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Socialism and the City

How to Remove Chaos and Put Order and Beauty Into American Cities

By Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee

In recent years I have been conscious of an impelling urge to preserve in permanent form some of our many and novel experiences in the conduct of municipal government in Milwaukee. Having served our city as an official for twenty years, I have accumulated a store of information, ideas and experiences which, if recorded, might prove helpful not only to those actively engaged in municipal service but also to citizens everywhere interested in good government.

To discuss a huge and complex subject as here attempted within the few pages of this essay it is necessary to proceed with extreme brevity to unfold, step by step, the problems which will present themselves to anybody undertaking to permanently cleanse municipal government.

We ask the critical reader to be mindful of the fact that this little essay was written hastily and sporadically, in short snatches of time taken from each day's strenuous routine of varied official duties.

If in some way this exposition will assist the citizen to develop a keener sense of civic duty, if it will otherwise contribute something in promoting better government, and thus help humanity, I shall consider myself well repaid for the effort.

What Makes a City?

Let us first define exactly what is meant by a city. Is it the physical structure, the tall office buildings, the huge manufacturing plants, the rows of residences interspersed with a more or less haphazard arrangement of neighborhood stores, the streets and boulevards, the parks and playgrounds? Do these constitute a city?

Take away the multitudes of people who inhabit the city and you have left a barren conglomerate of unkept structures not unlike an abandoned cemetery. It is the people, the men and women who toil with brain and brawn, who keep the wheels of industry whirling, who stimulate the life-blood of commerce and trade, and support the structure of government as an instrumentality for their mutual well-being: these men and women make a city.

A city then, in the broader sense, is a community of people, who band themselves together to secure for themselves the things that are vital to a happy, productive, orderly existence.

To comprehend a city merely as a political entity without regard to the conception that its creation is for the purpose of rendering service to its people, leads us into dangerous territory. The city is made for and of the community, and not the community for the city. When those charged with its administration lose sight of this truth, they are most likely to operate it as an instrumentality for self-aggrandizement, special privilege and graft. Chaos inevitably follows.

What Is the Goal?

An analysis of the issue, "High vs. Low Taxes," leads us to observe that, if the tax rate alone determined or had influence on where industries or businesses would locate or where people would live, surely Africa would be the ideal place to go. Locations might be found where there are absolutely no taxes. Since there is still much of wilderness and aborigines on that continent, they might even find labor there cheaper than in China. I assume the savages who might be induced to work in the factories do not even demand clothes.

If this example is too extreme, then surely the factories would pull up stakes from the larger communities and at once settle in the small villages throughout the country where, because of the lack of public service, taxes are at a minimum.

This, however, does not happen. Industry, business and wage earners flock to the large centers where service is rendered by the municipal government and where the tax rate is not only high but, because of increasing services rendered and other upward trend.

The truth is that the tax rate is a very inconsequential factor in the location of modern industries. Not 2 percent in most cases, of the gross receipts of business go into taxes, while from 30 percent to 50 percent is paid out for labor, and the expense for raw materials may run from 20 percent to 30 percent. Obviously business and industry paying living wages go where they have good transportation, where there is a supply of high-skill mechanics, where a community will supply all of the needed service promptly and efficiently. As a consequence we find our population rapidly drifting to the larger centers.

The student must, therefore, note that the issue of high taxes is the Punch and Judy show between two sets of political fakery. Service is the essential factor. What are you getting for each dollar expended? A community with high taxes will be much more prosperous and content if service is rendered at cost than another where taxes may be low but the community robbed by private agencies performing functions that by right should be more

efficiently rendered by the community itself. Service, not dollar-worship, must be our goal.

Serviceable Government and Opposition

In one of the schools in Milwaukee there is an exhibition of rabbits which are brought up on white flour rolls and coffee. The bones of these animals are frail and brittle. The teeth are poor and weakly joined to the jaw bones. In another compartment are rabbits fed on vegetables, whole wheat flour, and milk. These animals when dissected show the opposite condition. The bones are strong and powerful, good teeth are firmly joined to the jaw bones, and their health is vigorous. Is it possible that the dentists might be enlisted as a group to support an administration which offered to place a similar exhibition in every public school and which might eventually lead to cutting their business in half? The first group of rabbits mentioned were so weak as to be unable to reproduce, and were afflicted with rickets and all manner of disease. The second group were free from all of this. Would it be possible to unite enthusiastically the medical fraternity back of an administration after it offered to extend the activities of the Health Department in this and many other directions that would reduce the business of the doctors?

In a few of the schools on Saturday afternoon, motion picture exhibitions have been given at 1c to the school's pupils. The films shown are educational as well as entertaining. Is it possible that the theater owners could be induced to support an administration offering to provide this type of film generally to the city's school children and thus deprive the private exhibitors of this source of profit?

Let us take, for example, the acquisition of necessary real estate by the city. In developing a healthy playground and public park system, in the building of public structures and widening of streets, a great deal of real estate must be bought. The writer will illustrate with a half block of property fronting on a given street which has once been widened. The owner offered this half block to the city for something like \$750,000. The city's real estate agent reported to the Common Council that the city could take the 50 feet frontage off the property needed for street widening purposes and that he had a customer ready and willing to buy the remainder of the property at a price equal to the total cost of the entire land. Thus the city would have acquired the property for street widening at no cost whatever. At this stage of the proceedings certain representatives of real estate men appeared with loud protests that the city was going into the real estate business; that it was contrary to the purpose of government to engage in such activities; and that the city should condemn only the 50 feet it needed for widening purposes. The Common Council, dominated by non-Socialists, forthwith complied with this protest and proceeded to condemn the required 50 feet. The courts decided that the piece was worth \$950,000. Since that time the owner has refused. I am reliably informed, the sum of \$2,000,000 for the remainder of the property.

Non-Socialists Hinder Good Plans

Scores of similar instances could be mentioned here of actual happenings in Milwaukee where the city has been deprived of utilizing opportunities that would have expedited and promoted public improvements at greatly reduced cost because enough non-Socialist aldermen could be lined up to defeat the move on the cry that the city should not engage in private business. Volumes might be written to more definitely prove the point that the greater the public service the better off the community from every point of view.

Still it is a fact that when an administration attempts to promote even a reasonable program of expansion of necessary services the business world is welded into an almost solid mass by the cry that this means "Socialism" and the intrusion of government into private affairs. They are so firmly wedded to this idea that it is next to impossible to get a hearing before a business group to prove to them that, under municipal operation of a public utility, service is being rendered elsewhere and can be rendered in their community at about one-half the cost to them if conducted by the government itself. The fear is so firmly planted in their minds that it is dangerous for the government to engage in private business that they can easily be arrayed in a solid phalanx in actively opposing any administration which dares to pursue such a policy. The writer wishes to emphasize that, as in other cases, there are exceptions. Here and there a man can be found, in all positions as well as in business, who will stand clearly and publicly for what is right. We must confess, however, that the instances are few when business men will support unequivocally a new political party which stands for the program that has already been inti-

ated and which will be hereafter more fully discussed. How Municipal Service Benefits the People

Some time ago the writer was invited to address a meeting of the League of Michigan Municipalities. Among other things, the delegates discussed what they believed to be a most serious problem. It was to the effect that the newspapers printed only the mistakes and blunders in municipal government, that little or nothing was ever printed about the good side of local administration, that these officials were not newspaper men, that the merits of municipal service were not getting a fair presentation to the electorate, that already the disgust of the electorate was so general that not more than one-half could be induced to vote in any election, and that there was great danger that, unless some solution was found, government itself would be seriously undermined.

On his return trip the writer naturally rolled over in his mind these things that had been said, and knew it was the feeling of all sincere local officials. He recalled that back home he, too, was being subjected to all sorts of wild charges of excessive expenditures, that the big business men generally were condemning even the state because of alleged reckless extravagance and unfair taxation. Upon arriving home the writer gave out a story of what he had heard at the Michigan conference and stated that he was going to do his part to set the electorate right by offering to debate either one of two propositions with any one in the city:

First, that the large business interests in continually damning the government because of high taxes were doing more to undermine faith in republican government than all the Communists in the world.

Secondly, that the municipal administration of Milwaukee was rendering every public service from 20 percent to 30 percent cheaper than the same could be performed by any private contractor or individual.

The reader may assume that surely among the many research experts, learned professors or critics of government, several would be found who would readily accept this challenge and appear on the public rostrum and show up the extravagances of government and how money could be saved by turning over its various activities to private contracting firms.

While at least three years have elapsed, no one has come forward to meet the challenge. The reason is, dear reader, that no one who studies the facts would dare to meet this challenge.

A municipality is not burdened with the extravagant overhead of a private institution. We can well afford, in a city like Milwaukee, to pay the minimum wage, which we do now, of 60c an hour for common labor, while private industries, in some cases, pay as low as 30c an hour, and still, because of the very small overhead expense and because we do things on a general scale, render the service far cheaper than any private concern could do.

Take, for instance, the collection of garbage. A private firm must first acquire the necessary equipment. Next it must pay the men that gather the garbage. Then it must employ a staff of persons to keep track of the amount of service rendered to customers. Then comes an army of bookkeepers to keep track of charges. Then the rendition of bills and their delivery to each home or apartment. Then comes also the expense of the collection of these individual bills and the employment of attorneys to enforce payment. Finally there are the large salaries paid the officials, and the dividends on stock and interest on bonds.

A municipality has a part of this expense. It must purchase the equipment. It must hire the men to collect the garbage. Outside of this there is not twenty-five cents spent for bookkeeping. True, there must be a payroll. The men receive their wages once a month. The total expenditure for the year is included in a budget and placed on the tax roll. Each taxpayer comes to the city hall once a year and pays his taxes, thus eliminating all of the overhead expense, the high salaries of the officials who conduct the business, and the dividends as well.

What are the experiences of cities all over the nation? First of all, they have been driven to take away the work from private contracting firms because of their downright inefficiency and neglect in performing the service. Secondly, the contract price is ranged all the way from \$8 to \$20 a year for a family removing garbage from homes. Milwaukee Gives Service at Low Rates. The City of Milwaukee does all of this service at a total cost of around \$8 a year for a family. The average annual cost of police protection to a municipality runs from \$4 to \$7 per capita. It supplies the men on the beat, the de-

Please turn to page four

Socialism Special Edition

Order Extra Copies of This Issue of September 5

\$1 for Bundle of 50

HAPPINESS requires culture.

CAPITALISM has collapsed.

HARD work never won a fortune.

SOCIAL vision is the greatest virtue.

CONSCIENCE has condoned many cruelties.

IDLE hands, these days, should mean active minds.

A PIOUS Christian is an "infidel" in Mohammedan Turkey.

How MANY Hoover bread lines would reach around the world?

The Freeman is not subsidized by any big interest. It depends upon the workers for its support.

We don't care whether Hoover reads The Freeman or not, but we want the victims of Hooverism to read this paper.

DO YOUR BIT in the great fight by getting The Freeman a club of at least four subs at 25c each.

THE FREEMAN will make history if we succeed in increasing the membership of the sub-hustling Freeman Army.

THE FREEMAN fights hard. It could fight still harder if it had a 100 percent increase in circulation during the next sixty days.

AS SOON as you put down this copy of The Freeman go out and get a club of at least four subs at only 25c each, good for 25 weeks.

EVERY TIME you get The Freeman a club of at least four subs you help just that much in advancing the movement of socialized industry.

THE UNEMPLOYED workers who are being evicted by the thousands in the cities, for nonpayment of rent, will have a new and particularly keen appreciation of the old charge that "Socialism will destroy the home."

YOU HAVE it in your power to help make The Freeman the greatest weekly paper in America, so far as influence is concerned. Why not use that power? Why stand by and let the greatest cause in the world die of neglect? Answer today with a club of at least four subs at 25c each.

HOW MANY of you readers have never had your names in the Army column? Thousands of you readers get your paper each week and do nothing for the cause. You let a minority do the hard work. Try to do something at once in order to get your name in that record of social rebels. A club of at least four subs will turn the trick.

WITHOUT A FREE PRESS the cause of the workers is hopeless. The American Freeman fights for the workers and against the exploiters. It is labor's militant, truth-seeking, fact-stating weekly organ of intelligent protest. Does it not deserve your help? You would be helping yourself if you were to get The Freeman a club of new subs.

WE HAVE the machinery to make The Freeman the greatest political agitator in the world. We have a wonderful plant. We have the editorial consciousness of a great work to be done. Why hold us back when you can help set this great institution working 90 percent for humanity? Join The Freeman Army by doing something real for the cause. A club of subs will get you started.

YES, THE FREEMAN is growing, but not fast enough. It ought to have a million circulation, instead of a little over 20,000. We are not proud of our present showing, but we are optimistic about future possibilities. And with the help of the sub-getting Freeman Army we shall go forward to real and lasting success. The Army column shows that The Freeman has friends. But not enough. Will you join today by hustling a club?

OUR BIG, three-deck rotary Goss press could print a million Freemans each week, if only we had that many subscribers. Why let this wonderful engine of education do only a fraction of the work it is capable of doing? Let's set the Goss going for all it's worth, and then watch the headway we will make in the movement for industrial democracy. The times need The Freeman. The Goss is able to reach the workers of America. Is this a time to let The Freeman must always remain a small paper. Set the Goss rolling 'em out—millions of papers that will open the eyes of the workers in every state. You may think a club of four won't have much effect, but in that you are wrong. At great Army of workers plugging steadily for new readers will send us over the top in short order.

Why I Am A Socialist

By Heywood Broun

They have told me from time to time, veteran Socialists many of them, how they were "converted" to Socialism. There was the reading of this compelling book or pamphlet, the response to some such dramatic situation as a strike, the individual reaction to a situation in which the class struggle was underscored.

I'm sorry I have no such Damascus experience to report. It would make this lots more exciting. But the truth is that I came to Socialism not on the crest of any emotional wave but rather because it seemed to me that Socialism stood for clear-visioned sanity in a nation run by a myopic and pretty evidently insane system. Some years ago I might have used the word "world" in place of "nation" but to anyone who looks beyond the boundaries of the United States today it is evident that the anarchic anachronism politely called "capitalism" is being rapidly kicked downstairs by a multitude of rough-shod boots.

I took my Socialism early and I took it, and still take it, mightily seriously, not as the one and only means of salvation for a nation come to economic judgment but as a process of the production, distribution and consumption of goods and as a philosophy of life as well, which calls for the most patient, persistent exploration of the highest sort of courage and the most devoted service. And because I think of it as a process rather than an affirmation of creeds or a set of battle-cries, no matter how thrilling, Socialism to me is a flexible and a tolerant and a living thing. In this respect I differ sharply from those colorful magicians within the ranks of the Communists who seemingly believe that all we have to do is to produce panacea rabbits from our collective sleeves and the trick is turned and capitalism overturned. It isn't as easily done as that. The entire Russian experiment bears witness to the difficulties of destroying even the weakest and most stupid of the capitalist systems and still saving from the ruins the fundamental human values. I believe that Russia will succeed in this breath-taking business. With all my heart I hope that she will. But if she does, it will be because at long last she has adopted the experimental approach of the laboratory worker rather than the evangelical hymn-singing of the professional revolutionist, even if that hymn be "The Internationale."

Has Respect for Personal Freedom? Does this seem to emasculate the old-time militant Socialism of a Debs, a De Leon, a Sarge? If we go step by step towards a new social order must we land plump in the comfortable camp of the reformers, the middle-of-the-roadsers with all their patch-work concerns and bourgeois busy-bodies? Surely, if I thought so, I would join in no such parade. Reformers of all sorts, leave me singularly cold. Between the uplifters and the boys of the barricades I see little choice and a great similarity. For both are congenial sniffers into the personal lives of others. Both would impose such prohibitions upon all of us as to make life intolerable under their "servile states." One reason why I am a Socialist is that I have a stubborn predilection for freedom.

Going step by step towards one's goal, however, does not necessarily mean going at funeral pace. We may move to the new tempo of these new times at a rate that is indeed swift. Just now, for example, two young men have stepped out of an airplane which has whirled them round the world in eight days. Stuart Chase tells us that "the same number of men can now make over three times as many automobiles and tires as they could in 1913. They can produce three tons of steel where they formerly could produce but two. They can refine seven barrels of oil as against four in 1913. In nearly every branch of industry the same phenomenal growth in output per man hour is to be noted—from 25 to 200 percent more; than was the case a dozen years ago. In a few specialized industries, the increase will run into thousands of percent increase. The bulk of the increase, furthermore, has come since 1920." (And, by way of passing, it is to be noted that every fifteen seconds day and night, throughout the year, one American worker is injured on the job and that every twenty-three minutes one American worker is killed at his work. And again that at the end of the decade which saw the advent of what the modern economists call the new industrial revolution (1920-1930) there were more men and women out of work in the United States and in the world as a whole than at any other time in the history of industrialism.) It was a group of Hoover engineers and no radicals, who said in their study of recent economic changes in the United States that acceleration rather than structural change is the key to the understanding of these developments. "The changes have not been in structure but in speed and spread. It is the scale and tempo of these developments which give them new importance." This of course was written before the collapse of 1929 but it is still true as far as mere mechanical things are concerned.

Capitalist Panics Inevitable In a world, then, where the tempo is so breath-takingly fast, is it conceivable that in social relations alone we shall move at a Victorian slow

Freeman readers cannot help but see a better cause than to make a success of The Freeman editor's campaign in Kansas to win a seat in the U. S. Senate, where he will be able to do constructive work for the victims of the present chaotic "system." On Sept. 26 we shall issue Senatorial Special Edition No. 1. Let's give it at least 100,000 circulation.

which created the Royal Society and the organization of research. The Socialist has just that same faith in the order, the unchangeableness of things and the power of men in cooperation to overcome chance; but to him, dealing as he does with the social affairs of men, it takes the form not of schemes for collective research but for collective action and the creation for collective activities of man of a comprehensive design. While science gathers knowledge, Socialism in an entirely monistic spirit criticizes and develops a general plan of social life. Each seeks to replace disorder by order. ("New Worlds for Old," Chapter 11.)

This System Punishes the Innocent However much in my personal habits I may relish disorder, whatever tributes I may have paid as an individual to chance, and they have not been small, I am a Socialist because I am not willing to see millions of my fellows caught in the "fell clutch of circumstance," over which they have no control and which works needless and shockingly cruel hardships upon its innocent victims. One of the main roads planned by the Socialists is protected into a capitalist waste land in which I have done considerable traveling. I mean the waste land of unemployment.

When the economic depression which began in the fall of 1929 had continued until the following spring with no signs of abatement, I looked about for ways in which an individual could help. With the backing of some influential friends, the support of a paper to which I am a contributor and the collaboration of a State agency, I opened a small free employment bureau on a side street in the city of New York. For several months I had intimate and often harrowing contact with this elementary problem of bringing the worker and the job together. While we did succeed in getting jobs for more than one thousand, and while the experience statistically and, considered in the light of our announced goal, was not a failure, it nevertheless confirmed my earlier Socialist teachings, absorbed in my undergraduate days, that in the complexities of a modern profit-seeking society, the efforts of an individual towards amelioration are largely abortive.

Is a Social Problem

With all the good-will in the world, such a basic challenge as unemployment cannot be met by the charities or activities of private individuals. The wiping out of this tragic thing is a collective undertaking and can only be accomplished through the collective intelligence and good-will of federal, state and municipal agencies. That this intelligence and good-will have been so sadly lacking at this critical time, is one of the most damning indictments which can be leveled at those who rule us. It is bad enough, in all faith, that our various governments can find no generous gestures for citizens thrown out of work through no fault of their own, but when it seeks to control and rationalize its policies of cowardly surrender by fine words about "self-help" and "rugged individualism," as President Hoover and other spokesmen for the outworn doctrine of *laissez faire* have repeatedly done, then treachery wears its blackest hue.

The Socialist alternative to the hit-or-miss, rule-of-thumb methods of dealing with unemployment stems from the Socialist ideals of "collective action and the creation for all the social activities of man of a comprehensive design." Our road

Let's Go in and Win!

The Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 will be dated September 26. It will discuss boldly and vigorously the leading issues—the real and urgent issues—of the 1932 campaign. Haldeman-Julius wants to keep hammering away and not let the old party politicians evade these issues nor let the people forget their true significance. The Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 will deal with the news and with all ideas entering fundamentally into the 1932 campaign. It will be an important special edition, carefully prepared toward the objective of advancing our campaign, and we specially urge our readers to contribute to Method No. 3, which will enable us to mail thousands of extra copies of this special edition to good Kansas names on our book lists.

ORDER BLANK FOR SENATORIAL SPECIAL EDITION NO. 1

(September 26)

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I realize the importance of keeping up the fight in Kansas, which is really a national battleground now that E. Haldeman-Julius has entered the race for United States Senator from Kansas. I am helping to circulate the Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 by using the Method marked below.

Method No. 1. I am enclosing \$..... for which send me a bundle of copies (minimum order 50 copies) of the Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 of September 26, at the rate of 2c a copy.

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Name

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City

State

Socialism and the City

Continued from page one.

tective service when needed, and an all-year protection to the home. What could be employed from a private agency for \$7? You could not obtain a "tin-horn" detective to look through the keyhole of your home for \$7. If you should employ such a person you would probably have to hire another to watch the first sleuth for fear he might steal something out of the household.

Not many years past we were informed by the health authorities that the city was threatened with a smallpox epidemic; that the medical fraternity were unanimous in believing that the citizens should be vaccinated. We compromised by consenting that the work be done by the health department itself. The usual charge of a doctor for this service was \$2 per person. The health department paid the salaries of the doctors and nurses who did the work of vaccinating 400,000 persons, some of them twice and the total average cost was 7c apiece. It meant that the tax roll was a trifle higher but the 400,000 citizens were saved \$1.93 apiece or a total of something like \$700,000. I have no information as to just how enthusiastically the doctors accepted this program except that I have heard no universal demand for a general vaccination program since.

The same comparison will apply to every public service. If it is true, as the average citizen can save money by having his garbage collected by the city instead of paying a contractor for the service, obviously he is much better off to have the municipality perform the service and cheerfully accept the slight increase in his tax bill. Ditto with other services.

This story can be told effectively to any ordinary community gathering and the citizens will readily understand that a community might be much worse off if taxes were cut at the expense of rendering necessary services efficiently. They can readily be made to understand that while their local tax rate might be cut nearly in half by closing the public schools, the cost of educating children by the municipality is only one-half of what they would be forced to pay should they be required to send "Johnny" to some private school of equal standards.

What we are arriving at is this: It is a simple matter, if carefully explained to the average worker, that he and his family are better off in a city which furnishes good schools, ample playgrounds, good natatoriums, fine parks, clean streets, excellent public health service, etc., and to accept the inevitable in paying the bill in taxes.

Who Want Clean Government? It has been truly said that people get the kind of government they want. The reader may find it difficult to reconcile this statement with the thought that he may believe and know that a majority of the people want good government and still they may have a diseased municipal administration. We cannot assert that all citizens want bad government; for that is not true. Neither can we claim that all citizens want good government, as this is likewise false. If we grant that the majority of the inhabitants of a city want good government, why are they not getting it?

The answer is this: If you are not getting good municipal administration it is because the citizens of your community who most need honest and efficient government are not organized effectively to demand and secure it. What groups in a community really need and should desire clean government?

Is it the bankers? The bankers universally are in the habit of getting certain special privileges from cities. They want the city to deposit funds at tax-paying time in their banks at a very low rate of interest, 2 percent or below. They want to use this money to speculate with and to reap large profits. At other times of the year when the community needs to borrow money to tide it over a period of financial distress, these same bankers are willing to loan the money to the community provided they can exact a very high rate of interest. It must follow that if these persons are out to exploit their city instead of helping it to get a square deal, they are not particularly interested in promoting what I would call "honest government." The writer has insisted, as representing the Socialist party, that the city do not deposit all its funds in the banks at a low rate of interest, and that the community's funds, they should be invested in safe government securities which will bring the

largest possible returns to the community. As will be seen later on, this matter of interest charges runs into millions of dollars, and whether it be kept in the municipality's chest or in the bankers' chest is a bone of considerable contention. It is needless to say that the bankers as a group have not been enthusiastic in promoting the kind of square deal for the citizens. At least at the outset the resentment of bankers demonstrated itself quite effectively.

Corporations Don't Favor Clean Government

Are the managers of the great privately owned public utilities interested in clean government? Because of their practice of suggesting to their employees as well as to their thousands of stock and bond holders how to vote, it is important to learn whether their services could be enlisted to cleanse city government. The citizens generally need a city attorney, for example, who will enforce impartially all franchise provisions. In 1910 I was elected city attorney on the Socialist ticket. We then discovered that many of the franchise provisions had not been enforced. One required that the space between street car rails be paved at the expense of the street railway company. It took a bitter struggle in the courts to enforce this. The victory meant that the street railway company had to contribute approximately \$5,000,000 for paving over a period of twenty years. An ordinance requiring the company to sprinkle the zone between the rails to settle the dust was tied up in court and the case had to be brought to life. This again cost the company some \$200,000 over the period of the franchise. The company was in the habit of sweeping the snow off the tracks and piling it up high in the path of vehicles. Again a bitter legal battle was necessary to compel the company to remove the excess snow from the streets.

Space does not permit of the mention of a great many other similar contests. The rates charged for street car fare, telephone use, electric power and gas, and the excessive cost of attorney fees, resulting in a saving of millions of dollars all these years.

The railroad interests were running their railroads at grade, maiming and killing our citizens at grade crossings. The writer won three contests before the Railroad Commission of Wisconsin to elevate their tracks at railroad crossings with an average assessment of over 85 percent on the railroads themselves. Can the reader now possibly conceive that private public utility interests would continue to favor a strong, vigorous city attorney who is willing to wage battle for the citizens for better service and lower rates, or would their financial interests overcome the desire for good government and be better satisfied if a weakling sat in the city attorney's chair? The fact is that the patriotism of such people is at war with their pocketbooks, and until the citizens themselves become the owners of public utilities will this powerful influence for governmental inefficiency cease. In many of the large cities the present-day graft which exists can be traced back to the day when some powerful private utility, or some concession, or some successfully bribed public officials. Once corrupted, such officers have not hesitated to reach out for other grafts.

Refuses to Help Break Strikes

Possibly some men who own the great industries as a group would be interested in clean government. Among the powerful ones, however, who are likely to be involved in labor difficulties, most likely the opposite attitude will be found. When a strike or lockout occurs they are in the habit of notifying the police department to send its reserves—for what purpose? From all outward appearances one would think to bulldoze and browbeat the workers back to work. In other cities the police have almost universally rushed in and beaten up the strikers. They have broken up their public meetings. In some cities they have either chased away or beaten strikers assigned to picket duty or made wholesale arrests. My experience has been that strikers do not want anything more than their legal and constitutional rights. They are entitled to expect that so long as their picketing is peaceful they shall not be molested and beaten by the representatives of government and that the government will treat employers and employees equally in enforcing ordinances and laws. This, however, has not been the rule. The

employers have insisted upon using police departments to take their side in browbeating the workers out of their constitutional rights. A fair minded municipal government should be willing to demonstrate to both sides in such a struggle that it will not only protect the property of the employers, but enforce without fear the rights of the employees.

This is what has been accomplished in Milwaukee. The result is greater respect for and confidence in the municipal government. There has been no violence here in labor struggles as a consequence. Many manufacturers who have had labor struggles would not go back to the old days. They have learned that their employees, after a strike, have come back with a much better feeling. We have never been able, however, to appeal to the manufacturers as a group to enlist in the battle the Socialists are waging in Milwaukee. They have not been willing to contribute to the campaign funds of such an organization. I doubt whether the experiences of the reader elsewhere will be different.

Can the professional classes be induced to organize in the fight for clean government? Most of these are looking forward to having wealthy persons as their clients or are receiving retainers from one of the groups in the city who are looking for some special privilege from the city government and who violently curse any movement to clean up. Obviously such professional people are afraid to engage openly in a fight to secure or maintain good government.

Can the gamblers, painted-lady keepers, racketeers, etc., be appealed to? Obviously not. They live on graft and exploitation of the masses. Good government should mean that a city is a safe place in which to rear children, to build happy homes. If the people are victimized by all sorts of games of chance, disease-breeding dens and racketeers, surely they are not getting the best kind of municipal government. It is the duty of municipal officers to drive out these pests, and consequently they cannot be enlisted in the cause of clean government.

Who then can be organized into a movement to demand and insist upon clean government?

Can Depend on the Workers

What about the working people who constitute about 90 percent of the population? By working people we mean everyone who is earning his livelihood. This may mean a simple worker carrying his dinner pail. It may mean a teacher in the schools. It may mean a small merchant or a member of the white-collared class. All of these are very vitally interested.

Take the example of the city attorney. If he succeeded in all the fights enumerated, surely all of these classes mentioned would very materially benefit. They would have a selfish reason to want to see such a city attorney re-elected. As another example, take public health service. All of these want the very best health conditions in the city. They do not have extensive gardens surrounding their homes. They cannot send their children to the seashore. They cannot always employ the finest of medical attention. They must and should have the very best of health service. Let us illustrate with the public school. Workers are all interested in having a high type of public school education. They surely want their children to be educated in warm, comfortable buildings. They are interested in having well trained teachers and principals employed. To supply all this the wealthy must pay more taxes. They can afford, and most frequently choose, to send their children to exclusive private institutions where they will not become "contaminated" with the ideas and habits of the working people. The fact is that the establishment of free education in this country was accomplished only after a bitter struggle in which the employing classes were utterly opposed while organized labor and the working people generally were in favor. The reader need only look to the districts which have the poorest educational facilities and find that government is dominated by the employing and holding classes.

Let us discuss the problem of parks and playgrounds. These are the health-giving centers of the city; in fact, its lungs. The workers who cannot afford long and extended vacations must go to the parks. The better these places, the finer the entertainment and environment, the better the workers are off. If children are afforded adequate open places well conducted by competent supervisors, a certain juvenile offense disappears. In fact, the working people want and need fine parks and playgrounds. This costs money. The wealthy usually have adequate play spaces about their homes. They seldom take their families to spend the day in public parks. They have very limited immediate interest in a general program for adequate parks and playgrounds.

The common people of a community want better service from public utilities. They want the lowest possible rates. They are likely to be interested in an administration which will bring forth a plan designed to accomplish this end.

In a very cursory way, therefore, I trust I have pointed out that there is in every community a great class of people, in the overwhelming majority, who badly need and should badly want, a clean and decent government—one that will protect them against graft, corruption, racketeering and special privileges in every form, while on the other hand rendering the largest possible service to them and their families in such vital matters as health, recreation, homes and welfare.

How to Organize the Forces of Democracy

Having gained some inkling of the forces to be marshaled to do the job, we may proceed to consider how best to organize these elements to bring order out of chaos.

Can this be accomplished by bringing out clean candidates to take the place of the old? Can we find men

A SIMPLE SOLUTION

The Freeman cannot fight its liberal suit and carry on its other battles without money. It takes real money to keep this movement going. And yet, we refuse to ask for donations. It is our strict policy to give full value for every dollar sent to us. If you like The Freeman, you certainly plan to renew. Why not renew now, sending \$1 for this purpose, regardless of when it expires? That will take the matter off your mind and at the same time give us some needed funds to carry on our work.

big enough to fill offices who can be depended upon to continue a straight course, and to keep up the battle against all the forces of reaction and a servile public press? Not if the army that places them in office deserts the task the day after election. There then will be no organized force to back them up, to encourage them, when doing right, to offer to gather campaign funds from clean sources, and to get out the vote to reelect the administration when the crucial time comes.

The forces of graft and special privilege are on the job day and night. They are ever ready to unite to defeat the honest man and to bring forth an opponent with ample funds and campaign workers.

My dear readers, sporadic reform movements have sprung up over night in almost every American city and for one cause or another have gone down to dismal defeat. They simply cannot stand up against the organized greed and selfish forces. Only when the elements of decency are organized into a permanent political party has there been the slightest hope of success.

We can best explain how to successfully clean up a city by referring to our own city and our own actual experiences. Prior to 1910 the municipal government of Milwaukee was as graft-ridden, financially and morally bankrupt, as any other city in America. Dozens of old line politicians of both the Republican and Democratic parties had been indicted and convicted of graft. Vice flourished and public service was in a demoralized condition.

For several years, under the leadership of the late Congressman Victor Berger, with the assistance of a newspaper, a new political party was being developed. It was a party of the working class. The appeal for membership was to all who earned their own livelihood. This organization, originally called the Social Democratic party, was finally christened the Socialist party. The writer sees no reason why the same success cannot be attained in other communities by any similar movement regardless of name.

Ultimate Aim Is Socialism

While the ultimate goal of this party was Socialism, I wrote a practical program of municipal needs and administration, such as might appeal to the working people and the forces of decency. I wrote a paper wave of protest against bad government many non-Socialists cast their lot with this party, with the result that the entire ticket was elected, from Mayor Emil Seidel to the constable, in a three-cornered fight, the Republican and Democratic machines being decisively whipped.

The writer, then a young attorney with scarcely two years of legal experience, was one of these Socialist officials swept into office. He had protested against being nominated and had accepted the nomination because there was no other eligible attorney to nominate, and accepted because there appeared to be no possible chance of clean election. To utter amazement I found myself occupying the important chair of city attorney. It must here be confessed that the very moment I first sat in this chair the question flashed itself across my mind: Who placed me here? The answer shot back: The thousands of toilers have given dimes and quarters. They raised the funds. They peddled the campaign leaflets. They manned the polls. What must I do to repay these toilers and friends who thus repaid me? Well, I must play music that will not rasp on their ears. In brief, I must accomplish big things for those whom I am to repay.

Whether or not this urge was fulfilled may be best answered by the campaign literature issued by the Socialist party when I was successfully running for reelection at the end of my terms.

What No Other City Attorney Can Claim

1. He has won every important city race.
2. He has compelled the street car company to pave and sprinkle its own track zone, clean its cars, and obey the law.
3. He has licked every big law firm in Milwaukee.
4. He won the municipal electric light case.
5. By enforcing the smoke, weights and measures, and other city ordinances he has brought in money enough to pay all expenses and salaries of his department.
6. He has won track elevation cases. The south side case alone will give Milwaukee at least \$3,000,000 improvement with scarcely any expenses to the city.
7. He is now fighting for lower freight rates to reduce the price of coal.

The more one studies politics the more he will be convinced of the truth of this axiom: Learn who is back of a candidate and you will know whom this candidate, if elected, will serve. Just as a band of musicians are bound to play the tune dictated by those who pay for the entertainment, precisely do office holders serve faithfully those who finance their campaigns.

Up to the present writing (1931), I have served continuously as city attorney for six years and as Mayor 14 years. I could not possibly have kept up the fight all these years

were it not for the help and backing of the political party I represent. Knowing this, I have nothing but distrust for the theory of the "good man" in office. The voter who publicly announces, "I voted the best man," is doomed repeatedly to disappointment. The sinister forces of graft and reaction are so powerful and so active that they will either corrupt the "good man" or drive him from office by defeat at the polls, by utter discouragement, or by ruin of his health. Perhaps no greater or more fearless man occupied the Mayor's chair than Tom Johnson of Cleveland. He knew neither defeat nor discouragement, but the powers of greed and reaction finally broke his health and today there is not a vestige of organization left in Cleveland to carry on his work. Municipal affairs of that city, notwithstanding the wave of charter reform, have been free from the corrupt influences of machine politics and indecency.

It follows, therefore, that if any city is to be cleaned and kept clean, a party must be built, an organization which will furnish the encouragement, and the workers who will assist in carrying on the fight not only for one executive and his administration, but for succeeding officials as well. It must be certain, moreover, that the campaign funds come only from simple toilers or from those not seeking special privileges and exemptions from the government. No political party, either local or national, can remain clean and receive money from big business or organized graft. It is bound to serve its masters or go out of business.

Platform and Program

Space does not permit a complete discussion of the type of platform adopted to carry on the fight except to say that a glance at almost any municipal program written by the Socialist party will suffice to make clear the demands.

Among the essential features or issues must be a plank in favor of the public ownership of public utilities. It is necessary not only to attract those who believe in municipal ownership but to convince others of its merits. People sincerely believing in this principle must of necessity desire clean government. They soon realize that if the majority of the people are to have the ownership of the municipality they must be able to prove that the government is an honest and fair employer. This perhaps explains why the Socialists are never caught in the meshes of graft and investigations.

Another plank, of course, is decency and honesty in government. A provision insisting upon the merit system of public appointment is a requisite. The purpose, moreover, to commit government to service, especially to those who work, must be vigorously proclaimed. These planks in themselves furnish a rallying ground for not only the toiling thousands of a great city, but all of those individuals and especially the women, who can be appealed to back up a fight for cleanliness in municipal housekeeping.

The greatest test in building and promoting such a party comes when victory has been attained. This is the time that tries men's souls. First of all must come harmony and discipline among the elected group. They must hold a caucus at regular intervals at which time measures are thoroughly discussed and the members bound to a definite stand on important questions. There must be means provided for disciplining a member who violates the platform and principles of the party, even to expulsion when necessary. If such a party loses its control over its officials, there is danger of the weaklings going astray. In such a case the public will soon lose confidence if not hope in the fight being waged.

Next in point of importance comes the merit system. Men who rush into such a party with the idea of getting public appointments are usually of the selfish and ungrateful type. There can be no compromise with the merit system. The workers must frankly be told this before election, and if necessary, in loud tones after election. No party of this type can long survive if it weakens its stand against the spoils system.

The organization must further insist that no "swell-headedness" among its elected or civil service employees will be tolerated. An administration going into office can make thousands of friends by being courteous with all with whom it deals. The public is entitled to such treatment from the mayor, the policemen and the clerical staff. If brazen impudence flows from appointments in public office the administration can rest assured that the dire effects will be seriously felt in the succeeding election.

Last, but not least, such an administration must start to work with might and main to carry out its program—not to accomplish the millennium, but one by one to put into force and execution the purposes for which it was created.

With these essentials followed out, there is no community in this country which cannot be cleaned up. There is no community so corrupt but that it can be cleaned. Even though such a political organization should not gain the ascendancy in the actual capture of the offices, the effect alone of a strong fighting minority is to throw the fear of God into the hearts of crooks and grafters. Even a few councilmen elected to a city legislative body under such a plan, will save thousands if not millions of dollars of graft because of the fear of exposure injected into their opponents.

Accomplishments

While the entire Socialist ticket was elected in 1910, by 1912 the two old parties had completely combined to beat the Socialists. The writer, having been elected for four years, held over to 1914. In 1912 the combined forces were able to defeat the

Socialist ticket, except a minority of aldermen, notwithstanding its wonderful record of achievement and its gain of over 3,000 votes. A minority of Socialist aldermen has been elected in each successive municipal election since. The writer was reelected city attorney in 1914 and was elected mayor in 1916. Although never having a majority of Socialist aldermen in the common council, I have had the moral influence and frequently the active support of all the civic groups of Milwaukee. Therefore, the Socialist party makes no claim to credit for all the accomplishments enumerated herein, but does assert that they were attained under our leadership and the influence of our movement and that, without it, Milwaukee, as other large cities, would still be wallowing in the cesspool of graft, crime and corruption.

Financial Management

Of prime importance to good government is the removal of financial chaos from municipal housekeeping. This we did by

1. Installing a scientific budget system.
2. Paying contractors outright for street improvements instead of issuing certificates of indebtedness.
3. Turning surplus money out of banks early in the year and investing it in government certificates yielding a higher rate of interest, using this interest money toward
4. Establishing an amortization fund to eventually wipe out our entire bonded indebtedness.
5. Centralizing municipal purchases, thus saving money by buying in large quantities and taking advantage of cash discounts.

The economies affected by these methods result in annual savings of over a million dollars, and in giving Milwaukee the best credit of any American city.

Police Protection

The Police Department has been developed into an efficient agency for service to the community. We have the least crime of any large city and the lowest burglary insurance rates.

Fire Protection

Our Fire Department has been modernized and is now considered the best in the country. We have the lowest fire insurance rates of any city in the United States.

Education

Our city is rated as having the finest educational system. Our vocational school is the largest and most complete of its kind. We lead in the character of our night schools and the high per capita adult enrollment, and also in the low per capita cost and high per capita circulation of library books. We have the largest municipally owned museum in this country.

Condition of Wage Earners

There is less unemployment in Milwaukee than elsewhere. There is less disorder here in times of strikes, because the police department is not directed to brutally beat and disregard the rights of wage earners during strikes, and the courts refrain from promiscuously issuing injunctions in labor disputes. Private detective agencies, which stir up industrial strife and violence between employer and employee, are not licensed to operate here. Wage earners fully participate in the numerous improvements mentioned elsewhere in this and other chapters.

Public Health

In 1930 we were awarded first prize in the U. S. Chamber of Commerce contest for leadership in preventive and corrective health service. Slum conditions are being prevented by tearing down dilapidated and insanitary dwellings. We have the most efficient and complete sewer disposal plant in the world, which prevents pollution of our water supply and produces cheap fertilizer for farmers.

Recreation

Recreation has been an important factor in keeping down crime and delinquency. We lead every other city in the high quality of our supervised outdoor play and in illuminated night playgrounds.

We have also attained leadership in our social center activities and in the size and character of civic celebrations.

City Planning

Our city planning is recognized as being the most comprehensive and advanced. We are developing a system of wide thoroughfares for through traffic, and a scenic park, which will encircle the city and county. Our zoning laws are promoting the city's orderly development and are gradually correcting the mistakes of the past.

Housing

Recognizing that bad housing and slum conditions are breeders of crime and disease, we have succeeded in razing over 1,000 dilapidated and insanitary structures in the past three years alone. As rapidly as buildings deteriorate beyond 50 percent of the

cost of repairs, they are condemned to make room for new structures.

As a means of relieving the acute housing shortage after the war, we promoted a cooperative project known as Garden Homes. A non-profit corporation was formed, with the partial aid of city and county funds, which acquired a large tract of land and built 105 attractive, moderately priced dwellings. The available area was beautifully landscaped and created a wholesome environment for the working people who bought these homes. This was the first semi-municipal housing project ever undertaken in this country, and it proved very successful.

By refusing to allow tampering with the zoning laws, which prohibit excessive numbers of apartments over stories, and by carefully restricting the erection of apartment houses, we are preventing the future development of undesirable tenement districts and the social evils arising therefrom.

Public Works

The efficiency of our ash and garbage collection by the modern trailer system has been acknowledged in a survey made by federal officials. We are the only city where the collectors go into the basements to remove ashes. We are at the very top in the good condition of our pavements and in their cleanliness.

Public Utilities

We have the most efficiently operated municipally owned waterworks and the most scientific and economically maintained municipally owned street lighting system. We own a completely equipped repair shop for repairing municipal autos, trucks, and other types of vehicles, as well as municipal equipment. We also have a municipal asphalt plant and repair our own streets.

Harbor

Milwaukee's harbor is one of the most beautiful in the world. It is a civic and commercial asset. We are the only city on the Great Lakes owning all our water front, and we have built a magnificent drive along the lake shore, which connects four parks and bathing beaches. Eventually it will follow the entire length of Milwaukee's shoreline.

We are promoting the best municipally owned harbor on the Great Lakes, with a system of docks, warehouses, cranes, railroad transfer facilities, and other conveniences. The importance of the harbor to Milwaukee may be judged from the fact that we save \$1 per ton on all shipments by boat.

Advisory Council

Representatives of forty service clubs, neighborhood advancement associations and civil organizations constitute an Advisory Council to the Mayor, which holds monthly meetings, discusses various municipal problems reported on by its committees and makes recommendations. Only matters of general civic interest come within the scope of its deliberations and its recommendations are of an advisory character. The importance of such a body in developing a closer understanding between the city government and the people cannot be overestimated.

Conclusion

The fundamental, overshadowing issue in government, local, state or national, is whether private interest or public welfare should be the guiding principle and policy.

This constitutes the age-long conflict, which runs through the history of mankind.

We in Milwaukee have tried to pursue the policy of serving the people rather than special interests.

The preceding summary of accomplishments may give the reader some idea of the extent of our success in carrying out this policy. The limitations of this article permit only a brief resume of the outstanding features of our municipal leadership. The inquiring reader can consult other sources, or make a personal visit to our city, and can satisfy himself of the practical application of our social philosophy in government.

No GREATER contrast can be imagined than that between Hoover's reputation before he became President and his record while he has been President. The Hoover propaganda had made him celebrated—far from truthfully—as an organizer of relief for suffering peoples. And Hoover's chief function in the White House has been to prevent every intelligent effort for the relief of mass suffering among the unemployed American workers, the bankrupt farmers and the deflated middle classes.

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There is no doubt that the American people need a better understanding of radicalism. I am sure that such an understanding will be given clearly and fully in your Radical Special Edition of September 19, which I want to help circulate. I am using the method marked below.

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