



confer literary genius on its holder." Mussolini.

Last week they had a congress to discuss fascist doctrine, there was no gag law. The students said what they damn well pleased.

The last book on the corporate state that I have opened, Capaccioli's "Cenni sullo Stato Corporativo Fascista" declares the absolutely Jeffersonian objective, in perfectly plain words: A time when the state can sit back and do nothing.

These are the things which the black hand does not like to have published. American liberties will not preserve themselves, and when men are afraid to ACT, their ideas are of damned little use.

A knowledge of ECONOMICS and of economic facts and processes is however worth more than a battalion of cavalry. Marx's theory of value we understand has been superseded. ONCE the mechanism whereby the international finance has damned mankind and done its utmost to destroy every vestige of culture and civilization, the power of RedShield and Guggenguggle is cut off at the root.

Every industry, every factory under the present system produces prices faster than it emits the power to buy.

And every ten cents worth of that surplus is a link in the financiers' chain. It is ten cents onto "bonds."

Value in our time arises from the cultural heritage; that is the aggregate of all mechanical inventions, of all improvements of agriculture, and even of civilized habits. The people can maintain its liberty ONLY IF it maintains its proportionate control of this great fund of value.

All the peoples of the earth have let that control slip into the hands of Kreugers, Insulls, and Wiggins, Shifts, Morgans, De Wendels, Schneiders; Rotschids. etc./ and their agents and touts.

A nation that controls its own credit, will not be controlled from outside.

(you can make whatever use you like of

this. I am not writing it for money, or trying to save postage.

Private/ I believe Roosevelt is honest. The best way to deal with some of his entourage is to show up their ignorance of economics as that's their claim of being there. Got rid of Sprague. Hull, Farley ought to go next. and Tugwell needs to be "eddercated" if that is possible . . . otherwise he might be more use in foreign mission field or selling oil.

Vanderlip is importing propaganda from London School of Economics faculty of which is largely middle European jew. Immense influence, and thoroughly WRONG.

EZRA POUND.

Asheville, No.Car.

May 23, 1934

My dear Mr. Pound:

Your communication of May 7th has been read most cordially by myself. Particularly am I struck by your creative virility of intelligence in the facing of the international program. You are one of us.

It is impossible and would not be of much profit for me to communicate to you

the exceedingly trying circumstances through which we are laboring at the present. It is an uphill fight of the sternest variety. The movement is rapidly getting to the point where it must follow the methods of Hitler in building a *personal* organization; that is, to rely upon the entire contacting of this nation by means of pyramiding groups for each of the nine major districts of the United States, controlled instantly by our Chief, Mr. Pelley. That is the only way there can be a meeting of the grave conditions, changing almost from hour to hour, in the face of the increasing unreliability of the mails and the attempts to completely crush and thwart any specific group at a specific National Headquarters. The movement is rapidly becoming stronger than any printed literature might indicate.

It will be a great pleasure for me to hear from you again, in deep appreciation of your astute creative intelligence, and if there is any way in which we may be of help to you, we shall be most glad to cooperate with you.

Cordially

SILVER SHIRT LEGION OF AMERICA, INC.
Robert C. Summerville

Again, O Pioneers

EDA LOU WALTON

These lay their hands on mountains
Having spanned,
Clad seven-leagued, their outraged land,
Thundered to heaven, hearing thunder back,
Stiffened whatever sinews slack
Trembled before the primitive and grand.

Conquered, O Land, pressed into cornfilled plain,
Pawed into quarry, bin, and watery lane,
Plucked of your flowers, forests, native fruits;
Even your naked eagle now disputes
The people's passion and possessive reign.

Then shoot the bird, knock mountains from their base,
O pioneering race,
Ruthlessly end what ruthlessly began.
Take hawk and buzzard for your emblem, man
Who turns to stone the panther in his pace!

What stale pretense of freedom so long crowns
All your heroic ritual? Pounds
Never were pence, nor purses, hearts, nor flags
More than the staff of life. Are rags
Robes for gay ceremonials and rounds?

Were sparrow but a nightingale, could shadow leap
Past the sun's slant, you plead, and reap
Richness from rancor, prison for your pain.
Lands still divisible to sun and rain
Await the harvest, but the laborers sleep.

Should they awake whose knobby worn shoes parch
The very soil they pause on, in an arch
Terrifically move over field and town,
Towery cities rip your ribbons down,
These are the conquerors, again they march!

The Siege of the Mills

JOHN L. SPIVAK

POLAND has always had a low living standard, but the hunger and misery is now so great and widespread that the country is seething with far greater unrest and bitterness than the world realizes. Workers, driven desperate by starvation, are occupying factories, mills and mines while the government suppresses news of it; gaunt, hungry peasants are marching upon village governments and are being mowed down with machine guns. Only a handful of the Polish people favor the government which is maintaining itself in power by force and a brutality, in some sections, quite similar to the Nazi brand.

Since Polish fascism is not as complete as the Italian or German brand, it failed to achieve one of its chief aims: making labor unions the instrument of the governing clique and prohibiting the right to strike; and as a result, strikes have swept and are sweeping the country.

The Polish government's figures on strikes, unemployment, wage scales and living costs are utterly unreliable. I found that in every fascist and semi-fascist country, official figures aren't worth the paper they are printed on. The only one, it seems, who ever pays any attention to them is the Labor Office of the League of Nations. The Polish government deliberately suppresses unpleasant figures and juggles others so as to present to a world to which it goes for financial credit, a picture of conditions better than they actually are.

Official statistics of workers embrace only plants employing twenty or more persons. Those employing fewer are not recorded, but Zygmunt Zulawski, General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress of Poland (independent unions) estimated for me that this second group "probably includes about 400,000 workers." But when we tried to figure the total number of Poland's industrial workers we were reduced to guessing. Illustrative of the unreliability of the official figures are those on unemployment. Before the world crisis, the statistics show 923,000 persons employed in industry. By 1932 (there are no figures after this date) this number dropped to 478,000 which means almost 450,000 workers were added to the unemployed. The official unemployment figures show that in 1929 there were 185,000 unemployed and by 1932 there were 220,000 or an unemployed increase of about 35,000!

This sort of juggling makes it difficult to estimate accurately the effect of the crisis upon the people, but the wave of bitter strikes and the seizure of factories tells the story even better than figures.

The most outstanding development of recent Polish labor history is the seizing and occupying of work premises by the workers—a strike tactic which prevents the importation of strikebreakers. Union leaders had cautioned their members not to be too aggressive because, as Zulawski put it, "the owner himself was having difficulties due to the crisis." The workers, however, were driven desperate by repeated wage-cuts which reduced them to a literal starvation point; and strikebreakers were drawn from the ranks of the unemployed. It was then that the workers took the desperate move of occupying the factories as a tactic to prevent strikebreakers from coming in.

Occupation strikes began in 1931 when 5,434 workers employed in four factories refused to leave their plants. The workers were evicted by the police after struggles in which people were hurt on both sides. From then on this strike tactic spread until in 1932, 55 factories employing 37,731 workers were seized and occupied.

The government tried desperately to suppress news of this type of strike, but it spread by word of mouth and the idea was quickly adopted by other workers. The government is still trying to suppress such news and only the most dramatic instances like the now world-known occupation of the Klimontow mines when the coal diggers went into the bowels of the earth and announced that they intended to starve to death in protest against their starvation wages, ever breaks through the censorship.

The fear lest news of these semi-revolutionary acts get out and effect Poland's credit in the world's money markets is evident when you speak to Polish officials. It's one of the things they would prefer not to discuss—especially the enthusiasm with which the workers adopted it and the way it is affecting the country.

In 1933, one hundred and thirty-seven factories, mills, mines and workshops, employing 45,552 workers were seized and occupied.

In 1934, two hundred and two places employing 22,974 workers, were occupied.

Figures for 1935 are not available, but Zulawski says the number of factories occupied is "much greater" than in 1934.

I TALKED with several workers who had seized and occupied factories and almost all of them told me the same story that a worker in Lodz told me.

"We did not know what to do," he said. "We knew there were many hungry ones waiting to take our jobs if we went on strike. We knew that there was great un-

employment not only in Poland, but everywhere: in Germany and in Austria, in England and France and even in America. So we suffered. In some factories where they went on strike they pleaded with the strikebreakers not to take the bread out of the mouths of wives and children and they got only beatings from the police. And then"—his eyes laughed at the recollection—"we heard that in the Peltzery factory in Cze-stochowa 800 workers had gone on strike and refused to leave the factory. Strikebreakers could not get in to take their jobs. The workers just sat at their benches while their wives and relatives brought them food. They slept there, too, we heard for seven weeks and the factory owners and the police couldn't get them out because it would have caused a great battle.

"We told our union leaders that we proposed to do that and they shrugged the shoulders like this." He illustrated it with a shrug that brought his shoulders up to his ears. "They said if other workers could do it, so could we. So we occupied our factory here in Lodz. In this city alone there have been fourteen such strikes in the last year! We have learned one thing: if we stay inside they cannot bring in strikebreakers. And if police want to get us out they will have a good fight on their hands!"

"Weren't you worried at what might happen?"

"What could we lose?" he asked, spreading his hands out in a gesture of hopelessness. "It is better to die quickly than slowly of hunger."

SO FAR as I could learn, force to dislodge occupants of seized plants was used by the government in only one instance: during a strike in a telephone factory under government control. The occupation was considered a move against the state. In other factories, mills and mines, the efforts by local authorities to evict the workers who had barricaded themselves in the factories they had seized, created so much unrest in the community that it produced political repercussions. The sympathy of the people was invariably with the workers and the government did not want to irritate an already desperate people by using too much force. You never can tell what workers who had already committed a semi-revolutionary act might do if pressed too hard; and the government is none too strong and certainly not popular. So the authorities, worried by the unrest that invariably developed in a community where workers had seized a plant, brought pressure upon the owners to settle the strike before it resulted