

Germany Holds Small Hopes of Genoa Results

Attends With Good Will, but Negative Outcome Will Support View U.S. Should Be Present, Rathenau Says

Ban on Reparations Fatal

Houghton's Words Taken as Forecast of Friendship With America Restored

BERLIN, April 7 (By The Associated Press).—Dr. Walter Rathenau the Foreign Minister, to-day told the newspaper correspondents that the German attitude toward the Genoa conference is going "with plenty of good will but with small hopes, trusting that the conference, despite its severely restricted agenda, will put register a step forward in the settlement of the disordered world of economic relations."
Dr. Rathenau talked freely of Germany's internal and external problems, of the economic misery growing out of the reparations issue and of Europe's future fate if the United States should permanently dissociate herself from Continental affairs.
The Foreign Minister said he believed if the Genoa meeting produced negative results it would be a complete vindication of Germany's contention that no international discussion could overcome the reparations issue, and would also prove that participation by the United States was indispensable to a rational solution.

Approves Houghton's Attitude

Dr. Rathenau referred with feeling to the remarks of Mr. Houghton, the new American Ambassador to Germany, upon his departure from New York a few days ago. He designated them the first audible expression of sympathy from across the ocean. He said he hoped the exchange of ambassadors would rapidly inaugurate an era of restored friendship which dated back to the colonial revolution, when Prussia was the first European nation to recognize the young American republic.

Warns of Superficial Signs

"We are glad to see American sympathy coming to Germany, although their present number is yet wholly out of proportion to your population of 100,000,000 and more, for we are more than anxious to have eye-witnesses among us who are able to obtain first-hand impressions of new Germany. I want to warn them, however, that smoking factory chimneys and buzzing engines are not the only signs of an era of sound economic prosperity."

Discusses Germany's Reparations Burden at Considerable Length

Dr. Rathenau said: "It required the labor of the German workman for the last year to produce commodities and earn the payments needed for last year's reparations installment. The efforts of a second million were required to provide for the needs of the country abroad, which went into our commodities delivered to the Entente. A third million men had to toil in order that we, as a nation, might be in a position to obtain foodstuffs abroad, which our native soil no longer suffices to sustain the German people. Thus, the work of 3,000,000 able-bodied Germans was primarily devoted to the task of paying off one year's reparations burden."

5,000 Troops to Guard Genoa During Council

GENOA, April 7 (By The Associated Press).—While awaiting the opening of the financial and economic conference next week, the early arrivals among the delegates are seizing opportunities to visit the historic sites of the city and are making excursions into its beautiful suburbs. For many members of the delegations, especially the under secretaries, the conference will mean miles of travel in automobiles, because some of the delegations, including the Russian, are lodged from six to twenty-five miles from Genoa.

This fact has puzzled the newspaper correspondents, of whom there are to be 800, in order to report adequately the doings of the congress and its delegates, who are so widely scattered, endeavors are to be made to induce the conferees to duplicate the system which was so successful at Washington, namely, that a member of each delegation receive the newspaper men daily.

John H. Osborne, the American consul general, who, as consul at Havre at the outbreak of the World War, cared for thousands of stranded Americans, now is applying his experience in seeking lodgings for arriving Americans. He is meeting with almost insurmountable difficulties, as everything has been requisitioned by the government to house the 1,500 official delegates. Owing to the strict regulations Mr. Osborne is struggling for the issuance of special certificates to Americans.

Many of the Americans, unable to obtain accommodations, have gone to the neighboring cities of San Remo, Savona and Bordighera, from which they expect to come to Genoa daily.
One by one the flags of the various nations are being hoisted outside the hotels as the delegates arrive to take up their residence. The streets present a remarkable spectacle of animation, which is growing as the opening day approaches. Patrols of armed Royal Guards watch every corner of the city night and day to see that order is maintained. It is expected that in all 5,000 troops will be used for surveillance work while the conference is in session.

April 10 will remain a memorable day in the history of human progress, says Mayor Ricci of Genoa in a manifesto addressed to the citizens, in which he expresses the hope that the conference, "to which Genoa is proud to give her hospitality, will be for the world a true Easter of peace."
Gabriele d'Annunzio, the Italian poet who gained world-wide fame by his seizure of the city of Fiume, will participate in the coming international economic conference here as the representative of Italy's seamen, according to the Italian newspapers.

Lenine's Illness Fatigue

MOSCOW, April 7 (By The Associated Press).—Dr. Felix Klemperer, the German specialist, who came to Moscow a few days ago to examine Premier Lenine, pronounced him "suffering from fatigue, but declared he has a strong constitution." M. Kalinin, President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, to-day told the correspondent, "You can judge," he added, "that a man who was able recently to deliver several three-hour speeches is not in a bad condition."

While in Moscow Dr. Klemperer apparently examined most of the Russian Soviet leaders, since M. Kalinin's opinion was that "the Soviet public men possessed remarkably strong constitutions."

Russia In the Red Shadow

(Continued from page one)

creative spirit and of confidence between man and man. The soul of labor has been destroyed by the removal of the incentives to labor in the form of immediate rewards for creative effort, and by the removal of the imperatives of labor, as expressed in the ancient dictum: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."
Few among Soviet Rulers Real Leaders of Labor
Looking over the constitution of the Soviet government, how many of its membership definitely represent labor? Comparatively few. The majority of the members of the government are of the professional class of radical political reformers. Others are young intellectuals filled in by enthusiasm for a social crusade. This government is but little more a labor government than any other government admitting workmen to its constituency. Labor is not its main reliance for power among the people. In order to gain the support of labor the government had to make impossible commitments.

In effect the government elevated labor into a privileged class in a system that demanded the utmost of equality between the peasant and the industrial producer. Having thrown the burden of capitalism upon the government still had to act with respect to labor as if it were protecting it against the evils of capitalism. While peasants and railway workers were called upon to contribute to the support of the government, the government was unable to call upon labor for a like contribution. Labor was still pampered, while the workingman, served to restrict the service he performed for the state and to limit his contribution to the support of transportation and the peasantry.

The government forgot that, or failed to act as if, the allegiance of the laborer had changed. So it protected the laborer against itself. The collapse of transportation, the withdrawal of support from the railway man and the peasant. It is only now becoming apparent that transportation and agriculture have failed to the extent that support has been withdrawn from them by the industrial order.

I have before me an English copy of "Russian Code of Laws of Labor" as they were issued in 1919. These regulations explain the failure of Russian labor to rise to its opportunity. Instead of sounding a battle cry of faith and courage, the capitalist cry of a great common ideal, these regulations are drafted as if to protect labor against a common foe. While the peasant was called upon to contribute to the support of the state, the workman was hedged about with defenses born of distrust.

Workmen Placed Under Strict Control System

All these regulations are restrictive and protective; they are theoretical. The workman is removed from the scene and placed under various commissions established by the People's Commissariat of Labor. Labor in large groups is now looked upon as organized collaboration, and the rules for professional unions and the various divisions of the Commissariat of Labor.

The control exercised by these bodies is absolute, through various departments, such as the Department of Labor Distribution, the Department of Labor Protection, etc. These have control of hours, assignments, adjudication of questions between employers and employees, sickness benefits, subsidies, etc. Discharge is so hedged about that the employer is effectively in the power of the worker. The managing committee of a factory is, in fact if not in name, the workmen's council.

Manifestly such regulations as this could not conduce to that prodigious success of the communist experiment. Not productiveness but labor's rights were still preached, though no indication was given as to the power against which these rights were designated. The payment of wages was not gauged to the productiveness of the industry, but was determined by the tariff of "minimum living expenses" as stated by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

In conditions such as these it is not surprising that labor, however willing, should have found itself hedged about by restrictions that cut down its productivity. But there was a subtler poison at work than this. The ideal class animus which had been generated in labor during the capitalistic regime was permitted to continue and even encouraged after Russia had gone over to a communistic principle. This animus now had a political objective. It was directed against the enemies of the new state, and was kept alive as an offensive measure for the support of the state against the enemies within and without.

Under the pressure of this spirit the labor of Russia was fed on false and impossible promises as to what it could expect in return for its services. Particularly it was made to appear that there were great reserves of raw materials and food, that these belonged to the laborer and that all he needed to do was to take what was his own. Such a doctrine reacted against the primary producing classes. The stocks of the peasants were soon exhausted, and the industrial classes, from whom came in return insufficient supplies for the farms.

The history of the government is a history of long efforts to mollify and satisfy the laborer. First, the government took over the factories, expecting labor to hand over either the surplus or all (according to the materials manufactured), and to take their interest in contributions from the state in the form of food, rations and clothing, cigarettes, etc. Under this system the wages were the same for all and only those who worked were presumed to contribute. This system was not at all satisfactory. Production was reduced, the efficiency of workmen and industrial machines was destroyed. The worker became disgruntled and dissatisfied and began to soldier in his work. With the recent withdrawal of the ration the laborer is thrown upon his own resources. Sabotage is now the rule.

Juggling of inventories so that labor could be paid from raw materials, and then when wages could no longer be paid from them the government made up the deficit with grants of paper money.

As a final step the workmen demanded that as the ruling class they be permitted to have all the products of the factory. While this might have been possible in textile manufacturing it was manifestly impossible in heavier lines, such as steel mills, locomotive repair shops, etc. Eventually labor flocked only to those factories in which immediate pay could be made upon the products. The exodus from the manufacturing lines which offered no such opportunity practically brought an end to work in the railroad repair shops and steel mills.

The trouble with all these government systems is that there was more profit in the profession of them than there was in their practice. With the fall of production came the rise of the speculator. More serious than speculation was the introduction of graft. Owners were encouraged to take over a factory, not in order to produce therein but by understandings with the state whereby side profits might be made from "mistakes" in inventorying of supplies from state to factory and from factory outward.

To-day honest labor for an honest wage is the rarest thing in Russia, for the reason that it is impossible to judge what such an honest wage would be. If it is too high it cannot be paid. If it is too low it is a starvation wage. And so a cutthroat system has been introduced. An employer gives what he must and no more. It is not uncommon for a laborer to have employment under three or more employers at the same time, carrying on the work at odd hours, by absences and subterfuges.

The beginning of the end came with a fall in the price of cotton. The laborer became disgruntled and dissatisfied and began to soldier in his work. With the recent withdrawal of the ration the laborer is thrown upon his own resources. Sabotage is now the rule.

From a diary written by an observer whom I am not permitted to name comes the following account which throws a light on factory operations under the Sovietist: "Today I visited a large spinning factory, when the Bolsheviks came the first thing they did was to declare the factory a People's Property. As soon as this was done the workmen opened the storerooms and each took as much as he wanted. Some took up to 500 pounds of clothes. Then the factory committee was elected, consisting of a chairman and two members—all three were laborers. The committee announced that the engineers and mechanics were bourgeois and counter-revolutionaries and that they should

Wages Have Far Outrun Any Possible Production

In an effort to improve these conditions and to introduce some spirit of competition in labor the government started a system of payments of premiums to good labor. But all wages had now far outrun any possible productive returns from the factories. Hoping still to satisfy the laborers the government officials first winked at the

take nine days for sixty-five half-starved stevedores to unload the ship by hand. Two of their number were killed in quarrels among themselves. Captain Hart refused to allow any of his crew to ashore, but one night two of them slipped away. They passed a night of horror before they were able to work their way back on board according to the stories they related on their return. They told of seeing men stood up against a wall to be shot by a firing squad; of seeing men, women and children drop in the streets which were worked out by the power of food as soon as unloading of the grain was begun, only to be driven away by Russian soldiery. Captain Hart said those who resisted were bayoneted. It

Red Soldiers Bayonet Children Who Beg Food of American Ship

BALTIMORE, April 7.—A tale of family fatality and other horrors was related by Captain M. L. Hart, of the steamship Deepwater, which returned to this port to-day from Odessa, Russia. The Deepwater was one of the Russian relief vessels which left here in January.

Toward the end of February the Deepwater reached Odessa and was met at the dock by thousands of children, practically unclothed and showing unmistakable evidences of starvation, which were worked out by the power of food as soon as unloading of the grain was begun, only to be driven away by Russian soldiery. Captain Hart said those who resisted were bayoneted. It

leave the factory immediately, and that all their personal property should be confiscated by the committee. They were allowed to take only one set of underclothing and nothing more.

"During the first six months of the management by this committee the factory operated about four hours a day. All the clothing manufactured was either divided among the workmen or sold by the committee to the peasants and the money divided among the factory workers. After six months all the raw cotton was used and the factory shut down. Then a committee was sent from the capital to make an investigation as to what had been done with the finished goods in the factory. After finding that the goods had been taken by the workmen they returned to the capital. At present the factory is closed. The workmen hang around awaiting what they can."

Patriarchs Renounce Athens

SPECIAL CABLE TO THE TRIBUNE (Copyright, 1922, New York Tribune Inc.)
ROME, April 7.—Patriarchs abroad of the Greek Orthodox Church, meeting in Constantinople, have decided to sever their connection with the Synod of Athens because of the schism which according to advisers received here, in 1908 all Greek churches abroad were put under the Synod of Athens, but henceforward they will be under the control of the patriarchate of Constantinople. The patriarchs of this week were convinced that the Church and the Greek State must be separated.

Among the delegates at Constantinople were representatives of the Synod of Athens and Melitios Metaxakis, patriarch, and all agreed that unless headquarters was moved to Constantinople the schism in the Church would grow worse. Patriarch Metaxakis asked that his election be reviewed by the Constantinople patriarchate, and said that he would resign if it was agreed that he should be replaced.

Far Eastern Troops Routed

TOKIO, April 7 (By The Associated Press).—Forces of the Far Eastern Republic, advancing to reinforce the front at Spasskoe, about 250 miles northeast of Omsk, in contravention of the Russo-Japanese agreement, were attacked by Japanese detachments and routed on April 5.

(Reports from Vladivostok recently reported that the Red forces of the Chita government, advancing southward along the Ussuri Railway, in pursuit of Vladivostok government troops, had reached Spasskoe.)

Soviet Officials Confident Of Strong Support at Genoa

MOSCOW, April 7 (By The Associated Press).—Soviet government circles and the press, eagerly following reports of the activities of the Soviet delegation to the Genoa conference, are well pleased over what they term "the victories of Berlin and Riga."

The "Izvestia" to-day says Germany's action in turning over the old Russian embassy to the Soviet government is the first decisive step toward recognition, and indicates that Soviet Russia will appear at Genoa not as an isolated power but with strong support. The newspaper predicts that France will be isolated if she maintains her present position, since, it declares, Italy and England "will be drawn to do like Germany."

Poincare and Lloyd George In Full Accord

(Continued from page one)

he wanted to economize this time. He will live at the Villa Raggio.
Richard Washburn Child, American Ambassador, will arrive in Genoa Sunday. He will attend the open session Monday, but thereafter will depend largely for his information about conference happenings on the French Ambassador to Rome, M. Barrere.

PARIS, April 7 (By The Associated Press).—Premier Lloyd George to-day took the opportunity in the course of his conversation with Premier Poincare to renew the undertakings entered into at the recent Boulogne conference, namely that there should be no discussion of the peace treaty at Genoa. As to the disarmament question Lloyd George said it could be raised only as regards Russia, which country still maintained an army of nearly 2,000,000 men.

During the conversation the British premier displayed the greatest desire for reaching a definite solution of financial and economic problems, notably customs and exchange.
Premier Poincare and M. Barthelemy reiterated that France's rights should not be interfered with. They remarked that the Genoa program would be thoroughly practical, thanks to the preparatory work of the experts, which had been made possible by postponement of the conference from the original date to April 10.

Experts' Findings Form Basis

The British and French experts, it was pointed out, had reached an agreement upon urgent questions, such as exchange and customs, not only in principle but on methods for putting the reforms into effect. Consequently, although the governments were not bound to the conclusions of the experts, their findings would provide suggestions and could be easily transformed, after a few modifications of detail, into formal decisions of the conference.

The premiers also discussed the preliminary meeting at Genoa before the opening of the conference proper. It was agreed to confine the meeting to the nations which issued the invitation and which are concerned with settling questions of procedure. But the meeting in no way will take the character of a supreme council or permanent committee.

Lloyd George showed himself imbued with a particularly conciliatory feeling toward Poland, saying he understood fully the arguments advanced by France in favor of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Pontiff Approves Prayers For Genoa Parley's Success

ROME, April 7 (By The Associated Press).—Pope Pius has written the Archbishop of Genoa, approving the request of the archbishop for prayers by the faithful for a happy result of the Genoa conference.

"We express a desire and cherish the confidence," says the Pope's letter, "that the envoys of the powers will consider the unhappy conditions under

Red Delegation Seeks Open Sessions at Parley

(Continued from page one)

Tchitcherine Says Russia Is for Arms Cut; Genoa Hears Rumor Lenine Is With Envoys
SANTA MARGHERITA, Italy, April 7 (By The Associated Press).—The Soviet delegation to the Genoa Conference will do all in its power to obtain open sessions and the prompt publication of the proceedings. Georg Tchitcherine, the Soviet Foreign Minister, said to-night. He emphasized, however, that Russia's was only one of many delegations, and from his tone the impression was given he was not very hopeful the meetings would be open to the press except on purely formal occasions.

Commenting on the British Prime Minister's speech in the House of Commons early in the week, M. Tchitcherine said the Russians concurred in Lloyd George's suggestion for reduction of land armaments, which were placing a great burden of taxation on Europe and preventing the re-establishment of world economy. He declared Russia was prepared fully to support a policy of general reduction in armaments and armaments which, in his opinion, naturally would presuppose the end of causes which menace Europe with a new war.

Says Lloyd George Has Retreated

Contrasting Lloyd George's latest speech with his position at the Cannes conference the Foreign Minister said it suggested that the Prime Minister had retreated somewhat and that the forces opposing him had made headway. Nevertheless, the conference should be the first step in the general economic restoration of Europe, and Russia would welcome the idea of concluding practical agreements as the first step. He made it clear that with-

which all peoples are struggling, not only with a serene soul but with willingness to offer any sacrifice on the altar of the common good. This will be the first step toward the universal much-desired peace.

"The best guaranty for tranquility will be found not in a forest of bayonets but in mutual confidence and friendship. I pray that from the decision of the conference there will come that concord which will make nations brothers and start them after eight years of sorrow and ruin on the road to peace and civilization."

Wild Rumors About Reds in Genoa

GENOA, April 7 (By The Associated Press).—Several groups other than the Socialists and Communists went to Santa Margherita to-day to greet the Russian delegation, but had to be satisfied with being received by the secretary, who reported that M. Tchitcherine would return.

The "Corriere Mercantile," which reports the visit of these groups, says an investigation showed that M. Tchitcherine went alone to a store where he bought two shirts, two pairs of socks and a soft hat.

This and other similar stories have given rise to the wildest rumors, including one that Premier Lenine is in Genoa disguised as a secretary or a waiter, who reported that M. Tchitcherine would return.

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