

The Working Out of the Russian Internal Problem



THE giant wave of dis-
order now rolling over Russia, the con-
stantly recurring industrial disturbances
in the larger towns, the threatening nature
of the agrarian movements in the provinces,

the mutinous attitude assumed by naval seamen, the virulence of race hatred and the lamentable evils which flow from that source once more draw the attention of the reading public on the empire's internal problem. Chastised and humiliated abroad, the specious fiction of her strength disproven, her ghastly weaknesses all uncovered to the eyes of the nations, will it come to pass that her national integrity shall be shattered by forces that lie within?

As time passes one truth becomes more and more evident—the integrity of the Russian empire has not been maintained until now either by reason of the virility of the government or by the patriotism of the people. The government has shown itself to be miserably puny on every occasion when actual strength was demanded. The people as a whole have been pitifully unequal to every opportunity. The grumble of national discontent has been heard by the czar and his ad-

victors in their palaces on the banks of

among themselves the business of collecting the taxes—always a lively governmental industry in Russia—the use of the public funds, the preservation of the archives and the maintenance of order.

A third administrative body is the greatly misunderstood holy synod. It is charged with the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and in Russia that means a great deal. In the discussion of Muscovite government as a whole it would be impossible to eliminate the church. It is as manifestly a factor in the scheme as is the czar, the great central figure. Church and state are not only connected inseparably, but they are practically one. There is no well defined line between matters ecclesiastical and matters political. It is impossible to tell where one begins and the other ends. Religion in Russia is an essential feature of the business of living—formal religion, that is.

From czar to humblest mouth there must be no disposition to evade the responsibilities which the church imposes, and they are many and great. The majority of the members comprising the holy synod are ecclesiastics. There are in it the three metropolitans of St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev with the archbishops of the Caucasus and Poland and several bishops. There is one lay member, with the title of procurator general, and he is the mouthpiece of the council of the em-

peror. The decisions of the holy synod are in the name of the czar, which gives him the authority of an infallible spiritual head.

The fourth great agent of imperial administration is the council of ministers. This august body dates from 1802 and consists of thirteen members, all appointed by the czar and responsible to him alone. Besides all these governing and advisory bodies, the czar is provided with abundant private chancelleries, whose business it is to see to the execution of the mandates of the superior officials and to supervise the police service of the empire.

To comprehend measurably the causes which have made for the cohesion of the empire one must begin by obtaining some intelligent idea of the form of government. That is by no means an easy thing to do. There is nothing like it under the sun. It is defined as "an absolute hereditary monarchy." It is not that and much besides. An absolute pure and simple presents no difficulties. A one man power is simplicity itself. Were Nicholas II. the actual "autocrat of all the Russias," as he is reputed to be, and nothing more or less, the matter would be uncomplicated. Practically he is nothing of the sort. Theoretically the whole legislative, executive and judicial power is vested in the czar alone. It is true there is neither a written constitution nor a representative legislative body, but the czar is by no means their equivalent. He is rather the victim of a tangle of hereditary rules which are none the less restrictive because they are unwritten. Practically he is as powerless to act absolutely as is his fellow ruler and kinsman, Edward of England.

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into the legislative, the executive, the financial, the judicial, the ecclesiastical and the educational.

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