-------|
|  | —Millions— |       |       |
| Past Wars: (Interest and War Pensions) .....                   | 17         | 255   | 257   |
| Preparation for Future Wars: (Army, Navy, and Air Force) ..... | 77         | 114   | 130   |

The figures are for millions of pounds, to the nearest million in each case. Verily, disarmament still waits!

## PEACE.

Christmas is pre-eminently the season of peace. "Peace on Earth, Goodwill to Men," is its supposed keynote. Yet in view of the expenditure mentioned above, our actual attitude to peace, as people acting, through its Parliament, is sheer humbug. Of the world's practical

affairs, Basil Zaharoff is a great deal more the real king than is Jesus Christ.

Another of the world's great Christmas days was to be that on which democracy was born! Universal franchise was to be the doorway into equality and freedom. Every man and every woman has the vote, but they are still without democracy. Democracy still waits, and it looks like waiting a long time! Only quite a few people, for representative of any sort—since they must have either a fair amount of money themselves, or be backed by some group or other which will provide it. This may be a useful social contrivance, but it is not democracy.

Truly, too, every man and woman now has a vote, but tradesmen and university graduates mostly have two! And even at that this tremendous addition to the Tory vote didn't score much of a majority for the present Government.

The dice are loaded against democracy as a principle, and against the workers as a class.

## CLASS GOVERNMENT.

We have heard class government demanded roundly by supporters of Toryism, but they are the advocates of the bulwarks of the very class-government system we wish to overturn. There is political power for each individual still on the waiting list, and they will remain there. It is one of the "waits" this Christmas that will be let loose.

A complete modernisation of Parliamentary methods is badly in need. We have twentieth-century machinery and equipment in factories and workshops in the air and on the sea, but in the office and the home. Even in the vacuum cleaners make us all so much modern, but the stuffy polish of the House of Commons is the most archaic part of it. Its atmosphere is medieval, its machinery, if it were torn to pieces, Middle Ages, could have been designed only by Heath Robinson. It is not time and make-believe, its procedure is not a mere form, it is a system, a fairy tale after a modern business house where affairs of the nation are conducted.

## RATIONALISATION.

Its modernisation still "waits," as it has done for 500 years. Unfortunately because of that, the pressing nature of the matter is inadequate treatment. The House of Commons, as a result of its procedure must be rationalised. Parliamentary Governmental activities, fit for the period of the Crusades, while Imperial Chemical Industries have the last word in poison gas, which is a product of the twentieth century solely.

Among the most important "waits" this Christmas are the two "problems" of unemployment and poverty, with their super-sivicious accompaniment the Family Means Test. These "stand at the door and knock" and have been so long. They "wait" but their argument does not bear; or hearing has not heard.

## THE TWO MILLION.

Unemployment is not merely a "problem," nor a "crisis"; it is a million people robbed of a chance to help us all in ways with which they are familiar; two million robbed of a chance to live in any reasonable way with worry for both themselves and their friends and relations. Two million men and women "wait" this Christmas, and all their dependent wives and children. They are the silent but at the door of State, they do not plead their hardship and injustices; they do not curse; they merely wait, with astonishing patience.

But Christmas also "waits" peace and plenty in place of antagonism and war and poverty, are a reasonable thing in our time. The most pressing of all problems is that which has, in fact, waited through the ages—and for the first time in these post-war days become completely unnecessary. Poverty.

## THE WAY TO WEALTH.

Wealth is not money; certainly not paper money. It consists of the goods and the services we all must have, which are the product of human hands applied to Nature, and multiplied by the use of machines. The multiplied use of machines, but we do not use it, it is "waits." The things that never wait are armaments, profits, pensions or overpaid; for these money is never scarce. It is, of course, collected in the pockets of those who work, and after they have got their wages, and partly before. Who can wonder if, of these days, they turn up in the British House of Commons, for the British Hitler or Mussolini for the British? They observe that Malcom, is, nevertheless, refused by the electors, is, nevertheless, given a Government post and a salary of £5,000 a year! Could he have done that? This is the result of what is called "influence"; the most powerful and unfair power that keeps the people placed in a good job, or all the jobs, whether they can do it, are worth it, are even wanted by those who have the money to find it.

## CHRISTMAS.

"Peace and goodwill to men" is uttered in mere self-deception, in dangerous delusion, and is a lie, unless we clean matters up.

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**BRIGHTSIDE AND CARBROOK FORGES AHEAD.**

**INCREASED TURNOVER.**

The 26th quarterly report of the Brightside and Carbroom Co-operative Society, just issued, shows the quarter ended October 28th, 1935, shows an increase of trade that is more than commensurate with the general increase in retail trade reported throughout the country. The cash turnover for the thirteen weeks amounts to £373,271, as compared with £348,370 two months ago. This increase of £25,000 equals 8 per cent. When it is remembered also that this increase is compared with a quarter last year that also represented an increase, it can be seen that the increase is well on the way to the success postulated by the Co-operative Union's Ten Year Plan. The increase of trade for the twelve months ended October 28th, is £117,502, and makes the grand total for the year £2,598,320.

That intensified loyalty for which the board of directors has been asking for the last few years, is now being experienced, and is appealing for a continuance and even an increase. The directors point out that the comparisons of prices and quality will leave the average member equally well off to purchase in increasing measure from his own society.

**SOCIETY'S PRESENTATION TO CITY.**

The board of directors has presented size acres of land to Sheffield. The site comprises Spring Wood, which runs from Bowden Howsted Wood to Hashtil-rised, and consists of a narrow strip of land through which the Car Brook flows. The area is admirably suitable for a children's playing field and the Corporation are gratefully accepted the offer, which makes a small but important increase in the number of open spaces in Sheffield. The surrounding district is being rapidly developed by building operations, and it is an admirable gesture on the part of the society to reserve even this small "lung" for the benefit of the children in the district. The Corporation will, of course, keep the land in a suitable condition under proper supervision, as in the case of the other parks and recreation grounds.

**DANISH SOCIALISTS' VICTORY.**

**INCREASED STRENGTH AFTER SEVEN YEARS IN OFFICE.**

The General Election campaign in Britain overshadowed the news of the striking victory won by the Socialists in the Danish General Election at the end of October. In Denmark a Socialist Government has been in office for nearly seven years, being the largest single party in the Folketing, and supported by the Radicals. Prior to the General Election, the Socialists had sixty-two seats and the Radicals fourteen, giving a total of seventy-six seats for the Government as compared with seventy-two for the Opposition parties. The main Opposition to the Government consisted of Conservatives and the old Liberal Farmers' Party, the latter being at one time the strongest party in Denmark. Desperate efforts were made to deprive the Government of its small majority.

As these efforts failed. The result of the General Election was that the Socialists won one seat from the Conservatives and five from the Liberals. The Radicals retained their fourteen seats, and the Government has, therefore, increased its seats to eighty-two. The Socialist vote alone now represents 40 per cent of the total votes polled, as compared with 41 per cent in 1929. There is little doubt that a clear Socialist majority will be won next time.

**NAZI PARTY'S COMPLETE FAILURE.**

It is significant that the Danish Nazis failed to gain a seat. Their total vote in the whole of the country being only 15,271. The attempt to link up a Nazi Youth Movement with the Conserva-

**THE KING'S SPEECH. "BITS AND PIECES."**

The programme for the new Parliament, outlined in the King's Speech, fully justifies the "Daily Herald's" forecast that it would be a thing of "bits and pieces." On its constructive could not have been or nothing that Parliament, and it is obvious to these inadequate measures have been brought by the pressure brought to bear on the Government by the Labour Party.

**RAISING THE SCHOOL-LEAVING AGE?**

The proposal to raise the school-leaving age is typical of the school-board's complete failure to devise a comprehensive plan for dealing with unemployment. Instead of regarding this proposal as a fundamental part of a general attack on unemployment, the Government has declared its intention to allow exemptions to children who can find employment.

Moreover, there will be no maintenance allowance, which means that the effect of the scheme will be that children of poor parents will in large numbers continue to leave school at fourteen, and thus be deprived of the first steps of extended education. The scheme offers no inducement to parents to keep their children off the labour market.

**NO PROPOSALS FOR DEPRESSED AREAS.**

There is no constructive policy for dealing with the depressed areas. We are told that "special relief" is to be given to the new areas, but the record of the "National Government" during the past four years and the confessions of Government leaders that the problem has baffled them, gives little hope that anything tangible will come of the new proposals.

The Government is equally vague in its attitude towards the mining industry. "Active steps" are to be taken to co-ordinate the selling arrangements of the industry, "and a measure is to be introduced to provide for the "cancellation" of coal royalties under national control. These steps are necessary and useful so far as they go, but they are no substitute for the bold plan of public ownership and control of the industry which Royal Commissions have declared to be the only solution of the problem.

In the field of foreign affairs the Government's programme makes no reference to the policy—or, rather, lack of policy—which has contributed so largely to the present deplorable state of affairs in Europe. In spite of the pledge given by Sir Samuel Hoare that the British Government was prepared to consider the whole question of the economic causes of war, there is no mention of this in the King's Speech.

**INCREASED ARMSMENTS.**

The only definite proposal in the matter of foreign policy is that the Government regards as "urgently necessary" that the "deficiencies" of the defence forces should be made good. It is difficult to tell what the country has yet to see in rearmament, and why, in spite of an increased expenditure of over £20,000,000 in the past three years there should still be "deficiencies."

Above all the country has yet to be told how a policy of piling up armaments can bring disarmament and peace.

(Continued from previous column.)

tives was also a failure, and caused antagonism even in the Conservative ranks. The Communists held their two seats, but did not increase their representation in spite of specious appeals to the workers to "strengthen the Socialist Party." The victory of the Stunning Socialist Government in Denmark is not only a triumph over the Conservative Party, but also an emphatic rejection by the people of all forms of dictatorial rule. The Scandinavian countries are now a powerful bulwark against Fascism and a stronghold of Socialism and democracy.

**"A MERRY CHRISTMAS To Everybody, and a Happy New Year To All The World."**

—Dickens.

Dear Old Christmas is here again, a bright, joyful time for some, a time of bitter-sweet memories for others. Let us hope that the true Christmas spirit will prevail during Christmas, 1935. Let us hope, too, that there will be good feeling between family and family; neighbour and neighbour; nation and nation. That is the true Christmas and co-operative spirit.

Christmas is the last festival of the year, and what a year it has been! A year of great events, some tragic, and some joyful. The Jubilee; amazing co-operative progress (2,500,000 co-operators); the General Election; Co-operative Ten Year Plan endorsed; the Royal wedding; the war.

If only the Christmas spirit could be retained for the whole year, then what a happy piece the world would be!

**GOOD CHEER.**

The co-operative movement has been putting the "merry" before Christmas for years. In fact, the Rochdale store opened for the first time some days before Christmas, 1844. That was a great Christmas present to the world. It is one which has been growing year in and year out ever since.

Many is the co-operative family which has benefited from the blessing of divided savings at Christmas time. The turkey and the leg of pork; the pudding and pie would be missing in many homes but for the saving that has resulted from co-operative trading. In many families, too, it is the co-operative Santa Claus who fills the family stocking.

Co-operative factories all over the world are busy having workers for months now in preparing the "goodies" for the co-operative Christmas trade. The world has been searched for fruits and spices to give co-operators the best and purest for their Christmas fare. And the workers in those factories will themselves enjoy a happy Christmas, being recipients of decent trade union conditions of labour.

That is the mutual benefit of co-operation, but is the wider sense, too, the co-operative movement, a world-wide movement, stands for peace and economic harmony.

**CO-OPERATIVE PROGRESS. SHEFFIELD AND ECCLESALL SOCIETY'S ALL-ROUND INCREASES.**

ANOTHER highly successful trading period is reported by the Sheffield and Ecclesall Co-operative Society, limited as a result of the past quarter's operations.

Sales for the thirteen weeks ended November 2nd, amounted to £344,018, and an increase of £23,330 when compared with the corresponding period of a year ago. The new annual business figure, for fifty-three weeks, just falls short of £1,450,000, actually £1,240,170, and again registers a new "peak" figure in sales for the society.

Members' share capital, which now amounts to £667,099, shows a substantial increase of £57,085 on a year ago, equal to over £100 per week. Penny bank (small savings) deposits, totalling £43,834, are £2,843 more than last year, whilst the number of depositors has grown to 25,024.

Membership of the society now stands at 28,295. New members to the number of 1,239, having been admitted during the quarter, an average of ninety-five per week.

Sales of pasteurised milk continue to increase; the thirteen weeks' output of 347,648 gallons (2,750,000 pint bottles) is an increase of 35,038 gallons, when compared with the period of a year ago. The average deliveries per week to secondary and elementary schools is over 90,000 one-third pint bottles. The dairy is fast approaching its capacity of thirty plants and premises, and extensions to plant and premises, to cope with the ever-increasing trade, are being pushed forward in consequence.

Some 12,600 members of the society's Great 3rd Club will participate, this month, in the repayment of nearly £70,000, which sum will bring the total repaid, since the inception of the club, as far back as 1909, to close upon £1,200,000.

The forty-second grocery store of the society, opened for business on Thursday, November 14th, at Midhall-road, Olivegrove, will not only pressure the branches in the vicinity, but will also provide necessary shopping facilities when the new Corporation estate is developed near at hand.

Some work is in progress on the new model store to replace the old St. Mary's-road branch, the extensions and alterations to the Central premises at "The Arcade," and the erection of a confectionery bakery on the busy Archer-road site, are proceeding satisfactorily.

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(Continued in next column.)

## "VANITY FAIR."

"VANITY FAIR" is to be presented from Tuesday, December 10th, to Thursday, December 13th, by the Settlement Players at the Little Theatre (Shipton street, off Oxford-street, near the Infirmary). The version to be used has been prepared by one of the lady students of the Settlement. We can be sure it will be well done and that the whole production will be first-rate. The Little Theatre productions always are.

Many good critics think "Vanity Fair" the greatest of all novels. At any rate it is a very great novel indeed. What perhaps has made it specially famous is the large part played in it by the beautiful, unscrupulous, daring adventures, Becky Sharp. Thackeray calls it a novel without a hero. It is also a novel without a heroine. Instead of hero or heroine we have a villain (or villainess) occupying the central role. George Saintsbury, one of the greatest literary critics of our time, has declared that "out of Shakespeare there is no woman so great as Becky Sharp in English literature."

The Little Theatre already has to its credit, we believe, more great plays than any other theatre, little or big, in England. It has done "Silas Marner," "Hamlet," "King Lear," "Macbeth," "Tempest," "Agamemnon," "Oedipus Rex," "Trojan Women," "Faust," "Iphigenia in Tauris," "Dr. Faustus," "Shakuntala," "Peer Gynt," "Wuthering Heights," "Comus," "Boris Godunov," "Cæsar and Cleopatra," "Gulliver," "The Emperor," and "Gulliver." This is a wonderful record—we wish them luck. We hope "Vanity Fair" will be one of their best efforts. And we hope our readers will have the good sense to give themselves a jolly Christmas evening by going to see it.

## PROFESSOR HUXLEY ON THE WASTE OF SCIENCE.

SPEAKING on November 21st, in a lecture on "Science and Social Needs" of the creation of unemployment through the mechanisation of industry, Professor Huxley pointed out that the blame for this unemployment does not lie with science. "The blame lies with the economic system which is so arranged that the saving of labour takes the unwholesome and unpleasant form of unemployment instead of leisure combined with higher consumption."

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## LABOUR'S TASK IN THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

BY MR. CLEM ATLEE, LEADER OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

In the new House of Commons the Labour Party, with its 154 members, will be a fighting force, conscious that it represents in votes over 40 per cent. of the electorate.

It will have with it again many of its ablest debaters and experienced administrators, and will be well equipped to hold its own in debates on all subjects. It will assert the rights of the House of Commons against any encroachment by the executive.

This does not mean that it will oppose for opposition's sake, or that it will indulge in factious and time-wasting tactics for Party ends, but that it will perform fully one of the most important functions in a democratic State, that of keeping the Government up to the mark.

A lot of nonsense is talked about a "National Government" and the need for all uniting for the common good. Apart from the fact that there is no agreement on what line of policy is best for the community, it should be remembered that the original function of Parliament was the ventilation of grievances and the protection of the citizen against the executive. It is the Grand Assize of the Nation, and the Government of the day is always on trial. A strong and active opposition is necessary if Parliament is to function as it ought.

### POSITIVE PROPOSALS.

There is, then, this primary duty of criticism, but this does not in any way prevent Labour putting forward on every possible occasion its own positive proposals. Labour has the task during the next few years of convincing the country that at the next election it must be given a mandate to effect far-reaching changes in the social and economic structure of the country which the needs of the time demand.

It is not, therefore, enough to discredit the Government. They will do this themselves, though we can, of course, help them. We have to use the House of Commons to show the discrepancy of tinkering with an outworn system and to demonstrate beyond all cavil the need for the adoption of Socialism.

This requires more than the reiteration of first principles. It demands the careful and thorough examination of each problem and the working out of the application of those principles in every case. We can, if we will, use the House of Commons as a sounding board to make known to the country exactly what our policy is. However true it may be that elections are won because the country is sick of the last Government, we can never rest content with that negative mandate.

### LASTING PEACE.

We have to face at the outset a serious position in the sphere of foreign policy. The League of Nations is central. It will be our task to keep the Government up to the spirit as well as the letter of their obligation under the Covenant. The imperialist section in the Government is very strong. Pressure of public opinion and the needs of the moment have caused it to do lip-service to the League ideals, but it is really unopposedly attached to the old conceptions of power and prestige. Constant vigilance will be needed to prevent relapse into Simonsian. The next two or three years will be critical for the future of this country and of the world. The danger of a slide towards another world war is obvious to all.

Our task is, however, much more than merely keeping the Government up to its professions. We shall show that without Socialism there can be no lasting peace. We must constantly stress the point made so ably and frequently by George Lansbury and Ernest Bevin, that the economic causes of war must be destroyed. We shall advocate the establishment of a real

World Commonwealth, instead of the tempered anarchy of the present day. We shall press for the development of a genuine economic co-operation instead of imperialist exploitation, and for the building up of an effective and far-reaching labour code.

It is obvious that the Government intends to make large increases in the armed forces. We shall oppose all increases unless it can be shown that they are really required to fulfil our obligations to the League, and that a real League policy is being followed.

We shall oppose the return to power politics, and the attempt to achieve safety by piling up national forces which can only result in an arms race. We shall press for a full disclosure of the reasons why increases are demanded and the basis on which they are calculated. There is every reason to believe that the Government will continue to maintain the present inefficient and expensive system in three uncontrolled efficiency and economy.

Millions will be handed over to profiteers in the City and in the armaments industry. We shall voice the undoubted opinion of the majority of the people against the continuance of private arms manufacture. It will be our task to show those who wish for peace that they can only get it through pursuing a Socialist foreign policy.

### THE MINING INDUSTRY.

In Home affairs we shall be faced at once with a crisis in the mining industry. The suggestions in the Government's election manifesto are wholly inadequate to deal with the problem. The fact is that the nation is profiteering at the expense of the man on whose work rests the whole industrial pyramid of this country. The argument that there is no alternative way in the industry to pay a decent wage is hypocritical.

### A LIVING WAGE.

The country can afford to pay the miner a living wage. The Government during the last four years has done little else than place vested interests in a position to secure a larger share of the national income than they could do under free competition. What is sauce for the confectioner should be sauce for the miner. We shall do all we can to help the miners in their struggle.

### THE MEANS TEST.

Unemployment and the treatment of the unemployed remain still the big issues. The Government in the election have been forced to admit to some extent the iniquity of the Means Test and their failure to deal with the depressed areas. They must be made to face up to this question every day. If they cannot deal with these problems under the present system, then it must be changed.

### NEW FACTORY ACTS.

Many matters of vital interest to the trade union movement are bound to be discussed during the next Parliament. A new Factory Act is urgently needed. We shall press throughout for legislation to improve working conditions, if possible, by international action, and if not, by unilateral action on the part of this country alone. There will be among our ranks a strong and intelligent group of active trade union members whose knowledge of industry will be invaluable in all these debates.

### SAFETY IN MINES.

The question of safety in mines is one which is certain, in view of the Bradford disaster, to come up very early in the very near future, and pressure to bear upon the Government to establish a thoroughly adequate system of inspection and to insist on mineowners taking every reasonable precaution to avert the occurrence of further disasters.

We shall have an opportunity, too, of raising many important industrial ques-

tions through the introduction of Private Members' Bills, and shall take every opportunity to the full. We shall also participate for better or otherwise with all those who work in industries which have received Government assistance, either by way of protection or assistance, so that the money which the Government is handing out to these industries must be given to the workers in the form of remaining wages and dividends at the sole possession of our own workers.

### SHIPPING.

Shipping is a case in point, and we shall do our utmost to see that the ship sailing under the British flag is thoroughly safe. Millions of people have been handed out to the shipping industry already and yet little has been done to remedy the appalling state of affairs described in the *Arctic Greenwood* in the last Parliament.

### THE RURAL WORKER.

No less important is the bettering of the condition of the rural worker. His claim for unemployment insurance is soon assented to, but we must see to it that there is no more delay, and that the conditions are just.

But throughout this Parliament, while doing our utmost to better the condition of the workers and to oppose reactionary legislation, we shall bear in mind that we are out for Socialism. We shall try to develop to the full our ranks the team spirit. The Labour Party in the last House did, partly through the excellent leadership of George Greenwood, achieve a great degree of harmony, there was found a any of its predecessors.

### UNITED.

Attempt will, of course, be made to disrupt us by our opponents, but these next years should be marked by strengthening of our essential unity. We have to consolidate our forces in the next trial strength. We lay too, during this Parliament, to let the men and women who will, when we achieve power, fill the most responsible positions in the next Labour Government.

We have shed some trailes. Debt has deprived us of the services of many good comrades, but there is plenty of ability in the Party. I am certain that if we work together in the true spirit of brotherhood which we have in our movement, we can reverse the country and we can forge the instrument through which the workers will achieve their emancipation. We shall face our task with faith in our own strength and confidence in the future.

## LABOUR'S NEW LEADER.

MR. CLEM ATLEE, M.P.

MR. ATLEE'S election to the leadership of the Labour Movement is a landmark for general co-ordination. Labour's new general secretary is a member of courageous politician who, under the stress of conflict, has revealed the qualities of a statesman and leader at a critical juncture.

Called upon to lead the Labour Party in one of the most important campaigns, he distinguished himself by the sort of courage and resourcefulness which are the part of political genius. Perhaps the main recommendation of the election of his fellow-Socialist is the unreserved adherence to the first principle of the Labour Party's faith. Nobody doubts that the election of Clem Atlee, at any rate, does not mean more than the individual, and even the ambition not even the slightest considerations in the compromise between the aims and the means in political action. Virtue in politics means everything to him—virtue in the sense of nothing. Of the loyalty of his own men he has no doubt, and he will not be ment he may at any time be called upon. The common task is devoted. Labour's many millions are pledged in the strongest of bonds; it is a pledge, however, by the knowledge that the movement has thoroughly comprehended and will fulfill its obligations, without fear or favour.

# CO-OPERATIVE PARTY'S SUCCESS

## IN PARLIAMENTARY AND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

### ALDERMAN J. A. LONGDEN.

The majority given to the local Labour and Co-operative representatives in the recent municipal election resulted in the appointment of new aldermen—Councillor Womersley, representing Burngreave Ward, and Councillor Longden, of Neepsend, were promoted to the Aldermanic Bench.

Alderman Longden has been on the Council, representing Neepsend Ward, for the past ten years, and has been the chairman of the Sheffield Co-operative Party for fourteen years. We congratulate Alderman Longden on his well-deserved appointment. As chairman of the hospitals committee and the electricity committee he has controlled two very important departments of the Corporation for some time. In consequence of Alderman Longden's appointment, a vacancy was declared in Neepsend. At the selection conference held at the Firhill Council School, Mr. Richard Fisher (chairman, Southey Co-operative Party) was unanimously selected as the Co-operative and Labour candidate. Mr. Fisher was subsequently elected without a contest.

### GENERAL ELECTION.

The local results of the General Election were very gratifying to the co-operative movement. Our own direct representative, the Rt. Hon. A. V. Alexander, turned a minority of 6,500 into a comfortable majority of 3,304.

Mr. Alexander secured more votes on this occasion than at any previous time. In congratulating him on his election, we venture to prophesy that his position will be impregnable in the future. Mr. Alexander has loyally stood by the Hillsborough Division in spite of offers of other constituencies. He came to Sheffield in 1921 and has never stood in any other position than that of the Co-operative and Labour representative of the Hillsborough people during the whole of this period. Such loyalty is sure to be rewarded by an increasing measure of support as time goes on.

The election of Alderman Marshall for the Brightside Division gives us

another co-operative representative, as Alderman Marshall is a member of the board of management of the Sheffield and Ecclesall Society.

Mr. George Lathan, Labour candidate in the Park Division, is a member and a very loyal co-operator personally. Mr. Cecil Wilson, who won the Attcliffe Division by a large majority, has been a member of the Brightside and Carbrook Society for very many years.

Co-operative candidates throughout the country did remarkably well when compared with the general results. The Party had twenty candidates, nine of whom were elected. Mr. Leonard (St. Botolph, Glasgow), who was the only directly-elected Co-operative candidate in the last Parliament, was re-elected by an increased majority. Other new Co-operative members, in addition to Mr. Alexander, are:—

Mr. D. Chater, Bethnal Green North East.

Mr. W. H. Green, Deptford.

Mr. A. Parnes, East Ham South.

Mr. F. A. Broad, Edmonton.

Rev. G. S. Woods, Finsbury.

Mr. W. Leonard, St. Rollox.

Mr. R. C. Morrison, Tottenham North.

Mr. T. Henderson, Tradesdon.

## TORIES KILL LEEDS HOUSING SCHEME.

The narrow Tory victory on the Leeds Council at the municipal election in November has already resulted in the wrecking of part of the Labour Party's magnificent housing and slum clearance scheme. The Tory majority has passed a resolution reversing the previous decision to develop a housing estate at Moorfoot at a cost of £1,000,000. This scheme was part of the Labour Party's programme of slum demolition. It has been torpedoed on the familiar grounds that the development of a municipal estate in a good class suburb would have an adverse effect on the value of existing property."

# CO-OPERATIVE PARTY NOTES.

### ATTERCLIFFE.

The Attcliffe Divisional Party held meeting and whist drive in the Attcliffe Institute on Friday, November 29th. The next meeting at which the officers and committee will be elected, will be notified to members by post. Secretary: Mr. Norman Shimwell, 222, Attcliffe Common.

### BRIGHTSIDE.

The Brightside Divisional Party are holding a meeting at the Co-operative Institute, Helhouse-road, at 7.30 p.m. on Saturday, December 14th, when Mr. A. Ballard (party organiser) will speak on "Co-operation or the Corporate State." The meeting is to be followed by a social, admission 3d. All members cordially invited.

### BURNGREAVE.

The Burngreave Women's Section meets every Wednesday, 7.30 p.m., in the Burngreave Vestry Hall. Secretary: Mrs. E. Yelland, 139, Scott-road.

### HILLSBOROUGH.

The Hillsborough Party have held well-attended meetings since the General Election campaign. On November 21st, Mr. J. F. Lamb (City Librarian) gave a splendid lantern lecture on the Sheffield Central Library, and 29th, Councillor H. Slack was the speaker. Programme for December: 31st, City Council report by Councillor W. Robinson; 12th, Press Cuttings; 19th, social. The annual children's treat has been arranged for January 2nd.

The Women's Section meetings, held in the guildroom, continue to draw a good attendance. On the 18th, Mrs. C. Gavigan spoke on "Sweden as I Saw It"; 25th, Mrs. Owen Jones (assistant-secretary, Council of Social Services) spoke on "Social Service in Sheffield." Programme for December: 2nd, social; 9th, Councillor (Mrs) H. Mitchell; 16th, Councillor H. Slack. On Wednesday, 18th, a pic supper and concert has been

arranged, commencing 7.30 p.m. Tickets, 2s. each, may be obtained from the secretary, Mrs. R. M. Wood, 13, Hillsborough-place, or any member of the committee.

### NEEPSEND.

During the absence of Mr. L. Raines (secretary), through illness, Mr. Walker (assistant-secretary) has helped in rallying the workers for the General Election campaign. We are happy to report that Mr. Raines is now convalescent, and hopes to call the members together in the very near future.

The Women's Section played a very active part in the recent election. Their programme of events for December are: 2nd, social; 9th, City Council report, by Councillor F. W. Stokes; 16th, Mr. Gilliland (League of Nations Union) will speak on the work of the League.

### SOUTHLEY AND NORWOOD.

The secretary reports "after the strenuous days through which we have just passed, we can now sit back, and our results of the Parliamentary elections of Hillsborough and Penistone make us convinced that our regular weekly meetings of the past four years have not been in vain, as our ambitions, so far as we were concerned in the General Election, were both realised. The committee extend their most sincere thanks for the enthusiastic way our members rallied to the call, and the way they undertook any demand made of them, and we hope no ill effects are felt by those who braved the unkind weather."

The splendid organisation of the Neepsend Ward was once more rewarded by not being called upon to fight the by-election caused by the elevation of Councillor J. A. Longden to the Aldermanic Bench. The selection of Mr. R. Fisher as the candidate was a popular one, and it is our hope that he is granted health to enable him successfully to do the work he has undertaken.

The last meeting this year will be held on December 12th, when Councillor Stokes will deliver the City Council report. The annual meeting will be held on January 22nd, when the election of officials and committee will take place and the financial statement presented. The committee also request all members to make a note that the "Mock" Cutlers' Feast, which was unavoidably postponed owing to the election, will take place on January 23th. The usual array of prominent societies have promised their support to a great feast, and everything is arranged for an enjoyable night.

The Women's Section have continued their weekly meetings in the guildroom, Southey-avenue, on Wednesday afternoons. Secretary: Mrs. A. Allen, 163, Everingham-road.

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## FASCIST FAILURE IN ABYSSINIA.

FASCIST Italy's war on Abyssinia makes progress slowly. We know that women and children have been murdered, that native levies are always put in the forefront of the battle zone, and that the son-in-law of Mussolini is a magnificent aiman who, as squadron leader, is able to swoop down upon the heads of an Abyssinian column, without aircraft, and without adequate defences against aircraft, and riddle their ranks with machine-gun fire. Any aiman can do that sort of thing. But Fascist exaltation must be fed with tales of Fascist prowess. The army itself moves at the pace of a tortoise, overlaid with tanks, guns, and the other paraphernalia of a Fascist host which must live on its belly. Geographical obstacles, unseasonable weather, and sickness, about which very little is told, together with disorganisation behind the lines, constitute the barriers, foreseen and unforeseen, to the conquest of Abyssinia. The Swedish military adviser who opined that the Italian army would never reach Addis Ababa, even without fighting may turn out to be the best prophet. Whether more than a small part of the Abyssinian army has really been mobilised as yet nobody knows. Now de Bono has been replaced by Badoglio; but whether for military or political motives is in the realm of conjecture. De Bono, the Fascist, returns home, having avenged the defeat of Addis. Badoglio, the Commander-in-Chief, is given the thankless task of winning the real war. If Mussolini loses his laurels in Abyssinia, Badoglio will share his ignominy.

### Sanctions Could Be Effective.

If Badoglio makes a desperate thrust forward, the difficulties of keeping the home fires burning will grow from day to day. Even weak economic and

## LABOUR'S COMPLETE RECOVERY.

### THE NEXT STEP: VICTORY WITH POWER.

THE General Election result is, like the curate's egg, a mixture of good and bad. The Tory Government continues in power. Its majority, though reduced, remains a towering majority, and is again utterly disproportionate to the total number of votes polled by the Tory Party. The Labour Party gained just under 190 seats and will have more than 150 members in the new Parliament, but it failed to reach the 200 level which had been predicted as its likely minimum by election experts generally. On the other hand the Government again will fall by over 1,500,000 votes, whilst Labour's poll increased by 1,750,000 votes.

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financial sanctions will grow at the ferocious constitution of Fascist Italy by a concursive growth. No degree of grandiloquent dissimulation can deceive the doctors who are sitting at the sick-bed of Fascist Italy. If oil, coal, iron and steel were no longer denied to her, and, forces and industries, we should have a honourable peace by Christmas. Germany and the United States, for motives of self-interest, prudence, or good-will, would be glad to do this to prevent such sanctions from becoming effective. The Committee of the Powers imposing sanctions had to meet to consider whether to give the last turn to the screw of fear. Unfortunately, political considerations still guide French policy into the morass of indecision or willful obstruction. As on many past occasions, the internal political situation prevented the Prime Minister of France from taking part in a meeting at Geneva, when decisions of the first order of magnitude would have to be taken. When the meeting takes place, it will be vital that the motives for forbearance, if that is to be the policy, should be publicly avowed. It is to be hoped that French statesmen should understand that if Mussolini is permitted to defeat the League of Nations through the connivance of France, every episode in this great struggle will be a precedent used in evidence against France during the days of trouble ahead. In the early days, Mussolini threatened to regard sanctions as acts of war, and had more than 200,000 men called up. If he should again threaten to treat effective economic sanctions as acts of war, it is to be hoped that a covenant of mutual assistance to support the first Power who may be attacked.

Every Labour seat in Parliament is equal to nearly 58,000 votes polled, whereas the value of every Tory seat is only half that number—29,000 votes; the Tories winning 361 seats with under 10,500,000 votes and Labour only 141 seats with over 10,500,000 votes. They were not wiped out altogether. Tory majorities of 1931 were substantially reduced, and only a slight increase in the Labour vote would have brought me thirty or more additional seats. In many parts of the country Labour was handicapped on polling-day by steady and at times heavy rains, and in some constituencies the Labour candidate had to do his best with a dozen or fewer casts.

In particular areas there were special political reasons for Labour's attack not succeeding. Railway centres such as Swindon, Darlington, and Derby were undoubtedly influenced by the eleventh-hour announcement of the railway development scheme and Government assistance. Then, again, the prospects of better employment as the result of the Government's increased armaments policy played a decisive part in industrial areas such as Leeds, Glasgow, and Birmingham. The "Daily Herald's" advance exposure of the Tory last-minute workers' houses and savings' scheme robbed this election list of a good deal of its expected electoral vote, but in some areas it did succeed in intimidating voters, and to that extent proved a considerable asset to the Government. But if Labour is disappointed not to have secured a larger representation in Parliament it has solid ground for being gratified by its largely-increased aggregate vote. The shock of the setback in 1931, together with the election eclipse, were expected to demoralise the Labour ranks for a considerable time. Yet within less than five years Labour has tripled its Parliamentary strength, and added a 25 per cent. increase to its total poll. Moreover its gains have increased enormously the Tory's debatable power, while Seagram and Hesse's have provided victories of a special psychological value.

Taking encouragement from the election that has just been held, the Labour Movement must begin at once the propaganda, educational and organising activities which will lead us to victory with power four years hence.

## JUSTICE FOR THE MINER.

### PUBLIC OWNERSHIP ESSENTIAL.

Norfolk could be more simple than the issue often is, which an crisis in the mining industry has grown. The miners are demanding a wage increase of 25 a day, and the owners are, more or less in dumb show, refusing every demand. Public opinion is overwhelmingly on the side of the miners, who have voted everywhere by an overwhelming majority about mining in the past. It is not surprising that such action should be found necessary. Even the "National" Government has thought it advisable, both before, during, and since the General Election, to make some boneless gestures in sympathy with the miners' claims. We hear talk of an immediate increase of 1s. a day; of legislative reform in the direction of a central selling scheme, the nationalisation of royalties, and state assistance in the carrying out of reorganisations and amalgamations. These are mere phrases. Nothing short of a wholesale nationalisation and nationalisation of all coal mines will suffice to remedy a state of affairs due to the selfish exploitation of a great national resource. The "National" Government, which is completely at the mercy of the coalowners and their subsidiary companies, is not at all likely to take any step in this direction.

### ROBBING PETER TO PAY PAUL.

It is a fact which not only the miners, but the general public are now calling

## THE PILGRIMAGE OF AN I.L.P.-ER.

"Proletarian Pilgrimage," by John Paton. (Routledge, 10s. 6d. net).

JOHN PATON, editor of the "New Leader" from 1920 to 1932, and Scottish organiser of the I.L.P., was considered by the Brightside Labour Party as the best man for the succeeding Lord Ponsonby as Member for Brightside Division. He is now the secretary of the League for the Abolition of Capital Punishment.

### WHAT A LIFE!

Born in an Aberdeen slum in 1886, he had a variety of small jobs (including that of printer) before becoming a barber. He became a member of the I.L.P. at seventeen years of age, took a situation as a specialist in beauty parlour treatment, followed by a spell as seller of ready-made fish teeth, and a further period as a milkman. He left the I.L.P. to form an Anarchist group, and came under police notice. He became the owner of a "Beauty Parlour," but during the war he was active in the anti-war platform, which ruined his business.

### THE SELF-MADE MAN.

The writer of this column can speak of him as a jolly good companion, witty and wise, kindly and discreet, with a large knowledge of the world and keen upon political questions generally. This book is both a great and a human document; an autobiography of struggle and achievement. The self-made man who is commonly understood as the man who has made a pile of money, but this is the story of a man who has made himself—a real self-made man! His first-class mind has happily led him to the writing of his life-story, which is full of life and energy and pleasantness, as he is himself.

### SPEAKER AND WRITER.

With an excellent speaker he was, what his wise and manly and attractive speech is. And that is a fine writer he is, too, with a rich experience of his life and of the higher figures in the strenuous period of the Labour Party's growth. Many vivid and sober critics have written appreciative reviews of this book in the columns of journals in which Socialism is as the plague.

### A MESSAGE FOR YOUTH.

Young men of to-day have a fine tonic in the reading of "Proletarian Pilgrimage," and can learn how their fathers

do mind that in 1930 the Labour Government gave the coalowners searching powers to deal with the difficulties which they then alleged as excuses for their failure to pay decent wages. Perhaps it was too much to expect that they would make a proper use of those powers; in effect they have largely abused in the endeavour, only too successful under the existing "National" Government, to increase profits at the expense of wages. Much of its fact most-of-the profit-making has been cleverly camouflaged by passing it on to the subsidiary companies. The coalowners are fond of posing as invincible though bankrupt capitalists who are nobly bearing the financial burden of a decaying industry as a duty they owe to the community. And on the subject of the effect of wages on them to show that as coalowners they are sometimes quite badly off. What they do not care very much to talk about is that, as partners in enterprises bound to learn on the coal industry, they are doing very well indeed. The objection of Peter to being robbed for the benefit of Paul appears less easy to sustain when it is found out that Peter and Paul are "in co" behind the scenes, and that, in any case, somebody else has to make good Peter's losses. This is very much the position of the coalowners relative to the miners and the public, and the more said about it the better.

fought hard for the things that are the essential framework of a society which is also a brotherhood. Cinema and greyhound races were not in existence, but resentment against poverty and injustice was refined into a high spiritual anger that was as hard as steel, and as flashing as lightning.

### MILK.

His stories of Glasgow milk-gleaned from personal experience as a milkman—are clear of errors and not in evidence, but resentment against poverty and injustice was refined into a high spiritual anger that was as hard as steel, and as flashing as lightning.

John Paton wants, and has worked for, a co-operative Socialism where profits and seats and interest have vanished. Keep at it, John!

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## LABOUR TRIUMPH IN NEW ZEALAND.

### DEFEAT OF "NATIONAL" COALITION.

The splendid victory of Labour in New Zealand is a tremendous encouragement to the whole Labour Movement. For the first time in the history of the Dominion, a Labour Government has been elected, and that at a time when a coalition describing itself, like our own Government, as "National", was appealing to the electorate on patriotic grounds very similar to those adopted by Mr. Baldwin as the basis of the recent Conservative campaign.

The Labour Party, fighting on a positive programme of economic reconstruction, pointed out that the reduction in unemployment during the last two years has been only some 16,000—largely due to the improvement in world trade—and that the Budget had been balanced at the cost of cuts in wages, salaries, pensions, and expenditure on public works. Labour in New Zealand opposes a programme of planned economy, productive development, and social reform.

It is proposed to establish a national credit authority (on the lines of the important National Investment Board which is an important feature of our own Labour programme) whose task will be the mobilisation of the national wealth for necessary schemes of development desirable in the interests of the productive public works to industry will be put into operation. A system of guaranteed prices for farm produce will be instituted, as the exchange difference between the value of the British and New Zealand pound is gradually reducing. As an immediate measure of social amelioration, the Government is pledged to reverse the false economy policy of the late Government by raising the salary, wage, and pension cuts which have been inflicted on workers during the past four years.

On this programme, Labour in New Zealand was sent to office with an overwhelming majority. It has secured 62 out of the eighty seats in the House, whilst the "National" Party has twenty, and the Independent Party eight. The "Nationals" lost twenty-five seats.

## FRANK TORY VIEWS OF THE RESULTS.

### GOVERNMENT'S INSECURE FOUNDATIONS.

MR. GARVIN made the following comment on the General Election results in the "Observer" on November 17th:— "As for the Ministerialists as a whole and for the big industrial battalions above all, let them not be misled by the disproportionate spectacle of their triumph as it will appear in the legislative scene at St. Stephen's when they look over once more to the Opposition benches. Giving the prize to the staunch bulk of the nation itself and not awarding the merit to themselves, let them remember that in the constituencies whereto they must appeal again in another few years, their present electoral foundations, though substantial, are by no means so broad and solid as their present Parliamentary fortunes are high.

"There has been a much larger change in the character of the voting than is represented by the Parliamentary effect. . . . A very slight shift in the voting last Thursday would have reduced the Ministerial ranks to half the towering predominance they again enjoy.

"Nearly all the abnormal majorities of 1931 are of course, seriously reduced. . . . But also, many more Ministerial seats than before are held by very slender margins which any considerable change of feeling towards the Cabinet in the future would wipe out.

"Last time National Government secured about two-thirds of the aggregate votes. Now the disposition is nothing near so much. Allowing for all factors (including a fair estimate for uncounted constituencies) National Government represents to-day about

54 per cent. of British public opinion and the Opposition about 46 per cent."

### LORD BEAVERBROOK'S WARNING.

Lord Beaverbrook's "Daily Express" gave a similar warning to the Government:—

"The Government are now offered a magnificent opportunity to repair mistakes made in years past. At home the people ask for a new drive against poverty and slums, and a real tackling of the distressed areas. Abroad they ask for peace."

"Don't forget the huge Opposition total. Poll. A not-very-big top swing might have carried things the other way."

### ARMAMENTS SHARES SOAR.

The Stock Exchange news in "The Times" on November 16th contained the following:—

"The Stock Exchange was greatly cheered by the results attending the national poll. Returns were made when the House opened were regarded as ensuring a substantial majority for the National Government, and in anticipation of many buyers of Government securities opened prices higher all round and quoted them as a rule higher than usual."

"There was again liberal support for the shares of the Ordnance and general engineering companies. . . . In the "Daily Herald" on November 18th, Francis Williams revealed that the preparations for better armaments in the City for a further big rise in armament and allied shares "as a result of the return of the "National" Government, the preparations for better armaments being urged to buy shares in companies likely to be affected directly or indirectly by armament contracts."

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## ALLOTMENTS AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

### GOVERNMENT'S MEANNESS EXPOSED.

THIS report of the Allotments Committee of the Society of Friends provides a striking illustration of the Government's meanness in its dealings with the unemployed. In 1931, the Central Committee for the provision of allotments, set up under the Labour Government's Land Utilization Act was dissolved, but at the end of 1932, the Government was shamed by the pressure of public opinion, into making an offer to re-visit the allotment work of the Society of Friends. The Government's grant, however, is limited (for the coming year) to £12,000, on a pound for pound basis, and in previous years has been limited to £10,000 on such basis, plus a further sum not exceeding £2,500 on a pound for two pound basis. The miserable insufficiency of the grant has, of course, made any large-scale development of the scheme impossible.

In the year ended August, 1935, the season's expenditure on the scheme was £33,128.

Subscriptions amounted to £11,270, and Government grants to £9,634.

By far the largest share of the income from the unemployed themselves, is the total of their penny-a-week subscriptions reaching £28,000.

Thus, the unemployed actually contributed more than half of the season's outlay, and £19,856 more than the Government's contribution to the scheme. Could any more soothing comment be provided on the "National Government's attitude towards the unemployed?"

Further, subscriptions to the scheme fell away during the year, and had it not been for the reserve fund available, which is now seriously depleted, the work would have suffered gravely. The season's expenditure exceeded income by over £3,000. Unless a reserve fund is to be reduced still further—and it is already regarded by the committee as too small—the subscription income must be increased.

Now has the necessity for the society's valuable work been in any way diminished by the much wanted improvement in the industrial situation. Assistance

is strictly limited to men who are in real need, yet whilst about 5,000 men passed out of the scheme last year, through obtaining employment, 8,000 more men came in, increasing the total assisted from 17,738 to 120,641. The committee's report says:—

"It cannot be too frequently emphasised that long periods of unemployment and existence upon a bare subsistence allowance have a demoralising influence, both morally and spiritually, on the sufferers. . . . Our committee has very definite work before it, especially since the numbers of men assisted are still rising, in spite of improvement in trade conditions. In many areas there has been a noticeable reduction in the numbers, but in other districts the number of unemployed men, especially in the C. I. S., has not even remained stationary; it has become worse."

## INQUIRE WITHIN.

THE annual Co-operative Congress report (1935 issue) has just made its appearance. The book—truly a massive volume of 726 pages—deals with the whole range of co-operative activity each year. The work is published by the Co-operative Union, Manchester, which embraces all co-operative societies in Great Britain and in Ireland. Reports appear respecting the work of the various Union departments. Activities in each of the sections of the Co-operative Union is described, and the statistical portion of the book gives details of the financial position of every society in the country. The reports of the national societies, such as the C. I. S., the Scottish C. W. S., the C. S. S., and the Co-operative Press are also included.

This is the most important co-operative volume published each year. The publication of co-operative statistics is matter of warm congratulation from various statistical societies in the country. The annual Co-operative Congress report should be every reader's public library in the country. The price of the volume is 3s. 6d., post free (lamp); 7s. post free (boards).

The Co-operative Union publishes other standard works on the co-operative movement, and is always willing to supply a co-operative bibliography free of charge on request.

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BUTTER—Danish. C.W.S. "Hayrick," and Empire at market prices.



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C.W.S. MINCEMEAT in jars, 7d., 1/0, and 2/- each.

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