The capitalist system is doomed by the events of the past and by the events of the present. But perhaps the capitalist rulers will collect themselves at this, the eleventh hour; perhaps they will now reveal a plan for the world's reconstruction, a plan that might restore order at least from the capitalistic point of view, and which would pay the worker for his hard labor at least as much as a horse gets for his—sufficient food. We say beforehand: capitalist economists and capitalist thinkers have formulated these plans, but the bourgeoisie as a class will pull the wool over its ears and turn a deaf ear to their counsels in the same manner in which the English Government disregarded the counsel of its financial advisor in Versailles, Mr. Bullitt. And should the Soviet diplomats hold up the advice of these far-sighted bourgeois economists before the capitalistic world, it would receive one and the same answer: "We cannot carry out these boundless plans."

The bourgeois world in Genoa will be like a rudderless ship drifting into the boundless sea only to be shattered by the storm. The fact that at Genoa, capitalism will appear rudderless, bereft of its sense of direction and lacking any plan, will drown its own shouts about the bankruptcy of Communism and will announce to the proletarians of all countries: "Give up all hope in the capitalistic world; give up all hope that it can bring new life and order into the world."

All the time at each other's throats and eaten up by mutual distrust, the capitalist governments will reach out their rapacious hands for the property of the Russian working people. All of them will do it in the hope that the famine in the Volga regions will compel the Soviet government to capitulate. The English government displayed a murderous calm when millions of people died of starvation in India. "If they cannot live, they die", coolly writes the historian of British imperialism, Professor Seely, in his book on the expansion of England. But they know that the Soviet government, the government of the workers and peasants, connected as it is with the suffering masses, has not toward their famished condition the coolness and calm of these white-blooded gentlemen. That is why they are carrying out the plan which Lloyd George in August 1921 called the devil's plan, the plan to take advantage of the famine in order to rob the Russian masses. And now they are preparing for the marauding expedition. What is more characteristic than the fact that the same democratic German government which bewails its lot before the whole world, continues clamoring about the plundering expedition of the Entente against Germany, joins the Allied plans to demand of Russia that it
pay all debts, and that it return the factories and the mines to the foreigners; all this, without even as much as a word being uttered as to who should pay the Russian people for the death and destruction caused them by the three years’ intervention. Nothing succeeds and now we ask you, ‘Are you willing to accept our existence as we do yours?’ We are seeking a mous vivendi with you, as long as you exist.’

At Genoa, the capitalist world will answer us, “We have nothing against the Soviet Government if it gives to Caesar that which is Caesar’s and to God that which is God’s”. What answer will they receive from the capitalist diplomacy?

The Genoa conference is no learned dispute between Communists and capitalists, but a fight; and we old fighters know that before the battle the opponent is not to be lectured at. The capitalists will only listen if they are convinced, and the report of the Russian proletariat is informed of all details of our policy. The trade-union representatives of our party and our government have formulated our tactics, as much as it was possible for us to do in the three years’ blockade. These moves and counter-moves are of no importance. For great working masses, it is important to know what concessions we shall make to the capitalists and what we shall demand in return.

We shall undertake the obligation to pay the old debts if they recognize our government and if they help us to commerce, work which alone can furnish the means of paying the old debts. But while undertaking this obligation we openly say to the capitalists, “The imperialist war and your brigand-campaign against Soviet Russia have driven our country to financial ruin. We do not know what answer we shall get from the creditors and what might we offer to them. You should do so the more readily, because we can put counter-claims, and still more readily because it is the only sensible way out if you are to see any part of the debts at all.”

The capitalist world will answer us, “It is true, you are financially bankrupt, but you have factories and mines which at one time belonged to us. Return them.” To that we answer—“The Russian Revolution has driven out the lord, who has turned land and lots into state-property, and turned them over to the peasants for cultivation, thus ridding the Russian people of its feudal parasites. And no one who has gone through the experience of the splendid and bloody civil war, during which the capitalists defended their land with an armistice and then attempted to deprive them of their land. It seems that you believe the workers will defend his factory less bravely. Well, we advise you not to test the matter. But aside from all this, the revolution is not only deeply furrowed Russia’s arable soil. In its defence against war and blockade, and in order to set the war factories into shape, which for three years supplied us with arms against you, we have consolidated the factories, merged the capitalist governments with which we are negotiating. We have handed out for your factories, you will encounter in many places our bare walls. A return to the old property relations is impossible. It is impossible because our new law providing for the nationalization of industries corresponds to the new demands of life created by the Russian Revolution. The relations is an impossibility because Russia can be restored only through a new and vast technical apparatus, which reaches beyond the old boundaries of property. You can reap profits in Russia; we are ready to guarantee them, but we shall not give up the conquests of the revolution. Not denationalization, but leases and concessions; these are the essentials and the limits of our concessions.”

We do not know what answer we shall get from the capitalist world at Genoa. We are prepared for the worst, because we know how difficult it is for this capitalist world, which has been accustomed to treat us as the Eighty Million in addition, to recognize old debts, and in order to restore our most important branches of industry which must remain in the hands of the working-class, we must recognize our government and it will continue in its course with calm and confidence. We do not know whether the capitalists of the world, and in order to get at our mineral wealth we must lease a part of our factories to foreign capitalists, even if they recognize our government and to fight, and to fight, and victory will be ours, for we represent the new life, we have sent that cry into the world, which is the cry of the new epoch dating from the day when the capitalist world disturbed the sleep of the capitalist world.

The struggle which the Soviet Government will carry on in Genoa, and which it will perhaps have to carry on with
different weapons after Genoa, will be watched by millions upon millions of workers (and not only workers) who deeply sympathize with us, and who will support us in our struggle.

In those three years, during which we fought for the life of the dictatorship, we were supported not only by the Communist Parties of the neutral countries of Europe, but also by the workers of these countries. We were supported by the sober English workers who were no Communists, and by all those whose hearts were moved by the reports of the superhuman sacrifices made by the Russian workers for the cause of their country and of the Russian Revolution.

The economic and financial situation of Genoa

by Eugen Varga

The Genoa Conference is one in the long series of conferences in which the European bourgeoisie has made vain attempts to cure the economic and financial situation of Europe, put out of gear by the world war. But since the reconstruction of Europe is going on without the support of the United States, and since the latter will not take an active part in Genoa, this conference does not promise to be much of a success.

The essential facts that necessitate the reorganization of European economic and financial conditions are generally known. The economic crisis has been going on for two years, showing no signs of abatement. This economic and financial crisis assumes two forms. The first is the depreciation of the world which preserved their material and human forces of production intact during the war, or have even improved them (the United States, Japan, the neutral European countries and England), are suffering from a crisis of overproduction. This crisis assumes the usual forms with which we are acquainted from the former "normal" crises of capitalism; there are: Unsalable goods, stopped production, a steep fall of prices, bankruptcies and tremendous unemployment. The former organization of capitalism enables it to shift the burden of the crisis upon the working-class. Whereas, in former crisis, it was the capitalists themselves who through reduction of prices, loss of property and bankruptcies bore the cost of adaptation to the economic conditions of life, the present crisis of overproduction is being combated by a surplus of goods. Surplus goods have been eliminated mainly through a systematic and protracted limitation of production and through the unemployment of millions of workers. The figures are only too well known. In the United States there are about 2,000,000 unemployed African Americans. In the native United States, and in the neutral countries of Europe, about 20% of the workers are unemployed. Never before in the history of capitalism was there such extensive and protracted unemployment.

Such vast and protracted unemployment is a severe trial for the social equilibrium of capitalism. The capitalists of England were compelled to reduce the great social pressure caused by unemployment by means of an unemployment benefit on a large scale, which requires millions of pounds yearly. Economic as well as social reasons therefore moved England to attempt the reorganization of its economic relations.

Aside from bad business and the unemployment caused by it, the financial and exchange crises led to Genoa. England, indeed, succeeded in straining all its forces in balancing its budget. Italy and France, on the other hand, are still suffering from great deficits in their government finances. Besides, the Entente governments owe more than 10 billion dollars to America, while Italy and France are also in debt to Britain. The tax burden is in all countries, including the United States, very great and forces the establishment of an order in Europe that will make the maintenance of large armies and navies superfluous.

These financial difficulties are the direct effects of the world war. The mounting cost of the war has far exceeded the amounts that the yearly income of the various nations could afford. The national wealth itself was then consumed. But since under the capitalistic system, this could be done only in accordance with the right of private property, the actual capital used up was displaced by fictitious capital; government debts amounting to hundreds of billions in face value. The nations of Europe will have to drag these immense burdens for decades (if capitalism lasts that long).

However, the causes of the world-wide economic crisis are more complex. The main factor is the economic breakdown of Central and Eastern Europe during the war; up till now they have not recovered from it. These countries: Germany, Poland, Russia, the Balkan countries and the Succession States of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, have a population of about 300,000,000 people, in other words, about three-eighths of the world's population involved in the capitalistic economy system. Of these, Germany with a population of 60,000,000, was one of the leading capitalistic countries. Due to the shortage of goods, occasioned by the war, the output of goods, of production and transportation, these regions are suffering from a constant underproduction; in other words, production does not cover consumption, and the stores of goods that are still available are being used up. In fact, according to the laws of capitalistic economy, this can be seen in the continuing depreciation of the exchange in these countries, in contrast to those countries having a relative surplus production. Aside from temporary fluctuations, we see that the currencies of Germany, Austria, the Balkan countries and Russia, are undergoing a progressive depreciation from year to year. It is the reserve side of the fact that these countries consume more than they produce. This circumstance makes it impossible for these countries to be a market for English and American goods. This, of course, is not the only cause. And the overproduction in the "healthy" countries is caused directly by the absolute underproduction of these countries.

This situation is greatly complicated by the reparations problem. According to the latest rulings, Germany, which is economically the strongest of the defeated countries, is to make yearly payments in gold and in goods, which amounts to more than the whole capital invested in Germany. In other words, these are to be delivered to the Allies with nothing in return. But since Germany hardly produces as much as the most necessary consumption of its own population requires, it becomes clear that the continued payment of these reparations burdens will probably bring Germany to complete ruin. But this in turn means that:

1. Germany is eliminated as a buyer in the English and American markets.

2. In order to be able to bear the reparations burden, Germany will be compelled to export goods, at all costs. (Whether the reparations burden is to be paid in gold or in goods, does not alter the fact that with its present human and material production apparatus, Germany cannot bear such a gigantic burden, without sinking deeper and deeper into the economic abyss.)

As is well known, the discussion of the reparations question was stricken from the agenda of the Genoa conference, although it seemed highly important in the reorganization of the economic life of Europe without making essential changes in the reparations questions. The difficulty lies in the conflict of interests that manifests itself in this question between the two leading European countries, England and France. France, which is chiefly interested in exporting her surpluses and in order to reduce the amount of unemployment, is in favor of reducing the reparations burden, so that Germany's buying capacity may be increased. France, however, which is not suffering so much from the economic crisis because of its fundamentally agrarian character, and which has no unemployment to cope with because of its general depopulation and loss of life in the war, has on the other hand the greatest financial difficulties to cope with; it is therefore greatly interested in receiving goods and gold payments from Germany. This conflict, amounting to a two great powers, constant obstacle in the way of settling the reparations question.

The second important field is Russia with her 135,000,000 inhabitants and her immense potential wealth, that stands out in such sad contrast with her present frightful poverty. The almost complete elimination of this economic force from the world market and the drop of production caused by it and the protracted war, (rendered more acute by this year's famine), is one of the main causes of the disturbed equilibrium in the world's economic household.

The reconstruction of the underproducing regions of Central and Eastern Europe would first of all require the transportation of the means of production into these regions, in order that these may start their own production going. Under the capitalistic system this means loans to these countries. Of the world powers, America is best able to furnish a big loan, for it has a surplus of goods and of the means of production which it can furnish to the impoverished regions. But the American capitalists think that they will be able to restore their economic
equilibrium by developing their domestic market and by opening the South American markets. Up till now they have flatly refused even the requests for negative relief or for the withdrawal of their demands upon the Entente countries that have their origin in the war; they even made the demand that out of every pound of reparations paid they paid the cost of the American army of occupation on the Rhine. This behavior on the part of the United States is directed chiefly against French militarism and against the elimination of the United States from the American dominion fields, by England, etc. The proletarian regime in Russia is another great obstacle in the way of international regulation.

On the whole we may say that the economic and financial situation of the capitalistic world demands the reorganization of economic forces in Europe, Germany and Russia included. The essential of such a reorganization should consist in the reduction of the reparations burden, in the mutual cancellation of war-debts by the Allied countries, and in big loans to be granted by those countries having a surplus production to the impoverished countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The country striving most for these possibilities of relief is England, which, in addition to the great powers, is most closely connected with the world economics, and which therefore suffers the most from the economic crisis of the world. But it is not able to reconstruct the impoverished countries by itself. The other capitalistic powers is thwarted by the special interests of each of these powers. Hence it seems to us that the Genoa Conference is tackling a problem that is of the greatest importance to the very existence of the capitalistic world, but that this conference will hardly be able to obtain a solution to these problems.

Genoa and Germany.

by A. Thalheimer (Berlin).

** The Wirth-Rathenau Government has landed in a ditch because of its policy of compliance and now grasps at Genoa as a drowning man grasps at a straw. As is well known the present German government did not entirely accept the latest decree of the Reparations Commission; instead it accepted only a number of essential demands contained in the last note; it objected to Allied control over taxes and finances, to the cash payments decreed for the remainder of the year, and to the demand that new taxes to the value of 60 million paper marks be imposed. As for the other Allied demands, the Wirth Government declared its willingness to enter into discussion. Although this last note of the Reparations Commission was not in the nature of an ultimatum since it set no time limit in which an answer must be made, nevertheless May 1st may be taken as the final date because by then the new taxes amounting to at least 60 million paper marks must be provided. There is thus a vacuum created and the Wirth-Rathenau-Bauer Government hopes to fill this vacuum with Genoa.

The economic and financial condition of Germany on the eve of the Genoa Conference may be briefly thus summarized: The German paper mark which suffered a heavy decline after the Cannes decision for regular ten-day payments, has regained a heavy loss because of the last Reparation note. The dollar rate, the best measure of Germany's financial and economic condition, is now above 300. The wholesale and retail prices follow the dollar rate more quickly than at any time in the past. An immense wave of rising prices is sweeping through the land. The cost of the most important articles of food is increasing almost daily; the scattered attempts of the workers to make wages meet the higher cost of living, is meeting with stubborn resistance on the part of the employers. Hand in hand with this rise in prices have gone up the profits of the employers. A working-class strike in Germany in August is the outcome of the eight-hour day, which is one of the last conquests of the November Revolution of 1918. The prices of various goods tends to approach the prices of the world market. But until the world market level is reached, the cut-throat competition of Germany will go on unhampered.

Another characteristic feature of Germany's economic situation on the eve of Genoa, is the fact that the heavy industries and high finance are taking advantage of the tight position in which the government is placed, and are using all their energies on the attempt to acquire the most important government industries, like the railway, the post-office, etc. The railway and post-office rates are constantly being raised, but the prices which the united heavy industries demand for the supplies that they have in their hands are rising still faster. Thus the democratic petty-bourgeois government is backed more and more against the ropes and is driven alive by the heavy industries.

One might actually think that under these circumstances, any German government would take a clear and determined stand at the Genoa Conference. The only card that it could play is Soviet Russia, to which the German nation is bound by a common fate. The revolutionary Soviet Government could make an active and independent role towards the Entente. Only then would there be a possibility that its independent participation in the reconstruction of Soviet Russia would go to the credit of German economy instead of going into the war-tribute coffers of the Entente.

This vacillating policy, which is both brainless and characterless, that creeps along from day to day and seizes at a new straw after every defeat, that has made an Entente colony out of Germany, has turned the German Government into an English or French vice-regency, and has burdened the masses with unendurable war-debts, is directly supported by the Independent Socialists, every soul in Germany knows that without the support of the Social Democratic Party and the trade-union bureaucracy, this government could not live another day.

The mystery of this incredible idiotic and cowardly policy of the Wirth-Rathenau Government is the effectiveness of the Genoa policy as an altogether negligible and absolutely dependent power, is nothing more than the blind class-egoism of the German bourgeoisie; this class egoism is encouraged by the Social Reformist leaders of the German Independents, that is, by the government of the Independent Socialists, every soul in Germany knows that the Genoa Conference is the only card that it could play as an independent and self-conscious policy towards the Entente, a policy in conjunction with Soviet Russia is only possible when the inner political power is seized by a government which is supported by the overwhelming majority of the masses, the working-class. But the support of the great masses is to be won only through the most ruthless shifting of the war-burdens upon the bourgeoisie and the subjection of the bourgeoisie to the most rigorous control of the working-class. The Social Democratic Party does not venture to put this question to a free decision, it would be even too much for the Social Democratic Party to enter into the discussions at Genoa; it is content to go on unhampered.

The mystery of this incredible idiotic and cowardly policy of the Wirth-Rathenau Government is cleared up when we see the effect of this Genoa policy upon the masses of Germany. The German government has turned the German Government into an English or French vice-regency, and has burdened the masses with an unbearable war-debt and the country is being the true Germany.
England and Genoa.

By M. Philips Price.

** It is an irony of fate that the first great international conference for the reconstruction of Europe, to which Russia and Germany have been invited, should have been called by those who are described by the events of last year as the "victors". The ex-Jains stand the present political situation in England. Russia.

by the great international banking houses of the capitalism is of the utmost importance, if one is of the Conservatives, backed by the higher aristocracy and who fought in the war now finds that he really fought in order being invested, as bank and finance capital, in the British determination of British Industries, is now leading its fatherland and African colonies, where their masters can now recruit cheap plentiful of war gave them their opportunity and they took it. There is "frozen assets", elements there are also powerful influences in the electrical undertakings, controlled the policy of the Lloyd George after it the industrial capitalists, who lived on inflation and who industrial capital, as their special preserve. To them is to be attributed the rise of the Lloyd George coalition, the bloc National behind him—that is by the French banks and bondholders.

The British Empire has undoubtedly entered upon the most serious crisis in its history. There are many signs which point to the fact that the Empire is already in process of dissolution. It is true, the process may last for many years and even for decades, but the general trend of developments is already discernible. The amoral effects of the crisis at home is to strengthen the extreme reactionary elements—the Conservative or Tory Party, who for a long time past have been attacking Lloyd George and demanding the end of the coalition, with which he was himself a member since the party was formed. They consist partly of the outspoken militarist elements and of certain powerful families of the aristocracy, who have regarded the War Office, the Admiralty and the India Office for years past as their special preserve. To them has been attributed the intention of the British government, clearly seen in the latest developments, to suppress the nationalist revolutionary movements in Egypt and India with all the force of military imperialism and censorship. In addition to these, and to these elements there are also powerful influences in the "City", which are as work undermining the economic bases of the Lloyd George Coalition. There can be no doubt that the banks are once again becoming an important, if not a dominating factor in the government of England. During the war and for three years after it the industrial capitalists, who lived on inflation and who monopolized coal, iron, shipping and engineering factories and electrical undertakings, controlled the policy of the Lloyd George Coalition. It was they—the Federation of British Industries—that engineered the coal lockout last year, it is they who have caused the big lockout in the metal and shipbuilding industries. And why? Because they, pressed by the banks to liquidate their "stocks and shares" and to borrow on the banks at reduced prices those colossal plants, which they built in times of war— inflation and boom. For now those plants are standing idle. The market is ruined in Russia, in Germany, in the Near East. In the case of the royal class in England, this forma largely behind the nationalist movements in these lands. They are building their own factories and opening up their own mines. The products of British industries are not wanted by them. The war gave them their opportunity and they took it. There is plenty of cheap labor in Asia. The industrial capital of the Federation of British Industries, is now leading its fatherland and being invested, as bank and finance capital, in the British colonies and spheres of influence. Thus the British working man, who fought in the war "to make the world safe for democracy", now finds that he really fought in order to conquer in the British Empire places like Mesopotamia and the German African colonies, where their masters can now recruit cheap black labor. The natural resources of the world and labor everywhere to a large financial bloc, with its seat in New York and who know no nationality, are again becoming powerful. The day of the warprofiteer is gone.

Mr. Lloyd George has failed in his plan to secure for British industrial capital a dominant position, through Genoa, in the reconstruction of Europe. But he is not beaten yet. It may be that he will now try to put his hopes at the head of some of the big financial groups, who have met in London recently in preparation for Genoa and who are working out plans for a large international credit scheme with guarantees from the debtors. But what fate await the workers of Germany and Russia in view of these new developments of international capitalism? At Genoa, Soviet Russia at least will have the opportunity to follow an independent policy towards the capitalist powers of Western Europe. The tactics which it follows will have to depend in no small degree on the question whether or not banking capital and the money merchants, who are in power in France and seem to be coming to power in England, are able to overcome the rivalry, which has hitherto been going on between the Federation of British Industries and the French bondholders. If it should not be able to do so, then the position of Soviet Russia and consequently also of the German proletariat will be strengthened. They can then hope to drive some benefits from the fact that finance capital cannot yet unite across frontiers. Then Soviet Russia may be able to find a sphere in which it will be able to make its figure, to which the financial bloc, with its seat in New York, will not succeed. But this is not the only way. The Soviet government can also use the means of science and education in the way of international industrial federations, to the advantage of the whole international proletariat. It is true, the process may last for many years and even for decades, but the ex-Jains stand the present political situation in England. Russia.

Genoa and France.

I. Genoa and the French Bourgeoisie.

by A. Rosmer.

** From the very beginning i.e., from the very moment when it was proposed, the Genoa Conference resounded in an unmistakable way in French political circles. Right then and there it led to the overthrow of Briand's Cabinet and brought Poincaré, "Poincare led to the overthrow of Briand's Cabinet and brought Poincaré," Pointing the way in French democracy, the tool of Ilovasky, as the last hope of the Bloc National in the government.

In the field of Parliamentary politics, Mr. Briand is a virtuoso. Up to the very finest detail he commands the art of working over the stuff out of which deputies and senators are made, and his last excellent operation of taking over the government by division of the heterogeneous mass of Bloc National into two parts.

As stupid and idiotic as this Bloc may be, it does not, however, consist exclusively of journalists and lawyers whose sole activity consists in waving the red flag of Bolshevism before the frightened bourgeoisie. It rather consists of men, industrials and business men who on account of their calling have a sharp eye for economic realities. These people also clearly recognized the danger of pursuing the absurd and criminal policy which the French government has been pursuing against Soviet Russia. They therefore based their negotiation on the base and further away from its original position, at the same time supporting the policy of Lloyd George through all sorts of sleight-of-hand tricks.

Nevertheless, the nationalistic temptation was still too great for the Genoa Conference and its program. Then there was another reason. The principle of the financial bloc, the French government. The motto, "Germany should and must pay!", is not a mere election campaign slogan for the French government. Should Germany not pay, not make the tremendous payments fixed by the Reparations Commission, then the bankruptcy of France, the breakdown of France's extensive imperialistic policy is assured—a policy adopted by France surrounded by its vassals, the small "liberated" nations of Central Europe.
Poitcaré has come into power as the proponent of this policy. He also has displayed all his arts in the hope of preventing the Genoa Conference. It was no longer possible to continue to represent Germany in this Conference. But what did lie within the limits of possibility was the limitation of its program, its postponement and finally the systematic reduction of its significance. The first thing to be achieved was that Russia be admitted to the Conference only under the most rigid conditions, and only as an equal signatory, with concessions all his sins and recognizes the Czarist debts. Similarly the Treaty of Versailles had to be declared "a touch me not" and ruled out of the order of the day of the Genoa Conference.

Poitcaré is in search of allies. France could no longer stay away from the Genoa Conference, but it retained the weapon of "not". The Conferenceefined to mobilize its Small Entente, sought support in England, firstly from the North-cliff press which was raging against Lloyd George after it had itself recognized him as the savior of the country during the imperialistic world war and sung paeans of praise to him, secondly from Churchill's clique which proposes that Soviet Russia be dealt with through Generals Ludendorff and Hoffmann, and thirdly from the ultra-reactionaries of the "Morning Post", who want to cure England of its economic crisis by means of guns and tanks.

However, Poitcaré's success was only partial. The Washington Conference, in spite of having in its time been considered as a great French victory, is a definite defeat for French diplomacy. France went to Washington full of illusions and displayed a complete disregard for the international situation which was clearly unfolding. The American delegation was ambivalent, Harding's disarmament conference. There it developed its vicious program unhindered, in which it declared that it cannot reduce its army of 800,000, it also claimed the mass of a large fleet but not necessarily, large numbers of its German war ships and submarines. The French proposals roused true contempt and lively conflicts. Everywhere French imperialism was loudly and distinctly talked about, and in the eyes of those capitalists who cannot rationalize by bourgeoisie, to divert the sad consequences of the imperialist world war, and the reality of danger only if it could succeed in reconstructing the ruined economic household of the world, France appeared the only greatest danger.

Under these circumstances Poitcaré could not get very far with his machinations. He was compelled to submit to a comparatively short postponement of the Conference instead of the original demand for a three months postponement, and to attempt to limit the list of subjects to be discussed by coming to an understanding with Lloyd George. Thus France came to Genoa under the ghost of reparations and Germany's paying capacity, which completely dominates it. So great is France's fear that Jean Herbe, an official journalist, wrote in the "Temps" of the 30th of March:

"Should the reparations question come up in Genoa, or should new agreements be worked out, while the Reparations Commissions is still held back by an answer which is based on the need of a large fleet, but mainly of a large number of guns and tanks."

Were it only a question of ratifying the Peace Treaty of Versailles, a gigantic conference as that called in Genoa, would have come out openly against the Conference. But what did lie within the limits of possibility was the limitation of its program, its postponement and finally the systematic reduction of its significance. The first thing to be achieved was that Russia be admitted to the Conference only under the most rigid conditions, and only as an equal signatory, with concessions all his sins and recognizes the Czarist debts. Similarly the Treaty of Versailles had to be declared "a touch me not" and ruled out of the order of the day of the Genoa Conference.

If it was at all considered possible by anyone to appeal to the healthy reason or at least to the well-understood motives of the fools who together with the war-maker, Poitcaré, are undermining France, and at the same time disgracing and choking her, it is today clearly understood that it was necessary to maintain the illusion, and that nothing can be accomplished in cooperation with bolt-breakers, industrialists and the clerical and reactionary petty bourgeoisie.

Poitcaré wants to know nothing of Genoa. He left no stone unturned in his attempt to bring the conference an the rocks. Beaten on the field of his own allies, the Little Entente, which had been trampled on by his machinations, the Genoa Conference, which was called together by the Russia of Ke-rensky, that was the sole France for saving a completely lost situation. And our dissenter's quite correctly scented the danger of war for "right and civilization". Thus they preferred the wholesale murder until "the final victory" to the utmost efforts of preserving peace.

But today the various nations are again in the midst of an extremely critical situation. The battlefield upon which people fought and destroyed each other according to the rules and regulations of capitalist civilization and science, has given place to a field of misery, unemployment and bankruptcy. The war threatens to come back, the danger of war for the whole world is very well with what terror these war-leaders, Thomas and Renaudel included, were stricken on the eve of the Stockholm Conference, which was called together by the Russia of Ke-rensky. That was the sole France for saving a completely lost situation. And our dissenter's quite correctly scented the danger of war for "right and civilization". Thus they preferred the wholesale murder until "the final victory" to the utmost efforts of preserving peace.

But Poitcaré and his Bloc National, who want to cure England of its economic crisis by means of guns and tanks, would have been very sly. One after other refuses with a graceful wave of the hand and until now Poitcaré has only been able to find mese- rable substitutes. And this is a mighty poor way of going to a conference.

II.
Poincaré and his Bloc National in Genoa.

by Charles Rappaport (Paris).

But Poitcaré and his Bloc National in Genoa.

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If it was at all considered possible by anyone to appeal to the healthy reason or at least to the well-understood motives of the fools who together with the war-maker, Poitcaré, are undermining France, and at the same time disgracing and choking her, it is today clearly understood that it was necessary to maintain the illusion, and that nothing can be accomplished in cooperation with bolt-breakers, industrialists and the clerical and reactionary petty bourgeoisie.

Poitcaré wants to know nothing of Genoa. He left no stone unturned in his attempt to bring the conference an the rocks. Beaten on the field of his own allies, the Little Entente, which had been trampled on by his machinations, the Genoa Conference, which was called together by the Russia of Ke-rensky, that was the sole France for saving a completely lost situation. And our dissenter's quite correctly scented the danger of war for "right and civilization". Thus they preferred the wholesale murder until "the final victory" to the utmost efforts of preserving peace.

But today the various nations are again in the midst of an extremely critical situation. The battlefield upon which people fought and destroyed each other according to the rules and regulations of capitalist civilization and science, has given place to a field of misery, unemployment and bankruptcy. The war threatens to come back, the danger of war for the whole world is very well with what terror these war-leaders, Thomas and Renaudel included, were stricken on the eve of the Stockholm Conference, which was called together by the Russia of Ke-rensky. That was the sole France for saving a completely lost situation. And our dissenter's quite correctly scented the danger of war for "right and civilization". Thus they preferred the wholesale murder until "the final victory" to the utmost efforts of preserving peace.

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theless be present. The consequences of the war will also be dragged in at Genoa. There will therefore also be a chance to compare the official promises which were made by the bushel in the attempt to mislead the naive masses with the actual consequences of the war for "justice". And once they start with the chapter of the consequences of the war, the question of guilt may easily creep in. And the Poincaré of war and mobilization will certainly not permit that, as long as the revolting French people do not hang him an the nearest lamp post. Other reasons for the failure of the powers of the world Conference particularly uncomfortable to the Poincaré of armed peace. Until now the policy of idiotic Poincaré hat only one aim: the surrounding of Germany by its border countries and by Belgium, Poland, etc. According to the interpretation of Shlyck-Poincaré the Rhine should always remain in French hands because of Germany's inability to pay. Perhaps the nations that have met in Genoa could not approve this unexpected conclusion drawn from the "war for justice". That is why the Poincaré of Fear prefers to stay at home. Wisdom is wisdom.

Poincaré of France is now playing a part on the world stage which is as tragic as it shameless for the future of the countries. Acting as it does in the capacity of the warmongers for capitalistic reaction and initiating the Austro of Messish, France is weaving its own isolation from the civilized capitalistic world. It champions its candidacy for the hegemony of Europe by force of arms. But neither its population nor its economy permit this part. Rather is the impression of a child grasping for the club of Hercules. The France of the Bloc National and of Bankruptcy-Poincaré wants to obtain the hegemony of Europe on credit. But the Americans insist that France is not able to pay, the American sheriff can very easily sell these away at auction . . .

And this insane policy will continue as long as the French people will leave the fools and murderers that rule them un molested. The election of Mard and of the war on the 25th of March show however, that the end of Imbecile-Poincaré is not as far as is commonly believed.

The Genoa Conference and Italy.

by Antonio Gramsci (Turin).

** One problem dominates Italian foreign policy: the establishment of Italian supremacy in the Adriatic and the annexation of Fiume and Dalmatia to Italy. The question now arises: What is the attitude of Germany and Russia to this foreign policy?

Before the war Yugoslavia was predominantly influenced by powerful Russia. Even to-day its existence is very closely connected with Russia. It is of course not very much in connection with the form of government of the latter, whether Russia has a feudal, bourgeois or proletarian government, but rather because it is the natural ally of the Slavic population in the Balkans. When Russia is weak, Yugoslavia is weak and vice versa, and if its influence in the Balkans, this is furthermore the form of nationalistic propaganda in Italy, which at the same time is the immediate expression of the policy of the agrarian large landowners and the military caste.

Russia is a most serious competitor of Italian agriculture. Before the war Italy imported 1,600,000 tons of grain from Russia, and the great land owners were protected by the state by the imposition of an import duty to the extent of 3.75 lire per hundredweight. It was very clear that the economic life of ruined Russia is in their eyes much more desirable than an economically efficient Russia which would be able to export its grain surplus.

Only the industrial workers are only-third of the entire working class. The other two-thirds are agricultural workers or peasants. Even the Italian Socialist Party was at the beginning more a peasants' than a workers' party. This also in part explains its divergences from a proletarian standpoint and its vacillating policy. It is not very far from the Italian party of the Catholic peasants, which has also obtained very great importance for Parliamentary politics as well as for Italian foreign policy.

The political civil war, which the large landowners deliberately commenced in order to carry on a large-scale offensive against the Catholic peasantry, spread and grew in intensity, the People's Party turned more and more to the left and the reaction of this change in its attitude was very soon evident in Italian foreign policy. Premier Bonomi, who was in very large degree influenced by the People's Party, changed his attitude towards Russia and showed a certain inclination towards the reestablishment of relations with Russia. This led him to take the initiative in Cannes for the convocation of the Genoa Conference.

The foreign policy of Benito Mussolini, the leader of the Fascisti is in complete agreement with that of Nitti, the representative of Big Business and high finance. These circles are interested in the coal district of the Black Sea. The Black Sea explains why they display a very sympathetic attitude towards an international financial consortium for the capitalistic exploitation of Soviet Russia's resources. They thus hope at the same time to do business and to obtain their own sphere of influence on the Black Sea.

All the vaccinations of Italian foreign policy are caused by the intensification of the class was and the consequent disintegration of the social forces. It is thus necessary to give an explanation of the Italian foreign policy in order to understand the reactions in foreign policy which are therewith connected.

The trend to the left of the People's Party and the fact that several of its most prominent leaders, such as Deputy Merlo, the People's Minister, are expressing the opinion that a national tendency have led to a split within the military caste, a large number of whose members are Catholics.

However, for the great majority of these groups the Conference has only this significance: the connection with the form of government of the latter, whether Russia has a feudal, bourgeois or proletarian government into European economy. That also explains why circles are now supporting the Genoa Conference, who at first bitterly fought it and even employed it as a pretext for the overthrow of the Bonomi Cabinet. Among these latter the most prominent are the supporters of Gioletti, the Fascisti and the Nationalists.

Genoa and Czecho-Slovakia.

by B. Smeral (Prague).

** The foreign policy of Czecho-Slovakia is being conducted by two intellectuals who, no matter how great their popularity with a part of the public, are out of touch with both the economic and social realities of the country. Neither President Masaryk nor the Foreign Minister, Beneš, have the backing of a regular political party or that of a social strata. They hold on to their present positions merely because of two intellectuals who, no matter how great their authority is fated to collapse as soon as French power and French influence in Prague. In this fact lies both the strength and the weakness of their position. They are all-powerful in employing the methods of secret diplomacy in their foreign policy as long as public opinion continues to believe that the existence of an independent Czecho-Slovak state is at the mercy of France and as long as every request from the Quai d'Orsay is blindly complied with without the offering of any criticism whatsoever. Their authority is fated to collapse as soon as the illusion of a community of interests between the French and Czecho-Slovak States evaporates. In the meantime Praguet dutifully follows in the wake of French official foreign policy. As this policy is here being made, however, in a small territory and at second hand, consequently more primitively, less refinedly and masked than in the Quai d'Orsay, we can very often perceive various French tendencies more clearly in Czecho-Slovakia than in the land of their origin.

In connection with this line of thought I shall cite a number of instances which clarify the preparations for the Conference of Genoa, especially with regard to the relationship with Soviet Russia.

As soon as the Genoa plan was conceived, Dr. Beneš was summoned to Paris on February 3rd and returned on the 25th. During this time he negotiated at first in Belgrade, especially with regard to the relationship with Soviet Russia. He left on February 3rd and returned on the 25th. During this time he negotiated at first in Belgrade, especially with regard to the relationship with Soviet Russia.
grade on April 5th, to form a bloc in Genoa". A few days after his return from Paris, on March 1st Benes and the Yugoslavian Foreign Minister, Nintchitch met in Bratislava. The official report upon this meeting was as follows:—

"The objects of discussion were the technical basis of the Belgrade conference, the political and economic problems of Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia, Roumania and Poland. When it was adjourned, the Paris "Agence Havas" reported that "the Russian problems were solved to the satisfaction of all those concerned." Immediately after the Belgrade conference, the conference of the Baltic States met in Stockholm, on March 15th, with Poland participating. These are the superficial events during the last month, which are so many indications of a diplomatic movement whose wire-pullers sit in Paris and the leading parts in which have been intrusted to Warsaw and Prague."

It is to be hoped that the Benes, not the appearances of the official Czecho-Slovak policy towards Soviet Russia and try to ascertain what we can expect from that policy in connection with Genoa.

In normal times Dr. Benes has been playing with two cards in the Russian game, an attitude that corresponds to the equivocal nature of his position. While on one hand both the labor movement and the industrial interests in Czecho-Slovakia categorically demand that the state pursue an Eastern policy, we see on the other hand that Masaryk as well as Benes are blindly dependent upon Paris. Genoa compels them to show their colors. The official policy of Prague is beginning to show its true face. At the decisive moment its two leaders have proved themselves conscious exponents of the French anti-Russian policy. They have discarded the duplicity which was so thoroughly organized that even in the personnel of the ministry for foreign affairs a "division of labor" was effected under which the Chief of the Russian Department, Dr. Girsa, advocated a policy more favorable towards Russia than that expressed with Benes by Dr. Benes. I shall endeavor to outline the arguments advanced in favor of the present anti-Russian course, steered at France's command, which we will undoubtedly meet again in Genoa.

As soon as Dr. Benes received intimation of what were M. Poincaré's wishes he had his press launch a campaign against Genoa. From the very beginning the papers advocated a postponement of the conference and the exclusion of all political problems and manifested an especially great nervousness in everything pertaining to the Russian question. The tenor of the official Czecho-Slovak press is:—

"There is yet another thing we view with apprehension. It appears to us that Great Britain entirely overlooks the dangers which might result from her policy towards Germany and Russia. Great Britain remains indifferent towards Russia and our relations with Germany."

We doubt if it serves English interests to prepare for a new German-Russian alliance and allow the Germans to build a new bridge to the English possessions in Asia."

The unconditional invitation of Germany and Russia to Genoa decided upon in Cannes is described by the Benes press as "too hasty". Europe, it is alleged, is not prepared for decisions of so far-reaching importance—"neither psychologically nor actually". Russia, the papers go on to say, has not yet given serious proof of her intention to feel herself bound by her international alliances. "The dawn of victory in this war propagates the world revolution"; she looks upon the defeated governments, no matter what their mode of government, as "her natural allies" in consequence of which "the revanche idea can not be ignored and peace could be obtained only by a compromise".

Meanwhile the government press of Czechoslovakia does not cease to voice its misgivings regarding the English policy:—

"A plan has been conceived in England to cut down German reparations. England is also the home of the theory of a "peace conference", which leads to the idea of supporting a Bolshevist Russia."

At a time when it was already certain that Genoa could not be frustrated, the Benes press advocated the following formula:—

"We accept every economic discussion on the reconstruction of Europe which will not be utilized for political intrigues. Hence we are for postponement."

When Benes returned from Paris and London the press of the Czech-Slovak government parties summed up the situation as follows:—

"The immediate danger for us has been averted. Dr. Benes' trip has frustrated all attempts on the part of Russia to widen the conflict between France and Great Britain; it has also accomplished unity between the two states in Boulogne. It appears to me therefore to be impossible to consider the Genoa conference will not be discussed at the Genoa conference, because if the reverse were the case, the Soviet delegates would in the course of such discussions take occasion to gain the sympathies and the support of the defeated states. The conference will merely treat the economic aspect of the Russian problem leaving its political side untouched and deal with the 'guarantees' for trade connections with Russia."

These arguments will suffice to characterize the real official Czecho-Slovak policy towards Russia and Soviet Russia.

This relationship is determined by the personal connections between Masaryk and Benes and the French powers that be, which date from the time of their stay in the Allied countries during the war. But does this standpoint correspond to the economic interests of the country? Most emphatically, no. And in that Vienna lies the flaw. Economically seen, Czecho-Slovakia is in very much the same condition as England. Her industrial apparatus would be too great for 60 million people while she has only a population of 14 million. This discrepancy results in a crisis of production, in this fact lie the limitations of the anti-Russian policy."

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foreign policy, as purposed hither—to by Masaryk and Benes. Even bourgeois papers publish dispatches from Riga to the effect that the Baltic states do not understand a Russian proposal for an international economic understanding with her than to put their hopes into the capitalist states of the West. Reports of this nature naturally induce a critical survey of the situation in Prague. Opositional tendencies are making themselves felt that encourage him to back an economic front against Russia and from the oppositional forces demanding that criticism be applied to France and that English methods be approached. The Communist Party which counts upon the bitter feeling prevailing among labor as a result of the economic crisis and the consequent unemployment has launched a campaign for a Russian orientation of foreign policy. Apart from the struggle against wage reductions the demands for economic and diplomatic relations with Russia and for an alliance with Soviet Russia are at present the most important and effective slogan we have newly built up. A united front of the proletariat in Czechoslovakia.

**Japan and Genoa.**

Sen Katayama.

**Japan is invited to the Genoa Conference.** The chief aim of the Conference is to discuss the economic and financial reconstruction of Europe, in which Japan has no direct concern. Any conference that discusses the economic reconstruction of Europe without America will hardly get any substantial result, so the opposition in the Japanese Diet criticised the government for its taking a part in the coming Conference. To this Foreign Minister Uchida responded by giving the government's reasons for accepting the invitation:—

"Of course, Japan has no direct relation with Europe but at this Conference it is so arranged that Russia is to take part in it. If Japan is left out of the Genoa Conference the Japan-Lloyd George organ, the Daily Chronicle, addressed the following remarkable admonition to Dr. Benes and his whole Czech-Slovak policy. After calling to Benes' attention that always to stay under the influence of Paris could not but cause very grave results, the paper continues:—

"Benes has understood the necessity for the reconstruction of the economic unit which was broken up through the war and the downfall of the Habsburgs. By favoring the loan for Austria and assisting in abolishing the cumbersome border fortresses between Austria and Czechoslovakia, Dr. Benes has proven himself a capable statesman. Will he be wise enough to understand that what was essential for the group of victors and vanquished is the reconstruction of the Habsburg Empire? Is it not less essential for chaotic Europe of which the successor states are but a part? From Porto Rose to Genoa it is but one step that augurs just as well and is no less essential. In either of these cases the reconstruction was not on the basis of the Republic of Czechoslovakia: founded; they would on the contrary only tend to strengthen these foundations. The task of Czechoslovakia in the Europe of the future is not to act as the vassal of a single great power, but that of an independent country destined to play a leading role in restored and reconstructed Europe. Apart from this task there is no other alternative but government at home which both Millan-Rodriguez and the Uchida Ministry have supported and the Japanese should take part in the Conference. The chief aim of the Conference is not to have recognised the Lenin government. Although the Genoa Conference is a financial and economic conference yet it is not objectionable if its agreements become political. At all events, if the Lenin government adheres firmly to Communism the matter may be different, but for the agreements of the Genoa Conference to be satisfactory, Russia must be equal with the principle hitherto upheld and there then is no impediment as to our recognizing Russia." To the so-called Genoa affair the Japanese Foreign Minister has the following to say:—

"The Moscow government recognizes the Far Eastern Republic and a representative of the Far Eastern Republic may attend at the Genoa Conference together with the preparations necessary for it. To find a common platform for the official policies of Poland and Czechoslovakia will prove even more difficult than to smooth over the differences within the Little Entente. The most important and acute problem is the stabilization of her economic structure resembles that of Great Britain) can under no circumstances whatsoever do this. Benes and Nintchitch must have had their reasons for issuing the following denial after their conference in Bratislava on March 1st:—"On the basis of very precise information we are in a position to deny most emphatically all the rumors which have been circulated, especially during the last days, to the effect that differences of opinion have arisen between the governments of the Little Entente who are in full accord both upon trade negotiations with Russia and the Genoa Conference together with the preparations necessary for it."

Thus the Imperial Diet decided on February 17th to participate in the Genoa Conference and voted 201,000 yen for expenses. It is also noteworthy that in this matter all the powers have supported and voted the appropriation and from the tone of the discussions in the committee they are quite optimistic as to the possible results of the Conference.

From the words of Foreign Minister Uchida we can conclude that the representatives of Poland and Czechoslovakia have replied with Russia the Genoa Conference is that Russia is to take a part in the Conference Everybody admits that America can help Europe's economic reconstruction and Russia's economic development, but America regards the future economic Conference in regard to Europe and in a capitalistic manner in regard to Russia. Thus it is possible that the outcome of the Genoa Conference will be very insignificant, but it is a great victory for Soviet Russia. The enemies of Soviet Russia have been beaten in the economic Conference and Benes has expressed their inability to reconstruct Europe economically without Russia, by the act of inviting Russia to the Genoa Conference.

At last Japan finds herself mistaken in her Siberian as well as Russian policy and for the first time Japanese militarists have realized the futility of helping the reactionary generals of Czaristic Russia. This means a great moral victory for Russia over Japan. This is not only a victory for Soviet Russia but also for the Japanese masses, because the militarists of Japan have lost the entire confidence of the people on account of the Siberian affair.
The Prinkipo Island Conference was intended to help Kolchak and other reactionary Russian generals who were then fighting against Soviet Russia, it proved to be of advantage to Bolshevik Russia — at least Lenin and Trotsky made it so. Thereupon the Allied statesmen ignominiously dropped the Prinkipo Conference. The peace conference had succeeded, localizations of industry and trade are permitted. So far it is capitalism, and the interpretation of the Allied statesmen is correct. But this is not all. There is one important factor still, which the Allied statesmen ignore or did not know, namely, that Russia's capitalism is unlike that of Western capitalism as conceived by Lloyd George and others — it is a capitalism under Soviet rule. Capitalism under the rigid control of the Soviet government of the workers and peasants. Not only that but the present Soviet government is a party government and that government party is the Bolshevik Party, the Communist Party, which is the moving spirit of the Communist International.

The Allies have invited Soviet Russia to the Genoa Conference because they think that their imperialist policy to pay off their debts, which were used to oppress the people and crush the movement for freedom. Well! Russia may give a promise to them to pay. That is all she could do now. Anyway she is now the master of the situation. It is her own affair and she will decide how she will be treated by the Allies. The Allies tried to get them by force and by aiding the reactionary generals and they failed utterly in every attempt. Now they invite Soviet Russia to the Genoa Conference with open invitations and consideration! The only hope they have is that Lenin has failed in Communist and that he is now adopting capitalism in Russia and will soon return completely to the old capitalism or will soon be overthrown by the newly created capitalism. But they will be disappointed in all these expectations.

Today Russia is stronger than ever since the November revolution. She has driven out all the reactionary generals and all the White Guards even from the Far Eastern territories. Soviet Russia is far stronger than France at the time of the Congress of Vienna. Soviet Russia has far better statesmen in the Berlin Congress just after the Crimean War. But Japan has no Cavour. Japan, however, has gained in financial influence during the late war, but she has been losing it, losing her export trade more and more. During the war Japan exported over four billion yen over imports. Her gold increased eighteen hundred million yen and reached a total of twenty-one hundred and seventy million yen. But in reality this means nothing but a calamity. For Japan's gold, for now Japan lacks every necessities of life. Her rice is short, houses, electricity, transportation and everything that is necessary for life are lacking and prices are exceptionally high. The foreign trade balances have been unfavorable for the past two years. The people are dissatisfied with their conditions.

Thus Japan is in no better condition than before the war. She needs the recovery of her foreign trade, but unless the economic adjustment of Europe, especially of Europe and America, is successfully achieved, it will be impossible to assist Japan trade more and more. During the war Japan exported over four billion yen over imports. Her gold increased eighteen hundred million yen and reached a total of twenty-one hundred and seventy million yen. But in reality this means nothing but a calamity. For Japan's gold, for now Japan lacks every necessities of life. Her rice is short, houses, electricity, transportation and everything that is necessary for life are lacking and prices are exceptionally high. The foreign trade balances have been unfavorable for the past two years. The people are dissatisfied with their conditions.

One reason why the capitalist powers are ready to invite Bolshevik Russia is based on a mistaken conception of the new economic policy of the Soviet government. They think or try to think that the Lenin government's Communist policy has entirely failed and that now Lenin has changed his policy and is rapidly returning to capitalism, so that Russia will soon become a capitalist country like the other Western European countries. Yes, Lenin has adopted capitalism in Russia. But it is not in any sense a true return to capitalism. The present Soviet government has not made a sudden, isolated and unwarranted return to capitalism. The whole economic system has been changed.

The adoption of the new economic policy has greatly strengthened the position of the Bolshevik government, and production is rapidly increasing in every branch of industry. Her currency question is apparently grave but the Soviet government has nothing to lose by the present currency system. Unlike the French revolutionary government, Russia of to-day has no better money than the Soviet rouble. And yet her people must until whether they have done it or not. All the foreign trade must be carried on as in any other country by gold bullion. Soviet Russia's condition will improve faster than any other country's. What Russia needs today is transporation facilities and production. Soviet Russia is in a powerful position and she will go to the Genoa Conference better prepared to meet her enemies than anybody else. The Vienna Congress of 1815 assured the French revolution, the bourgeois revolution, and the Genoa Conference assures Russia her Bolshevik Revolution.
relations with Soviet Russia and for the radical revision of the Treaty of Versailles.

The attitude of Troelstra, the leader of the Dutch Social Democrats, in this connection was characteristic. The usual hypocrisy of the social-patriots over the "rape" of the Balkans, in order to appeal to the Dutch Parliament against Russia. Furthermore, he was impudent enough to attack the Soviet representatives in Genoa. As for the international conference for the exploitation of Russia, it was his opinion that the Russian Junkers, if (3) the other Border states (latvian, estonian, and finn) would also vote against the motion of van Ravensteyn, for the Dutch delegation should not go to Genoa with its hands bound (1).

Comrade van Ravensteyn revealed that this attitude of Troelstra was sharply opposed to that of his foreign comrades; even the Dutch Social-Democratic party had expressed itself in accordance with van Ravensteyn's point of view. The motion was rejected by an overwhelming majority. Naturally, the Social Democrats voted against it.

The Russian Border States and Genoa.

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

**The Warsaw Conference of the Baltic states which took place in the middle of March was considered by the Russian Soviet Government as an unfriendly act against the Soviet Republic.** The indignant protest of the Polish and other governments participating in the conference were no doubt sincere in so far as the intentions of the latter were of no consequence to the Soviet government and the restoration of capitalism in Russia. On the contrary, a number of unsettled questions (such as the question of the eastern frontiers not yet settled by the Entente and the old Czarist debts which the Entente and especially France desired to extort from the Border states) would inevitably lead to the revival of Russian imperialistic ambitions. Furthermore, the fact that Russia was not invited to the conference at once was due to bourgeois or rather petty bourgeois shortsightedness which was unable to resolve upon the invitation of hated proletarian Russia to the conferences of the bourgeois states upon an equal footing. This conceit was also punished, for the Warsaw Conference as we shall see was practically barren, as the official enthusiasm of the government papers could not conceal. These, as for instance the "Kurjer Polski", go so far as to maintain that the Warsaw Conference greatly exceeded the expectations placed in it.

What agreement could the Baltic governments come to without Russia and against Russia? Was it perhaps considerations of self-defence which could lead to a political and military agreement between the Baltic states? The world whole knows, however, that Russia under the Third Reich and the imperialist tendencies of the Border states; that on the contrary the overthrow of the Soviet government and the restoration of capitalism in Russia would inevitably lead to the revival of Russian imperialistic ambitions in the Baltic states. Furthermore, the fact that Russia was not invited to the conference at once was due to bourgeois or rather petty bourgeois shortsightedness which was unable to resolve upon the invitation of hated proletarian Russia to the conferences of the bourgeois states upon an equal footing. This conceit was also punished, for the Warsaw Conference as we shall see was practically barren, as the official enthusiasm of the government papers could not conceal. These, as for instance the "Kurjer Polski", go so far as to maintain that the Warsaw Conference greatly exceeded the expectations placed in it.

The economic agreements are just as hollow and empty. The fact that Russia was not invited to the conference at once was due to bourgeois or rather petty bourgeois shortsightedness which was unable to resolve upon the invitation of hated proletarian Russia to the conferences of the bourgeois states upon an equal footing. This conceit was also punished, for the Warsaw Conference as we shall see was practically barren, as the official enthusiasm of the government papers could not conceal. These, as for instance the "Kurjer Polski", go so far as to maintain that the Warsaw Conference greatly exceeded the expectations placed in it.

The aimlessness of their conference finally became clear to the other capitals and partly to the Soviet capital itself (by the invitation of the Soviet representative in Warsaw, Obolenski). The firm attitude of the Soviet Government which did not care for a halfway agreement then led to the calling of the Riga Conference.

It is a sign of the times that although two years ago Soviet Russia had to make sacrifices of blood and life to break through the iron ring of its enemies, it now can attain this by the employment of diplomatic methods. Of course the former state of affairs cannot repeat itself where the necessities of Latvian domestic politics are concerned. If Poland and Finland aim at such an alliance, the capitalist interests of these countries are least interested therein. It is only the military cliques who—in Poland apparently democratic, in Finland openly reactionary—would like to raise their foreign credit by new military adventures in Karelia and Soviet Ukraine. Capitalist circles are sharply opposed to these machinations and thus the Baltic conference was sceptically and coolly received by the Polish bourgeois (National Democratic) press.

As our friend the correspondent of the political and military agreements of the Warsaw conference (Riga) shows there are confined to mutual obligations of "benevolent neutrality" in case of an unprovoked attack by a third party. A rather insignificant fruit of three days debate.

The economic agreements are just as hollow and empty. According to whom all the participating states agree to conclude commercial treaties with one another within a sort time. This modest result of the commercial discussion shows that the Border states were not able to come to much of an agreement on this point. They are of little importance for one another as markets; on the contrary they are all dependent up on the Russian market for their reconstruction. Thus Polish industrialists which for many reasons is not able to compete in the Russian market and which therefore has only obtained the rubber industry, which has only arisen upon the basis of the Russian market and without sales to Russia would not only be quantitatively infinitesimal, but would also qualitatively (in so far as its concentration is concerned) fall into decay even more, sees in Russian market its only escape from the present crisis. As far as transit trade to Russia is concerned the Border states have also no mutual interests. They are competing with another and all desire to obtain for themselves alone a connection with Russia. If this is the case Estonia and Latvia are way ahead of the other Border states.

The conference of the Border states could perhaps have had as its aim the settlement of frontier difficulties and questions of national majorities. But the absence of Lithuania, whose dispute with Poland is actually the main point at issue, very clearly shows that the settlement of the really serious conflicts was not to be accomplished at this conference. Furthermore, the differences between Poland and Latvia which are of comparatively little importance and were only of greater significance because of the social characteristic of their minorities (in particular the Latvian Junkers who are threatened by the Latvian agrarian reform laws), will also scarcely be removed by the Warsaw agreements,

Jugoslovakia.

A glance at her domestic and foreign policies on the eve of the Genoa Conference.

by S. M.

**Jugoslovakia is the most reactionary member of the reactionary Little Entente. That is unequivocally born out by her domestic as well as by her foreign policy. Within the country, the Jugoslovakian government has introduced the brutal regime of the White Terror; the notorious anti-Communist law puts Jugoslovakia out of the pale of civilization. More membership in the Communist International is considered as a crime and punishable. Towards the Croats and Slovenes the government punishes her domestic as well as her foreign policy. Within the country, the Communist International is considered as a crime and punishable. Towards the Croats and Slovenes the government punishes her domestic as well as her foreign policy. Within the country, the Communist International is considered as a crime and punishable. Towards the Croats and Slovenes the government punishes her domestic as well as her foreign policy. Within the country, the Communist International is considered as a crime and punishable. Towards the Croats and Slovenes the government punishes her domestic as well as her foreign policy. Within the country, the Communist International is considered as a crime and punishable. Towards the Croats and Slovenes the government punishes her domestic as well as her foreign policy. Within the country, the Communist International is considered as a crime and punishable. Towards the Croats and Slovenes the government punishes her domestic as well as her foreign policy. Within the country, the Communist International is considered as a crime and punishable. Towards the Croats and Slovenes the government punishes her domestic as well as her foreign policy. Within the country, the Communist International is considered as a crime and punishable. Towards the Croats and Slovenes the government punishes her domestic as well as her foreign policy. Within the country, the Communist International is considered as a crime and punishable. Towards the Croats and Slovenes the government punishes her domestic as well as her foreign policy.**
become the center of counter-revolutionary activity against Soviet Russia.

Determined to repeat in Jugoslavia, Wrangel commands a well-outfitted army (with French and Jugoslavian aid) which is ready for any counter-revolutionary action within the country as well as without. In spite of the most laborious efforts of the Jugoslavian government, this action of supporting Wrangel's army has received no applause from the Jugoslavian populace. On the contrary. Not only are the workers and peasants of Jugoslavia against intervention in Soviet Russia, but they are even ready to prevent it by force, in case it is undertaken. Even the Jugoslavian government is conscious of this fact. And under the pressure of this consciousness, Mintitch, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, recently declared in Parliament that the Jugoslavian government did not entertain any warlike plans against the Russian people, even though they were at present being ruled by the Bolsheviki. (This was intended to calm down public opinion stirred by Wrangel's arrival). This statement, which is in some degree an admission of the Pan-Slavic tendency of public opinion, is really another attempt to delude public opinion as to the counterrevolutionary preparations that are in full swing. Such is the value of this statement. But this official declaration of the Jugoslavian government is per sé of great significance, for it is the first time that the Jugoslavian government felt itself compelled to hide its outspoken anti-Soviet Russian and counter-revolutionary intentions. But this admissions and the peasants will not let themselves be deceived; they will intensify their untriring struggle against the Jugoslavian government and make an end to all counter-revolutionary machinations. In view of the above-mentioned facts, the Jugoslavian government is actively to participate in an eventual intervention against Soviet Russia, even if the French apply their maximum pressure. For the Jugoslavian government knows very well that such an adventure would be the beginning of the end of bourgeois rule in Jugoslavia.

It is not altogether improbable that the Jugoslavian bourgeoisie will very shortly actually have to give up all its adventurous plans. The French policy pursued by the ruling Serbian bourgeoisie has suffered a series of failures. The policy of bourgeois opposition, particularly in Croatia and Slavonia, has momentarily no economic interest in the execution of the peace-treaties. For the moment, the is nothing to be done but to make the government of Jugoslavia to shed the mask of reality in the ambiguous cloak of new structures in place of those that have been swept away by the old art of government was unable to fulfill. One day revelation itself to every the new structure is being laid for the old art of government was unable to fulfill. One day revelation itself to every

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Jugoslavia has gone to the Genoa Conference with her hands free. In no question whatever, has it any definite, independent viewpoint. The ruling bourgeoisie has surrendered itself to the mercy or mercilessness of French imperialism, and should it come back form Genoa with another failure to its discredit, it will only add to the bankruptcy of Jugoslavia and contribute to the clearing of the domestic confusion.

Genoa and the Scandinavian Countries.

by Smohlan.

The Scandinavian countries are looking towards Genoa with mixed feelings. The organs of the Swedish financial and commercial world and those of the Norwegian Conservatives, are writing on the prospects of the Genoa Conference in pessimistic tones, whereas the Social Democrats seem to be much more optimistic. Both countries of the Scandinavian peninsula are well under way towards a trading treaty with Soviet Russia; in Norway we even hear of Soviet Russia being recognized as a de jure State. But in order to secure the sale of fish. In Sweden where at least 20,000 people derive their incomes from the Russian orders, the Social Democratic Government is taking great pains to conclude the agreement already drawn up. Not so very long ago the head of this government was traveling about England, France and Germany, and in the victory of the Bolsheviki he propagated for armed intervention into Russian affairs by the Allies. But times have changed. This sly fox, who rivals Lloyd George in the art of changing his opinions, is now a romanticist, a geo-political optimist, for he understands full well that an approach to Russia might keep his party in power for a while longer. Now, the Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Branting, together with an old arch-reactionary professor and a very rich and anti-labor bank president, have been associated by the Social Democratic-Government with the task of protecting the interests of capitalist Sweden. His own press is overjoyed with this particular delegation, and it writes that "Branting- Trygger are a guarantee for continuity with the League of Nations". "And what is still better: the Swedish workers have their special representative in the person of Thorberg, the president of the Trade Union Federation. It is a good chance, and may it serve as a good omen for the extremely difficult, delicate and at the same time very, very important work which the Swedish representatives at Genoa will have to accomplish. A further proof that the masters are self-satisfied in the choice of their lackeys, may be seen in the utterance of the London Westminister Gazette:—

"There is reason to hope that if Professor Cassel (an expert actually comes to Genoa, his presence at the conference will lend to it a greater weight and which he always displays in his treatment of money problems."

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The "Handelstidningen", the organ of Swedish finance writes as follows: "It requires an optimism verging on the sickly, to hope that the Genoa Conference will succeed in formulating a definite plan for treating the Russian problem. Lloyd George with his shattered position will not be the dominating figure at Genoa; a situation which we may be cautiously(?) No constructive force can be detected in the advice of the politicians. In all silence the foundation is being laid for new structures in place of those that have been swept away by the storm. One fine morning, this new structure will be visible to all. New forces will take over the tasks which the old are now performing.

"The old forces are exhausted and they persist in powerless sterility. The art of confusion is still theirs, but not the art of cooperative efforts. The total barrenness of the old system will one day reveal itself to every one."

We Communists agree with these sentiments, although under the expression "new forces" we understand something different from what the Swedish professor means when he writes on politics.