



GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF MESS AND FUDDLE

By THE RIGHT HON. A. V. ALEXANDER, M.P.

The outstanding failure of the National Conservative Government has been in the realm of foreign policy, with disastrous effect on our prestige, our financial credit, and our relations with other powers.

Let us cast our minds back to last summer. The dispute between Italy and Abyssinia had reached an acute stage. Everyone was anxious to know what the attitude of the British Government would be.

MANCHURIA.

Everybody had recollections of their feeble attitude toward Japanese aggression in Manchuria. Moreover, there had been the insistent opposition of ministers to the taking of the peace ballot, during which Mr. Baldwin said:—

... a collective peace system, in my view, is perfectly impenitible in view of the fact to-day that the United States is not yet a member of the League of Nations, and that in the past two or three years two great powers, Germany and Japan, have both retired from it. It is hardly worth considering when those be the facts.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE.

Nevertheless, the Government, through the mouth of Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Foreign Secretary, made a pronouncement at Geneva, on September 17th, which reassured public opinion, and was welcomed right through the nation. Sir Samuel said:—

The ideas enshrined in the Covenant have become a part of our national conscience. My country stands for the collective maintenance of the Covenant in its entirety, and particularly for steady and collective insistence on all acts of unprovoked aggression.

Subsequent events, however, have proved that the main reason for that speech was to influence the vote of the British people at the General Election.

ABYSSINIA.

Before that occurred, however, Italy had been declared to be the aggressor in the Abyssinian dispute, a decision was taken to operate economic sanctions under Article 26 of the League Covenant, and the Government declared that:—

The League of Nations will remain, as heretofore, the keystone of British foreign policy. . . . We shall, therefore, continue to do all in our power to uphold the Covenant and to maintain and increase the efficiency of the League.

Later, it became clear that the Government had certainly not supported an effective application of the

economic sanctions. Indeed, Mr. Winston Churchill, in a newspaper article, expressed the view that sanctions had been applied in such a manner as not to hamper unduly the progress of the invader.

ELECTION PLEDGES.

Italy continued to receive supplies of oil, part of which must undoubtedly have been used for air bombing and gun attacks on the native population.

In view of the assurances of the Government in the election campaign, they got their majority, but within three or four weeks came the sorry spectacle of the Hoare-Laval proposals, under which it was proposed to give about half of the Abyssinian Empire to the aggressor.

The outbreak of public opinion which followed seemed to have amazed the Prime Minister, who told the House of Commons: "I was not expecting that deeper feeling which was manifested by many of my friends in many parts of the country on what I may call the grounds of conscience and honour."

To appease public opinion, Sir Samuel Hoare was sacked, but has since been reinstated in the Cabinet. His Lord Advocate, Mr. Baldwin evidently hopes that his friends in the country will have lost those deeper feelings on the grounds of conscience and honour.

But of far greater importance than these domestic matters is the reaction of Europe to the weakness and hesitancy of our Cabinet Ministers.

EFFECT ON GERMAN POLICY.

The failure to deal collectively, in an effective manner, with the aggressor in Abyssinia prejudicated the plans of Hitler, who evinces increased confidence and aggressiveness. At the same time, British prestige abroad has reached a lower level than at any time in living memory.

A further development, as a consequence, has been the rapprochement between Germany and Austria, in which Italy played an active part, and every-where there is now talk of the danger of an early war in Europe.

Meanwhile, in the main annual estimates for the Fighting Services, and in matters for the following year, the Government has been pre-emptive, the nation had been pre-emptive, the bill for the first instalment of the payment which will be required from them in consequence of the Government's betrayal of the League, and their complete lack of policy in international affairs generally.

REARMAMENT.

It is most significant that both in reply to questions and in course of debate, Ministers now no longer pretend

that their rearmament programme is based on the requirements for collective security.

Mr. Baldwin says it is needed because of the growth of armaments in other countries and the general insecurity of the international situation. Sir Thomas Lindsay, as Minister of Defence, says it is required for the defence of our homes.

The position taken up by the Government is a dangerous one. Unless they can be turned out of office, and an entirely new policy developed in Europe, an outbreak of hostilities on the Continent is more than probable.

If that should occur, the preoccupation of European nations with disturbances at home will not certainly lead to a further advance by Japan in the Far East. What, then, becomes of the defence of the British Commonwealth of Nations?

It is well for us to face the facts. For a period of nearly 200 years this country has not fought a major war without allies—and powerful allies. Without an effective League of Nations and the application of collective security, I think it is true to say that if we doubled the present armaments programme—even if we could afford it—we should still not be able effectively to defend the whole of the British Empire by British armaments alone.

Moreover, even with our present rearmament programme, Britain's financial position is becoming serious. In fact, if a Socialist Government were at present in office, facing an exactly similar financial position, all the high lights of the City of London would be demanding that they should be dismissed because of financial insecurity.

In 1931, the Labour Government was destroyed because it refused ruthlessly to cut the payments to the unemployed, to balance the Budget on the lines required by the financiers. They were told that the Budget was unbalanced, and in the figures presented to them the deficit to be met were included payments to the Sinking Fund of the National Debt and payments to America, with strong comments as to the increased difficulty of the position because of the adverse trade balance. What, however, is the position to-day?

PRESENT FINANCIAL POSITION.

(1) The visible adverse trade balance for the first six months of the year is £162,500,000, and unless an improvement is effected in the next seven months there will be a real adverse balance of trade and payments, even taking into account the full value of invisible exports and services.

(2) No adequate provision is made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for meeting Sinking Fund payments

on the basis demanded of the Labour Government.

(3) Debt payments to America, if not actually repudiated, have not been met for three years, and arrears have accumulated which now amount to over £118,000,000.

(4) In spite of the saving of over £30,000,000 per annum in National Debt interest by reason of the War Loan Conversion, the actual figure of the National Debt (including borrowings for the Exchange Equalisation Fund) is £383,000,000 more than on March 31st, 1931.

(5) Taxation has increased—in the case of income-tax to 4s. 3d. in the pound, while indirect taxation, owing to a wicked tariff policy, has advanced by £85,000,000 per annum since 1931.

(6) The Chancellor, within two months of his Budget speech, has declared that there is bound to be a deficit on this year's Budget, the only question being what the actual amount of the deficit will be.

(7) There can be no heaven-stentor remedy for this dire financial position, either by way of tariffs or by leaving the Gold Standard, for these remedies have already been exploited to the full.

In face of these staggering facts this country is being asked to spend money with a free hand. Tens of millions of pounds a year are being paid in subsidies to agriculture and other industries, and, above all, the expenditure this year on the Fighting Services will be £200,000,000 (gross), which, as the cost of the programmes inaugurated December, will rise to anything between £250,000,000 to £300,000,000 next year.

There is no security in unilateral rearmament. Mr. Baldwin himself has said that the man-in-the-street must remember the bomber will always get through. The only security lies in the restoration of collective action by the nations against any aggressor.

Steadfastly pursued and honestly applied when required, this policy could be made effective, not merely to punish an aggressor, but to prevent aggression. It would lead, in due course, to armament being of an international character; it would end the state of disgraceful protracting in arms which is already growing up in this country; it would give the nations time to get down to what is most urgently necessary—the consideration of the removal of the economic causes of war—and secure what cannot be obtained without the operation of collective security, a real reduction of armaments.

The Government shows no signs of repentance. The people should give them notice to quit.

NEW ESTATES ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

APPOINTMENT OF SECRETARY.

An important development in the life of the city is marked by the appointment of Mr. G. A. Holland, B.Sc. (Economics), London, to the post of secretary of the City Advisory Committee on New Estates.

JOINT COMMITTEE.

The New Estates Advisory Committee, the chairman of which is Mr. Maurice Cole, was established largely as a result of the efforts of the Sheffield Council of Social Service, for the purpose of developing educational, cultural, and civic life on the new housing estates.

The committee, which consists of representatives of the City Education Committee, Health Committee, Library Committee, and Finance Committee, in addition to various voluntary bodies, aims to develop a neighbourhood spirit in what would otherwise be merely rows and rows of streets. It is felt that the older neighbourhoods had their parish halls, so each large estate should be adequately equipped for this purpose with a community centre. The Manor Centre has already shown its usefulness. A temporary Community Centre has been established on the Wybourne Estate, and community associations exist on two other estates.

A HEALTHY CIVIC LIFE.

The aim of the Advisory Committee

and of the community associations is to develop local activities that will improve and beautify the estates, to develop a local public opinion which is necessary for upholding a neighbourly standard of life, to develop adequate means of expression and representation of the needs of the estates, to build up the local loyalties and attachments that are necessary as a foundation of a healthy civic life, and to create an individual sense of responsibility for the well-being of the estate as part of a great city.

THE RIGHT MAN FOR THE JOB.

Mr. Holland is well equipped for this work. He has had ten years of very successful experience as a tutorial class took the B.Sc. (Economics) here. He lectured in London and Manchester. He is a member at the London School of Economics; the Law Intermediate at King's College, London; the Diploma in Economics and Political Science with distinction at Oxford; and the Diploma in Social Studies with distinction at Birmingham University. He has already established a national reputation in more than one branch of social work, and we wish him every success in this new sphere of activity.

NEW ZEALAND LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S SUCCESS

A RECORD OF SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENT.

Last year the people of New Zealand elected a Labour Government for the first time in the history of the Dominion. Over twenty years of Tory rule had reduced the country to a state of dire content, and the late Tory Government was completely bankrupt in the economic policy for dealing with the economic distress. The Labour Party fought on a clear-cut Socialist programme, and won a sweeping victory over Tory reaction.

The first Socialist Budget was introduced by Mr. Walter Nash, the Minister of Finance, on August 4th. He opened his financial statement with a declaration of his Government's policy. "Our policy," he said, "is basically to organise an industrial economy that will distribute the production and services of the Dominion so as to guarantee to every person able and willing to work an income sufficient to provide him and his dependants with everything necessary to make the best kind of home life."

The main feature of the Budget was an all-round increase in pensions. Dealing with the cost of living, Mr. Nash announced that war pensions would be increased and the allowances to dependants of dead veterans restored. In addition, he announced—

- Old age pensions to be raised from 17s. 6d. to £1 a week, with the abolition of property disqualifications.
- Widows' pensions to be increased from 20s. to £1 a week, with 10s. for each child; deserted wives to be treated as widows.
- £1 a week pension for chronic invalids, with 10s. for the wife, and 10s. for each dependent child under the age of sixteen.

The money for these increases is to be provided by increases in income tax and land tax.

PUBLIC CONTROL OF BANKING AND CREDIT.

These reforms follow on a series of constructive Socialist measures already put into operation by the Labour

Government. Allowances to the unemployed and pay on all public works have been increased; a forty-hour week for industry has been established; a basic wage, to be fixed by the Arbitration Court, has been laid down with the stipulation that it must provide an adequate standard of living for a man with a wife and three children; wages of young workers have been raised on a graduated scale which reaches the basic wage when they become adults; dairy prices are also guaranteed for daily production.

But the most important measure has been that which, by making the reserve bank entirely a State bank, has given the Government complete control of the nation's credit system.

The Mortgage Corporation has been placed under Government control, and all its bonds are to be guaranteed by the State. With the control of the financial machine the Government is concentrating on the expansion of secondary industries and the development of new industries as the most effective means of providing full employment. The Government is also providing as much employment as possible through the acceleration of a sound public works policy, and by State grants to local authorities and other bodies for this purpose.

A comprehensive educational system, providing facilities for every child from the nursery school to the university, has been established, and during the coming session measures providing complete health insurance, pension, and superannuation schemes will be put through. These schemes will contain no Means Test.

The Tory opposition object to the Government's programme on the grounds that the increases in taxation will be detrimental to industry. But Mr. Nash was able to show that the sound financial policy of the Labour Government has resulted in no increase in indirect taxation, a reduction in the external debt, and a Budget surplus of £13,000.

THE MEAN MEANS TEST.

This would leave 18s., or 3s. 7d. per head per week for food.

But the British Medical Association Committee on Nutrition estimated that for this type of family the expenditure on food should (at present prices) be not less than 22s. 2d. a week.

A family containing five children ages one, four, seven, eleven, and thirteen years would be in an even worse plight. It would have only 21s. 31d., or 2s. 01d. per head per week, a minimum of 36s. 5d.

Sir John Orr, in his recent survey, found that a food expenditure of 4s. per head or less normally resulted in a diet insufficient to maintain physical standards, being according to modern physical needs, in indirect taxation, a reduction in the external debt, and a Budget surplus of £13,000.

The statement points out that an analysis made by the Unemployment Assistance Board last year showed that close on half-a-million children were living in families without resources other than the assistance given by the Board. How far in respect to such families do the scales fulfil the assurance of the Government that the Board would not only provide for the full requirements of healthy physical subsistence, but also promote the welfare of the unemployed? The following comparisons give the answer—

Take the family of an industrial worker with a wife and three children, ages one, seven, and nine years, paying a rent of 18s. 7d. (as assumed in a standard scale), and without resources. The assistance normally allowed would be 35s. a week.

3s. 01d. PER HEAD FOR A WEEK'S FOOD.

On the poverty standards adopted by the Merseyside Social Survey such a family would have to spend a minimum of 2s. 5d. a week on coal, and of 2s. a week on clothing, cleaning, and light.

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CO-OPERATIVE PARTY NOTES.

ATTERCLIFFE.

Our Attercliffe Party arranged their meeting in July to hear the view of their retiring candidate and to consider the position for the municipal election next year. The meeting unanimously approved the nomination of Councillor J. H. Bingham. After the Attercliffe Labour Party unanimously adopted Mr. Bingham, who will therefore now go forward as the Co-operative and Labour candidate.

We understand that Mr. Bingham's appointment as secretary of the Brightside and Carbrook Section of the Co-operative Party (in other part of this journal) will not interfere in any way with his nomination for the seat.

With the end of the holiday period in sight plans are in progress for a busy winter session. By way of experiment, the next monthly meeting will be held on a Wednesday evening, and it remains to be seen whether the members to report certain objections to Friday meetings are well founded, or otherwise. This inauguration may involve some rearrangement of the local club meetings which happen to fall on this particular night, but we have no doubt that these difficulties will be overcome. A new secretary is to be appointed in the near future, and it is hoped that other organisations have already been circulated for their nominations.

BRIGHTSIDE.

The Brightside Divisional Party held a good meeting on August 29th, when Councillor P. Buchanan gave an interesting address on City Council work. Councillor Buchanan is the retiring candidate for Fifth Park Ward, and has been re-nominated for next November as the Labour candidate with full Co-operative support. The members have little doubt that Councillor Buchanan will be returned. There is still time to join the party and link up with the democratic organisation, both for the municipal campaign and for the social and other events during the coming session. Secretary: Mrs. F. Ward, 58, Sneyers-avenue. The Burngrave Women's Section meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. in the Burngrave Vestry Hall.

HILLSBOROUGH.

The Hillsborough Divisional Party have their arrangements for the forthcoming season well in hand. During the holiday period several rallies took place. On Bank Holiday Tuesday the field-day in the Elms Trade Unions Sports ground, Clivedon-lane, Wadley Bridge, was a real success, in spite of the unsettled weather. A ladies versus gentlemen's cricket match, when the ladies scored 134 runs for seven wickets declared, against the gentlemen all out for forty-three runs, was an enjoyable affair. After lunch, races: prizes to the children being distributed by the president. It is reported that the adults may some day receive their prizes.

The opening social will be held on Thursday, September 27th, at 7.30 p.m., in the large institute. The first of the weekly meetings in the gymnasium will be held on Thursday, September 24th, when Alderman T. H. Watkins, J.P., will be the speaker.

The Women's Section organised an excursion to London on August 10th, which was a great success. The members have been busy preparing for the bazaar to be held on Thursday and Friday, December 10th and 11th, when the Right Hon. A. V. Alexander, M.P., and the Right Hon. Mrs. R. M. Wood, m.m. Secretary, will be in the Hillsborough Co-operative Institute, Middleton-road.

WADLEY AND WISEWOOD.

The section recently formed at Wadley and Wisewood have fixed up a grand attractive winter syllabus. A grand

opening social will be held in the new Institute, Wisewood, on Wednesday, September 16th, when the "Mirth-makers' Concert Party will be in attendance and the organiser (Mr. A. Ballard) will give a short address on "Why a Co-operative Party?" Mr. W. Berry (Co-operative candidate for the Hillsborough Ward) will be present. Debates, a Mock Parliament, and a number of socials, in addition to the speakers, will be features of the weekly meetings on Wednesdays in the Institute at 7.45 p.m. Residents in the Wadley, Wisewood, Main Bridge, and Woodland View polling districts are cordially invited to join this new section of the Hillsborough Divisional Co-operative Party. Membership fee: 6d. per annum. Secretary: Mr. W. Stephenson, 42, Fines-road, Sheffield, 6.

NEEPSEND.

The Neepsend area report they have carried on their monthly meetings during the summer, Councillor R. Fisher having addressed the members during July and August.

The second annual excursion took place on August 23rd to Buxton and Millers Dale. Good weather and pleasant company included Councillor R. Fisher, combined to make a very happy excursion. It was to be regretted that Councillor Stokes was unavoidably absent, as also was Councillor (Mrs.) Spence, who we regret is still confined to hospital. The September meeting will be held in the Institute, Manners-street, on the 8th, at 8 p.m., when Alderman J. A. Longden will be the speaker.

Neepsend regrets to report the passing of Mrs. M. Ellis, who has always been an active worker in both municipal and Parliamentary elections in the area. Mrs. Ellis never sought the limelight, but she always responded to any call for service. We should like to add our tribute to her self-sacrificing work in the past and offer our deepest sympathy to the relatives and friends she has left behind.

The women's section meetings in September will commence on Monday the 7th, when a social will be held. On the 14th Councillor J. Cobley—now a member of the Brightside and Carbrook Society's board of management—will be the speaker. On the 21st the women have arranged a service festival; and on the 28th Mrs. Velland will be the speaker. Secretary: Mrs. E. Watson.

SOUTHEY AND NORWOOD.

Alderman J. Hawk will give the City Council report on September 9th. "Our monthly meetings during the summer period have been well attended, and we are looking forward to a successful winter session," reports the Southey and Norwood secretary. "Members who are now drifting back from their holidays feeling much better, should note that we are reopening our weekly meetings on Thursday, October 1st."

"The Mock Cutler's Feast this year is to be a mammoth affair, as we are hoping to have it at Ye Olde Castle Restaurant. The usual five-course dinner will be served. Musical items and dancing will follow the installation of the "Mock Cutler." To prevent any "gate-crashing" we are putting on a small charge of 2s. 6d. Will all sections please accept a hearty invitation and reserve tickets by notifying the secretary as early as possible."

We are sorry to report that the secretary (Mr. G. A. Hobler) has undergone a slight operation in the Royal Infirmary and will have to relinquish his duties for the next few weeks. Correspondence should be addressed to the assistant-secretary: Mr. J. Gardner, 147, Everingham-road.

The women's section afternoon meetings recommenced in the Institute, at 2.30 p.m. on September 2nd, and an programme was: 9th, speaker; 16th, a business meeting and discussion; 23rd, Mrs. Bosworth will give an address; and

30th, open date. The section welcomes old and new members. Secretary: Mrs. H. M. Allen.

SHEFFIELD AND ECCLESALL.

The Sheffield and Ecclesall Section will commence their winter programme by a whist drive at the Co-operative Institute, Napier-street, on Monday, October 5th, at 8 p.m. This has been fixed up of meetings and social events to be held in the Institute every Monday, at 7.30 p.m. Co-operatives in the area are cordially invited to join. Membership, 6d. per annum. Secretary: Mr. A. Wainwright, 19, Delf-street.

The women's section will recommence their weekly meetings in the Napier-street Institute on Thursday, September 17th, at 2.30 p.m., when Councillor J. F. Williams will be the speaker. On the 26th, the afternoon will be devoted to reports from the summer schools, W.E.A. Conference, and the South Yorkshire and Lincolnshire Federation meetings. On October 1st the S. and E. Co-operative Federation Play-readers will give a reading.

Secretary: Mrs. E. Williams, 8, Dart-square.

SHEFFIELD & ECCLESALL
SOCIETY REPORTS BIG
INCREASES.

With a new and record annual business figure exceeding £2,250,000 and all-round increases in trade, share capital, and membership, the Sheffield and Ecclesall Co-operative Society Ltd. reports another very satisfactory half-year's trading period.

Sales for the twenty-six weeks ended July 30th amount to £643,141, an increase of £67,713 from the corresponding period of 1919, while the year's sales of £1,283,396 exceed last year's figure by £89,526, equal to 7.5 per cent. This increase, following as it does one of over 6 per cent. recorded a year ago, is evidence of substantial trading progress.

Nearly £50,000 increase is recorded for the year in members' share capital, which now totals £68,023, and there is £44,997 standing to the credit of 15,181 depositors in the penny bank department, or £2,798 more than in 1919.

New members to the number of 2,022 have been limited during the twenty-six weeks, the membership at the half-year end totalling 53,081.

Pasteurised milk sales during the half-year, 738,347 gallons, are an increase of 45,344 gallons when compared with the corresponding period of last year, making a total of 1,436,298 gallons for the year, equal to an output of just short of 11,500,000 pint bottles. The annual sales figure is, in turn, an increase of 96,793 gallons.

Work on three new branches—Sheldona Road (Nether Edge), Barnmouth Road (Abbeydale), and Dore—is proceeding satisfactorily, while a magnificent site of offices and a new cafe-restaurant have just been completed at the central premises, Ecclesall Road, making way for much-needed extensions in the neighbourhood of the furnishing department, which are expected to be completed by the end of September.

The committee recommend the payment of dividend to members at 1s. 10d. in the pound, a rate which has been maintained for thirteen half-years.

The half-yearly general meeting will be held in the Education Institute, Napier-street, on Tuesday evening, September 8th, at 7.30 p.m.

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THE SPANISH WORKERS' DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY.

The conflict in Spain is not a Communist revolution; it is not a conflict between "Left" forces and the forces standing for law and order; it is not a fight between "religious" and "irreligious" sections of the Spanish people.

The Spanish workers are fighting against Monarchists, Fascists, and corrupt Clericals, who are striving to overthrow the democratically-elected Republican Government by force of arms.

The present Republican Government of Spain was elected by the free votes of the Spanish people in February, 1930; it secured an absolute majority of sixty-three seats over its opponents.

The head of the Government is President Azana, a Liberal Republican, and there is not a single Socialist or Communist in the Government.

The Government was no sooner elected than the Militarists and Fascists, refusing to accept the democratic verdict of the people, began to plot an armed rising.

They were determined to prevent the new Government from bringing justice and order to a country where military reaction, social injustice, and economic misery prevailed.

The armed revolt began on July 18th with the officers of the Army in Morocco, and spread throughout the garrison towns. The officers carried many of the men with them. The men of the Navy stood by the Government and imprisoned the officers who were on the side of the rebels.

In this struggle against the rebels, the workers of Spain, irrespective of party, have willingly taken up arms in defence of freedom and democracy.

They are fighting to maintain representative Government, and their struggle is of vital significance to all men and women concerned with the triumph of democracy over Fascism.

SPANISH DEMOCRACY'S APPEAL TO THE NATIONS.

A MANIFESTO has been issued in Spain calling upon all decent citizens to support their democratically-elected Government.

The manifesto was signed by the leading intellectuals of all political parties, including the President of the Spanish Academy (an avowed Catholic), the head of the Spanish Medical Profession, and many other prominent figures, who have no connection with Socialists or Communists.

The Spanish Supreme Court of Justice, a Conservative body, has also issued a statement calling upon judges and magistrates to restrain themselves from the acts of the Fascist rebels are illegal.

Senor Martinez Barrio (Speaker of the Spanish Cortes) has made this appeal to the Nations of the world.

The Spanish Government is not Marxist, nor its army a Marxist force, nor the State a Marxist State.

The military rebellion was against the legally-constituted Government, and now the people, in arms alongside the Republican parties, are upholding the legitimate Government.

Because we Spaniards are a legally organised democracy, indubitably legitimate in its origin, we ask all nations of the world to respect our choice.

Help the Spanish democrats in their fight for liberty!

The National Council of Labour has issued an appeal to the British democracy for contributions to the International Solidarity Fund, which will be used for the relief of distress amongst the Spanish workers, especially the women and children.

Remittances should be sent payable to the Trade Unions Congress, to Transport House, Smith-square, London, S.W.1.

Give generously! Tell everybody the truth! Dispel the Fascist falsehoods!

HILLSBOROUGH MUNICIPAL CANDIDATE.

CO-OPERATIVE PARTY'S CHOICE.

MR. WALTER BERRY, the prospective Hillsborough Municipal Candidate for Co-operative and Labour Candidate for the Hillsborough Ward, comes to the district with a good reputation of co-operative and social work. His lectures on political economy, principles of government, and his interesting travel talks have already endeared



Mr. W. BERRY.

him to the members of Brotherhoods, Guilds, Labour Party sections, &c.

He has been a student of politics during the whole of his adult life; his father was a keen Liberal politician. Whilst Mr. Berry has always leaned to the Labour side, he was an early supporter of Co-operative politics and from the time that Congress decided to take this definite line in seeking representation.

He is "au fait" with municipal matters and proud of Labour's achievements in this city. Although he only received an elementary education he studied at the evening school to secure his matriculation certificate, and has since been taking the inter-economic course at the London University, following this up by economic geography, banking, and transport.

A member of the Sheffield and Ecclesall Society's board of management, a commercial traveller in his

(Continued at foot of next column.)

ANOTHER "NATIONAL" BLUFF.

MR. WALTER ELLIOT, the "National" Government Minister of Agriculture, speaking at Gog and Magog Hills, is reported according to "The Times" to have said: "The objective of the 'National' Government's agricultural policy are good and cheap food and a decent living for the people of the land."

Subsidies assured to the efficient producer a reasonable return, but retained for consumers the enormous advantage of low world prices." Mr. J. Has Mr. Elliot, with a remorseful conscience, turned his back on the dear and nasty food policy he was advocating little more than a year ago? True, the "National" Government has often changed its mind. A change in this direction, however, would be welcome.

The fact is, however, that the Government and Mr. Elliot are putting across another bluff, as the new best subsidy clearly shows. The price of beef to the consumer has been forced up 3d. per pound.

The predicted rise in the price of bread is another indirect consequence of the Government's policy. Has agriculture really obtained an advantage by the endless range of subsidies costing the consumer millions of pounds?

Mr. E. G. Gooch (president, National Union of Agricultural Workers), speaking at a meeting recently, said: "Millions of pounds are going to agriculture from State funds, but there is still hunger in the midst of plenty."

Farm workers were still the worst paid of any skilled workers, and nearly 70,000 of them had left the land since the "National" Government came in.

Mr. Elliot may delight in the fact that this country has increased its wheat production, but it is little consolation to the housewife who has to pay an increase in the price of her bread. It is little consolation or use to the unemployed who are to continue to suffer the Means Test. So far as State subsidies to producers are concerned, there is no Means Test. Mr. Elliot has pleased neither the farmer nor the farm workers and has robbed the consumer.

private capacity, he has a good knowledge of business and business methods. Old and young are to be experienced and young enough to be active. Mr. Walter Berry is just the man to represent the Hillsborough electors. He has the full support of the Labour Party and every section of the co-operative movement.

THINGS THAT CONCERN US ALL

LET'S GET THIS STRAIGHT!

Co-operative shops are not owned by the C.W.S. The boot is on the other leg. You and six million other co-operators own the retail shops and services. These societies, in their turn, control and invest capital in the Co-operative Wholesale Society—the concern which manufactures Foodstuffs, Clothing, Footwear, Furniture for co-operators.

When you realise this, and remember that the trading policy of the C.W.S. is to give fair wages, good working conditions, and honest value, then you will see that the only possible course is for you to "keep the money in the family" and

Buy C.W.S. Goods



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Gents' Gabardine RAINCOATS

Self-lined in three shades. Tail 34 in. to 44 in. chest

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Pure Egyptian Cotton - Smart check linings. In all sizes. 21/-

OTHERS 32/6 to 63/-

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YOUNG MEN'S and BOYS' RAINCOATS from 11/6

OUR BOYS' and YOUTHS' BLUE ALL WOOL GABS. are the finest value of their kind.

D.B. Belted, 3-way Collars, finished Art. Silk or All-wool. Check linings, interlined throughout

BOYS' 23/11 YOUTHS' 26/11

DIVIDEND 1/10 in the £

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JOIN THE NEW TRAINING CLUB JUST STARTING

Shares 24/- each

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COUPONS

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should be made at once.

CARDS from all Stores.

MR. BALDWIN AND THE
 DICTATORS.

We of the British working-class movement cannot merely record the rise, and fall of Mr. Baldwin, the supreme post-war lion of the British capitalist class, as an extraordinary political drama which does not directly concern us. For not only is Mr. Baldwin clearly frittering away the last opportunities of successful survival for the British Empire; he is also—and here we cannot pine;—making a new world remain in different—making a new world rest certain and immediate. For on Mr. Baldwin, when all is said and done, must rest the essential blame for the successive acts of betrayal which have profoundly weakened the forces making for peace in the world, and which have correspondingly encouraged every aggressor. It was Mr. Baldwin, and neither Mr. MacDonald (who had been appointed Prime Minister for purely decorative purposes) nor Sir John Simon, who held the real power in this country in 1921, when Japan was given a free hand for aggression in China. It was Mr. Baldwin who decided last year that everything—except what could be effective—should be done to prevent Italian aggression in Africa. It was Mr. Baldwin and not his coldness side-decamp, Sir Samuel Hoare, who decided to give France that assurance of support against German aggression in Europe which would alone have secured her support for the coercion of Italy in Africa. Finally, it was Mr. Baldwin who, last March, made the most fatal decision of all, when he prevented France from doing anything effective to prevent the remilitarisation of the Rhine.

Yesterday Mr. Baldwin was making an attempt to conciliate the German aggressor whilst he dealt with the Italian. That attempt, since it was carried out in quarter-hearted fashion, has failed. So now he is attempting, as he did in the Hoare-Laval pact, to conciliate the Italian in order to be in a better position to bargain with the Germans.

But the two dictators are not impressed. They have evidently drawn the conclusion that by a policy of alternate blackmail they can both get what they want; and they are proceeding to do so.
 —John Strachey in "Left Book News."

ROOSEVELT'S NEW "I" DEAL.

President Roosevelt has sent a special commission to Europe to study co-operation. Representatives of the Co-operative Union, including Sir Fred Hayward (Chairman), have already met the commission. The Union has placed a selection of co-operative books at the commission's disposal.

The American visitors are hoping to take back to the States information which will be of assistance to the President in his schemes for social reorganisation.

There is widespread enthusiasm in the United States of America to-day. Large consignments of co-operative books are sent to the States. The fact is that co-operation is an indispensable part of the modern States economy.

SPAIN : AN APPEAL TO EUROPEAN PUBLIC
 OPINION FROM REPUBLICAN SPAIN.

BY M. FERNANDO DE LOS RIOS

(Ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Spanish Republic, Member of the Cortes, Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Madrid).

The present political movement in Spain, which is called, more or less appropriately, civil war, has given rise to entirely erroneous opinions throughout a large section of the Press. I should like to believe that this arises from inadequate information as regards the nature of the conflict itself and the forces which it brings face to face.

As a matter of fact, the first thing which must come as a surprise to all impartial observers is the amplitude, the diversity of the shades of political forces which support the legal Government. To begin with, the Basque Nationalist Party, profoundly Catholic, Autonomous and Conservative, accords its unconditional support to the Government. It is fighting in the North of Spain, side by side with its enemies of yesterday, the loyal forces of the Left.

Then, if we examine the two "Manifestoes of Adherence" of the Spanish intellectuals, we shall see that from this side no support is lacking to the Government. The most exalted figure in Spanish academic life, Don Ramon Menendez Pidal (president of the "Academy of Letters"), a member of the "Moderate, Messrs. Marichalar and Jose Bergamini, who represent in Spain the Catholic movement symbolised in the French review "Esprit," Don Jose Ortega y Gasset, the most outstanding personality in Spanish philosophical circles, Ramon Perez de Ayala (ex-ambassador to London), and Dr. Maranon, who, in 1930, initiated with M. Ortega the movement "in the service of the Republic," have all declared in documents published throughout the whole of Spain "their complete attachment to the Government and to the people who are heroically defending Spanish liberty."

Moreover, none of the parties who co-operated in the formation and development of the Republic have defaulted: even the Progressive Party, founded by Don Nicolo Alcalá Zamora (ex-President of the Republic), and the Republican Party, led by Don Felipe Sánchez Román, student jurist and Professor at Madrid University, have placed themselves on the side of the legal Government and of legal Republican order. Thus the forces which far beyond support the Government go far beyond the limits of the Popular Front. Why, therefore, this insistence on making public opinion believe that only Communist and Socialist forces are involved?

The range of forces concentrated round the Government action is wider than those which, in the nineteenth century, defended individual liberty; century, defended liberty as a new movement inevitable in present and near future history; the masses, unconscious of its power and its ideals, visualising to the rank of a nation, visualising clearly and concretely the goal before it.

And France will certainly not be surprised at this progressive development of the popular conscience, since it was France, together with England, who was the great teacher of democracy in this domain.

It is evident that the democracy which is taking shape in Spain will have a profound social significance, and may even give rise to the development of new economic forms in industry and agriculture. But it must not be forgotten that the Spanish agricultural system was for the most part composed of collective communal estates ("haciendas comunales y de propios"), and that it was only in 1855, following the law of "desamortisation," that the present system, the cause of terrible poverty amongst the people, was introduced.

In a word, it might be said, in view of the historic times in which we are living, and the decisive role which the trade union organisations are playing in the present conflict, that the orientation of the Republic will henceforth have a strong social emphasis. In the midst of this struggle the Spanish Republic is not blind to what the democracies owe to France, who was the first nation in Europe to fight for human rights and liberty. It is, moreover, aware that the French have contributed largely, girding neither their efforts nor their savings to the economic development of Spain. It intends to see that these efforts are not forgotten, and that these savings, the interest on which shall be safeguarded, are encouraged to continue to aid our Republic. Spain does not fail to realise, nor does she forget, that these are the savings of the French, the savings of the humble folk who had considered her. She has upheld the tradition of loyalty and remembrance, and will continue to do so.

The triumph of the political elements attached to the Government will therefore mean the strengthening of Western European democracy and its cultural values. An analysis of the composition of the Spanish Popular Front leads to the conclusion that there, and there alone, are the elements to be found which defended the Allies' cause in the Great War.

On the other side are those who, for political and psychological reasons, gave their support to the Central military Empires, and whose sympathies now are with the totalitarian regimes.

Do not let us blind ourselves to the prospects which open up before us. Should it happen—a thing quite inconceivable at the moment—that the rebellious gain a victory, then Western Africa, politics, because of the Canary Islands, the Straits policy (Gibraltar), because of Ceuta and Melilla, and even Central

Spain will be lost to the Republic. It is a small number of Spanish intellectuals.—JIB.

Mediterranean politics, because, more especially, of the Balearic Islands, will undergo changes. As these three points are of vital importance for the two great Western Democracies, France and Great Britain, the whole European problem will be reversed. It is needless to insist upon the gravity in the immediate future, for nations having important interests in Africa, of the situation arising from the fact that Africans are being armed in order to transport them to the Peninsula to fight against Europeans. Certainly anyone having political responsibility, even though only slightly acquainted with African problems, will draw from these facts the inevitable conclusion. Neither I nor those who like myself, have a deep affection for France and a veneration for our country, desire the intervention either of France or of any other country in the dramatic events which are taking place in Spain. My deep and constant anxiety for the peace of Europe prevents my desiring, or even considering as possible, such an attitude.

But, on the other hand, there is one thing to which I would call the attention of France. Do not forget that the fact, as well as political reasons, there is only one legal Government in Spain, behind which is the national will expressed by the popular vote and the adherence of all the social forces which accept constitutional legality. And I ask France, with her broad-minded humanitarianism, her sensitiveness to historical claims, for the moral support and adhesion that springs from the comprehension of a great historic phenomenon which inevitably, because of the deep significance of the phenomenon itself, must have a repercussion on the future of Europe and Spanish America.
 (Translation from French.)

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MR. HERBERT MORRISON
CALLING.

Drass co-operatively if you want to be smart is the advice of Mr. Herbert Morrison, M.P., leader of the L.C.C., and Minister of Transport from 1929 to 1931.

"Everything in which I stand to-night has been bought from a co-operative society," told a London co-operative audience recently. "You should do the same, and then you would look as nice as I do!"

Mr. Morrison was wearing a dark grey suit, brown shoes, and the famous brown-rimmed spectacles.

"In co-operative trading the old capitalist idea of profit is almost eradicated," he said.

"The 'Co-op.' serves you from birth to death.

"Even when you are being carried to your last resting-place you can reflect: 'Well, I'm travelling in a 'Co-op.' hearse, so I'm carrying my principles to the grave!'"

- Later in his speech Mr. Morrison said: "We co-operators don't object to the manager or directors of a firm getting adequate pay for the work they do."

"What we do object to is the idle rich people who don't take any interest in their businesses or their workpeople, reaping huge profit for no work at all."

BRIGHTSIDE AND CARBROOK SOCIETY'S NEW SECRETARY.

LONG CO-OPERATIVE AND BUSINESS EXPERIENCE.



Councillor J. H. Bingham.

COUNCILLOR J. H. BINGHAM, who has just been appointed secretary of the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society in Sheffield, brings with him new just with a long co-operative and business experience.

He commenced his career as a clerk in a large mail order business, subsequently working in the statistical section of the municipal transport department.

EXPERT ON FINANCE.

For some years past he has lectured for the two years' course on business administration at the Sheffield University; he has a reputation for efficient work in large-scale business concerns. For the past few years he has been engaged on business reorganisation for a multiple shop concern, a public electricity authority, and several large engineering and steel corporations. He is a well-known authority on financial matters, and has contributed financial articles to "The Accountant," "The People's Year Book," "The Producer," "Co-operative Review," and "The Millgate."

A WELL-KNOWN LECTURER.

For eighteen years Mr. Bingham has been in great demand as a lecturer, giving practically the whole of his spare time to this work. For fifteen years he has conducted the Hillsborough Co-

operative Fellowship, dealing with a large range of social subjects, a rather unique organisation which has attracted unique and loyal membership. He is a big and loyal member. He is known to the guilds and co-operative educational institutions in the area as one of the pioneers in planning; his pamphlet, "If the Crows Were," is a forerunner of many of the planning schemes that are now being operated and considered. He was responsible for the resolution of the Sheffield City Council for the establishment of a local income tax, a resolution which was subsequently submitted to the Association of Municipal Corporations. He was a member of the special sub-committee appointed by the National Co-operative Party to inquire into this matter.

CO-OPERATIVE COUNCILLOR.

He is a direct Co-operative representative on the local authority. A member of the Sheffield City Finance Committee of the finance sub-committee of the education department, chairman of the Sheffield Development Administration has shown capacity in his new post that will serve him well in the largest of the cities in the North-Eastern Section.

For over a year he was engaged by the society in an advisory capacity for organising the administration in various departments, the beneficial results of which have been shown in the last two or three half-yearly statements.

Councillor Bingham has the confidence of all the democratic organisations in the city, his appointment is an extremely popular one amongst the members, and we wish him every success in his new post.

CONTINUED PROGRESS OF THE BRIGHTSIDE AND CARBROOK SOCIETY.

The half-yearly report of the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society Limited is not only a revelation of increased trade, but an account of new developments calculated to carry on the progress still further.

The sales for the half-year amount to £847,384, which is an increase over the corresponding half-year of £790,652, or 9.1 per cent. The turnover for the twelve months ended in the stupendous total of 1,091,612, and represents an increase of £144,185, or 3.3 per cent.

These are the best figures that the society has been able to present for many years and show increases on previous increases. After allowing for the usual interest and depreciation, over £3,000 for the death benefit fund, and nearly £3,000 for the employees' superannuation fund, there is an amount of £72,000 to be distributed as dividend and bonus to the members. An allocation of £700 has been made to the educational committee, and a balance of £2,500 carried forward.

The directors pay tribute to the work of the educational committee in the series of propaganda meetings they have promoted and on the future programme of meetings that have been arranged for the autumn and winter.

The increase in the gallonage of the milk supplied through the dairy department is another encouraging feature. For the year ending July, 1935, 2,849,660 gallons of milk were sold. This represented an increase of 72,838 gallons.

That the members have the fullest confidence in the society is shown by the increase in share capital, loan capital, and penny bank deposits, £73,000 having been contributed to share capital in the half-year, £16,000 to the loan capital, and nearly £30,000 to the penny bank.

The directors rightly stress the facilities they are offering in the way of home purchase, the interest charge on mortgage being only 4 per cent., and there are no costs over and above what would

be charged by any building society. Members wishing to purchase their own house cannot do better than use the facilities offered by their own society.

In the way of new developments the directors' report shows how the catenations at the new city stores will facilitate increased trade, and an enlargement in the number of services to the members' advantage. The new boot repairing factory is to commence work almost immediately and will give a quick, cheap, and efficient service to members such as the inadequate arrangements of the past could not possibly provide. Alterations are also projected in the bakery department, where the directors are aiming at supplying every member with all their bread and confectionery requirements to be delivered to their homes daily.

A new branch shop has been commenced at Staninning, another is shortly to be commenced at Ridgeway, and negotiations are taking place for sites at the Shirecliffe and Parson Cross estates.

ENCOURAGING C.W.S. FIGURES.

The latest figures relative to C.W.S. sales are distinctly encouraging. In thirty weeks up to August 8th, they have reached the huge sum of nearly £58,000,000, an increase of over 10 per cent. on the corresponding period. Other figures are to hand which show that this rate of progress has been more than maintained since August 8th.

Equally encouraging are the figures in reference to the supplies from the society's productive works, and here again the increase for the thirty weeks, in comparison with last year, is over 10 per cent.

It is officially stated that the movement of prices has to some extent affected these figures, but even making allowance for this factor, the C.W.S. must be steadily marching forward for record sales in the present year of grace.

CO-OPERATIVE CAMEO.

DR. ALBERT MANSBRIDGE, founder of the Workers' Educational Association, told a story recently of one old Labour co-operator, a plate-layer. He would have counted it a sin to have bought elsewhere anything he could get from the store. "I met him at a committee meeting," he said, "and saw him long ago, and saw him at Congress last year before his death. The co-operative store library, small as it was, had to serve for the reading of his son. Yet to-day that son is the foreman of workers in the world on the problems of cancer. To his marvelous insight and skill I owe my own life."

LAND WORKERS UNDER LABOUR RULE.

TWO GUINEAS A WEEK AND THEIR KEEP.

IN New Zealand, under a Labour Government, adult workers in the agricultural industry receive a minimum wage of two guineas a week and their keep. A Government Bill now before the New Zealand Parliament extends the law to all other industries the wages scale, already adopted for public works, of 16s. a day for a five-day week.

These facts were given in a statement made to the Press on August 22nd by Mr. W. J. Jordan, High Commissioner for New Zealand, who is now in London. He also expressed the view that the Labour Government is firmly established in New Zealand, and that if there were another General Election now its majority would be greatly increased because the people are satisfied that it is developing its Socialist programme on practical lines.

Mr. Jordan added that it had been proposed in anti-Labour quarters that a Labour Government came into power people would withdraw their money from the savings banks. Actually, after a year of Labour rule, deposits in the banks were higher by £5,000,000, than they had ever been.

DIDN'T KNOW THE SMALL.

At a council meeting of a small town it was suggested that an honorarium be given to one of the chief officials in recognition of his services to the town.

"One of the councillors said:—

"'Oh, but wot's good of giv' in an honorarium? Ten to one 'e could never play oue.'"

ALL CURED.

THAT Inspector "Look here, my man; don't you know that it is very unhealthily to have your house built against a pig-sty?"

Country Farmer: "Unhealthily? Why, we ain't lost a pig in ten years."

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 MILLGATE," which costs less than a penny, and beats the market at a shilling a copy. Order it at your co-operative store, bookseller, or railway bookstall.

MEN ON THE LAND. GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE.

OUR optimistic Minister of Agriculture boasted recently that his monopolistic policy had forced up farm produce by 10 per cent. in three years and brought prosperity to the countryside. He spoke of the too soon. The returns of his own department, now issued, of his own bill fills the land where wealthy accumulates and men decay.

During three years of increasing "prosperity," 76,000 more workers were driven off the land, 33,100 of them in the twelve months ended June, 1936. In one year, during which the Minister has been stimulating home production in the cause of national defence, 24,400 acres of the land went out of cultivation. Two, 153,500 more sheep were reared—enough to feed London for two years—on mutton—but the total head of cattle and pigs and fowl dwindled alarmingly.

For the farmer, now in receipt of doles from public funds exceeding £50,000,000 a year, there is the melancholy consolation that, although the conditions of agriculture is worsening, the less he produces the more he is paid. For the State and the consumer there remains the harsh fact that Mr. Elliott's colossal and costly marketing schemes are a failure.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND SPANISH CONFLICT.

PETRO NENZI pays a tribute to the important part played by the Spanish Co-operative Movement in supplying food for the Government forces and their families. This is also stressed in a report received by the International Co-operative Alliance from the National Federation of Co-operative Societies in Spain. The report states that on the outbreak of the revolt the executive committee of the federation passed the following resolution and sent it to the Minister of the Interior:

"Confronted by the criminal assault against the Spanish Republic, which represents the will of the great majority of the Spanish people, this federation manifests its adherence to the legitimate Government, and exhorts all Spanish Co-operative Societies and co-operators to give every assistance to the legitimately constituted authority, and to hold at its disposal both its services and its special knowledge in the matter of supplies."

The Spanish Government is making effective use of the co-operative societies' organisation, and all the societies in Barcelona, Madrid, and other towns are now amalgamated.

LADIES', GIRLS' and BOYS' FOOTWEAR.

Sperope Brand :

MADE UNDER TRADE
UNION CONDITIONS.
STAMP No. 12.

STOCKED BY ALL CO-OPERATIVE
BOOK DEPARTMENTS IN SHEFFIELD

AFTER SANCTIONS—WHAT? COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND NATIONAL ARMAMENTS.

By JACK BAILEY, in "The Millgate."

TWENTY-TWO YEARS AGO.

THE atmosphere of the recent League Assembly was heavy with gloom. It was due more to the absence of Hitler Abyssinia. The shadow of Emperor of nations was much more real than the substance of things present. Every delegate represented avowed his passionate animosity for peace, but meantime, it was not to be denied that the League Covenant must be backed up by powerfully-armed nations; the arms themselves, however, must not be employed. Are we to believe that the Government is either so stupid as it seems or so pacifist as it pretends? Or does it require that its own imperial possessions shall be in danger before it is prepared to advocate the use of military sanctions? The facts point that way. Italy has ruthlessly kicked aside all considerations of international law, but who among us can take the risk of throwing stones? All our forces are to be marshalled in preparation for the next law-breaker, and it may well be some day that we shall find it right and proper to enforce the law! And this is the Government behind which the nation rallied less than twelve months ago; it is the Government which was so indignant at aggression and covenant-breaking. How innocent those were who imagined that the conduct of foreign policy and of League affairs could be put into the firm, white hands of Mr. Eden and his friends. Capitalist Governments are not likely to become the instruments of clear and clean politics either at home or abroad.

THE OLD DIPLOMACY REMAINS.

Every nation is approaching the end of the old way of military strength to counter military strength; armies to face armies, brute force to overcome brute force. The causes of war and their removal has had scarcely a moment's thought since 1914. It seems that four years of war taught no new lessons with the learning, created no new statesmanship, and shook off none of the costly illusions which led the millions to their doom twenty-two years ago. Militarists have lost none of their self-confidence, and nothing of their arrogance; they cling tenaciously to their superstitions, and are encouraged to further expansion by the successful stand of their costly inefficiency. They are vain-glorious as ever, and are still regarded as fat patens of our manhood, noble examples to inspire our youth to heroic efforts on behalf of their country. Professors of League affiliations and professors of new international loyalties, the old allegiances and the old diplomacy still prosper. All the hollow and frothy hypocrisies which led the millions to their doom twenty-two years ago have found new days have found no less insouciance of their way back into the vocabulary of politics. Thus we do keep alive the memory of the dead generation which fought the last great war to end war.

LIGHT AT DERBY.

Mr. MacDonald, in his letter to Derby electors, made it clear that we have to thank the National Government for keeping the nation at peace, a task in which it had been embarrassed by the constant and persistent criticism of the Opposition! All the Labour Opposition in its own policy Government to be engaged in at least we should have with Japan and the other two wars, one with Italy, declared the co-Prime Minister, in the Government Beyond the measure which Italy there was taken against the use of the sword. This is not to be interpreted as the present pacifist. This is to be interpreted as the Government of gun-builders who are prepared to advocate. It was stated, in his opinion, was opposed to fore, the Government was opposed to the rise of effective sanctions—against Japan and Italy. On the other hand, the Government had been compelled to strengthen the defence of this country, and to embark upon that which we might arm-extension in order that we might be able to implement our obligations under the Covenant. Implementation of obligations under the Covenant might involve the use of that which the future occasion, would not employ military sanctions against Italy, there might,

some day, be an offender sufficiently weak to be overcome in the name of international law.

PREPARING FOR THE LAW-BREAKER.

This confused line of reasoning is typical not only of Mr. MacDonald, but of the Government as a whole. The League Covenant must be backed up by powerfully-armed nations; the arms themselves, however, must not be employed. Are we to believe that the Government is either so stupid as it seems or so pacifist as it pretends? Or does it require that its own imperial possessions shall be in danger before it is prepared to advocate the use of military sanctions? The facts point that way. Italy has ruthlessly kicked aside all considerations of international law, but who among us can take the risk of throwing stones? All our forces are to be marshalled in preparation for the next law-breaker, and it may well be some day that we shall find it right and proper to enforce the law! And this is the Government behind which the nation rallied less than twelve months ago; it is the Government which was so indignant at aggression and covenant-breaking. How innocent those were who imagined that the conduct of foreign policy and of League affairs could be put into the firm, white hands of Mr. Eden and his friends. Capitalist Governments are not likely to become the instruments of clear and clean politics either at home or abroad.

PREMIERSHIP TO LET?

IT is only a few months since Mr. MacDonald handed over the Premiership to Mr. Baldwin. For all the difference it made to the political situation the change might have been the other way round. The Press is beginning to busy itself finding an excuse for its proposed retirement of Mr. Baldwin, and is looking around for a successor. Mr. Eden and Beaverbrook see Lord Rothermere has ever been quite happy about Mr. Baldwin's Premiership. He was appointed without their consent, and had developed the habit of putting his own speeches and choosing his own quotations. They will never be quite happy until the Oath of Allegiance is brought up-to-date, and includes some reference to the divine rights of these kings in the meantime, they are quite content to pour sunny favours upon their friends, and lightning and thunderbolts upon the heads of any who fail to bend upon the heads of our polite days. Directors' orders are a good deal more effective—and fashionable. Of course, Mr. Baldwin may not share the views either of his doctor or of my lords continue to ignore them. On the whole, he has been an ideal mark-time Prime Minister, but someone will need to drive him and his feathers into the storm, says ahead. Applications from Mr. MacDonald's Parliamentary rambling Club are not likely to be invited. The essential qualification for a future Prime Minister is that he should not rest so long as there is one stone left upon another to remind us that civilisation once existed. Mr. Baldwin is sentimental enough to retain some vestige of regard for elderly ways of living.

NO CONSCRIPTION IN PEACE TIME.

A few months ago Mr. Baldwin stated that so long as he is Prime Minister he will not agree to the introduction of conscription in peace time. His comparison of military conscription with actively mild taxes contrast strangely with the bellicosity of some of his subordinates, who are alarmed to find that the army is not so popular as it once was. Mr. Duff Cooper (War Minister) was.

(Continued in next column.)

HOLIDAYS WITH PAY.

It is an example of one of those delicate ironies, with which our system of society so abundantly provides us, that the people upon whose labour society is built, and whose remuneration is lowest, are the very people who are entitled with pay are denied in the majority of cases.

About one-and-a-half millions of workers in manual wage-earning occupations receive holidays with pay, and in addition, there are several classes of non-manual workers to whom the principle also applies. The workers who obtain the very best of holidays with pay are deemed in the majority of cases. About one-and-a-half millions of workers in manual wage-earning occupations receive holidays with pay, and in addition, there are several classes of non-manual workers to whom the principle also applies. The workers who obtain the very best of holidays with pay are deemed in the majority of cases.

THE I.L.O. DRAFT CONVENTION.

The International Labour Conference, held in Geneva in June approved by ninety-nine votes to fifteen, drafted international convention providing for holidays with pay for workers in commercial and industrial enterprises. The paid holiday stipulated in this draft convention was to be six days annually.

Progressive as is the step suggested by the draft convention when conditions at present prevailing are taken into consideration, nevertheless, six days' annual holiday with pay is but a very meagre benefit for the majority of wage-earners to derive from the great civilisation so much vaunted by the apologists for capitalist economies. It was, however, too great a step for the British Government, and the passage of the draft convention was strongly opposed by the representatives of the British Government and the spokesman of the British employers. The British Government thus added to the already black record it possesses in regard to its attitude to international labour reforms suggested at the I.L.O. Despite this opposition, however, the draft convention was approved, and it now remains for it to be ratified by the various Governments.

RATIFICATION.

Recognition of the principle will not easily be won, and, unfortunately, the reactionary line taken by the British Government at Geneva will be followed by many employers in this country. Propaganda for the principle must be continued, therefore, and both the Government and the employers made to realise the right of all workers to payment for holidays.

The I.L.O. convention, even though it does not cover every class of worker, is a step in the right direction, and though there remains a long road to travel, the journey of a thousand miles begins with one step."

has been delivering broadside attacks on pacifism, which he denounces as a poisonous doctrine. He holds it responsible for the failure of countries to deal with the present crisis. His rancorous spirit indicates the kind of treatment which will be meted out to men who have long enough to harvest the fruits of its own folly. In the long run, the only effective way to prevent war is to multiply the numbers of those who hate it, and will refuse to have anything to do with it. To the extent that peace propaganda succeeds to that extent will it become more difficult for the military authorities to gain recruits. Mr. Duff Cooper himself, before the general election, was designed to show the brutality and hatefulness of war. Peace talk is evidently quite acceptable immediately after a war, but is out of place when war threatens.

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