



BRAMLEY for HILLSBOROUGH Labour's Fair Play

MR. W. G. BRAMLEY, the Co-operative and Labour candidate for the Hillsborough Ward by-election, has had considerable experience of public life in the Labour, Co-operative, and Methodist movements. He has taken up this candidature with enthusiasm in the knowledge that a Labour representative is needed in this working-class area. Mr. Bramley's experience amongst the



MR. W. G. BRAMLEY.

people has taught him that no one can so well represent the workers (by hand or brain) as the workers themselves. A director of a business with an annual turnover of £1,600,000, and treasurer of Labour and Co-operative organisations in the city, he has a good idea of how the ratepayers' money should be spent as any one of the so-called "business" representatives, with an addition to that knowledge in that he believes that all public money should be spent in communal rather than private interests. The by-election is brought about by the elevation of Mrs. Longden to the aldermanic bench. Labour can claim to have been particularly generous in this matter, as, although in the majority, they have given absolute proportional representation on the aldermanic bench to their opponents. A policy that was never followed by the Liberals and Conservatives, or the Citizens' Association, which finally emerged from a combination of these two parties. The late Sir William Clegg, their leader, was responsible for the statement "To the victors the spoils," in which he implied that the majority Party should retain the privilege of its many aldermen as they liked so long as they were in a majority. The Labour Party, having established this principle of equity, it surely should appeal to all fair-minded persons in the Hillsborough Ward that they should go to the Labour candidate, and thus give the Labour electors of Hillsborough at least one representative out of the three, and counting the aldermen that have come from Hillsborough, one out of the six. A vote for Bramley is a vote for fair play in municipal administration.

A SURVEY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

LOCAL

THE Tory-Progressive Party boasted that they were likely to recapture four seats in the recent municipal elections from Labour. Indeed, they went so far as to name the wards they were expecting to win. Of the four named only one was secured by the Tory-Progressives, and that due to the fact of many hundreds of removals from the Moor on to the Parson Cross Estate.

A strong attack was resisted so effectively as only to lose one seat by Labour whilst it was on the defensive. With their usual generous treatment in allowing exact proportional representation for the minority party in the Council Chamber, the Labour Party readily agreed to the creation of another Progressive alderman. Unlike the Citizens' Party when they were in power, and repeatedly refused to give Labour its just number of aldermen.

NATIONAL

The general position throughout the country is also regarded as satisfactory to the Labour Party.

At the time of writing the aldermanic elections have still to be held in a few boroughs, but the results show that Labour is in control of seventeen County Boroughs (as compared with twenty-two last year); twenty-three non-county boroughs (compared with twenty-one last year), and fifteen Scottish Borough Councils (as compared with fifteen last year). Among the County Boroughs, the results from Lincoln and Bristol are not yet available. The present position in Bristol prior to the aldermanic elections is that the Labour and anti-Labour parties have an equal number of seats, but the Labour Mayor gives Labour a majority.

The following is a list of the Councils under Labour control compiled from the returns so far available:—

- County Borough Councils.—Barnsley, Barrow-in-Furness, Beole, Coventry, Derby, East Ham, Gateshead, Merton, Tyneside, Norwich, Rotherham, St. Helens, Sheffield South Shields, Swansea, West Ham, West Hartlepool, Wigan.

Non-County Borough Councils.—

Barking, Blyth, Crewe, Dagenham, Eastleigh, Edmonton, Erith, Halesowen, Jarrow, Leigh, Leyton, Mansfield, Neath, Nelson, Port Talbot, Southall, Swinton and Pendlebury, Thornaby-on-Tees, Tottenham, Walthamstow, Whitehaven, Willeddon, Workington.

Scottish Borough Councils.—Ardmole, Clydebank, Cowdenhall, Cumnock, Dalkeith, Falkirk, Glasgow, Greenock, Inverkeithing, Wintour, Musselburgh, Port Glasgow, Rutherglen, South Queensferry, Tranent, Whitburn. Erith and Musselburgh are new Labour gains, and Greenock is a regain.

The following facts show that Labour is making progress in many different areas throughout the country:—

In Chingford although Labour lost five seats, the Labour poll was up 50 per cent.

In Lincoln the total Labour vote exceeds the opposition vote by nearly 80, and there was a contest in every ward.

Labour gained seats in the following towns where, prior to 1938, there was little or no Labour representation: Dover (2); Scarborough (2); Scitth (5); Prestwick (2); Llanthwy (1); St. Alban (2).

Labour made several net gains in Walsley (1); Great Yarmouth (5); and Leamington Spa (3).

THE "SHEFFIELD TELEGRAPH" PRAISES LABOUR CONTROL!

—Or Does It?

Having regard to the attitude of the "Sheffield Telegraph" to the Labour Party's administration in Sheffield, the frequent references to "extraneousness" and "mismanagement" during the municipal election campaign, it is interesting to compare this editorial viewpoint with their policy as advertisers. The following advertisement appeared in the October issue of "The Advertising World":—

"YOU WANT EXPANSION—"

expansion of retail outlets, customers, and turnover. Then go where the market is expanding. Go to Sheffield, where this modern steel age is producing an expansion on every hand. Industrial prosperity is creating a new Sheffield. The centre of the city is being replanned; large new suburbs are springing up—

Sheffield's total of 1,196 houses built in the last half-year was the highest for any local authority in the country, and private enterprise is also building on a very large scale.

Corporation sales of domestic gas appliances last year showed an increase of 55 per cent. over the previous year. Last year hundreds of these luxury refrigerators were sold by the Sheffield Gas Company than by any other gas company in the Provinces. In the same year electricity sales increased by over 65,000,000 units.

The population and wealth of Sheffield are rapidly expanding, and with them the selling opportunities. Sell to the key city of modern industry. Sell to the city of prosperity and expansion; sell to Sheffield through the "SHEFFIELD TELEGRAPH" and the "TELEGRAPH AND STAR."

'Sheffield Telegraph' Every morning. 'Telegraph and Star' Every evening.

Unless you use these newspapers you cannot secure effective coverage in the Sheffield area.

Publishing Office: Sheffield. London Office: 200, Gray's Inn-road, W.C.1.

GETTING TOGETHER

Mr. Alexander Suggests Closer Association with America

MR. ALEXANDER suggested to Mr. Chamberlain that in relation to the Nazi pogrom the United States and Britain might act together.

The Prime Minister asked for time to consider his reply. We would like to think this means that he will in fact discover if the American Government and its people would be willing to associate with us in common action.

If they proved to be ready it would give profound satisfaction in this country.

That co-operation could begin, not so much with protest—protest is wasted—but with a statement in plain terms of just what the English-speaking world thinks of this kind of persecution.

Such a pronouncement would not deflect Nazi policy. That proceeds in careless defiance of world opinion. But it could be a manifestation of faith in certain abiding moral values by two great countries, and its significance would not be lost upon the world.

If it fails to be proclaimed, then action in the spirit of that faith must follow.

And it does so happen that it is within the power of the United States and of the British communities throughout the world to take action. America has set the example. Her President proposed the Evian Conference, an simultaneous offer to widen the doors of immigration to refugees.

There is no British territory anywhere, save a few over-populated islands, which could not extend to some of these tormented people, and particularly perhaps to the youth of German Jewry, to an opportunity to escape from the horrors of night into the sanity of daylight.

Let the British and American heads be put together. It would be a pride and an encouragement to all the kindly and peaceful nations.

—Daily Herald, Nov. 15th.

Christmas Greetings To Our Readers

AT THE CITY COUNCIL

By COUNCILLOR H. SLACK

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 interesting, the most
entertaining collection of
stories, articles and poems
published.

What?

"THE MILLGATE," which
costs sixpence, and binds
the magazine at a shilling.
Order it at your co-operative
stores, bookseller, or
railway bookstall.

"OUR CIRCLE"

MONTHLY - ONE PENNY

A Clean and Popular Magazine for
Young Folk. Full of Stories,
Pictures, and Competitions.

Editor: Mr. G. Co-operative Press Ltd.
Lomb Millgate, Manchester, 2.

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FOR GENTS AND BOYS

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Brand:

IS THE MOST RELIABLE

TRADE UNION MAKEUP No. 1

Can be found from any
Co-operative Boot Department
in Sheffield.

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HAVFFORD WORKS, KITTERING

YOU WILL LIKE

"MYLYTA"
UNDERWEAR

Produced in a variety of charming
styles, at moderate prices

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Manufactured by
the Makers of the

"ASHFIELD" BRAND

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

The first business of the November meeting is to elect the Lord Mayor for the following year. There were five usual speeches which are almost identical each year, but on this occasion there was a change. Heretofore, it has been the custom of the newly-elected Tory, Progressive Lord Mayor to tell of the pretty bad conditions that prevailed in Sheffield when they entered the Council so many years ago, and then refer to the great improvements of the present time. They have even quoted figures showing the advance in the Health Services, Education, Housing, &c. There must have been some whispering in the Tory-Progressive Party that the greatest improvements have been made during the past twelve years whilst the Labour and Co-operative Parties have been in control of the City's affairs. However, no propaganda was given away this year.

The Council adjourned until 3 p.m. for the Lord Mayor's luncheon, where palate tickling and further back-scratching takes place.

RATES AGAIN.

At three o'clock commenced the real business of Council. The Town Clerk read a letter from the Ratepayers' Association demanding a reduction of rates. This Association is supported by the employing and property-owning class, who would benefit by such reduction, though the working-class would suffer in the reduction of essential social services. The letter was referred to the Finance Committee.

THE TORY-PROGRESSIVES MERELY OPPOSE.

The first minutes of the Council were those of the Town Planning Committee. There were the usual batch of questions from Tory-Progressive members, mostly concerning the new sites for the Wholesale Fruit and Vegetable, and the Wholesale Fish Markets in the Wicker. All the questions showed an individual interest rather than the welfare of the community as a whole. Alderman Jackson, still suffering from his disappointment at the municipal election results, wanted to know what was to be done with the site adjoining the Albert Hall, for which compulsory purchasing powers are being sought. What he really wanted to tell Councillor Asbury was that if Labour were not going to take the Progressives into their confidence with regard to this matter, then, at every stage of the Bill they would vote against it.

There are two important things about this, first, the admission that the Tory-Progressives do vote as Alderman Jackson tells them, and, secondly, that Tory-Progressive spleen comes before the interests of the City.

Councillor Asbury, replying, said that Alderman Jackson and his friends had been taken into confidence, and news what was taking place. The Tory-Progressives had said that the Corporation ought to acquire the site—this was what the Council was being asked to do.

W.E.A. GRANT CHALLENGED.

A number of committee minutes were then carried without question or comment in the Transport Committee minutes, when Councillor Illiterer wanted to know why this committee voted £20 each year to the Workers' Educational Association. His interest was obviously more on the £20 than the educational facilities which the Association provides.

There were several individual-interest questions re Tenders asked by two or three Tory-Progressives.

ANOTHER 1,200 HOUSES FOR THE OVERCROWDED.

A number of recommendations were asked regarding the recommendations that two contracts of 500 houses each (additional to the present housing programme) be advertised forthwith, such houses to be used for the rehoming of persons who are living in overcrowded conditions. The questions of the Tory-Progressives were, where was the site? Had the Finance Consultative Com-

mittee been consulted? What would be the cost?

In the debate Councillor Asbury said the Council was entitled to some explanation from the Progressive Party as to whether it had any real interest in the housing question at all.

He quoted from a Progressive leaflet of 1934 which stated that it was not the primary duty of the Corporation to provide houses for people to live in, and that the Progressive policy was to make it worth while for private builders to build houses for those who needed them.

A.R.P.

Councillor Asbury made an appeal on behalf of the A.R.P. The Deputy-Lord Mayor, Alderman E. G. Rowlinson, described deficiencies reached at a recent meeting of the A.R.P. Committee of the Association of Municipal Corporations which held that A.R.P. must, in the first instance, be a Government responsibility like other defence services.

SPREADING RATE PAYMENTS.

An amendment opposing the confirmation of a minute of the Parliamentary and General Purposes Committee to vary Section 2 of the Rating and Valuation Act, 1925, in its application to Sheffield by providing that the Corporation may rate the owners of premises not exceeding a rateable value of £10 instead of £15, as specified in the Section. A number of questions were asked.

Councillor Asbury, in reply, said the number of ordinary properties which would be included in the extension totalled 13,556, and Corporation properties 4,862. He said there was a large number of working-class people who were dependent on weekly payments, and who had been obliged to live in houses above the compound limit. It was thought that the extension would be of great advantage to them.

Councillor J. Green, moving the amendment, said he was strongly opposed to the further extension of compounding in rates. He did not think it good for the City. The amendment was defeated by forty-six votes to thirty-nine.

Great annoyance was caused to the new Lord Mayor by members of the Tory-Progressive Party trying improperly to claim a registered vote. The Lord Mayor expressed his resentment to one councillor in particular.

EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

The apprehension felt by the Workers' Educational Association about the future of education and democracy in this country, and the present at its conference recently, will be shared by the co-operative movement, with which it has been closely allied since its formation.

It is a far-sighted individual who can put a period to the demand for money for armaments, and none but the foolish or come-what-may followers of the Government [perhaps they are the same people] will close their eyes to the possibility of cuts in social services (including education) or further increases in taxation. Hence and the co-operative movement.

Co-operators have both a political programme which would obviate the necessity for either the cut or the increase, and sooner or later—the country will rather than value and to the need for its adoption. Meanwhile, the co-operative movement and the W.E.A., each in its own possible for the benefit of both, can increasingly useful to and for the working-class movement. Co-operators are sure instruments for the preservation of peace battleships and bombing machines.

CHRISTMAS AND CO-OPERATION

Let's Celebrate

PASTRIES and presents; cards, crackers and carols—in other words Christmas will soon be upon us, of course, as with our readers a very merry Christmas. Thanks to their co-operative Christmas, it will be a merry one for most of the eight million co-operators. Co-operative is the bumper affair in the Christmas market. When co-operators spend in co-operative stores—buying gifts for the friends and the ingredients for the feast—there is always the dividend to come later. So just for once, it doesn't matter if they overspend a little. Then again, people who buy at the stores of satisfaction and relief that is certain Co-operative factories produce goods under the best conditions, and with workers who receive decent wages and conditions of employment.

People desire a good deal about the season of peace and goodwill at Christmas time. Curiously, it was at Christmas the first co-operative society opened its doors, and the co-operative movement has been a general Father Christmas for nearly a century. So Christmas is really a co-operative birthday.

A CAROL TO REMIND YOU.

Good King Wenceslas looked out
On a frosty morn'g in December,
And he saw the stars
Carol again during the coming year.
It is one of the kindly stories handed down to posterity. Wenceslas was a Bohemian king, and when people hear the carol they can't but think of the modern Bohemia which is part of Czechoslovakia.

Recent events there have imposed awful burdens on the people. Many of them are deprived of their livelihood as a result of the Munich agreement handing over to Germany important parts of their territory. Not only that, but many of the Czechs who lived in the Sudeten areas have been seized by the Germans and sent to concentration camps. Homes have been broken up and suffering and want are afflicting masses of the population in a country which has been economically straitened.

CO-OPERATIVE HELP FOR CZECHS.

The International Co-operative Alliance has organised a fund to relieve the distress among the co-operators of Czechoslovakia. Societies have been asked to subscribe, and the response so far has been generous. The co-operative movement in the Sudeten area has already been liquidated, and this means was among the members of the International Co-operative Alliance, and ever ready to assist other national movements in distress. Mr. H. J. Day (general secretary of the I.C.A.), in a circular to societies, stated—

"Every man and woman of good will in the world is ready, no matter of what race or creed, to give a debt of gratitude and sympathy to the people of Czechoslovakia for the sake of humanity which has accepted that

Co-operative members are urged to give generously as possible to the Czechoslovakian Relief Fund, and thus emulate the spirit of Good King Wenceslas.

WORLD PEACE

The Co-operative Union Central Board reviewed the international situation at a recent meeting. Grave concern was felt for world peace. A resolution was adopted by the Board urging that public opinion should be raised in order that a world conference might be arranged at which the Treaty of Versailles, national boundaries, and economic boycotts would be re-examined, and a new era of peace opened.

Thus, once again the co-operative movement has given a lead for the establishment of peace. It is the hope of the co-operative movement that the present delicate situation would never have arisen. Mr. Chamberlain has recently denounced the Versailles Treaty which the co-operative movement criticised twenty years ago.

CO-OPERATORS RECKON THE COST OF "APPEASEMENT"

By H. J. MAY, Secretary, International Co-operative Alliance

In our relief at the avoidance of war we have not yet realised the shameful price and the questionable means by which this modern armistice has been obtained, still less the process which it holds for the future freedom and independence of our great British heritage of freedom.

Amongst our co-operative friends in Czechoslovakia we have learned something of the real methods and effects of the Munich Agreement, which, beginning at Berchtesgaden, advancing to Godesberg, and making a detour at Munich, resumed the forsaken track under the auspices of the so-called "International Commission," and threatens to become a permanent institution for satisfying the insatiable demands of Germany as and when they arise.

Our Czech friends tell us, with all the bitterness of the betrayal they have suffered, that our country cannot make good the great and irreparable losses they have suffered. If co-operators of Great Britain and France, or of any other of the still free countries, wish to make good the wrong that has been done it is first necessary that they should visualise the situation that has been created, and also estimate the value of the cause. In Western democracies have sacrificed honour, justice, and truth.

Get rid of the delusion, so sedulously promoted, that the dismemberment and occupation of Czechoslovakia is merely the readjustment due to Germany as the result of an evil Treaty of Versailles. It is nothing of the kind!

The greater part of the Sudeten territory ceded to Germany has been the territory of the Czechs for one thousand years. Its inclusion in the Czechoslovakian Republic was in no way dependent upon the peace treaties, because it was her an integral part of Bohemia and Moravia for centuries.

It is true that the new frontiers were drawn by the peace treaties to include Germany and Polish areas which no soldier served as the excuse for the vilest destruction of a country which the modern world has seen.

With the history of these past few months comes to be written from the Russian Commission, which prepared the ground, to the International Commission, which is still obediently making out the claims, the people of this country will understand how they have been duped into crying peace when there is no peace, and now in offering charity to those who have been fully wronged in our name.

LIKE AN ARMY ADVANCE

One of my principal tasks, set me by the I.C.A. Executive, was to ascertain the present situation of the co-operative movement in Czechoslovakia, and of both the Czech and the German States. In order to understand properly how far the economic roots and foundations had been destroyed, I spent some time in studying, with the aid of expert guides, a large map on which the new frontiers of Czechoslovakia by a method by which they could be changed from day to day, following the decisions of the precious International Commission, and the actual taking possession by German troops. It was something like the advance of an attacking army taking up new positions as their advance became apparent.

Space forbids a detailed description of the new frontiers, but let it suffice to say that anything more fantastic than the lines which have been drawn it would be impossible to imagine. The redrawing of the frontiers at Paris had at least the merit of plausibility on paper if not in fact.

In Czechoslovakia to-day they are masterpieces of cunning for reserving to the aggressors the vital economic resources of a country which, owing for its lack of access to the sea, was, until a few short weeks ago,

one of the most richly endowed lands in Europe.

Wages and towns by the score have had their means of transport cut off, and the costs of marketing their agricultural products increased. Wherever it has been possible to "rope in" by a twist of the new line a profitable town, or a valuable economic enterprise, the line has been so drawn.

CO-OPERATIVE POSITION.

The German co-operative movement in Czechoslovakia comprised 140 societies, with assets of little short of £1,000,000 sterling. This will not seem a great sum to British co-operators, but it must be remembered that the German population was much less than half of that of London, also that it was not the only movement operating in the Sudeten area. Its shops number 1,550, and all of these, except thirty-one, are in Sudeten areas.

The Czech co-operators, on the other hand, has by far the greater part of its societies within the new frontiers. It has lost to Germany, however, thirty retail societies with 700 shops and over 86,000 members. The assets represented in these losses are over £250,000. In addition to these it loses fifty shops which are extensions of Czech societies into the Sudeten area, and four societies into the Polish area of Teschen.

Given the opportunity to function normally, which at present is not by any means certain, we have no doubt that, in a reasonable time, the Czechoslovak movement will make good its own losses.

The German movement has no such chance. Practically the whole of its assets are now in the Third Reich, and therefore, under the National Socialist regime, there is no hope that they will be saved any more than the great German movement which passed under Nazi control in 1933. Its shops will go on the way to its journey's end.

This we know, that already, particularly in the north, societies have been closed, their stocks disposed of by local officials, and their members party. The thousands of German fugitives from the Sudeten areas

INTEGRITY

BRAND

"13" M.P. VESTS AND PANTS

Underwear De Luxe

Made at GIBSTON CO-OPERATIVE WEAVING LTD. GIBSTON

AFTER exhaustive tests over the last twelve months we are using the new unshrinkable REFON "DR-1-S-O-L" Pure New Wool, absolutely UNSHRINKABLE

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include many co-operators. The Czech movement alone has on its hands a large number, approximately 1,600, of the employees from the Czech societies in German territory who have fled to Praha on the arrival of the victors in this bloodless war.

LIVING IN FEAR.

The German Union and Wholesale Society have their headquarters in Praha. The offices are still there, and day by day a great number of men and women go in and out, and occupy their usual places while they wait the fate that they know not, but greatly fear. Their only hope, a very slender one, is that they may be allowed to remain in the city where they have worked so long, even when their livelihood is gone, as so it must, and that quickly. The alternative for them is forcible return to Germany or emigration with the resources of charity.

Some are already in Great Britain constituting for us a serious problem in the endeavour to find employment for them here or overseas. A period of preparation with the consequent costs of training will be necessary in many cases. As we write, the news comes that their families must follow them, and shortly they will be here. It is to the solution of this problem that co-operators must address themselves, not merely as a gesture of co-operative solidarity, but as a humble offering in some sort of compensation of the wrongs that our rulers have brought upon an innocent people.

HALLAM FOR LABOUR

By CHARLES S. DARVILL, Prospective Labour Candidate for the Halifax Division

In spite of the fierce array against them, the members of the Halifax Divisional Labour Party are already entering the fray in preparation for the next General Election. Darvill, Dearmer, and Bridgewater have all implied their vote for forward with heightened enthusiasm for the storming of the Tory strongholds in Hallam.

According to a recent Press report, Sir Louis Smith, the present Tory M.P. for the Division, told a gathering of his supporters that if he were opposed at the next election he would be ready if he wanted. Well, I can tell Sir Louis, right here and now, that the opposition has already commenced with a campaign throughout Hallam with the intention of defeating the friends of Hitler. As prospective Labour candidates, Darvill, I shall not leave him long for Hallam as to whether he has an opponent.

Sir Louis Smith appears to be a Chamberlain fan, and is under the mistaken impression that the majority of the electors are of the same opinion.

I am one of those emphatically opposed to the pro-Fascist policy of the present Premier, and I am prepared to go on any platform in Hallam and expose the man who has put the narrow interests of his class before the interests of the people of this country. Far from having saved us from the horrors of war, Mr. Chamberlain has helped to make war more inevitable by entering the Fascist alliance and assisting to break up the possible Peace Front. The very fact that recruitment is to be speeded up shows how little reliance is placed upon the results of the Munich agreement.

An interesting illustration of how class comes before the interests of the people is to be found in the recent rejection of the idea of a Ministry of Supply which might possibly check profiteering in the armaments industry. Consistent with the policy in Tory eyes, a splendid idea—but conservation of wealth? Oh, dear, no! Instead of that there is to be an independent Advisory Committee of business men, i.e., the very people who are making the profits, in order to see that others of their class are sharing in the profits. Consistent with the policy of Hallam will appreciate the joke.

There is already a splendid band of workers who are going to see that the people of Hallam are told the facts of the situation, and made aware of the constructive short-term programme of the Labour Party which can alone give peace and security to the common people. Every class of worker will stand from a Labour Government, and we have no hesitation in asking for the support of the most numerous and important section of the community in its own interests. But we need more helpers still, and every lover of peace and democracy who can give us active support in the campaign will be most cordially welcomed in our midst.

DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE POLICY SHEFFIELD MAGNATE SPILLS THE BEANS

Sir Arthur Balfour, the eminent Sheffield industrialist who later became Lord Riverdale, makes frequent pronouncements on political as well as industrial matters. A comparison of two speeches, both of which were reported in the "Sheffield Telegraph," and quoted below, gives some idea perhaps as to why Russia was ignored and how the crisis culminating at Munich arose.

Incidentally it would appear now that we were prepared to take Italy as an ally against Germany. Such is the inconsistency of Tory policy in international affairs.

SIR ARTHUR BALFOUR—1933

"With regard to Germany, something was bound to happen. The people there lost everything in the war. While Germany was wonderfully equipped, so warlike and industrially she was scientifically and technically the head of the young people since the war have been almost all. Either they were to have Communism or something else, or they produced Hitlerism as we see it to-day, and of the two I think it is preferable. Will the Germans go to my aid? I don't think it is any good asking it. I am almost persuaded that it is. I am almost persuaded that some day we shall have to let the Germans arm or we shall arm them. With the Russian menace in the East, and the tremendous menace in the East, Germany unarm'd in the middle is always going to be a plain wailing wretch for the Russians to play upon which we could not defend themselves. One of the greatest menaces to peace in Europe to-day is the totally unarm'd condition of Germany."—"Sheffield Telegraph," October 24th, 1933.

LORD RIVERDALE—1938

"When you once get a dictator to the position where you can't hit him he has to go to war; if not he goes out. . . . We have to put our hearts in it and get ready and be ready, because we can't go on like this. Some day the break will come in Germany and I am not at all sure from within and not from without. I cannot see that regeneration driven to the point it is there to-day can continue. I think that if there is trouble in Europe Italy will be on our side. I think Mussolini was very helpful to Mr. Chamberlain at Munich; I am glad to see this political pact with Italy. Their interests and ours are not contrary in the Mediterranean, but Italy's and Germany's might be."—"Sheffield Telegraph," November 17th, 1938.

FREAK.

Conductor (to gentleman who ascended to top of bus, leaving two ladies inside): "Are you the gent. with two inside?"

THE NATION'S RESOURCES WASTED No Planning Against Profiteering and Exploitation People's Protest

Mr. Alexander Voices the Government's
On November 15th, Mr. Alexander wound up the debate on the King's Speech by an indictment of the Government's domestic policy in a speech which showed that profiteering was taking place side by side with unemployment and a restrictive social policy. Below we print extracts from Mr. Alexander's speech.

"It has not generally been recognised that in the last few years His Majesty's Opposition have rendered a service in putting down to the Address of His Majesty an amendment dealing with home questions. The general response to that amendment which we should be entirely favourable in all parts of the House, but the debate has revealed a concern in all parts of the House about the condition of the people in relation to the great and outstanding problems which this nation undoubtedly is now being called upon to face. I am sure that My Hon. Friends welcome the contributions which were made to the debate yesterday by such Members of the House as the Right Hon. Gentleman the Member for Spaldwick (Mr. Amery), the Hon. Member for Northfleet (Mr. Cartland), the Hon. Member for Stockton-on-Tees (Mr. Harold Macmillan), the Hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Kerr). However much they may differ from us in their political allegiance and in the final remedies to deal with the matters which are raised in our amendment, we are glad to feel some of them at least recognise that the problem of unemployment and that of malnutrition, which always follows the problem of unemployment, are not only a great handicap which we have to take into account in facing the task which lies ahead of this nation, but that the feeling engendered among our workers by the existence of these problems goes far to prevent their unity which is now being regularly asked for by Hon. Members of different sections of the parties that support the National Government—unity which is the preparation for the great defensive programme which, it is said, is to defend democracy and freedom.

SOCIAL JUSTICE FIRST.
"I would, however, thank My Hon. Friends on the other side, that I should have preferred their contributions to have been made years ago, and made for the achievement of the purpose rather than for the sole object of having a temporary unity behind a defence programme. The fact is that the overtures which are being made to some of us at the present time with regard to unity have to be examined very carefully as to the purposes its advocates have in mind, and whether the social programme about which we have heard so much from Hon. Members on the other side is only to be used as a bait to lead to indirect compulsion, or whether this is, indeed, as we hope it may be, a recognition that a plan for social justice in the world can only be adequately supported from this country if you first give social justice at home.

"We had speeches yesterday from the Ministers of Health and Labour. In the case of the Minister of Health, I felt that he certainly made no real attempt to deal with the case which is put by my Hon. Friends in the amendment which I have just put forward. He was occupied principally in dealing with quite a long official brief, which gave long lists of figures of un-doubted achievement in the various services in the social services. No one wants to underestimate for a moment the advantages which this country has obtained in the application of the social services up to date, although I think it only fair to my Hon. Friends on this side to say that probably more than half, if not a larger proportion, of the social services which people enjoy to-day is the result of continuous agitation and pressure from the working classes themselves. The Minister of Health, however, except for a little irritating answer now and again to some letter from my side, made no attempt at all to put before the House a policy of the Government for attacking the fundamental problem of the residue of unemployment in this country, covering over 2,000,000 persons; nor did he make any attempt to deal at all adequately with the accompanying problem of malnutrition and under-nourishment, which was assessed,

not necessarily for Members on our side, but by such Members as the Right Hon. Gentleman, the Member for Spaldwick, who actually told the House his view that not less than 25 per cent. of the children in our country to-day are under-nourished.

SPECIAL AREAS.

"The Minister of Labour, on the other hand, made only one important pronouncement. I want to say at once we were grateful for that announcement. It was an announcement, right at the end of the speech that, in response to the pressure of many of My Hon. Friends, the Government will be considering the Special Areas legislation by means of the operation of the Expiring Laws Continuation procedure.

"What strikes me about the debate so far to this has been no real reply whatsoever to the gravamen of the Opposition's indictment of the Government, which is to be found in the central wording of the amendment—

The failure of Your Majesty's advisers to recognise that the real strength and prosperity of the people depend upon the fair mix of the resources of our country: human and material, and upon an equitable distribution of wealth.

"It is not because our case has not been stated by us that we have not had a reply. I should like, however, to reinforce the cases that have been put by a couple of questions to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I would ask the hon. Gentleman of all: Do the Government consider that the resources of the country, human and material, are, in fact, in this hour of national need and stress, in full use? What are the resources which the Opposition had in mind in putting down their amendment? Those resources are: Land, men, plant, and finance capital.

TWO MILLION EMPLOYED.

"We had a very long and detailed speech from the Minister of Agriculture this afternoon, but even the Minister of Agriculture, who continues to see workers removed from the land, as was put to him by his own side, at the rate of 20,000 a year, could possibly say that our land is fully occupied from the agricultural point of view. On the contrary, the facts are that thousands of acres continue to go out of cultivation. Nor do I think that the Minister of Labour could argue—and, to be fair to him, he does not—that our human material is being fully utilised. However, he may have tried last night to explain the differences he saw between the number of registered unemployed and actual unemployment, he knows as well as I do that when we take into account the adjustments which have been made on the basis of publication of Unemployment Assistance figures since 1921, three separate millions of men are published to-day more than just on any day of the week which is a working day. It would find nearly 2,000,000 people employed from 1921 to follow their normal occupations. This is the only basis on which we can assess the actual volume of the unemployment problem. The next to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Minister of Health, even in the middle of this great drive for rearmament, will stand up and argue that the whole of the existing industrial plant used for machine production in this country is fully utilised. Indeed, the story we have heard to-night in the speech of one Hon. Member is a very patent illustration of the way in which the plant of a particular industry is being kept idle for ten days ago, the plant of one of the leading capital cities in the light steel industry told me that for a long time past they had never been able to make a start with their machinery until Wednesday mornings; it was closed down on Mondays and Tuesdays. I do not think much of the organisation

of the Government at a time when they want to make a country united in their great rearmament programme, if that is their aim, but they are in Sheffield. There is a very great deal that can be done to get that industry that can be done to get that industry into a happy state of affairs, and how much idle plant and space there is.

"Let us turn to the fourth point, finance capital. Is there any doubt, at the end of years of depression and only partial use of national resources, that in these years of depression the system of the distribution of the product of capital and labour has been such that there lies at the disposal of a very enormous class only in the community an enormous surplus of finance capital? The Government take credit for their influence in fixing a cheap money rate, but the Government cannot deny the fact that in these years of depression the capitalist-owned tremendous volume of finance capital which surges through to them every time they make a Treasury Bill issue, at a rate on an average of not more than 10s. to 12s. per cent. for the investor, is not the money to use which they can put their capital for the time being. Or take, not the Government issues on Treasury Bills, but the more recent industrial issues. Take three in relation to Bechams; take the last new issue a few days ago of James Rags Milling Combine; take the recent issue issued by the way of the various War Stocks. In each case, there were millions asked for, and in a few minutes, ten, twelve, and even twenty times the amount of capital asked for was subscribed. There is no question at all of the volume of finance capital available.

"The real point we are putting to the House, therefore, is this: In face of unemployment, of malnutrition, and the need for a united effort for national strength, is it beyond the wit of man to bring together the resources of idle finance, idle men, plant and idle finance capital? The Chancellor should answer that question. We do not believe that it is beyond the wit of man; but we do believe that it is beyond the power of the Government which binds itself to a system of restrictive social policy as its first objective, and, secondly, the maintenance of a system which distributes that profit inequitably among the various classes of the community. I apply that to the present classes.

EXTORTIONATE PRICES

FOR LAND.

"This land, first of all. Can there by any doubt that the principal reason why land is not fully utilised, not merely for agriculture, but for industrial and social purposes, is the grip in which it is held by private ownership? Ask any member of the House who has been to the Labour Batches who wishes to acquire land for social purposes to get on to the House, as they have done, and give their testimony as to the toll they have paid the Minister of Agriculture got to-day was when he noticed the landowners. I would ask the heads of the Service Departments just to let the Chancellor see the actual figures which he has paid in the last three years for derelict agricultural land for the purpose of the nation's rearmament; for built-up areas, for air bases, for barracks, and such objects. These people have no patriotism. These people who call now for unity on bleeding the country on this question for the last three years have been in reply to a question of mine on March 26th last, he said that, when it was suggested that we ought to take all out of the supply of materials, he

wondered how Hon. Members thought we were going to have any materials made at all? Do not let there be any doubt about the profits."

"Mr. Reamer: What about the co-operative solution?"

"I am delighted to answer that question. I do not want to take up too much of the Chancellor's time, but let me refer to the Hon. Member for Macclesfield (Mr. Reamer), who knows a great deal more about it than his recent question seems to imply, that the co-operative societies do not work for profit. They do not create for their members a surplus between what they pay for their goods, and what they ultimately net out of those goods, and that is returned to them. I am sure that we can be taken of this by the Prime Minister's theory in relation to how you can produce armaments. I have no doubt that in regard to profits it could quite find its way in the area of steel trade, but let me take another. I see that during the last two years the profits of the firm of Handley-Page have been £100,000 and £120,000, and that in the year ending 1933 the search organs which I have here, their capital has been so increased by the issue of bonus shares during the course of this rearmament programme that the firm has now 2,000,000 ordinary shares held in 1935, the shareholders now holds approximately £22 million of the pound he originally held. This year a final dividend of 20 per cent. is being paid, which in total capital of approximately, therefore, £11,000,000 to the year 1935, they will pay of £365 on every £100 which was originally held. In other words, a nice distribution in 1938 of 365 per cent. on the capital of 1935. How can the Government can justify calling upon workers for sacrifices in the face of this? It can come to others. The Bristol Aeroplane Company, with their profit going up year after year, from £570,000 to £340,000 a year ago, now has £1 of reserves for every £1 of the capital held.

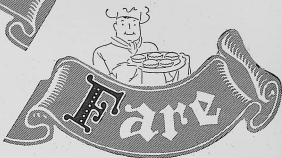
THE POOR HAVE TO PAY.

"I intended to say a great deal more but I want to give the Chancellor of the Exchequer time to reply to the debate of the last two days. All that I can say further is that if the Government persist in their policy, then I believe that a truer word has yet been spoken than that spoken by the Right Hon. Member for Bow and Bromley (Mr. Latchford) last night, when he made a prophetic and he was absolutely right—that if the kind of thing is pressed it will be the poor, the poorest of the poor, who will pay the price. We are facing the Budget. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has to face the Budget, which will come in a few months' time, a Budget which already commits this country to an expenditure of £5,000,000,000 in the next year. That amount does not include the revised Air Estimate, which I gather is to be about £2,000,000,000.

"So far in this debate we as an official spokesman of the Government to indicate that they have departed from the policy with which we change their amendment. They have been in office for over seven years and have performed the most powerful an average Parliamentary history. They have done so largely to the present national and world dangers. They appear before us in that worst of all aspects of a Government inoperative in the face of a threatening coalition. We are yet to be facing a policy in the handling of the present affairs or from the efficiency of the preparations for defence. It is the only cancer from which the body and the nation are in danger. It is a Government to-day that this is a Government which can lead us anywhere but to disaster."



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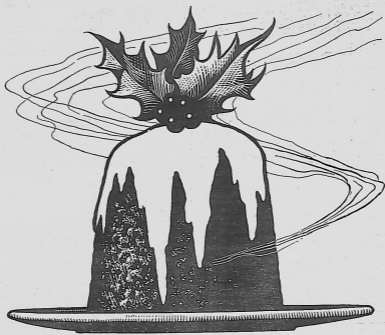
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