

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.

To discuss such 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 average 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 what have you? A barren conglomeration 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, 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-class 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

officially 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 afternoons, motion picture exhibitions have been given to the schools' 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 given street which has since 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 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 he 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 their government because of having to pay 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.

Dare Not Accept Challenge 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 \$5 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-

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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 remain idle? We hate to admit that The Freeman must always remain a small paper. "Set the Goss rolling" 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."

As Respect for Personal Freedom? Does this seem to emaculate the old-time militant Socialism of a Debs, a De Leon, a Sorge? 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-roaders 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 Panic Inevitable In a world, then, where the tempo is so breathtakingly fast, is it conceivable that in social relations slow, we shall move at a Victorian slow-

which created the Royal Society and the organization of research. The Socialist has the same faith in the order, the knowable-ness 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 harmonious 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 wish 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 experiment 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 through no fault of their own, but when it seeks to extol 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

At the outset the very existence of road-maps marks the difference between the Socialists and the old parties. It is only in those days of crisis and then with no great measure of conviction that our orthodox economists and our more "enlightened capitalists" have begun to talk of economic routing. And for the most part these have seized upon the idea of a "planned economy," as though it were something new under the sun, first seeing the light in the Five Year Plan of the Soviets. The truth is that a planned economy is at the very heart of modern Socialism. Long ago, when H. G. Wells was still a Socialist, he said:

The fundamental idea upon which Socialism rests is the same fundamental idea as that upon which all real scientific work is carried on. It is the denial that chance impulse and individual will and happening constitute the only possible methods by which things may be done in the world. It is an assertion that things are in their nature orderly; that things may be computed, may be calculated upon and foreseen. In the spirit of this belief, science aims at a systematic knowledge of material things. "Knowledge is power."

Knowledge that is frankly and truly exchanged, that is the primary assumption of the "New Atlantis"

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(September 26)

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takes us first to a shrewdly devised and comprehensive plan of social insurance to absorb the worst shocks of a planless industrial and farming economy. This would include unemployment insurance, accident and health insurance, old age pensions, widows' pensions, maternity benefits and other measures. We urge adequate free governmental employment exchanges. We further every movement for the establishment of the shorter work-day and work-week and the payment of wages high enough to enable the producer of goods or services to buy back a fair share of his products.

Unemployment Insurance Coming
But if the road ended at this point, it would go no farther than that taken by many a non-Socialist organization. It was none other than a Tammany Hall U. S. Senator who spoke in favor of several of these measures, all of them Socialist in their origins, and I have no doubt that such an obvious step as unemployment insurance will soon be taken in this country. But remember that this is merely a shock-absorber. It is not, in fact, insurance against another mother-wave of unemployment.

What is desperately wanted is the definite end to all these vicious cycles of fair-to-middling good times followed by rotten bad in closer and closer succession. And nowhere on the capitalist horizon do I find any sign of such a happy ending. When it comes to a rough tackling of this ultimate problem, every old-line player quits cold. The workers themselves more often than not adopt the fatalistic attitude of their bosses. A man who made a house-to-house canvass of the unemployed in a New England mill-town said to me, "These people apparently believe that prosperity came from the Republican party and that hard times came from God."

To attribute good fortune to the cleverness of one's policies and bad luck to Divine Providence is one of the oldest of human traits and a source of great comfort to the theologically-minded. But it will scarcely avail us as a scientific approach to our present dilemma.

What is here needed is to look with candid eyes upon the workings of a system which exalts competition as the only means of production and distribution and gives the bulk of its fair rewards to those most liberally endowed with the acquisitive instinct. It is true that under such a system to him that hath shall be given and from him that hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath, but that has never been my favorite Biblical quotation. Nor do I see anything to cheer about in the following table of the distribution of wealth and income in the United States, the latest and most authentic:

Appalling Concentration of Wealth

One percent own thirty-three percent of the nation's wealth.

Ten percent own sixty-four percent.

The poorest twenty-five percent own three and one-half percent.

One percent obtain twenty percent of the nation's income.

Ten percent obtain sixty-four percent.

The poorest twenty-five percent obtain three and one-half percent.

In the vast propaganda over our "unprecedented prosperity" made by the articulate ten percent prior to the fall of 1929, it was explained that this lack of any approach to a sane distribution of income was compensated for by the fact that the workers were being paid such high wages as never before were paid in all history. Somehow, we were told, there was drifting down through the rank and file of the workers from the seats of the mighty a new dispensation. From now on prosperity was to be stabilized by maintaining high wage levels. When a few rash souls rushed in with the statement that even at the peak of prosperity the average wage in the United States did not exceed fifteen hundred dollars a year, they were told that "if they did not like this country, they could go back where they came from."

Now any serious attempt to end unemployment must begin with a hard-boiled, straight-shooting attack upon the profit system. To this statement my progressive and liberal friends take instant exception, pointing out that it is enough to shore up the caving walls of capitalism and continue operations under the existing system. I am a Socialist because I am convinced, that such props as "rationalization," "stabilization" and the rest will not avert the next crash. Or the next. Coal-diggers have the reputation of being a singularly stiff-necked and dervil-type of workmen, but even coal-diggers will not go into a working-place where there has been a fall of rock crushing out the lives of their fellows. I'll take my stand with them in this instance and re-

fuse to consider the remote possibility that next time the roof will not crack up again and the fall be even worse.

Does Not Favor Violence

This is not to say that I want to chuck dynamite down the mine-shaft, blowing the entire operation to the skies. Rather I would seek new and less hazardous methods of mining, using the tested tools that are at hand under the direction of engineers in whom I had a bit more faith. Obviously this implies new ownership and new direction and I find this in the state of mind of every Socialist has at this point spent long and somewhat dreary hours defending the nationalization of key industries against the agile assaults of his conservative, progressive and liberal friends. The debate has ranged from the distressing impotence of governmental persons to the inevitability of corruption on the part of public officials. And most of it has been beside the point. For judging from the multitude of books which are now issuing from conservative typewriters, many of them as critical of the status quo in industry as any soap-boxer, there seems to be as a universal conviction among our industrialists that something is decidedly amiss in their kingdom. In a recent review of a book severely overhauling the whole management of modern industry (one of whose authors by the day is vice-president of the General Motors), Evans Clark says:

It seemed to be the fashion among business men in America ten years ago to defend the virtues of the capitalist system in the face of real or imagined Communist attacks. Today it seems almost equally to be just as freely predicting their world-threatening success. It almost seems that the big business men are the only important group of radicals in America today. "radical" I mean someone who does what the Socialist and Communist has always done—considered industry not as "my business" or "your business," not as a disconnected heterogeneous lot of firms and factories and stores, but as an "institution" in need of change and improvement, a piece of social machinery which can be used for increasing human satisfactions.

Now if this ironic situation is true, and there is additional proof of it in the hysterical talk about "planned economy" on the part of everyone from the financial advisers to China to Mr. Matthew Woll of the A. F. of L. and the National Civic Federation, we have already won the major part of the argument. Our criticism has been accepted, our chief premise granted. What remains is how to make this "piece of social machinery" increase human satisfactions.

A Stock Argument Against Socialism

Here our opponents play what they believe to be a trump card by "Bureaucracy." Nationalization, say they, would bring in its train such a host of men and women "clad in a little brief authority" as to make our last state worse than our first. They fly to our own Mr. Mencken and to Hillaire Belloc and G. K. Chesterton to find direful warnings against Stateocracy. They paint a picture of a land literally swarming with those battering upon federal and state and municipal payrolls and end with the triumphant question, "How would you like to see a bunch of fat Congressmen running the coal-mines or the oil fields of this country?"

Well I wouldn't like to see it. Nor would Norman Thomas, nor James Maurer, nor Daniel Webster Hoan, nor any other responsible Socialist in this country. Norman Thomas has said:

No modern Socialist of any stripe wants bureaucratic political government of industries through a set of master generals or their equivalent. We propose to have public ownership with title vested in the nation, state or municipality, but control under a public authority representing so far as may be possible the genuine and permanent interests not of profit-seeking private owners but of producers in the particular industry and consumers of its products or services. There will have to be a considerable variety in structure to meet the needs of coal mines, railroads, etc. In every case we shall try to put a premium on efficiency through the intelligent application of the merit system. We shall temper bureaucracy, moreover, by a recognition of the union and a direct sanctioning of collective bargaining. And, of course, we recognize that with nationalized industries, will or should go along a definite and conscious cooperation in the distribution of goods and in other lines like housing.

Socialist Oppose Bureaucracy

Nor do these latter-day Socialists

stop at merely expressing their distaste for bureaucracy. In a number of research groups they are working out plans for keeping nationalized industries far from the pork barrels. In coal, for example, they would set up a tri-partite control, with public authorities representing consumers, workers and engineers. Always they insist that the industries where the technicians are the keymen shall be the first to be taken over by the Socialist state and they foreshadow the government of industry where the voice of the business man, that is the glorified peddler and promoter, from the genuine producer shall be complete. In other words their goal is production for use rather than profit and there is small comfort for the bureaucrat or the exploiter in such a set-up.

"But even if you can avert some of the worst evils of bureaucracy," say our critics, "how about graft?"

Granted that under the present arrangements the word "graft" has in many cases become synonymous with "government," how did this come about? Can any student the American history deny that from the days of the first railroad scandals to the racketeering in our municipalities of the present, the chief source of graft in government lies in the raids upon politicians and public treasuries by the private owners of industry seeking special privileges? To get away from the people the natural resources which naturally belong to them has been the aim of the most consistent unscrupulous group of "rugged individualists" that the history of any nation at any time has ever recorded. Such recent alliances as those shown to exist between government officials and the oil gang or the electrical industry would be unheard of in any other country in the world, most especially the Scandinavian world, if they take their Socialism pretty straight. But back of all these alliances were the efforts of private individuals to loot the public of natural resources and basic industries reverts to the public, the business of bribery goes into immediate bankruptcy.

More to the point is the challenge as to where we Socialists will find the personnel competent or willing to carry out our planning. And here of course comes in that familiar attendant upon all arguments over Socialism, the Incentive.

The Question of Incentive

That robust champion of the freedom-loving National Association of Manufacturers, Mr. John E. Edgerton, has said:

Under Socialism incentives to wealth production are removed. The case for capitalism rests on the inherent and demonstrable proposition that individuals differ not only in innate ability, but also in their ambitions and applications of energy, from which it follows, we believe, that they should be rewarded in accordance with those individual differences and resultant accomplishments. Our (the capitalist's) goal is freedom for the individual to take advantage of his differential abilities and the freedom to be rewarded according to his production. Socialism deprives men of the capacity to acquire property, and it removes the main incentive to labor; in the guise of public assistance it would remove the necessity or thrift and self-help. (In "A New Economic Order," "Arguments Against Socialism.")

In all fairness to Mr. Edgerton, whose active life has been devoted to the building up of a strong organization of manufacturers while loudly decrying the building up of a strong organization of the workers, may I note that the above was written before the present panic? Presumably in view of the "buy now" campaigns, the loss of what little property they did possess on the part of hundreds of thousands of our citizens and the interference of the capitalist courts with every attempt of the worker "to be rewarded according as he produces," Mr. Edgerton might want to edit the above a bit. But, at any rate, there is in a nutshell such an incentive argument of the capitalists. The main incentive to labor is the acquisition of what? Happiness, security, leisure, a larger, more spacious living? No, says Mr. Edgerton, the main incentive to labor is property and this the Socialists would stifle.

I have no desire to engage in metaphysics nor question the somewhat dubious psychology contained in Mr. Edgerton's description of the "innate" abilities of man. Mr. Edgerton is a capitalist because he believes that in some mystical way there adheres to property a peculiar virtue to obtain which men will labor and hoot. I am a Socialist because I look upon the private possession of property as Proudhon did, as a form of theft. It may be uncancelled theft, but in the long run no individual has any "inherent and demonstrable" right to something which has come about through communal effort. "The product of all our efforts is therefore for Socialists," says H. N. Brailford in his "Socialism for Today," "a common possession, a pool to which no class, or group, or individual has any separate or privileged claim. The prior claims which are based on ownership of land or machinery, the various unequal 'pools' which groups secretly give them a commanding strategic position—these we dismiss as anti-social. They are, for us, only so many ways of robbing the pool. This conception of all work as a cooperative effort, and all wealth as a pool, which in the last resort is the possession of the whole organized society, is still, after centuries of capitalistic law-giving, a deeply rooted belief."

Not Enemies of Property

Just so. It is Mr. Edgerton and his capitalist friends who are introducing the quite novel and so second thought, quite fantastic idea that the chief end of man is to acquire property. Of course by property I do not mean such individual and intimate possessions as tooth-brush and typewriter. Under a Socialist state you will not be forced to cleanse your teeth with a com-

LOOK OUT, KANSAS!

On Sept. 26 we shall issue our *Senatorial Special Edition No. 1*, which is intended for extraordinary circulation among Kansas voters. The issues discussed will be of national-wide interest, but the application will be in this State because of the campaign to elect The Freeman editor to the U. S. Senate. *Freemansites in every state are now being asked to make use of Method No. 3, which will pay for sending copies of the Sept. 26 Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 to good Kansas names in our possession. Get busy now in order to guarantee a successful special issue. This work is vital. It puts our principles to the test. Send at least \$1, to pay for the papers and mailing same, at 2c each.*

munal brush, but on the other hand it will not be possible for you to accumulate any property which common sense indicates falls into Mr. Brailford's "pool." You will not talk about "owning" a coal-mine for example, as though in the course of a titan geological revolution a million years ago, Nature had covered over her marshy forests for the sole purpose of giving you and yours a fat living in 1931.

Of course when Mr. Edgerton and the rest talk of the accumulation of property as the chief incentive to labor, they have in mind rather the professional "white-collar" classes than the wage workers. Wage workers are owners of so little property even under this liberty-seeking capitalist system that they hardly count. In four principal industrial states according to the census of 1920, of \$4,828,804 dwellings, 4,115,790 were rented, so that our workers are practically propertyless as far as ownership of homes, at any rate, is concerned.

No, what Mr. Edgerton is driving at is that the key-men of our structure, the engineers and technicians, won't work for anything but fat material rewards. This, I question, though, of course, I have no way to prove my contention. In the first place, the engineers, with the exception of a handful of headliners, are not reaping anywhere near the rewards which have been going to that army of parasites, the promoters, the investment bankers, the salesmen of all varieties, the slick advertisers, the lawyers and lobbyists, the paper-working, golf-playing executives. These latter will have to get down to some sort of productive work under Socialism or pass out of the picture. As for the technicians, we can at the outset pay them at least as much as most of them are now receiving and at the same time so vastly improve their status as to enlist their whole-hearted and enthusiastic cooperation in our undertaking. It may be that I have run into an exceptional set of engineers but those whom I have met, have impressed me as being far more interested in the competent performance of the job than in the contents of their pay envelopes. And the entirely naïve manner in which they have bemoaned the constant sabotage of their most cherished projects at the hands of profit-hungry entrepreneurs convinces me that they will not be difficult to win over, once they get what we are after. And this is true, again speaking from my experience, of researchers in all sorts of laboratories, inventors, yes even of those much despised hard-working civil servants in such important branches of government as the state employment agencies, the Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of Standards. All these people, most important of all, have a pride in the doing of a good piece of work which no dollar and cents yardstick can measure. There are those, and I am among them, who suspect that we have on hand such a reservoir of the creative spirit of man as yet untapped by the profit incentive, which once loosed will sweep away want and misery in a mighty flood of cooperative effort. It was the greatest of our engineers, Charles Proteus Steinmetz, an active Socialist, who said: "There is no standstill; either you swim or sink; neither we enter the coming cooperative era of the world's history and take our place as one of the leading industrial nations organized for the highest efficiency possible under cooperative industrial production, or we fall by the wayside, cease to be one of the world's leading nations, and merely become a field of exploitation, a sphere of European influence, to be parcelled out like China." It will be our fault as Socialist propagandists if more and more of the technical group do not come around to the idea of Steinmetz's "cooperative industrial production" in place of the present competitive industrial anarchy.

Dangers to Be Avoided

I would not have it understood that I think what we Socialists call "the transition stage" from competition to cooperation will be easily accomplished, even if it is done by the consent of the majority, as we advocate. It is attended all about by all sorts of hazards. It is an adventure, one of the most fascinating ever undertaken, and because it is an adventure it is full of dangers. One of those dangers is that it may come too soon.

I mean by this that there is always the possibility that the railroad security holders, for example, or those in control of such sick industries as coal, textiles and cotton may in despair throw themselves on the hands of a government unready and ill-equipped to take charge of socialization of a sort, but not the Socialist sort. Reactionaries in control of both government and industry would be quick to take advantage of their chance to establish a dictatorship more open and even more ruthless than that which now moves behind the national scene. In such a set-up democracy would be done to death as is the case in Italy.

If there is to be genuine nationalization with industrial democracy as its base, there must be a democratic vehicle for its propagation. This we Socialists are forwarding at every opportunity. Whenever we speakers find an audience, they are urging the formation of a party of farmers and workers to drive the two old parties into open defense of reaction and combat them all along the line from the election of a town councilman to President. When such a party is established with economic bases in the grass-roots and sidewalks of the nation, we shall have for the first time in generations real issues on which to vote. In such a realistic line-up the Socialist party will no doubt preserve its autonomy working inside the larger group as the Socialist Independent Labor party of Great Britain works inside the Labor party of that country. I am a Socialist because I am rearing to get into such a fight.

Needed Social Proposals

A political party of the sort I have described would have for its program the immediate demands for security for the workers embodied in the social insurance plans else, where described and it would have for its ultimate goal the establishment of a comfortable living wage for all who labor productively. Recognizing the existence of the class-struggle and working towards the eventual ending of that cruel and unholy war over the division of the national income, it would through carefully engineered imposition of taxation on income, inheritance, land, etc., make it impossible longer for a small percentage of our people to receive so large a percentage of our national wealth. There would be a gradual, though deliberate extinction of the bond-holding class, a building up of social reserves and the eventual checking back to the government of all profits made in industry.

Already tentative steps are being made down this road by other than Socialists.

Right now, the Conference for Independent Political Action, headed by America's outstanding propagandist philosopher, John Dewey, seems to be heading that way. Socialists claim no monopoly rights over the formation of genuine farm and labor parties which have increasing social control for their program. They showed their willingness to cooperate in the year or two they did during the La Follette campaign. But they will not risk the breaking up of such organization as they have builded to follow any middle-of-the-road outfit with mere reform as its aim.

Permanent Pattern is Essential

It has been our bitter experience that such reform movements, with all the good-will in the world, have no follow-through, no ability to get up after a knock-down (note the anti-climatic finish of the La Follette movement) because they have no permanent pattern. They are hastily devised of the moment, and the day after election few traces of them are left. We Socialists would build upon the more lasting foundations offered by the working class movement, not because we are especially enamored of the "horny hands," not because we are filled with the romantic notions, so much in favor with the American Communists, that all wage-workers are saint-like characters, and all bosses devils incarnate, as because it is peculiarly in the interests of the workers to bring about a cooperative commonwealth for the ending of waste and the exploitation of man by man. So we devote our Socialist energies to assisting the workers in their struggles for freedom, in extending their freedom of speech, press, assembly and generally fighting the use of injunctions in labor disputes and other restrictions upon their Constitutional rights. Making no attempt to capture the unions and turn them into auxiliaries of a police state, we do constantly urge upon the leaders and the rank and file the necessity for independent political action. At the same time we work for the building up of consumers' cooperatives and closer alliances between farmers and city workers. In these efforts we are joined by those from the more favored classes, professional men and women, in many instances lesser executives, artists, writers—members of the so-called intelligentsia who, as do their fellows in England, feel that social justice is more important than personal advancement.

Is Based on Internationalism

I have said that such a party as we contemplate must have firm economic bases in the working-class movement. It must also have a definite international philosophy. Here again we go apart from liberal and progressive attempts to organize party nationalistic parties. The Socialist party of America is presented at the Socialist International with headquarters at Zurich, Switzerland. The Labor and Socialist International now has some 9,000,000 members in thirty-six countries. Through this organization laborites and Socialists the world over are kept in contact, international policies are hammered out and many of the philosophies which dominate the labor movements of the world are clarified.

I am a Socialist because there is in me something "that does not like a wall." When the walls of the shape of tariffs, nationalistic aspirations, competitive armaments, or class-barricades is reared against the peace of the world I am for tearing down every last stone of it. And I see no other way of doing this than by joining an organization such as the Socialist party which is working with like-minded men and women the world over. We may succeed in socializing this electric plant and that railway, in bringing about a larger measure of industrial democracy, in winning social insurance at home, but all our efforts will be wiped out when the first bomb falls from the first plane in the next war. It is the workers who fight our wars and the workers

who can end them with their successful struggle for a non-competitive order of society.

What About a Defensive War?

"But wouldn't you fight in a defensive war?" Time and again this question has been asked me during my Socialist campaigning. And the answer is "What is a defensive war?" Has any war ever been waged that was not called by both sides, "defensive war"? Were not the Germans fighting to defend the Fatherland at the same time the English were fighting to "keep the Hun off the gate," and so all down the line? I happened to have had a close-up view of the last "war to end war" as a newspaper correspondent and as far as I am concerned and as far as my Socialist comrades are concerned, that will be in truth, the last war. If anyone of us is elected to Congress we will vote against all wars, all the time. And we will do nothing in any way to assist in the waging of any war defensive or otherwise, on the part of this government. The story of 'Gene Debs' heroic stand against the World War is the finest chapter in the history of American Socialism. He would be faithful to every Socialist tradition who did not do all in his power to further internationalism and world peace.

We have gone far with our roadmaps, often into strange territory and always we have found along the way those who like Stanley Baldwin, have called after us: "Men are not yet good enough for a state like that. It is the old cry in human words." "You can't have this delusion persist, I wonder how silly they are, who shout it up every Socialist speaker."

"There commonly lies under the objection that Socialism violates human nature," says H. N. Brailford, "the assumption that human nature itself is unchanging and so grossing to capitalistic errors as to persist, I wonder how silly they are, who shout it up every Socialist speaker."

The lasting value of that brilliant synthesis of Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," is in my opinion not to be found so much in his specific theories of surplus value, capitalist accumulation, etc., as in the idea that the 'human nature' of man is so profoundly affected by the material conditions of life. It should be no more necessary to argue that fact today than to reassert the fundamental concepts of evolution.

Why I Am Concerned

I am writing this in my home on top of a high building in New York City. I have just returned from a read over what I have written raises a quizzical eyebrow.

"Why so lathered up?" says he. "You have a comfortable home, a good income. You work hard, but you work at something that gives you satisfaction. And you play hard, and play when you pretty much like. What's the idea of your being a Socialist?"

I go to the edge of the roof and look out over the city below. To the north there is the quiet beauty of Central Park, edged with great office buildings and high apartment towers, very lovely in the soft summer twilight. Here and there in some shaded pent-house men and women in white clothes move about and there is the tinkle of ice in glasses from those nearest me and the playing of a gay, little tune. There by the Park, in those huge apartments, is represented the greatest single accumulation of wealth the world has ever known. Many of the five hundred Americans who receive more than one million dollars a year in income live there. The depression has not hit them. They are safely above the battle. They saw nothing to surprise them in the remark made by J. P. Morgan to the ship-movers, when he interviewed him the other day on his return from a Mediterranean cruise, "Depression? What depression are you talking about? I haven't heard of any depression."

And then I turn to the south and east and look across another world, a world of low roofs beneath which the workers live.

As a reporter and a Socialist I have been about in that world. I have seen its people at their work, their play, on their picket lines in times of

strike, in the many phases of their hard, grinding struggle to keep their heads above the smothering tides of exploitation which come upon them with increasing force.

Can End Poverty

I know that between the New York to the north on Park Avenue and to the south and east with its myriad of dirty side streets there is as wide a gulf as ever separates two worlds. And I know that there are at hand for the first time in the history of our civilization the means, the methods and the men for throwing bridges across the gulf between penury and plenty. And that if we willed it so, poverty could be as completely wiped out in this city and every other city in the nation, as is typhoid today. There can be little pleasure for any of us, who have a vision beyond the gratification of our personal needs, in the thought of the needless heart-breaks and harassments, the fears and grim forebodings that are beneath those low roofs these nights. It takes no more than average decency for my man aware of his times to rebel against the dour domination of what James Thurlow Adams has called "the Business Man's Civilization." It seems to me to be a cheap and shoddy thing that men and women should be consigned to wander in the wilderness of want when the access to the promised land is so evidently in sight. I have said that a nation which could break the Hindenberg line need not flinch at breaking the bread line. And yet—

Everywhere men of the utmost good will hold back because of the pressure upon them to preserve the status quo because of the iron grip of tradition, because they will not risk change.

And all the while they are retailing the most plausible reasons for remaining neutral they are being encircled by the red fires of events. Whether they realize it or not, there will soon come to them the choosing of sides. Either they must take their stand with the dictatorship of the right or the left or come along with those who still have faith in democracy.

For surely we have come to the definite end of an epoch, though those charming folks in the pent-house across the way do not yet dream of it. As Steinmetz said: "There is no standstill." The only constant in our formula is the constant of change. Everywhere the "old order changeth" and the vague outlines of the new appear. But there is still time for men and women of good-will and courage to come together in the perfecting of the device for gallant living which is Socialism.

Capitalism is in a state of bankruptcy. This is all the more reason why the millions of victims of capitalist exploitation should be educated regarding the principles of socialized industry for the common good. Capitalism's failure is The American Freeman's opportunity for social-minded service. That is why Freeman's circulation is extremely important.

THE BATTLE MUST BE WON

The Freeman's list of readers must grow rapidly despite the depression. Every lover of industrial democracy should join in the great work of promoting Freeman's circulation, by getting a club of at least four 25-week subs at only 25c each. By giving The Freeman a larger body of readers you will make possible quicker progress on the road to the cooperative commonwealth. It's easy to get even an unemployed worker to pay only a penny a week for a paper that will show him the way to economic emancipation.

Do your share in this great work.

Do not be a slacker in the great liberation war.

If you are too busy to land a club of subs then do the next logical thing of helping in the great work by sending your remittance to the Freeman under Method No. 3, by which we will be able to mail free copies of The Freeman to good names in our possession. If you can't fight with your time, then at least fight with your dollars. The need is urgent.

The Freeman needs your help.

Do not neglect this militant organ of freedom when it is trying so hard to advance the movement of social justice. Our present circulation is a little above the 20,000 mark, but that is pitifully small when one considers present economic conditions. We can grow to mighty proportions in no time if Freeman-readers will join the Army and fight with all their strength.

Forward, Comrades, the Battle must be won!

A FREE PRESS is the hope of the world.

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The Freeman Army

The Freeman expects its loyal readers to celebrate Labor Day, Sept. 7, by getting at least one yearly sub for \$1. Or a club of four yearlies, at the special club rate of 50c per year. Or a club of at least four 25-week subs at 25c each. Such help will enable The Freeman to overcome the first decline in our circulation since we began announcing figures in each issue. The decline this week is small, but it is serious because it has halted our steady upward growth. A little work done now will pay The Freeman where it belongs—going up in circulation, always up. Can we depend on you?

Julius Pirka, Ill., sends two subs.
Elmer Wheaty, Alaska, helps the Kansas fight with \$1.
Walter E. Bader, N. C., orders a batch of 20 sub cards for \$5.
A. F. Wassilak, Ohio, sends \$2.50 for Method No. 3.
L. Sacks, Pa., helps out Method No. 3 with \$2.
G. P. W. Ferguson, Ariz., orders 20 sub cards at 25c each.
Harvey Hendricks, Okla., orders four sub cards.
O. D. Teel, Ore., orders four sub cards.
Cazrie Satran, Kans., a loyal Armyite, sends \$1 under Method No. 3.
W. Henry Thompson, N. J., boosts Method No. 3 \$1.
J. C. Roswall, Kans., helps the senatorial fight with \$5.
P. R. Sorenson, N. Dak., helps Method No. 3 with \$1.
E. A. Richardson, Calif., chips in \$1 for Method No. 3.
Jerome Carter, Calif., orders four sub cards.
E. C. Porter, Iowa, sends \$2 for a club of eight subs.
L. L. Dorland, Kans., puts four names on the Freeman list.
Thomas M. Rees, Ky., sends \$1 for Method No. 3.
John A. Feecey, Iowa, helps Method No. 3 with \$1.
Carl Bloedorn, Wis., sends \$1 for the senatorial fund.
C. W. Bassett, Calif., is in with a club of 20 subs.
Leo Mertens, Ark., takes four sub cards, for use under Method No. 3.
F. D. Baker, Texas, puts 10 new subs on our list.
Charley Gustafson, Idaho, pays for four sub cards.
James Luke, N. Y., helps Method No. 3 to the extent of \$5.
William Mulder, Colo., orders four sub cards.
M. C. Steentoft, Ore., orders four sub cards at 25c each.
H. E. Ordway, Calif., orders four sub cards.
E. Kehrer, Calif., pays for a bundle of 50.
Madison Warden, Iowa, orders four sub cards for \$1.
Eugene R. Berry, Va., orders a bundle of 50 Freeman.
V. R. La Viollette, N. J., sends \$1 to pay for four subs.
A. D. Stevens, Pa., sends four yearlies.
Prof. E. C. Gates, Mich., sends \$1 under Method No. 3.
B. S. Humphries, Ala., orders four sub cards for \$1.
Chas. Moore, Utah, a mining engineer, sends a club of four subs.
John R. Hasstrom, N. J., sends two subs.
Dee Shelmardine, Mont., sends a club of four.
J. M. Keeter, Ark., sends \$1.25 for a club of five.
Mrs. Mary Hencke, Ohio, pays for four sub cards.
F. C. Stampf, Ohio, pays \$1 to put four names on the list for 25 weeks.
Chas. E. Higgins, D. C., pays \$1 to put a friend on the list for a year.
Frank Tesak, Pa., sends three subs.
Dr. Marjan S. Swient, Ill., sends \$2.50 to renew his Debunker subscription and \$1 for Method No. 3.
G. W. Gilmore, Texas, joins the Haldeman-Julius for Senator Club with an order for four sub cards.
L. C. Divesay, Ill., is an Army worker who believes in action. He orders \$5 worth of 25c sub cards.
Mrs. H. E. Engelberg, Tenn., joins the Bundle Brigade with an order for 60 copies.
Mrs. Wm. Welch, Wis., sends \$1 to help in the senatorial fight under Method No. 3.
Henry Resenthal, D. C., boosts the senatorial fund with \$1 for Method No. 3.
We have E. C. Martin, Pa., to thank for an order for 20 sub cards at 25c each.
Mrs. Mollie Wilson, Texas, helps Method No. 3 with \$2, which will be used in Kansas.
Charles L. Genter, Kans., had 50c in change coming to him, but he chucked it into Method No. 3.
Julius Janowitz, N. Y., renews his Freeman and Debunker subs and adds \$1.50 under Method No. 3.
John B. Roche, Wash., sends for a bundle of 50 copies of Sept. 5 Socialist Special Edition.
Joseph Schaefer, Calif., orders \$1 worth of the Sept. 19 Radical Special Edition.
A. M. Johnston, Ill., orders 50 copies of the July 25 Socialist Special Edition. "Fine work," he writes, "keep it up."
Mrs. Martha Collier, Calif., sends \$5 for 20 sub cards and \$1 to help in the senatorial campaign.
William Belmont, Calif., sends \$1 under Method No. 3 and joins the Senatorial Club.
Roy Lands, Calif., renews his Freeman sub and adds four new names for yearly subs.
"This is my first club of 10 subs, but I hope it won't be my last," writes J. T. Herron, Texas.
S. D. Balfie, Mo., sends in 10 subs. "I am talking teeth and toe-nails for The Freeman," he writes.
H. L. Sheldrake, Md., sends \$1 for a bundle of the Aug. 29 Farmers Special Edition and \$5 for 20 sub cards.
J. E. Smedes, Wis., sends \$1 and instructs us to "send The Freeman to one worthy of getting on your list."
Emil Eckhardt, N. Y., orders four sub cards and adds \$1 for Method No. 3 in the senatorial fight.
Clayton A. Anderson, Ore., gives \$1 under Method No. 3 to help boost the Sept. 26 Senatorial Campaign Edition.
A. McLeod, Kans., sends a club of four subs and says he will vote for The Freeman editor for U. S. Senator.
F. A. Rogue, Pa., sends \$2 to renew his sub and help in the work in Kansas.

"I am pulling for you all the time, but it's hard to get these subs here interested," writes R. C. Sanders, Kan., as he orders four sub cards.
Dr. Marjan S. Swient, Ill., helps the Kansas campaign with \$1, which will pay for sending 50 Freeman broadsides to Kansas voters.
"It is my earnest desire for your success. I am with you to victory," writes Alex. Volman, Md., as he sends \$1 for the Kansas scrap.
X. F. Gehant, Ill., will be able to bring economic light to a bunch of Illinois slaves, because he has just paid for 20 sub cards at 25c each.
"I will do all possible to help you," writes Joe Sileman, who gives no street or city. He sends \$1 for Method No. 3.
Thomas Adie, Ohio, sends \$1, which we have applied to the senatorial fund, wish you success in your enterprises as I am with you to victory."
Harley Gibson, Mich., orders 50 copies of the June 27 Russian Edition. W. A. Clark, Pa., orders 50 of the Hoover Special Edition.
Elmer Wheaty, Alaska, pays \$5 for 20 sub cards at 25c each and instructs us to give them away under Method No. 3.
R. Kelly, Calif., orders \$5 worth of sub cards, but took only 10 of them and ordered the remaining 10 sub cards to be used under Method No. 3.
"I shall try to get you some subscribers. I wish you success in your senatorial joust with Charlie Curtis," writes W. A. Clark, Pa.
F. A. Johnson, Kans., orders 200 copies of the Aug. 29 Farmers' Special Edition.
"To help increase the number of Oregon readers I am sending the following yearly subs and check for same," writes L. A. Simons, Ore.
Oscar A. Larson, Wash., joins the Haldeman-Julius for Senator Club with \$1 via Method No. 3. The same for J. Collins, Canada.
"Keep up the good work and I shall try to do my little bit," writes Benjamin Engel, Ill., as he sends in two yearlies and one six-month sub.
"I like The Freeman," writes James Ruzicka, Ill., as he sends \$1 for four sub cards and \$3 for Method No. 3 to help in the Kansas fight.
We have received \$5 from each of the following for 20 sub cards: Ola Salvetti, Minn.; S. T. Swartz, Va.; Henry Kiemmer, Minn.
Clubs of 10 came from: Hilaire Gour, Chas. Moore, Utah; W. H. Brewer, Minn.; J. E. Hill, Neb.; Edna Zetty, Pa.; G. H. Peterson, N. J.; F. Desch, Ohio; James C. McGee, Ga.; Louis Boss, Mo., helps the Sept. 19 Radical Special Edition with \$1 under Method No. 3, to pay for sending 50 copies to good names in our possession.
W. B. Wood, Honolulu, Hawaii, is a long way from Kansas, but that doesn't stop him from getting into the senatorial fight. He sends \$1 under Method No. 3.
John A. Dietzen, Tenn., answers the libel suit with an order for sub cards under Method No. 3. He also pays for sending 50 copies of the senatorial special to Kansas voters.
J. M. Gleason, Wash., sends \$1 for 50 copies of The Freeman sent from Aug. 15.
E. M. Keown, Mont., renews his own sub for a year and adds \$1 for Method No. 3.
T. Asbjornson, Alaska, writes: "Enclosed find \$1 for helping The Freeman. I don't want any sub cards. You can send The Freeman to good names in your possession."
W. S. Squires, Ohio, sends \$1 to put four new names on The Freeman list, but asks us to select the names ourselves, which we did, using our Kansas file.
John L. Riordan, Mich., orders four 25c sub cards. He writes: "There are lots of fan reading The Freeman after Haldeman-Julius is elected as Senator from Kansas."
"Although my State (Texas) has very few Freeman readers, I believe the dollar I am sending you would do more good for the campaign in Kansas," writes Ben O. Miller, Texas.
"I am pleased with the work of The Freeman and consider the speech of Haldeman-Julius at Fort Scott as rank-and-file utterances of Lenin and Marx," writes H. Ashley, Ind.
Victor Bryan, Ill., orders four sub cards. The same for D. F. Berle, Neb.; Max Carth, Calif.; Robert Dewey, Pa.; Erwin Hickman, Ill.; Richard Fitzsche, Calif.
Mrs. Isabella Wilson, N. Y., joins the Haldeman-Julius for Senator Club with \$1 via Method No. 3, and adds: "I wish you good luck and will try to send you more later."
"I am more pleased every day with The Freeman and will help what I can," writes Mrs. E. F. Berle, Evans, Calif., as she sends \$1 to help circulate the Sept. 26 Senatorial Campaign Edition No. 1 to Kansas voters.
G. H. Frantz, Kans., got a bundle of 50 copies of the Aug. 1 Haldeman-Julius for Senator Special Edition, and now he comes back for another batch of 50. "The Fort Scott speech is good propaganda," he writes.
Ernest C. Antoline, Wis., sends \$2 to help elect The Freeman editor to the U. S. Senate. We thank him for his beautiful letter. He also says he has 800 Little Blue Books which he values highly.
"Here's a dollar for your senatorial fund. Hope you get lots of them and that you will be victorious in your campaign. A Socialist senator would be most valuable asset for the party," writes M. Johnston, Calif.
Geo. T. Powell, D. C., sends \$1 to send 50 copies of the Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 to Kansas voters. "We hope others will help give this special issue the circulation it deserves."
Mrs. L. R. Miller, Kans., pays \$5 for 20 sub cards, which means Kansas

will soon be reached with these broadsides. "I have you to thank for all the good reading matter I ever had," she writes.
"I hope to have the honor of addressing you as the Hon. E. Haldeman-Julius," writes Oscar Rosenbaum, a Philadelphia lawyer. "I consider you the greatest of the nation, and any of the members of the U. S. Senate."
B. S. Goss, Miss., gave us a nice little job. He sent \$3 and instructed us to send copies of the Aug. 29 Farmers' Edition and the Sept. 12 Anti-War Edition to his list of 30 names.
Chas. Magner, Wis., sends \$1 for the senatorial fund and writes the editor a beautiful letter. "Glad to hear from you. Your strong handwriting does not suggest that you are 80 years old. Congratulations on your keen, vigorous mind."
Joseph Langan, N. Y., sends \$3 for a bundle of his. "I shall try to secure more for you and I sincerely hope that you will be successful in your fight against the assault on The Freeman, and also that you will be elected as Senator from Kansas."
"I feel I owe you a debt inasmuch as I have finished my education through your help," writes Marky Calver, who orders almost everything we publish. Answering his question, since the is naturalized there is no danger of deportation.
George W. Brown, Mont., sends \$1 for a bundle of 50 under Method No. 3 to send to the Truth About Russia Special Edition to good names in our file. He also sends \$1 to help fight the libel suit. He tells us to use the four sub cards for our own good names.
S. H. Monk, Texas, sends in a club of four subs and says: "I will do all I can to help elect The Freeman editor to the Senate. I think if you are elected you will be a representative for the whole world. About all I can do is to get subscribers."
At least 25 remittances for clubs of subs, sub cards and contributions to Method No. 3 were received from Arkansas. We requested that their names shall not be mentioned in this column. We always respect such requests.
A. W. McArthur, Ill., sends \$5 for 20 sub cards at 25c each, and requests us not to send them to him but to give them to Method No. 3, which means we will be able to give them away free. "Now I'll have a hand down on tobacco and movies," he says.
"You may use this dollar for Kansas readers. It may help you get more votes. Would like to help more, but my husband is a Hoover victim, but will help as much as I can. Here's hoping that Curtis will be elected that he was running," writes Mrs. Benj. Eirey, Ill.
"I enclose \$1, which The Freeman can use in any way you think it will be the best results," writes C. W. Edger, a 72-year-old Louisiana reader. We applied it to the Sept. 26 Senatorial Campaign Edition. He also enclosed a photo of some beautiful wood carvings he did himself.
Clubs of four subs, at 25c each, were received from: J. M. Burlington, Idaho; King, Minn.; L. L. Daniels, Wis.; Ben C. Weaver, Wis.; Geo. J. Eberhart, Wis.; Fred Prossard, Colo.; J. M. Williams, Idaho; V. E. Boyd, Texas.
Clubs of 10 subs were received from the following: E. C. Pomeroy, Ark.; Callie Williams, Wash.; V. E. Fankhauser, Ga.; Geo. J. Johnson, Wash.; V. E. Seldner, La.; Chas. Barner, W. Va.; Ernest Page, Conn.
R. D. Harkness, Wash., is in his support and is enthusiastic in his support of our work. He writes: "Enclosed please find check for \$5, which you can use to send The Freeman to names you have where it will accomplish most. I wish you success in your campaign for Senator from Kansas."
This week's headlines is that loyal, tireless Army worker O. H. Peterson, Ill., who sends 60 subs. That breaks top that. It's comrades like Peterson, who will make The Freeman a great power in the war for socialized industry.
We have received \$5 from each of the following, who ordered 20 sub cards: J. R. Overholt, Ohio; H. R. Edward, Calif.; Durant Bywell, Calif.; Thur. Ill.; R. Kelly, Calif.; Donald Elmer Raxson, Ill.; W. McAllister, Wash.; John Erben, Jr., Pa.
Clubs of 10 subs were received from each of the following: Henry Bertman, Pa.; John Gero, Ill.; A. M. Flugga, Mo.; Francis J. Connor, Conn.; Rick Stegner, Pa.; E. E. Parr, N. C.; Mitchell, Ill.; C. Lancaster, Ore.; G. R. Lindenmuth, Ohio; Geo. M. Cizek, Ill.; Mrs. W. E. Miller, Mo.
The following have sent in clubs of four subs: Joseph E. Woodcock, Fla.; G. Grant, Minn.; Carsten Bannich, Tenn. Colo.; Wm. D. Brown, Mass.; C. W. Mount, Kans.; John R. Weaver, Md.; Dr. Wm. D. Brown, Mass.; C. W. Mount, Kans.; John R. Weaver, Md.; Dr. Wm. D. Brown, Mass.; Isaac C. Brown, S. C.; Mr. John K. Laddell, Mo.; Geo. Benton, Neb.; R. T. Sawyer, Miss.; Al Holmberg, Iowa; W. E. Ludny, Calif.; Oscar Rosenbaum, Pa.; John Ealatin, N. Y.; Samuel Golub, Calif.; W. Henry Thompson, N. J.

two subs from Adam Weirich, Pa.; two subs from A. P. M. two four-sub cards for Frank Ahol, Miss., and finally four subs from H. Kleth, Mass., who also sent \$1 for Method No. 3 to fight the libel suit and \$1 under Method No. 3 to join the Haldeman-Julius for Senatorial Club.
Geo. H. Shoaf, Calif., is not only a contributing editor of The Freeman, but he is one of the most active members of The Freeman Army. His latest is a club of 10 yearly subs, for which he remits \$5. "I am doing this to make 500 California's position at the head of the column of states, and to increase that lead," he writes. "As The Freeman hits its stride, I believe the subscription response will be tremendous and universal."
Mrs. Uriah Ricketts, Pa., sends \$1 for her subs and \$1 to pay for mailing copies of the Russian Edition to her list of names. She writes: "You are right. We need more statesmen and not so many politicians in our national affairs. Politics in this stench is rotten to the core and the stench is increasing. Wish you could send you ten times as much."
Charles R. Thiele, N. J., helps the senatorial campaign \$1.50.
Bradford A. Whittemore, Mass., sends \$40 under Method No. 3 to pay for sending the Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 to 500 Kansas names in our list, and writes: "Accept my hearty congratulations on your decision to run for U. S. Senator from Kansas. Goodness knows we need all the fearless and truthful men possible to pitch in to win this present plight. I only wish I had the privilege of casting my vote for you. More power to you!"
Clubs of four subs came from: Edwin E. House, Wyo.; M. S. Kartitsky, Frank C. W. Meizler, N. Y.; F. T. Brodwin, Kans.; Mrs. A. H. Leonard, N. J.; J. G. Young, N. J.; Wm. H. Evans, Ohio; J. Mandi, Kans.; C. W. Gensch, Va.; N. T. Harris, Pa.; Chris Olson, Wis.; Mrs. H. Kirat, Ark.; A. W. Emer, Mich.; Everett Theobald, Wash.; A. D. Hill, Ill.; J. S. Young, Utah; H. W. Schmid, N. Y.; H. O. Meyer, Neb.
S. A. Miser, Calif., sends \$5 under Method No. 3 to distribute 250 extra copies of the Sept. 26 Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 to Kansas names in our possession. "I would like to see you elected to the Senate, but don't expect it," he adds. "I am all in favor of those who 'don't expect' The Freeman editor to be elected were to follow Mrs. lead and contribute \$5 to Method No. 3 we certainly would be ready to stand up a strong argument that the editor's election could be expected."

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Dr. Wm. T. DeCoster, Minn., is back in his old job again. He sends \$20, which he distributes to 50 copies of sub cards under Method No. 3 to help in the libel suit; \$5 for Method No. 3 to pay for distributing 250 copies of the Aug. 29 Farmers' Special Edition to good names in our possession; \$5 under Method No. 3 to join the Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Club; \$5 under Method No. 3, to distribute 250 copies of the Sept. 12 Anti-War Special Edition to our own good names.
He writes: "The way you are handling the holy war between the big-shotter is an inspiration. The enclosed postal money order is a few playars for your success."
L. J. Rummel, Texas, sends in four sub cards filled in with names of new subscribers and turns in four unfilled sub cards which he instructs us to use in promoting our campaign. The cards will be used in sending 50 copies of the Sept. 26 Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 to Kansas voters. That's the drive that is in our minds right now, and we hope to see it go over bigger than any campaign attempted in the past. If we could get the circulation we would be assured of a circulation of names on copies of this special edition, which we promise will be our best this far. The Freeman editor is already at work on this edition, writing editorials and articles that will put him to be the only senatorial candidate who has a program that will dig down into current economic evils.
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Socialism and the City

Concluded from page one.

ective 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. This is true and 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 disreputable 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 its funds in the banks at a low rate of interest, and that, being 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 this 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 employes 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. Another provision 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 were all excessive and an attorney I succeeded in reducing all these rates, 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, not 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 did a concession and 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 representatives of government and that the government will treat employers and employes equally in enforcing the 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 thing for a 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 employes. 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 employes, 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 this 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, and so-called "professionals" be induced to help? 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 valid 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 poor 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, the great part of juvenile offenses disappear. 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 Decency

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 dirt? Can we find men

A SIMPLE SOLUTION

The Freeman cannot fight its libel 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, 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 popular 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 objection to 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 of clean government for the confidence thus reposed in 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 case.
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 lickered every big law firm in the city.
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 expense 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 tunes 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 of the theory of the "good man" in office. The voter who publicly announces, "I picked 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 ruination 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 adapted 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 desirability of municipal ownership 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 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 to discipline 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 employes 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 help. 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 and made as virtuous as the city of Athens. 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.

With this in mind, we will now pass on to a brief discussion of some of the important accomplishments in the City of Milwaukee. 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. Taking 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 pay 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 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 parkway 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 water-works 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.

In Milwaukee we 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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