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RUSSIA, "A COUNTRY IN DANGER;" PROFESSOR'S PROPHECY

Writer in Gazette de Lausanne, in Searching Article Upon Affairs in the Empire, Says that the Country Under an "Oligarchy and Cleptocracy."

A translation of a searching article upon internal conditions in the Russian Empire was received by the New York Evening Post, through the courtesy of Prof. Henry R. Mussey, of Columbia University. This article originally appeared in the "Gazette de Lausanne et Journal Suisse" for January 22, entitled "Notes on Russia by a Russian." The writer says that Professor Tagantsev's declaration before the Council of Empire that "Russia is a country in danger" has become a phrase of common usage. The article is as follows:

What is happening in Russia is of immense importance, and while the international struggle is reaching its greatest height, still graver things are preparing at home. Unfortunately the European press receives news on this subject insufficient to permit of appreciating the importance of these events, which are so closely connected with the internal politics of Russia.

The journals of Petrograd, of Moscow, and of the various cities in Russia—all must undergo a threefold censorship: the ordinary censorship, that of the military authorities, and a third, this last secret, but all powerful. Its existence is officially confirmed by the combined statements of the President of the Duma and of the Ministers of War, Justice, and the Interior.

Much as people may talk about Russian maladministration, no one of the officials has mentioned a name, no one has explained what this secret censorship really is. The newspapers, even after being passed upon by this triple censorship, all agree in affirming that the Russian army has begun to suffer from insufficient provisions and from lack of munitions, that the work behind the lines is completely disorganized, that unheard of crimes are being committed throughout the whole country in regard to provisioning and transportation: from the top to the bottom of the scale, from petty functionaries to the highest ranks, the Ministers have said it without evasion, the "Premiers" as well as the others, Gorky in May, 1916; Sturmer in 1916; Trepov in November, 1916; the Duma, the Council of the Empire, and the Committees on War-Industries, all lament in unison. The same complaints are heard, but much more bitterly in the resolutions passed by more than a thousand congresses, and "zemstvos."

Prof. Tagantsev's Prophecy This trouble, of a purely political nature, arises from the reactionary administration which has been much strengthened since the beginning of the war. The debates and resolutions mentioned above are proof of it, but still stronger proof is furnished by the speeches and acts of the ministers and above all, by the entire conduct of the groups which lead the court. As a result, "the country is in danger." These words, first uttered at a meeting of the Council of the Empire by Professor Tagantsev, the well-known Russian jurist and moderate conservative, have become current usage, for the state of weakness and incoherence in which Russia finds herself has become patent.

But whence comes this danger? From the Germans? Not at all. From scarcity? No, the supply of provisions is still considerable. Then where is the danger? The answer has been given from within the most reactionary institution that Russia has seen since 1856. We read, in effect as follows, in a recent resolution of the Congress of the "Noblesse unifiée": "Occult and irresponsible forces, foreign to regularly established powers, are being directed against the State. These forces are able to subordinate the higher authorities to their wish and even the whole ecclesiastical administration is in their power. The civil administration is likewise hemmed in. Under these same pernicious influences, the civil administration is without cohesion in action, unity in thought. It lacks the confidence of the nation. This state of affairs, disastrous in these days of universal conflict, for it throws confusion into all spheres of national life. It is absolutely essential resolutely to suppress all these underground influences on public affairs."

That today, is the language of those who were the instigators of the national counter-revolution of 1905-1916, who begged for the dissolution of the first two Dumas (and of the fourth in 1913), and who demanded the application of martial law in times of peace. Indeed, the internal disorder resulting from the political regime must have become pretty dangerous, to seem intolerable to these men.

A Succession of Ministers At the beginning an appeal was made to Gorky; then he was obliged to retire, after having disturbed the country for a time by the revelations of the treason and thefts of Soukhomlinoff, a favorite of the Czar, of Maslennikov, and of others. Following him, A. N. Khovostov, a petty provincial autocrat, affiliated with the "Black Hundreds" and one of the representatives of the programmes of 1906-7, was made Minister of the Interior. He attempted to have Rasputin assassinated, but his plot was discovered, and he himself caused a scandal. Then followed an unbelievable succession of ephemeral Ministers. In two years there have been more than forty, which proves merely how the Czar's surroundings about him are worthy of the name of statement! Sturmer came next, preceded by a reputation of long years of venality.

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EXPRESS

and ignorance. By contrast, he was a worthy gentleman.

The President of the Ministry and the Ministers doubtless repeat like a single man—no, rather, like a single phonograph—that they are full of good-will towards the Duma and the nation (sic), and their hoarse voices quiver with patriotic speeches, while they struggle zealously against the Duma and the people, in whom they see first and foremost the enemies of the aristocracy. The aristocracy was not really abolished by the manifesto of October 17, 1905, and its interests are put before those of national defence by these men.

Germanophiles buzz about in Ministerial circles just as they do in the higher circles of the court; it is not that they love the Germans (for these men scarcely love each other), but they appreciate to a high degree the Prussian junkers, always ready to learn on Russian reaction, they did in 1905. In this respect, the "Black Hundreds" are the same from one end of Russia to the other.

This attitude of mind explains the sympathies on which the reactionary Prussians play, and also the hopes of certain men for a separate peace. Relying on the future friendship between Nicholas II and William II, and an alliance between them, many believe that this separate peace would assure the ultimate existence of autocracy, and the favoritism which is its corollary.

With a few exceptions (Polivanoff, Count Isantoff, Sazonoff), almost all of the Ministers adhere to this policy of reaction. The portfolio of agriculture was in 1916 entrusted to an agrarian and a "Black Bandist"; that of the interior to A. Protopopoff, a wholesale cloth manufacturer, a protégé of Rasputin and Sturmer, and an accomplice of the agents of a separate peace. As soon as he had attained this rank, Protopopoff, who wished to see the organization of provisioning to the police, began a conflict with A. Bobrinski, a Deputy in the Duma and a member of the progressive wing. Moreover, he strengthened the power of the police, and had assigned to him a supplementary annual credit of ninety million rubles, without even consulting the Duma. A short time after his accession to office he entered upon a struggle against the Russian people.

Not only did his interviews with Warburg, the German diplomat at Stockholm, not prevent him from becoming Minister, but they even helped him, it seems to hold the Ministers against the wish of the Chamber of the nation. His Ministry was one long succession of scandals. As for Sturmer, he left amid hoots and jeers. The leader of the "cadet" reaction, and the servant, P. Milyukoff, convicted him of venality, and proved that he had paved the way for the "unheard-of" inquiry which a separate peace would be.

Then the succession of ministers became still more rapid. A deputy of the extreme right, the famous Poulkoff, has recently called that coming and going of men who acceded to power one day, and left it the next, "saute de monton ministériel." Self-interest is the only motive in these trials, disclaiming the role of "hero for an hour."

Oligarchy of Worst Elements But who makes them? Events furnish the answer. Since the revocation made by the manifesto of October 17, 1905, neither the constitution nor the Czar's authority has been respected. The latter has given place to an oligarchy from which are excluded the best elements of the great and noble Russian nation, and in whose ranks the worst admitted, the most sorry lot of adventurers. The composition of this group is known, the names of its members have been mentioned in the Duma, and moreover, the courts have contributed to establish the exact list of them, thanks to a long series of scandal proceedings. In truth, there is no danger for the country in these trials, for they are not referred to the Greek Calendar, as was that of Soukhomlinoff; they are dropped in time, as were the trials of Rubintsev, Maslennikov, Manuiloff, Kourloff, and others. Nevertheless, and despite the rigors of the censorship the names do become known to the people.

The filthy Agerian stables of the Administration, and all these pirates who, one after the other, prey on the public funds, are not, in a most proper sense, even in the hearts of people accustomed to being deaf and blind, and ready to bend their backs beneath their burdens. The business transactions of these men, the "cleptocracy," behind the financial operations and the money manipulations of the banker, D. Rubinsteyn, has been discovered the connivance with a political agent of high rank, Manassevitch Manuiloff, the private secretary of Sturmer. In the Duma, M. Milyukoff proved, and Sturmer had taken public money for themselves. Then the deeds of Rasputin were presented in evidence as well as similar exploits of Dr. Doubrovich, which would have led an ordinary mortal straight to the Court of Assizes.

From 1906 to 1908, Doubrovich has done away with three opposing Deputies, Herzonstein, Joffe, and Dr. Karavloff, by the hand of assassins, but he has failed in the attempt to add to his victims, P. Milyukoff and a priest, Gregory Petroff. It is not for nothing that Doubrovich is president of "The Union of the Russian People," an association of extreme reactionaries under the patronage of Nicholas II.

To complete the picture for December 10, 1916: Rasputin absolute master; the Soukhomlinoff affair dragged out at great length; the censorship still watching to see that the press shall mention neither Rasputin nor Soukhomlinoff; Rubinsteyn and Manassevitch Manuiloff, the two leading figures in the financial world, their trial suspended, thanks to the pressure of some one who is not named; these are the specific facts. And this is the general situation; the procession of ministers continues, break-

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fasts, dinners, suppers, and speeches are repeated, while disorder grows apace in the land whose forces submit more and more because of reaction in the field of politics.

OBITUARY

Mrs. Horace L. Waring.

News reached the city yesterday of the death at Deer Island, N. B., of Mrs. Horace L. Waring, wife of Captain Waring of this city. Mrs. Waring who was but a young woman was formerly Miss Lida Pendleton of Deer Island and had been visiting her parents there when she was taken ill. She numbers a wide circle of friends who will learn with regret of her demise.

Rev. Martin Maloney.

A Solemn Pontifical Mass of Requiem will be celebrated in St. Peter's church, North End, on Tuesday morning, beginning at ten o'clock, for the repose of the soul of the Rev. Martin Maloney, C. S. S. R. His Lordship Bishop LeBlanc will pontificate. Panegyric will be delivered by Rev. Stephen Connolly, C. S. S. R., of Montreal, who arrived in the noon train. The preacher was formerly attached to the staff of St. Peter's church, and is an eloquent speaker. Very Rev. Mgr. J. J. Walsh, V. G. Rev. Charles Collins, Fairville; Rev. J. J. O'Donnovan, Carleton; Rev. F. J. McMurray and other members of the secular clergy of the city and vicinity will be present at the obsequies.

Rev. A. J. O'Neill, of Silver Falls, will also be present at the services.

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TEUTONS HAVE RANSACKED SERBIA

Serbia has few links left with her old freedom. The small remnant of her fighting forces is making glorious history as is shown by the despatches of the day. Of the non-combatants, the story is tragic. Those who sought escape from the invaders by flight across the mountains in the dead of winter faced

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